

平安京周辺の政治拠点 －白河・鳥羽殿・法住寺殿・宇治－

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1. 平安京の拡大

平安時代後期、概ね 11 世紀後半にはじまるこの時期は、院・摂関家など権門によって平安京周辺に複数の都市的な場が形成されていく特徴がある。ただし、平安京隣接地区での都市的な場の形成は、これより前から始まっていた。例えば平安京西北に接する御室や東京極大路と鴨川西岸との間である。御室は、仁和四年(888)に宇多天皇により仁和寺が創建されて以降、永観元年(983)に円融天皇によって建立された円融寺はじめ天皇御願寺である四つの寺(四円寺)が順次創建され、大治五年(1130)には鳥羽天皇中宮待賢門院藤原璋子により御室のやや南の五位山麓に広大な園池を持つ法金剛院が造営された。これら寺院群とその関連施設を含めて都市的な場が御室地区に形成されたのは間違いなく、四円寺はそれぞれの天皇の菩提寺となるとともに陵も造営されている。法金剛院も五位山頂部に待賢門院の陵が造営されている。宇多天皇の皇統と関係の強い土地として発展した場所である。

平安京の東北に接する東西は東京極大路と鴨川間、南北は一条大路末から二条大路末の間も、平安時代中期には都市的な場へと発展する。一条大路は平安時代前期には東に延伸され、この辺りの開発が始まり、中期には貴族の別邸が建てられるようになる。二条大路末の北、京極大路の東に藤原兼家の二条京極殿があった。兼家は正暦元年(990)にこれを寺院に改め法興院とする。また、その子道長が主要邸宅の土御門殿と京極大路を挟んだ東に、方四町の巨大な法成寺を建立したのは治安二年(1022)のことであった。法成寺の南門から南の法興院へは南北道が造られ、「東朱雀大路」と呼ばれるほどに都市化する。法興院・法成寺ともに藤原摂関家に関わる法会が頻繁に執り行われた寺院であり、法成寺は道長終焉の場所であった。この地区と藤原摂関家との関係は強い。

平安時代後期での平安京周辺での都市的な場の形成はこれら平安京の拡大と違い、平安京と一定の距離を置いて形成されている。これらが、造営主体者である権

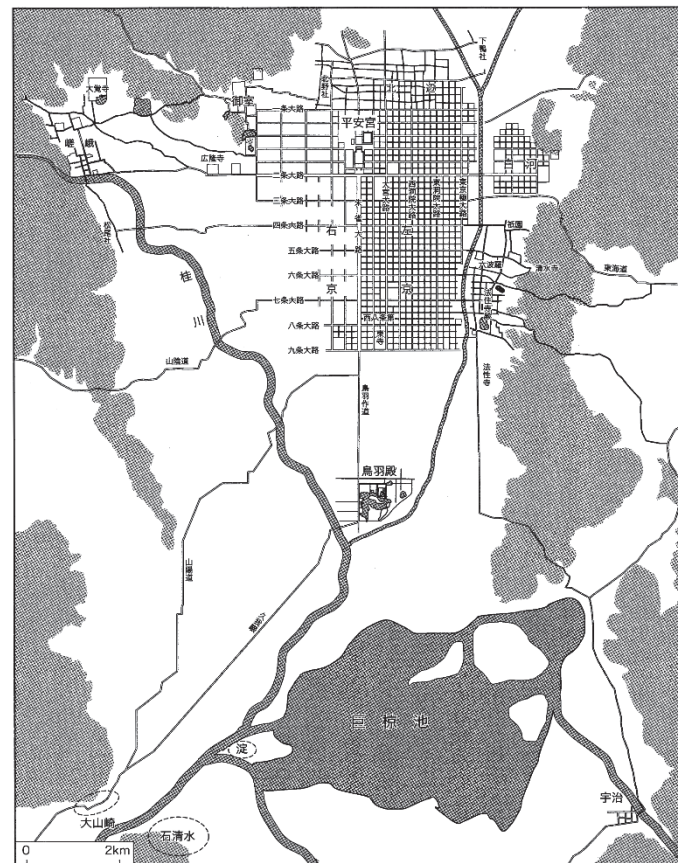


図1 中世の京都周辺 山田 2012 より

Political bases around Heian-kyō: Shirakawa, Toba-dono, Hōjūji-dono and Uji
Sugimoto Hiroshi (Kyoto University of The Arts)

1. Expansion of Heian-kyō

The late Heian period, which began roughly in the second half of the 11th century, is characterized by the formation of multiple urban areas around Heian-kyō by influential persons such as In, ex-emperor and Sekkan family or regents and chief advisers to an emperor. However, the formation of urban areas in the areas adjacent to Heian-kyō had begun earlier. For example, Omuro, which borders the northwest of Heian-kyō, and the area between Higashikyōgoku-ōji and the west bank of Kamogawa River.

After Emperor Uda founded Ninna-ji Temple in Omuro in 888, four temples (Shien-ji) were built as imperial prayer temples, starting with Enyū-ji Temple which was built by Emperor Enyū in 983, and in 1130, Taikenmon-in Fujiwara no Tamako, the Empress Consort of Emperor Toba, built Hōkongō-in Temple, with a vast garden and pond, at the foot of Mt. Goisan, slightly south of Omuro. There is no doubt that an urban area was formed in the Omuro district, including these temples and their associated facilities. Shien-ji became the family temple of each emperor, and a tomb was also built there. Hōkongō-in Temple also has the tomb of Taikenmon-in built on the summit of Mt. Goisan. The area developed as a place with strong ties to the imperial line of Emperor Uda.

The area bordering Heian-kyō to the northeast, between Higashikyōgoku-ōji and Kamogawa River on the east and west, and between the end of Ichijō-ōji and the end of Nijō-ōji on the north and south, also developed into an urban area in the mid-Heian period. Ichijō-ōji was extended to the east in the early Heian period, and development of this area began, and in the mid-Heian period, villas for aristocrats began to be built there. Fujiwara no Kaneie's Nijō- Kyōgoku-dono was located north of the end of Nijō-ōji and east of Kyōgoku-ōji. Kaneie converted it into a temple in 990 and named it Hoko-in Temple. In 1022, his son Michinaga built the huge Hōjō-ji Temple, measuring four blocks square across the Kyōgoku-ōji street to the east of his main residence, Tsuchimikado-dono. A north-south road was built from the south gate of Hōjō-ji Temple to Hoko -in Temple in the south, and the area became so urbanized that it was called the "East Suzaku-ōji street". Hoko-in Temple and Hōjō-ji Temple were temples where Buddhist ceremonies related to the Fujiwara regents were frequently held, and Hōjō-ji Temple was the place where Michinaga died. This area had a strong connection to the Fujiwara regents. Unlike the expansion of Heian-kyō, the formation of urban areas around Heian-kyō in the late Heian period was formed at a certain distance from the city.

門の一定の政治性を帯びることは首肯できるにしても、政治拠点と言えるほどの政治的凝集性があったかは、ひとまず置くこととして、以下に順に説明をしてゆくこととしたい。

2. 白河

白河は平安京から鴨川を東に越えたところ、すなわち鴨東地区にある。北に神楽岡、東に東山連峰とそこから流れ出す白川に挟まれた場所である。この白河の南東あたりが栗田口であり、東国からの出入り口となっている。ここには9世紀中頃の藤原良房以来の別業である白河院が設けられていた。この白河院が藤原師実によって白河天皇に献上され、法勝寺が造営され始めたのは承保二年(1075)のことであった。その後、堀河天皇の御願寺であり2基の五重塔と七間四面裳腰付の金堂、灌頂堂や九体阿弥陀堂を持つ法勝寺に次ぐ規模の尊勝寺(康和四年(1102))、鳥羽天皇御願の2基の塔を持つ最勝寺(元永元年(1118))、鳥羽天皇中宮待賢門院璋子による3基の塔を持つ円勝寺(大治三年(1128))、崇徳天皇御願による成勝寺(保延五年(1139))、近衛天皇御願による延勝寺(久安五年(1149))など白河天皇の皇統関係による造営が続いた。いわゆる六勝寺である。白河にはこれだけではなく、鳥羽天皇御願で平忠盛が寄進した等身観音菩薩千体を安置する三十三間堂の得長寿院、鳥羽上皇皇后美福門院藤原得子の御願による金剛勝院、鳥羽上皇皇后高陽院藤原泰子の御願で十一間四面の九体阿弥陀堂と三重塔をもち墓所ともなった福勝院はじめ、多くの寺社が建てられてゆく。また院御所として白河法皇が嘉保二年(1095)に造営した白河南殿(泉殿)がある。この院御所はもと大僧正覚円の坊であったものを院御所とし、永久二年(1114)に御所内に九体阿弥陀堂が建立された。さらに永久五年と保安三年(1122)にそれぞれ塔の造営、大治五年(1130)には白河上皇の追善のために九体阿弥陀堂と塔が建てられている。南殿は3基の塔と2棟の長大な九体阿弥陀堂を有す施設となり蓮華蔵院と呼ばれるようになる。この南殿の北に保元の乱の主戦場として著名な白河北殿(元永元年(1118))があった。白河には貴族の邸宅も数多く存在したと考えられている。

白河は鳥羽院政期に最盛期を迎え、規模は南北約1.5km、東西1.2kmほどとなるようである。この範囲に条坊制に類した町割が行われていた。基軸となった道は東西が二条大路末であり、南北は尊勝寺西を通る「今朱雀」と呼ばれた街路であった。特に二条大路末は、道に沿って院御所や寺院が立ち並び、東正面で法勝寺西大門につきあ

たっている。かなり重厚な景観にあったことが容易に想像できる。道は法勝寺西大門前を通る法勝寺西大路に合流し、それを南に折れば栗田口につながってゆく。

白河を代表する施設は、法勝寺である。東西2町(約250m)、南北2町以上の寺域を持ち、中央に園池、その北に3丈2尺の毘盧遮那仏を中尊とする七間四面重層裳腰付の巨大な金堂が建つ。金堂左右からは軒廊が伸び、それぞれ南に折れて先端に経蔵・鐘楼が付設されていた。平泉毛越寺の円隆

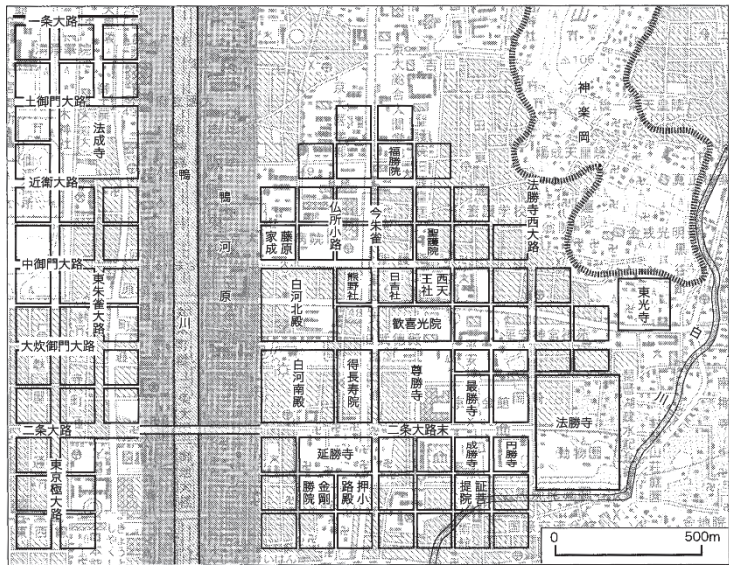


図2 白河復元想定図 山田 2012 より

Although it is reasonable to agree that these places were politically charged due to the powerful persons who built them, we will leave aside the question of whether they had the political cohesion to be called political bases for the time being, and will explain them one by one below.

2. Shirakawa

Shirakawa is located east of Heian-kyō across Kamogawa River, in other words, in the Ōtō area. It is sandwiched between Kaguraoka to the north and the Higashiyama mountain range to the east, with Shirakawa River flowing out from there. Around the southeast of Shirakawa is Awataguchi, which serves as the entrance and exit point from the eastern provinces. Shirakawa-in, a villa that had been in operation since the mid-9th century under Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, was established here. This Shirakawa-in was presented to Emperor Shirakawa by Fujiwara no Morozane, and construction of Hosshō-ji Temple began in 1075. After that, constructions continued through those related to the imperial line of Emperor Shirakawa, such as Sonshō-ji Temple (1102), a temple requested by Emperor Horikawa and second only to Hosshō-ji Temple in size with two five-story pagodas, a seven bays, four-sided eaves main hall with a kanjodo hall and Kutai-Amida Hall, Saishō-ji Temple (1118), with its two pagodas requested by Emperor Toba, Enshō-ji Temple (1128), with its three pagodas, commissioned by Emperor Toba's Empress Taikenmon-in Tamako, Jōshō-ji Temple (1139), requested by Emperor Sutoku, and Enshō-ji Temple (1149), requested by Emperor Konoe. These are the so-called Rikushō-ji Temples. Shirakawa was not the only place where many temples and shrines were built, including Tokuchōju-in Temple with its Sanjusangendō Hall, which houses 1,000 life-size Kannon Bodhisattvas donated by Taira no Tadamori at the request of Emperor Toba, Kongōshō-in Temple at the request of Emperor Toba's Empress Bifukumon-in Fujiwara no Tokuko, and Fukushō-in Temple, which features an eleven bays, four-sided eaves Kutai-Amida Hall and a three-story pagoda and also serves as a tomb at the request of Emperor Toba's Empress Kayanoin Fujiwara no Yasuko. There is also Shirakawa Minami-dono (Izumi-dono) built by the retired Emperor Shirakawa in 1095 as an imperial palace. This imperial palace was originally the temple of Daisojo Kakuen, and in 1114, a Kutai-Amida Hall was built within the palace. Furthermore, in 1117 and 1122, a pagoda was built for the memorial of Emperor Shirakawa, and in 1130, Kutai-Amida Hall and a pagoda were built. Minami-dono, with its three pagodas and two long buildings housing Kutai-Amida Halls, came to be known as Rengezō-in Temple. To the north of this southern hall was Shirakawa Kita-dono (1118), famous as the main battlefield of the Hōgen Rebellion. It is believed that there were also many aristocratic residences in Shirakawa. Shirakawa reached its peak during the Toba Insei period, and its size is thought to be about 1.5 km from north to south and 1.2 km from east to west. Within this area, the town was laid out in a grid system similar to the jōbō grid system. The main road was the end of Nijō-ōji on the east-west side, and the street called "Ima Suzaku" that passed west of Sonshō-ji Temple on the north-south side. In particular, the end of Nijō-ōji was lined with imperial palaces and temples along the road, and the road meets the western main gate of Hosshō-ji Temple on the east front. It is easy to imagine that it was in a rather imposing landscape. The road joins Hosshōjinishi-ōji, which passes in front of the Nishidaimon Gate of Hosshō-ji Temple, and if you turn south, you will reach Awataguchi.

The most representative facility in Shirakawa is Hosshō-ji Temple. The temple grounds are 2 cho (about 250 m) from east to west and more than 2 cho from north to south, with a garden pond in the center and a huge main hall with seven bays, four-sided eaves, multi-layered skirt and a 3 jo 2 shaku Vairocana Buddha as its central image to the north. Corridors extend from the left and right of the main hall, turning south on each side and attaching a sutra repository and a bell tower at the end.

寺のもとになったと考えられている仏堂である。園池中島には密教五智如来を安置する八角九重塔がそびえていた。この塔の高さは後の再建時のものではあるが 27 丈(約 81m)を誇り、現代に至るまで京都における有数の超高層建築の一つであった。その他に金堂背後には講堂、薬師堂、五大堂などが、西には十一間四面の九体阿弥陀堂が配された。院政期を通じて最大規模の建造物群であった。

法勝寺で行われた大乘会は、円宗寺で行われた春の最勝会と秋の法華会と合わせて北京三会とされ、三会で講師を務めた天台僧は僧綱に補任された。これ以外にも国家的な御八講、大嘗会、三十講などが行われ、それぞれの仏堂で法会や不断念仏が行われていた。密教堂を中心に置き鎮護国家を修するとともに、阿弥陀堂に見られるような私的救済の仏事もあわせて行われていた。また尊勝寺では結縁灌頂が行われ、小灌頂阿闍梨は僧綱に補任された。法勝寺は京都での宗教的な核となっていたようで、白河には多くの僧俗の居住もみられたという。法勝寺のみならず他の御願寺もともかくも塔が建てられており、白河は巨大仏堂が薈を連ね仏塔が林立する圧倒的景観を持つ、王家の宗教都市であった。

3. 鳥羽殿

鳥羽殿は、朱雀大路を南に延長する作道が、鴨川と桂川とが合流する鳥羽津のある三角デルタに突き当たったところに造営された。羅城門跡からすれば 4km ほど南となる。応徳三年(1086)に白河天皇譲位後の院御所として造営が開始され、鳥羽院政期に至るまで約 70 年間造営事業が続くことになる。南北約 1km、東西 1.3km ほどの広さであり、南半分に東西 8 町、南北 6 町に及ぶ広大な園池を擁していた。殿舎は、この西岸部から北岸部へと造営されてゆくことになる。

最初の造営は南殿から始まったようで、次いで北殿が造営され、馬場殿、東殿(泉殿を含む)が造営されていった。康和三年(1101)に南殿に丈六阿弥陀如来像を安置する証金剛院が造立される。鳥羽殿における最初の御堂である。白河上皇は東殿に 3 基の塔を建てている。天仁二年(1109)建立の三重塔、天永二年(1111)に多宝塔、さらに翌年供養の多宝塔である。この三重塔が白河上皇の墓所となる。大治四年(1129)に上皇は三条烏丸西殿西対で崩じた。遺骨は一旦仁和寺近くの香隆寺に納められ、遺言どおり天承元年(1131)に鳥羽東殿三重塔に埋葬された。三条烏丸西殿西対は鳥羽東殿に移築され九体阿弥陀堂の成菩提院となり寝殿が付設された。墓塔と阿弥陀堂と寝殿とで構成される墓所である。

鳥羽院政期になると成菩提院について、殿舎・御堂の造営が続いてゆく。白河上皇期と同じく、これらの多くは院近臣受領層の造進によるものである。保延二年(1136)に北殿に勝光明院が建立される。この御堂は平等院鳳凰堂をもとに建てられたもので、勝光明院経蔵も平等院経蔵を模したものであった。鳥羽院と大殿藤原忠実との蜜月を物語るとともに、

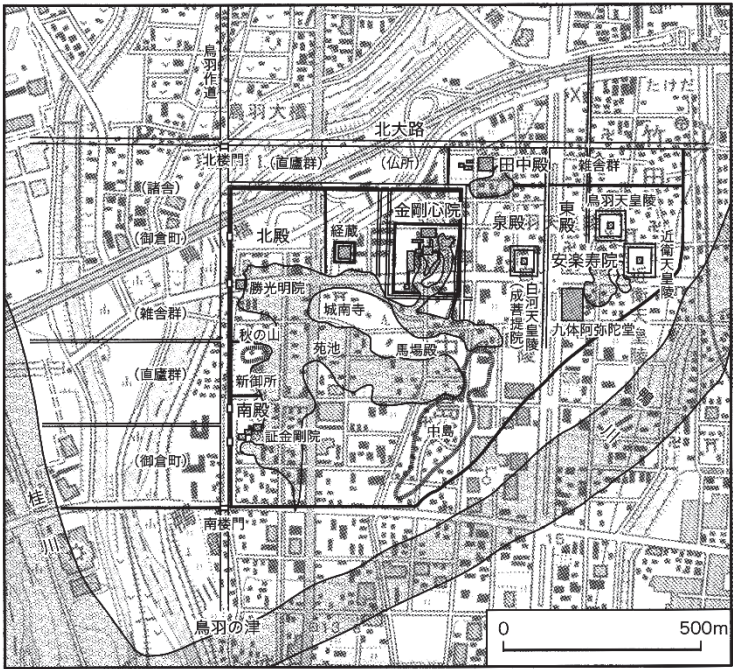


図3 鳥羽殿想定復元図 山田 2012 より

Enryū-ji of Mōtsū-ji Temple in Hiraizumi, this is the Buddhist Hall that is thought to have been the basis for the temple. On an island in the garden pond stands an octagonal nine-story pagoda housing the esoteric Buddhist Five Wisdom Buddhas. Although the height of this pagoda is from a later reconstruction, it still boasts a height of 27 jo (about 81 m), and has been one of Kyoto's tallest structures up to the present day. In addition, behind the main hall were the lecture hall, the Yakushido Hall, and the Godaido Hall, and to the west was the Hall with eleven bays and four sides eaves housing nine Amidha Buddha statues. This was the largest group of buildings throughout the Insei period. The Daijō-e held at Hosshō-ji Temple was combined with the Saishō-e in spring and the Hokke-e in autumn, both held at Enshū-ji Temple, to form the Hokkyo San-ne, and the Tendai monks who served as lecturers at the three Buddhist sermon assemblies were appointed as Sogo. In addition to these, national events such as the Gohachi-ko, Daijō-e, and Sanju-ko were held, and ceremonies and constant chanting of the Buddha were held in each Buddhist Hall. An esoteric Buddhism Hall was placed at the center of the temple to protect the nation, and private Buddhist ceremonies for salvation, such as those seen in the Amida Hall, were also held. In addition, the Kechien Kanjo ceremony was held at Sonshō-ji Temple, and the Sho-kanjo Ajari was appointed as Sōgō. Hosshō-ji Temple appears to have been the religious center of Kyoto, and it is said that many monks and laypeople lived in Shirakawa. Pagodas were built not only at Hosshō-ji Temple but also at other temples, and Shirakawa was a royal religious city with an overwhelming landscape of huge Buddhist halls with rows of tiled roofs and a forest of pagodas.

3. Toba-dono

Toba-dono was built where the road extending south from Suzaku-ōji street meets the triangular delta where Kamogawa River and Katsuragawa River join, and where Toba-tsu is located. It is about 4km south from the ruins of Rajōmon Gate. Construction began in 1086 as the Imperial Palace after Emperor Shirakawa abdicated, and construction continued for about 70 years until the Toba Insei period. It is about 1km north to south and 1.3km east to west, and the southern half has a vast garden pond that stretches 880 m east to west and 660 m north to south. The palace buildings were built from the west bank to the north bank.

The first construction seems to have started from Minami-dono, followed by Kita-dono, Baba-dono, and Higashi-dono (including Izumi-dono). In 1101, Shōkongō-in Temple, which houses an 18-meter-tall Amida Buddha statue, was built in Minami-dono. This was the first hall in Toba-dono. The ex-Emperor Shirakawa built three pagodas in Higashi-dono. A three-story pagoda was built in 1109, a two-story pagoda in 1111, and another one built the following year for a memorial service. This three-story pagoda became the tomb of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa. In 1129, the emperor passed away at the west building of Sanjō-Karasuma Nishi-dono. His remains were temporarily stored at Kōryū-ji Temple near Ninna-ji Temple, and in 1131, as per his will, he was buried in the three-story pagoda of Toba-dono. The west building of Sanjō-Karasuma Nishi-dono was moved to Tobahigashi-dono and became Jōbodai-in Temple, Kutai-Amida Hall, and a shinden was added. The tomb is made up of a tomb tower, an Amida Hall, and a shinden.

During the Toba Insei period, construction of buildings and halls continued after Jōbodai-in Temple. As in the time of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, many of these were built by the emperor's close aides and subordinates. In 1136, Shōkōmyō-in Temple was built in the Kita-dono. This hall was based on the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple, and Sutra Repository of Shōkōmyō-in Temple was also modeled after the Byōdō-in Sutra Repository. It tells of the close relationship between Emperor Toba and the great Fujiwara no Tadzane, and was also a symbolic building that overcame the religious hegemony of the regent family.

これら摂関家の宗教的ヘゲモニーを乗り越える象徴的な建造物でもあった。翌保延三年に東殿に阿弥陀三尊を安置した御堂安楽寿院、保延五年(1139)に御堂の東に本御塔の三重塔が建立されている。久安元年(1145)には安楽寿院に東御所が建てられた。安楽寿院本御塔は白河上皇の墓塔である三重塔に倣ったもので、墓塔と阿弥陀堂と御所とで構成されていることになる。久安三年には安楽寿院の南に九間四面の九体阿弥陀堂と御所が造営されている。仁平二年(1152)に田中殿が建てられ、久寿元年(1154)に田中殿に鳥羽殿最大規模の金剛心院が造営された。池に南面して二間×三間で四面に庇と孫庇が巡る大型の釈迦堂、その西に池に東面して九間四面の九体阿弥陀堂が建ち、両者を小寝殿が結んでいる様子が発掘調査され解明されている。また久寿二年に田中殿に御堂が供養されたが、『台記』には「光堂」と記されている。

保元元年(1156)7月、安楽寿院御所で鳥羽上皇は崩じ、同日遺体は安楽寿院三重塔に安置された。安楽寿院内には、久安四年(1148)頃に鳥羽上皇により本御塔の南東に新御塔が建立され、皇后美福門院藤原得子の墓所として計画されていた。しかし、永暦元年(1160)に白河押小路殿で崩じた得子は安楽寿院で荼毘に付されたが、遺骨は遺言により高野山不動院に納められた。久寿二年(1155)に父鳥羽上皇・母美福門院に先立ち、洛北知足院に納められていた近衛天皇の遺骨が長寛元年(1163)に新御塔に移され墓所となったため、鳥羽殿に白河上皇皇統三代の墓所が営まれることとなった。

鳥羽殿の都市構造は、作道と鳥羽殿北大路が交差するところに北楼門が置かれ、作道はそのまま殿内南北大路となって約 900m 鳥羽殿内を南下し南楼門に至る。南楼門を出ると鳥羽津に至ることになる。街区については良くわからないが、東西・南北方向の街路が部分的に発掘されており、正方位を指向した区割になっていることは確からしい。複数の院御所・御堂は、南北大路の東沿いと北大路南沿いにそって逆さ「L」字形に整備され、内角範囲が広大な園池となる格好である。「近習・卿相・侍臣・地下雑人ら、各屋敷を賜り、舎屋を営み造る」(『扶桑略記』)とあるように、院御所の周りに院近臣はじめ多くの貴族の屋敷、関係する人々の家が建てられ、院の家政に関わる御倉町が存在した。

白河が国家的な法会を執行する寺院群を核に構成されていたのとは違い、鳥羽は院御所、私的な法会を行う御堂そして墓所を備えた中心部と、貴族の宿舍や雑舎、また荘園などからの貢納物を集積する御倉町 かなる周辺部とかなる、院の別業的性格を持った施設群といえる。

4. 法住寺殿・六波羅

法住寺殿 法住寺殿は鴨東地区の概ね七条大路末から八条大路末一帯に広がる、後白河上皇の院御所である。南北約 1km、東西 800m ほどの範囲に南殿、北殿などの御所をはじめ蓮華王院・最勝光院などの御堂が建立された。この辺りは東山丘陵の西麓にあたり、東に小高くなる地形となっており、その高所の七条大路末を挟んで南に法住寺殿(南殿)、北に七条殿(北殿)が造営されている。

12 世紀には、この辺りはすでに一定の市街化が進んでおり貴族の邸第や寺院が存在した。これを院御所の造営のために十余町にわたって占有し、家屋や寺院を立ち退かせ恨みをかったという(『山槐記』)。ちなみに「法住寺」とは、太上天臣藤原為光が花山天皇女御であった娘の低子の菩提を弔うために建てた寺で、長元五年(1032)に焼失している。その跡地でもあることからそのまま院御所名としている。応保元年(1161)に後白河上皇が平治の乱で焼失した信西の屋敷跡に、乱後に処刑された藤原信頼の中御門西洞院殿を移築し南殿が造営され、続いて北殿(西殿・東殿)が建てられている。南殿造営の前年、紀伊国の熊野三山の熊野権現が勧請され、南にある広大な園池の東岸に鎮守社の新熊野神社が建立され、また東側に新日吉社が勧請されている。

In the following year, 1136, the Hall Anrakuju-in, which housed the Amida Triad was built in Higashi-dono, and in 1139, the three-story pagoda of the main tower was built to the east of the hall. In 1145, the eastern palace was built at Anrakuju-in Temple. The main tower of Anrakuju-in Temple was modeled after the three-story pagoda that was the tomb of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, and it consisted of a tomb tower, an Amida Hall, and an imperial palace. In 1145, a nine bays, four-sided eaves Amida hall and an imperial palace were constructed to the south of Anrakuju-in Temple. In 1152, Tanaka-dono was built, and in 1154, Kongōshin-in Temple, the largest of the Tobadono temple buildings, was constructed within Tanaka-dono. It is revealed by excavations that facing south towards the pond, a large Shakado Hall measuring two bays by three bays with eaves and sub-eaves on all four sides stood, and to the west of that, facing east towards the pond, stood nine bays, four-sided eaves Amida Hall, with a small shinden connecting the two. In 1155, a hall was donated to Tanaka-dono, and in the "Taiki" it is recorded as a "light hall."

In July 1156, Emperor Toba passed away at the Anrakuju-in Imperial Palace, and his body was placed in the three-story pagoda of Anrakuju-in Temple on the same day. A new pagoda was built by the ex-Emperor Toba to the southeast of the original pagoda within Anrakuju-in Temple around 1148, and was planned as the tomb of Empress Bifukumon-in Fujiwara no Nariko. However, when Nariko passed away at Shirakawa Oshikōji-dono in 1160, she was cremated at Anrakuju-in Temple, but according to her will, her remains were interred at Fudō-in Temple on Mt. Koyasan. In 1155, prior to the death of his father, the ex-Emperor Toba, and his mother, Bifukumon-in, the remains of Emperor Konoe, which had been interred at Chisoku-in Temple in the north of Kyoto, were moved to the new pagoda in 1163 and used as a tomb, and so Toba-dono became the tomb of three generations of the retired imperial line of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa.

The urban structure of Toba-dono is such that the North Tower Gate is located where Tsukurimichi and Toba-dono Kita-ōji cross, and Tsukurimichi continues as a northsouth avenue within the palace, running about 900m south through Toba-dono before reaching the South Tower Gate. Leaving the South Tower Gate, one arrives at Toba-tsu. The layout of the city blocks is unclear, but parts of the east-west and north-south streets have been excavated, and it is certain that the area is divided in a square direction. The several imperial palaces and halls are laid out in an upside-down L shape along the east of the north-south avenue and the south of the north avenue, with the inner corner serving as a vast garden and pond. As it is written in the "Fusōryakuki,"that "Attendants, ministers, vassals and subordinate servants were each given their own mansion and built their own building", the mansions of the ex-Emperor's close aides and many other aristocrats, as well as the homes of related people, were built around the ex-Emperor's palace, and there was a Mikuramachi area related to the ex-Emperor's household affairs.

Unlike Shirakawa, which was centered around a group of temples where national ceremonies were held, Toba can be said to be a group of facilities with a special character for the emperor's work, consisting of a central area with the emperor's palace, halls for private ceremonies and tombs, and a peripheral area consisting of lodgings and miscellaneous buildings for the aristocrats, as well as Mikuramachi, where tributes from manors were collected.

4. Hōjūji-dono and Rokuhara

Hōjūji-dono

Hōjūji-dono was the imperial palace of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, and it stretched from the end of Shichijō-ōji street to the end of Hachijō-ōji steet in the Ōtō district. Within an area of about 1km north to south and 800m east to west, imperial palaces such as Minami-dono and Kita-dono, as well as temples such as Rengeō-in Temple and Saishōkō-in Temple, were built. This area is at the western foot of the Higashiyama Hills, and the terrain rises slightly to the east. On either side of this high ground at the end of Shichijō-ōji street, Hōjūji-dono (Minami-dono) was built to the south, and Shichijō-dono (Kita-dono) to the north.

By the 12th century, this area had already been urbanized to a certain extent, and there were nobles' residences and temples. It is said that over ten blocks of land were occupied to build the imperial palace, forcing the evicting of houses and temples and incurring resentment (Sankaiki). By the way, Hōjū-ji Temple was built by the grand minister Fujiwara no Tamemitsu to pray for the soul of his daughter Yoshiko, who was the consort of Emperor Kazan, but it burned down in 1032. As it is built on the site of the burnt temple, the imperial palace is still called the Imperial Palace. In 1161, the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa relocated the Nishinotōin-dono of Nakamikado, Fujiwara no Nobuyori, who was executed after the Heiji Rebellion, to the site of Shinzei's residence that was burned down during the Heiji Rebellion, and built Minami-dono, followed by the Kita-dono (West and East). The year before Minami-dono was built, Kumano Gongen, one of Kumano Three Shrines in Kii Province, was enshrined there, and the tutelary shrine Imakumano Shrine was built on the east bank of the vast garden pond to the south, and Imahie Shrine was enshrined on the east side.

長寛二年(1164)、南殿の西側に平清盛が千体観音堂である蓮華王院を造進する。鳥羽天皇御願で平忠盛が寄進した三十三間堂に等身観音菩薩千体を安置する白河の得長寿院に倣うものである。現在の三十三間堂は文永三年(1266)の再建である。後白河上皇は蓮華王院の東側に墓所としての新法華堂を造営し始めるが、安元二年(1176)に上皇の寵妃である建春門院平滋子(高倉天皇母)が急逝し、急遽この新法華堂を建春門院の墓所とすることとなった。このため後白河上皇自身の墓堂東法華堂を新たに造営することとなる。現在の後白河陵の辺りである。南殿、蓮華王院、墓所の位置関係が少しわかりにくい、蓮華王院の東に相対して後白河上皇の墓堂があり、おそらくその北側に建春門院の墓堂があつて南北に並ぶ墓所空間をなし、南殿はその南にあったと考えられている。院御所・御堂・墓所の関係は、鳥羽期の鳥羽殿に類似する。

清盛室時子の妹であつた建春門院は、南殿の南に広がる広大な園池の西岸に承安三年(1173)に最勝光院を建立する。この御堂は「近日、建春門院可歴覧平等院云々、仍殿辺営之云々」(『玉葉』)とあることから、造営にあたって平等院鳳凰堂が参考にされたらしい。規模的には鳳凰堂を倍するほどになる。この南に建春門院の御所である最勝光院南殿がある。

法住寺殿の都市構造は、七条大路末を中心街路とし、そこに直行する街路により街区が形成されているようで、概ね平安京の条坊に準じている。しかしその方位は蓮華王院の方位から想定して、少し東に偏するとされる。法住寺殿の西端に鴨川に沿って、宇治・奈良へと至る大和大路が通る。

六波羅 この法住寺殿の北、鳥部野の西側から鴨川までの範囲が平氏の拠点である六波羅となる。11世紀後半に平正盛が都の葬地であつた鳥部野に接して屋敷を構えたことにはじまり、その子忠盛、さらに孫の清盛の栄達に伴い、六波羅周辺には屋敷が造営されてゆく。五条大路末に北面して惣門があり、六条大路末に面して南門があつた。濠で囲まれていたものと思われる。清盛の本邸である泉殿は惣門内の西側にあり、近くに正盛の墓堂がある常光院が造営された。清盛の弟頼盛の池殿、教盛の門脇殿、清盛の子重盛の小松殿を知ることができる。範囲は東西約600m、南北約500mに及ぶ。平氏

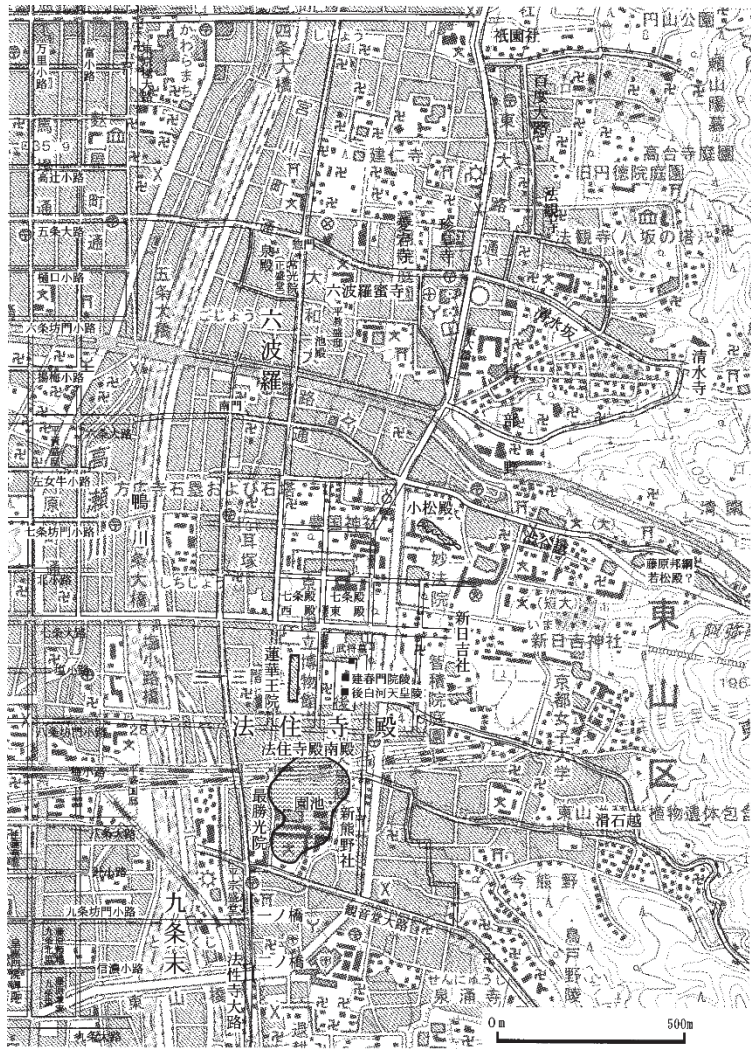


図4 法住寺殿・六波羅想定復元図 山田 2012

In 1164, Taira no Kiyomori constructed Rengeō-in Temple, a hall of 1,000 Kannon statues, to the west of Minami-dono. It was modeled after Tokuchōju-in Temple in Shirakawa, which housed 1,000 life-size Kannon statues in Sanjūsangendō, donated by Taira no Tadamori at the request of Emperor Toba. The current Sanjūsangendō was rebuilt in 1266. The ex-Emperor Goshirakawa began construction of the new Hokke-do Hall, to the east of Rengeō-in Temple, as his tomb, but in 1176, his favorite concubine, Kenshunmon-in Taira no Shigeko (mother of Emperor Takakura), suddenly died, and it was quickly decided that the new Hokke-do Hall would be used as Kenshunmon-in's tomb. This led to the construction of a new East Hokke-do Hall, the tomb of Emperor Goshirakawa himself, in the area of the current Goshirakawa mausoleum. The relative positions of Minami-dono, Rengeo-in, and the tomb are a little unclear, but the tomb of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa is located to the east of Rengeō-in Temple, and it is believed that the tomb of Kenshunmon-in is located to the north of that, forming a north-south tomb space, with Minami-dono located to the south of that. The relationship between the imperial palace, hall, and tomb is similar to that of the Toba Palace during the Toba period.

Kenshunmon-in, the younger sister of Kiyomori's wife Tokiko, built Saishōkō-in Temple in 1173 on the west bank of the vast garden pond that spreads south of Minami-dono. It seems that the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple was used as a reference for the construction of this hall, as it is written in "Gyokuyō" that "Kenshunmon-in will look at Byōdō-in in the near future, and the hall will be built around it." It is twice the size of the Phoenix Hall. To the south of this is Minami-dono of Saishōkō-in, Kenshunmon-in's palace.

The urban structure of Hōjūji-dono has the end of Shichijō-ōji as its central street, with streets running perpendicular to it forming blocks, roughly following the grid pattern of Heian-kyō. However, the direction is thought to be slightly eastward, based on the direction of Rengeō-in Temple. Yamato-ōji, which runs along Kamogawa River to Uji and Nara, runs along the western edge of Hōjūji-dono.

Rokuhara

The area north of Hōjūji-dono, from the west side of Toribeno to Kamogawa River, became the base of the Taira clan, Rokuhara. It began in the late 11th century when Taira no Masamori built a residence adjacent to Toribeno, the burial ground of the capital, and as his son Tadamori and grandson Kiyomori rose to prominence, residences were built around Rokuhara. There was a main gate facing north at the end of Gojō-ōji, and a south gate facing the end of Rokujō-ōji. It is thought that the area was surrounded by a moat. Kiyomori's main residence, Izumi-dono, was located on the west side of the main gate, and Jōkō-in Temple, where Masamori's tomb is located, was built nearby. You can learn about Ike-dono, the residence of Kiyomori's younger brother Yorimori, Kadowaki-dono, the residence of Norimori, and Komatsu-dono, the residence of Kiyomori's son Shigemori.

の拠点は六波羅以外にも左京の西八条第がある。清盛の内大臣昇進後に拡張が続き、八条大路に沿って平氏の多くの屋敷が造営されていた。

5. 宇治

宇治は平安京と南都奈良の中間に位置する。平安京羅城門あたりからすれば約 15km、鳥羽殿からすれば 9km ほど南であり、平安京とはそれなりの距離を置いている。宇治の北西には巨椋池と呼ばれる広大な自然の遊水池があり、ここに宇治川、桂川、木津川が流れ込み、淀川として石清水と山崎間の隘狭部を通して大阪湾へと流れだしていた。宇治は、東から南にかけて山丘が、北から西にかけて巨椋池が広がり、そこを宇治川が北へ貫流する景観にあった。宇治の北約 4. 5km の山科盆地入口部が木幡であり、藤原氏墓所が営まれた場所である。

宇治はその交通の利便性と風光明媚な自然景観から、平安京遷都と同時に貴族の別業が造営されてゆくが、10 世紀末に藤原道長が宇治川畔に邸宅(宇治別業)を求めて以来、藤原摂関家と宇治との関係は強いものとなっていく。この宇治の藤原氏別業は「宇治殿」と記録されることがしばしばであった。「宇治殿」は当初は特定の別業を指したが、次第に宇治に展開する別業群全体を指す言葉に変化した。この「宇治殿」の展開範囲は 12 世紀中頃の最大期で、東西 2 km、南北 0. 8 km ほどとなり、さらに南の山間部白川には後冷泉天皇皇后寛子により金色院が建てられ、宇治の北の木幡には藤原道長建立の浄妙寺と藤原氏墓所があった。

宇治の動きは、藤原道長の宇治別業買得から平等院建立までの間(1 期)、平等院建立から白河院政期の間の水辺の別業群(2 期)、そして鳥羽院政期の間に形成された都市型別業群(3 期)に大きく分けられる。

1 期の宇治は、長徳 4 年に藤原道長が源重信の未亡人から買得した宇治別業を主としたもので、近隣に他の公卿の屋敷があったことが知られる。寛弘二年(1005)、道長は木幡に浄妙寺を創建する。この寺は藤原北家繁栄の基礎を築いた基経はじめ父母が眠る藤原氏墓所を守り、菩提を弔うための寺であり、これ以降、道長はじめ一門の多くは木幡の藤原氏墓所に葬られてゆくこととなる。

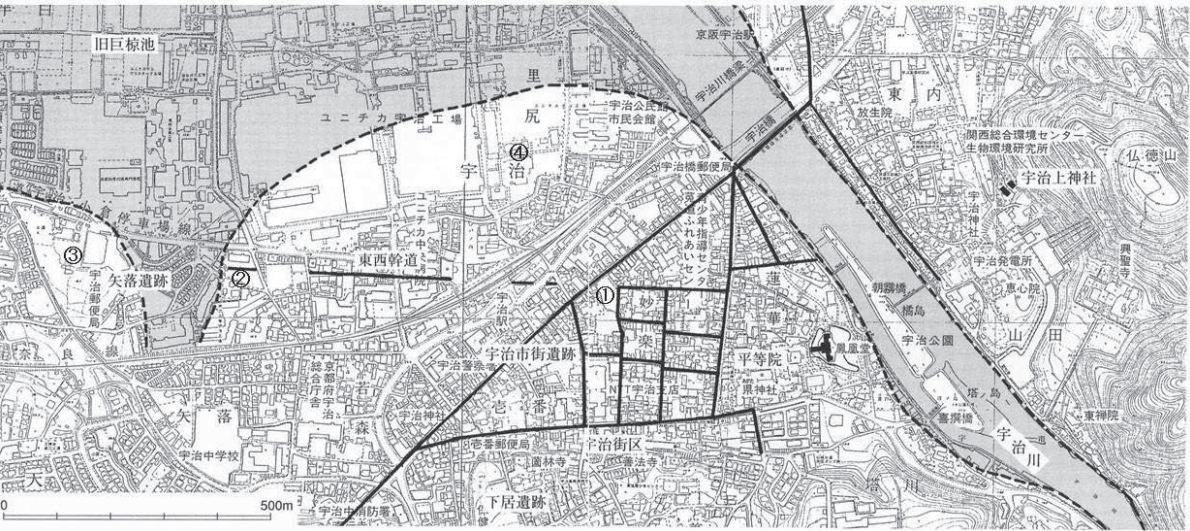


図 5 宇治の想定復元図 杉本 2023 より

① 平安後期邸宅発掘地 ② 池殿想定地 ③ 泉殿想定地 ④ 富家殿想定地

The area stretches about 600m east to west and 500m north to south. In addition to Rokuhara, another base of the Taira clan was Nishihachijō-tei in Sakyo. After Kiyomori was promoted to Minister of the Interior, the area continued to expand, and many Taira residences were built along Hachijō-ōji street.

5. Uji

Uji is located halfway between Heian-kyō and the southern capital of Nara. It is about 15km from the Rajōmon Gate of Heian-kyō and about 9km south from Toba-dono, so it is quite a distance from Heian-kyō. Northwest of Uji is a vast natural reservoir called Oguraike Pond, into which Ujigawa River, Katsuragawa River, and Kizugawa River flow, and then flow as Yodogawa River through the narrow gap between Iwashimizu and Yamazaki into Osaka Bay. Uji has a landscape of mountains and hills stretching from east to south, Oguraike Pond stretching from north to west, and the Ujigawa River running through it to the north. Kohata is about 4.5km north of Uji, at the entrance to Yamashina Basin, and is where the Fujiwara clan tombs were located.

Due to its convenient transportation and beautiful natural scenery, Uji was the site of the construction of aristocratic residences at the same time that the capital was moved to Heian-kyō. Since Fujiwara no Michinaga sought a residence (Uji residence) on the banks of Ujigawa River at the end of the 10th century, the relationship between the Fujiwara Sekkan family and Uji has been strong. This Fujiwara residence in Uji is often recorded as "Uji-dono". "Uji-dono" originally referred to a specific residence, but gradually changed to refer to the entire group of residences in Uji. At its greatest extent in the mid-12th century, this "Uji-dono" extended over an area of about 2 km east to west and 0.8 km north to south. Further south, in the mountainous area of Shirakawa, Konjiki-in Temple was built by Empress Kanshi of Emperor Goreizei, and in Kohata, north of Uji, Jōmyō-ji Temple was built by Fujiwara no Michinaga and the Fujiwara family cemetery. The developments in Uji can be broadly divided into the period from Fujiwara no Michinaga's acquisition of Uji villa to the construction of Byōdō-in Temple (phase 1), the group of waterside villas from the construction of Byōdō-in Temple to the Shirakawa Insei period (phase 2), and the group of urban villas formed during the Toba Insei period (phase 3).

The first period of Uji was centered on the Uji villa that Fujiwara no Michinaga acquired from the widow of Minamoto no Shigenobu in 998, and it is known that there were residences of other nobles nearby. In 1005, Michinaga founded Jōmyō-ji Temple in Kohata. This temple was built to protect the Fujiwara family tombs where Mototsune (who built the foundation for the prosperity of the Hokke Fujiwara clan) and his parents rest, and to hold memorial services for their souls. From this point on, Michinaga and many of his family members were buried in the Fujiwara family tombs in Kohata.

2 期では、道長が薨した後、宇治別業をその子頼通が伝領し、永承七年(1052)に寺院へ改修した平等院がある。宝楼阁形式阿弥陀堂の嚆矢となった鳳凰堂は翌年に建立された。その後、頼通の子供たちによって多くの堂塔が建立されてゆく。鳳凰堂と並び注目すべき施設に経蔵がある。経蔵は回廊に囲まれた大規模な施設であったようで、一切経はじめ藤原氏長者に伝えられた朱器台盤や一条天皇中宮藤原彰子遺愛の調度品なども収められていた。経蔵の鍵は氏長者が管理した。延久元年(1069)に一切経会が行われ、毎年の恒例となってゆく。また白河・鳥羽上皇らが経蔵収蔵品を巡覧するなどをしている。歴代長者の忌日法会をはじめ様々な法会が行われた鳳凰堂とともに、藤原摂関家にとって重要な施設であった。この鳳凰堂・経蔵は鳥羽北殿に造営された勝光明院に反映されることになる。

平等院創立とともに幾つもの別業邸第が宇治に建てられてゆく。主要なものに頼通が薨去した池殿、後冷泉天皇皇后の四条宮寛子の御所として使われ小巨倉津に隣接した泉殿、頼通期に造営され大治四年(1129)の白河上皇の崩御の年に放火により焼亡した富家殿などがある。富家殿は関白藤原忠実期には、大規模に改修されており主要な別業邸第であった。これらはいずれも宇治川流路や巨椋池畔に面して造営されており、都との行き来に舟が良く利用されていた。また、白河・鳥羽上皇がこれら別業を訪れたときも鳥羽殿からの舟利用がしばしばであった。

3 期は富家殿の焼亡から始まるが、この邸宅は焼亡後再建されなかった。かわって平等院と大和大路を挟んだ西側に平等院と一体化した方形街区の形成が始まり、邸宅が集中造営されるようになる。この街区を「宇治街区」と呼んでいる。一辺 280m ほどの範囲に 8 区画ほどの宅地が想定される。1 区画の規模は東西 80～100m ほどで、南北に長いものも認められる。これは白河や法住寺殿などと同じように、当初からの都市計画があったのではなく、施設が拡大するにつれて街区形成がされたことの反映であると考えられる。この街区の主要邸第として大殿藤原忠実の母一条全子の小河殿、富家殿後の忠実の主要邸第であり鳥羽上皇皇后で忠実の娘高陽院藤原泰子の御所ともなった小松殿はじめ、西殿などの複数の別業邸第が集中して造営されたことが記録されている。また、これら邸第内には阿弥陀堂などの御堂が建立されていたことは鳥羽殿と類似している。

これら別業邸第周囲には町家がさらに展開し、都市的な景観が急速に形成されていったと考えられる。注意すべき点として、宇治街区では権力者のパフォーマンスが繰り広げられたことである。藤原頼長の日記『台記』別記仁平三年（1153）には、春日詣の途次、威儀をただした行列が宇治街区を巡行し、父である藤原氏の大殿忠実、鳥羽上皇の皇后高陽院泰子はじめ公卿・女房がこれを見学したとある。また、離宮明神(現宇治上神社・宇治神社)の祭礼である離宮祭もこの街区大路を使い華やかに開催された。12 世紀の宇治は藤原氏の権門都市「宇治殿」の景観を有していた。

6. 平安京周辺の政治拠点の特徴

平安京周辺に主に 12 世紀に権門により形成された都市的な場は、当時の政治状況の目まぐるしい変化と連動しており、なかなか一筋縄で捉えがたいところが多いが、いくつかの特徴を示してまとめにかきたい。

政治的拠点か否か まずこれらに共通することとして、山田邦和氏が提唱する「巨大都市複合体」に示されるように、単独で成立しえない都市的な場であり拠点であることである。当然ではあるが、これらを造営した院や摂関家などの権門は、「天皇」との関係を権力の淵源としており、その「天皇」の居所である都との関係は最重要であることはいうまでもない。摂関家は当然のこととして、院も京

In the second period, after Michinaga's death, Uji villa was passed down to his son Yorimichi, who remodeled it into a temple in 1052. The Phoenix Hall, the first Amida Hall in the style of Hōrōkaku cabinet, was built the following year. Many other buildings and pagodas were subsequently constructed by Yorimichi's children. Another notable facility along with the Phoenix Hall is the Sutra Repository. The Sutra Repository was a large facility surrounded by corridors, and contained the entire sutra collection, as well as a set of vermilion wares passed down to the head of the Fujiwara clan, and furniture loved by Empress Fujiwara no Akiko, Emperor Ichijō. The key to the Sutra Repository was kept by the head of the clan. A sutra collection was held in 1069, and it became an annual tradition. The ex-Emperors Shirakawa and Toba also toured the sutra collection. Along with the Phoenix Hall, where various memorial services were held, including those for the anniversaries of the successive heads of the Fujiwara clan, it was an important facility for Fujiwara Sekkan family. This Phoenix Hall and Sutra Repository would later become an example of Shōkōmyō-in Temple, which was constructed in Toba Kita-dono.

With the founding of Byōdōin Temple, many villas were built in Uji. The main ones are Ike-dono, where Yorimichi died, Izumi-dono, which was used as the palace of Shijōnomiya Hiroko, the Empress of Emperor Go-izei, and adjacent to Ko-ogurazu, and Fuke-dono, which was built during Yorimichi's time and burned down by arson in 1129, the year of the death of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa. Fuke-dono was extensively renovated during the time of Kampaku, the chief advisers to emperor Fujiwara no Tadzane, and was one of the main villas. All of these were built facing Ujigawa River or the banks of Oguraike Pond, and boats were often used to travel to and from the capital. In addition, when the ex-Emperors Shirakawa and Emperor Toba visited these villas, they often used boats from Toba-dono. The third period begins with the burning of Fuke-dono, but this villa was not rebuilt after it was burned down. Instead, a square block that was integrated with Byōdō-in Temple began to form on the west side across Yamato-ōji from Byōdō-in Temple, and villas began to be built in a concentrated manner. This block is called the Uji Block. It is assumed that there would be around eight housing plots in an area of around 280m on each side. Each plot is around 80-100m east to west, and some are longer north to south. This is thought to reflect the fact that, like Shirakawa and Hōjūji-dono, there was no urban planning from the beginning, but rather the block was formed as the facilities expanded. It is recorded that the main residences in this block were Ogawa-dono, the residence of Ichijō Masako, the mother of grand Fujiwara no Tadzane, Komatsu-dono, the main residence of Fuke-dono and later Tadzane, which also became the palace of Tadzane's daughter, Kayano-in Fujiwara no, who was the Empress of Toba, and several secondary residences such as Nishi-dono were built in a concentrated area. In addition, the fact that Buddha halls such as Amida Hall were built within these residences is similar to Toba-dono.

It is thought that town houses were further developed around these secondary residences, and an urban landscape was rapidly formed. It is worth noting that the Uji Block was a place where performances by those in power were held. The diary separate entry of "Daiki" by Fujiwara no Yorinaga from 1153 records that on the way to Kasuga Shrine, a dignified procession paraded through the Uji district, and was viewed by his father, grand Fujiwara no Tadzane, Empress Kayano-in Yasuko of the ex-Emperor Toba, as well as other nobles and ladies-in-waiting. The Rikyu Festival, a festival for Rikyū Myōjin Shrine (now Ujikami Shrine and Uji Shrine), was also held in a grand manner using the main street of this district. In the 12th century, Uji had the scenery of "Uji-dono," the powerful city of the Fujiwara clan.

6. Characteristics of political bases around Heian-kyō

The urban areas formed around Heian-kyō mainly by powerful persons in the 12th century are linked to the rapid changes in the political situation at the time, and are often difficult to grasp, but I would like to summarize them by showing some of their characteristics.

Political bases or not?

First of all, what they have in common is that they are urban places and bases that could not exist alone, as shown in the "huge urban complex" proposed by Kunikazu Yamada. Naturally, the powerful persons such as In and Sekkan family who built them derived their power from their relationship with the "Emperor," and it goes without saying that their relationship with the capital, where the "Emperor" resides, was of utmost importance. Sekkan family, as well as In, naturally had many Imperial palaces and residences in Kyoto.

中に多くの院御所や邸第を有していた。平氏においてもそうである。例えば白河上皇は六条院や大炊殿はじめ二十か所近い京中院御所があったし、摂関家では代表的な東三条殿や土御門殿や高陽院はじめ十か所近い邸第があった。白河上皇の動きを見ると、京、白河、鳥羽殿の関係は明白である。除目に際しては、白河上皇は鳥羽殿から京中院御所に向かい裁定を行っているし、院御所議定の大半は京中院御所で行っているという。白河ではほとんど行われず、鳥羽殿での議定は院司公卿を招集し院御幸や天皇が父である上皇を訪ねる朝覲行幸あるいは一切経供養会など、院の家政に関するものが行われたという。また摂関家においても現任公卿はすべて京中の邸第に住し、氏長者はその象徴的邸第の東三条殿に住した。宇治へは日帰りか数泊程度で帰洛することが普通である。宇治に長期の滞在をしたのは大殿忠実や皇太后四条宮寛子など、公式な立場から離れた人物である。現任公卿が都を留守にすることは憚れたのである。天皇家の治天の君、摂関家の大殿など、その家の家長が政治を主導する傾向が強まりつつある時代ではあるが、政治儀礼が京中で行われる原則は貫かれている。これら平安京周辺に成立した都市的な場を、ただちに政治的な拠点とみる理解には少し無理がある。

平安京周辺の都市的な場の性格を、巨大都市複合体という視点を踏まえてまとめると、白河は王家と仏教との関係を可視化した宗教空間、鳥羽殿は王家の別業的性格を備えた京外院御所・宗教空間、法住寺殿は鳥羽殿と比べて政治色が強まるが京外院御所・宗教空間、宇治は摂関家の象徴的別業の地であり宗教空間となろう。基本的な政治拠点は平安京自体に内在している。

地理的・都市構造的特徴 次いで地理的・都市構造的な視点からみたい。これらを場所的に分けると、鴨東地区の白河・法住寺殿・六波羅があり、平安京の南に形成された鳥羽殿と宇治がある。鴨東地区のこの3か所の特徴は、いずれも東西の大路末によって平安京と連結するとともに、これら大路末がそれぞれの地区の基幹街路でもある点である。白河の二条大路末、法住寺殿の七条大路末、六波羅の五条大路末である。六波羅はよくわからないが、白河も法住寺殿もこの東西基幹街路を軸に条坊制に類した街区形成がされている。またランドマークとなる主要施設もこの基幹街路に面する。白河の法勝寺八角九重塔や法住寺殿の蓮華王院三十三間堂の強烈な景観インパクトは、その地区の個性を際立たせていたと考えられる。

平安時代後期の平安京は、右京の多くが衰退し左京に居宅が集中するとともに、東京極大路と鴨川西岸との間も都市化していた。すなわち、理念的な平安京が存在しつつ、実体的な平安京左京は鴨川西岸まで拡大しており、東京極大路を意識しなければ京内外の景観的な差異はなかったものと考えてよいだろう。この実体的平安京の鴨川対岸に、大路を延長して順次形成されたのが白河・法住寺殿・六波羅の都市的な場となる。この頃、都を指す言葉として「京・白河」が用いられるようになるが、当時の一般的な認識としては鴨川を挟んで西に実体的な平安京左京、東に白河・法住寺殿・六波羅が展開する全体の範囲が都として認識されていたと考えられる。平安京の崩壊と新生京都への移行、いわゆる中世都市京都の成立であり、現在に続く京都の範囲である。実体的な平安京左京は、本来の平安京範囲の伝統的規範を引きずった旧市街地としてよく、白河・法住寺殿・六波羅は王家・院・平家が開発を主導した新市街地と考えたほうが実態に近いように思える。

平安京と距離をとる鳥羽殿と宇治については、基本的には遊興のみならず私的な仏事や家政運営にかかる機能を備えた、別業的性格の都市的な場と捉えるべきであろう。鳥羽殿の御堂は、白河の六勝寺のような天皇御願が主体ではなく、上皇の御願寺であり阿弥陀堂を主体とする。また宇治も摂関家の御願で阿弥陀堂が中心となる。私的に菩提を弔うことを目的としていた。

This was also the case for the Taira clan. For example, the ex-Emperor Shirakawa had nearly 20 Imperial palaces in Kyoto, including Rokujō-in and Ōi-dono, and the Sekkan family had nearly 10 residences, including the representative Higashisanjō-dono, Tsuchimikado-dono, and Kayano-in. Looking at the actions of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, the relationship between Kyoto, Shirakawa, and Toba-dono is clear. When it came to the appointment of new emperors, the ex-Emperor Shirakawa would go from Toba-dono to the palace in Heian-kyō to make the decision, and it is said that most of the discussions at In's palace were held at the palaces in Heian-kyō. They were hardly held at Shirakawa, and discussions at Toba-dono were held for matters related to the household affairs of the emperor, such as visiting the palace and the Chōkin-gyōkō where the emperor visits his father, the retired emperor, or the Issaikyo Kuyo-e (a memorial service for all Buddhist sutras) with summoning the In-ji nobles. In addition, all the current nobles of Sekkan family lived in their residences in Kyoto, and the head of the clan lived in Higashisanjō-dono, which was their symbolic residence. It was normal for them to return to Uji for a day trip or for a few nights. The people who stayed in Uji for long periods were not in official positions, such as grand Tadazane and Empress Dowager Shijōnomiya Hiroko. Current nobles were reluctant to be away from the capital. Although this was an era in which the heads of the Imperial family, such as the Chiten no Kimi and the current master of Sekkan family, were increasingly taking the lead in politics, the principle that political ceremonies were held in the capital was maintained. It is a little difficult to immediately understand these urban areas established around Heian-kyō as political bases.

If we summarize the characteristics of the urban areas around Heian-kyō from the perspective of a huge urban complex, Shirakawa is a religious space that visualizes the relationship between the royal family and Buddhism, Toba-dono is a Kyoto's outer palace and religious space that has the characteristics of a royal side business, and, Hōjūji-dono is a Kyoto' outer palace and religious space that has a stronger political color than Toba-dono, and Uji is a religious space that is the symbolic side business of Sekkan family. The basic political center is inherent in Heian-kyō itself.

Geographical and urban structure characteristics

Next, we will look at them from the perspective of geography and urban structure. If we divide them by location, there is Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, and Rokuhara in the Kamoto district, and Toba-dono and Uji that were formed to the south of Heian-kyō. A distinctive feature of these three areas in the Kamoto district is that they are all connected to Heian-kyō by the ends of east-west main streets, and these ends of main streets are also the main streets of each district. These are the end of Nijō-ōji in Shirakawa, the end of Shichijō-ōji in Hōjūji-dono, and the end of Gojō-ōji in Rokuhara. While not much is known about Rokuhara, both Shirakawa and Hōjūji-dono have blocks formed around these east-west main streets in a grid system. Furthermore, major landmark facilities face these main streets. The strong scenic impact of the nine-story octagonal pagoda of Hosshō-ji Temple in Shirakawa and Sanjūsangendō of Rengeō-in Temple in Hōjūji-dono are thought to have highlighted the individuality of the districts. In the late Heian period, much of the Ukyo area of Heian-kyō declined, and residential areas were concentrated in Sakyo, while the area between Higashikyogoku-ōji and the west bank of Kamogawa River also became urbanized. In other words, while the ideal Heian-kyō existed, the actual Heian-kyō Sakyo area extended to the west bank of Kamogawa River, and it is safe to say that there was no difference in scenery between the inside and outside of the capital if one did not pay attention to Higashikyogoku-ōji. On the opposite bank of Kamogawa River from this actual Heian-kyō, the urban areas of Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, and Rokuhara were successively formed by extending the main road. Around this time, the term "Kyo-Shirakawa" came to be used to refer to the capital, but the general understanding at the time was that the entire area of the actual Heian-kyō Sakyo to the west and Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, and Rokuhara to the east across Kamogawa River was recognized as the capital. The collapse of Heian-kyō and the transition to the new Kyoto were the establishment of the so-called medieval city of Kyoto, and this is the area of Kyoto that continues to this day. The actual Sakyo district of Heian-kyō is best considered as an old city area that continued to follow the traditional norms of the original Heian-kyō area, while Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, and Rokuhara are new urban areas whose developments were led by the royal family, In, and the Taira clan. As for Toba-dono and Uji, which are distant from Heian-kyō, they should basically be considered as urban areas with a separate character, providing not only entertainment but also functions related to private Buddhist ceremonies and household management. The halls of Tobadono are not primarily for the emperor's wishes like Rikushō-ji Temples in Shirakawa, but are temples of the retired emperor and are centered around the Amida Hall. Uji is also centered on the Amida Hall at the request of Sekkan family. Its purpose was to hold private memorial services for the dead.

さて鳥羽殿は、朱雀大路が南下する鳥羽作道を基幹道路として院御所・御堂が配置されていたのは鴨東地区に類似するが、平安京との間は田畑が広がり、景観的に明らかに都から分離している。鳥羽殿は都の一部ではなく郊外型の院御所である。鳥羽殿のような郊外型院御所の流れは、後鳥羽上皇の水無瀬殿へと受け継がれることになる。

宇治は平安京から遠く、平安京の影響を受けることはほぼない。初期(1・2期)の別業邸第は、正方位をとることなく地形に合わせて建てられていたようだし、園池を北に置き北面する寝殿も認められる。これが3期になると正方位の街区に南面する寝殿を持つ別業邸第の都市型別業群が成立する。この変化の理由は分かっていないが、鳥羽院政期の出来事である点は注意したい。鳥羽院政期は院や摂関家が急速に荘園集積を行い巨大な権門へと育った時代であり、それに伴う家政機構の拡充があったものとされる。鳥羽殿も白河も鳥羽院政期に拡大している。白河、鳥羽殿、宇治が最大規模を向かえたのはこの時であることは重要である。後白河院政期・平氏政権期の法住寺殿・六波羅が造営された12世紀後半以降、これらはあたかも中世都市京都に収斂されるように規模を縮小し廃絶してゆく。

墓所 墓所について触れておく。鳥羽殿の特徴は、白河上皇の墓所が当初より計画されていたことである。白河上皇の父である後三条天皇は、御室仁和寺の近くに円宗寺を創建し自身の菩提寺とした。この寺は二丈の大日如来や丈六阿弥陀如来などを安置する金堂と、御所や寝殿そして園池を配していた。後三条天皇はここに葬られることとなる。御堂・御所・墓所という鳥羽殿での関係は、円宗寺においてすでに認められる。この御室辺りは、宇多天皇皇統の寺院や墓所が多く設けられていた場所であり、皇統からして白河上皇の墓所が設けられても何ら不思議のない所である。白河上皇の遺骨が一旦御室の香隆寺に安置されたのも、そのような事情の反映であったろうか。白河上皇が鳥羽殿に墓所を生前に計画したことは、自身から始まる新たな皇統の意思表示であると考えられている。その後鳥羽上皇もそうであったし、結果的に近衛天皇の墓所も鳥羽殿となっている。鳥羽殿は白河天皇から始まる新たな皇統のシンボルでもあったことになる。これらの墓塔である三重塔は、平坦な洛南の地ではかなりの存在感を持ったものと考えられる。現在の近衛天皇陵の多宝塔は慶長十一年(1606)に豊臣秀頼によって寄進されたものであるが、ビルが増えた鳥羽で相かわらずの存在感を見せている。

法住寺殿の後白河上皇の墓所も基本的には同じことと考えられ、中継ぎの天皇として翻弄された経緯から、法住寺殿に自身から始まる新しい皇統の顕示を意図したのと考えられている。摂関家に関しては、木幡の藤原氏墓所に埋葬されることが基本ではあったようだが、康和三年(1101)に薨去した頼通の息子の大殿師実が木幡ではなく宇治の南の栗隈山に葬られたことは、この頃、息子師通の急死によりまだ若い孫の忠実が氏長者となり、摂関家が不安定な中で白河上皇と向かい合ってゆく事態となったことを思うと、少し考えさせられるところである。

平泉との関係 以上のように見てくると、平安京周辺に12世紀に形成された都市的な場は、いずれも院や摂関家などの権門によって造営され、その時期も規模も平泉中心部とさほどの差異のないことより、都市として平泉との比較が良くなされてきたが、そもそも都市を成立させる権力のあり方、政治のあり様がこのように違っていることにおいては、その点を踏まえての議論が必要であることは言うまでもない。平泉と平安京周辺の都市的な場は、たしかによく似ている面を持つ。寺院、庭園、基幹街路のあり方、そして院御所の墓塔や墓堂などと金色堂とも類似する。しかしこれらは、個別的外形的な類似であって、権力のあり方から構築される都市でのそれらの関係性と構造そして意味については、新しい観点を模索しながらより深く考えてゆく必要があるように思える。

Now, Toba-dono is similar to the Kamoto area in that the imperial palace and halls were arranged with the Toba no Tsukurimichi road, which runs south from Suzaku-ōji, as the main road for the capital, as a result of which fields and farmland stretch between the area and Heian-kyō, and the landscape clearly separates it from the capital. Toba-dono was not a part of the capital, but a suburban-style imperial palace. The trend of suburban-style imperial palaces like Toba-dono was inherited by Minase-dono of the ex-Emperor Gotoba. Uji was far from Heian-kyō and was hardly influenced by Heian-kyō. The early (first and second) annex residences were built in accordance with the topography without taking the north-south orientation, and there are also annex residences facing north with gardens and ponds to the north. In the third period, an urban-style annex residence group was established with annex residences facing south in a block with north-south orientation. The reason for this change is unknown, but it should be noted that it occurred during the Toba Insei period. The Toba Insei period was a time when In and the Sekkan family rapidly accumulated manors and grew into huge powerful persons, and it is said that the household structure expanded accordingly. Both Toba-dono and Shirakawa expanded during the Toba Insei period. It is important to note that it was at this time that Shirakawa, Toba-dono, and Uji reached their maximum size. After the second half of the 12th century, when Hōjūji-dono and Rokuhara were built during the Goshirakawa Insei period and the Taira clan government period, these buildings began to shrink in size and were abandoned, as if converging into the medieval city of Kyoto.

Tomb

A few words about the tomb. A distinctive feature of Toba-dono is that the tomb of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa was planned from the beginning. Emperor Gosanjō, the father of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, founded Enshū-ji Temple near Omuro-Ninna-ji Temple and made it his own temple. This temple had a main hall housing Dainichi Nyorai at the height of 6m and Amida Nyorai at the height of 4.8m, as well as an imperial palace, a shinden, and a garden and pond. Emperor Gosanjō was buried here. The relationship between the hall, imperial palace, and tomb at Toba-dono was already recognized at Enshū-ji Temple. The area around Omuro was an area where many temples and tombs of the imperial line of Emperor Uda were located, so it was not surprising that the tomb of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa was located there given the imperial line. Perhaps the fact that the ex-Emperor Shirakawa's remains were temporarily placed at Kōryū-ji Temple in Omuro reflected such circumstances. It is believed that the ex-Emperor Shirakawa's plan to have his tomb at Toba-dono while he was still alive was an expression of his intention for a new imperial line beginning with him. Later, the same happened to the ex-Emperor Toba, and as a result, the tomb of Emperor Konoe was also located at Toba-dono. Toba-dono was also a symbol of the new imperial line beginning with the ex-Emperor Shirakawa. The three-story pagoda that served as the tombs of these men was thought to have had a considerable presence in the flat southern Kyoto region. The current two-story pagoda at Emperor Konoe's tomb was donated by Toyotomi Hideyori in 1606, but its presence is out of place in Toba, where buildings have proliferated. The tomb of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa at Hōjūji-dono is thought to be essentially the same, and given his history as an interim emperor who was tossed about, it is believed that Hōjūji-dono was intended to demonstrate the new imperial line beginning with him. It seems that the Fujiwara clan's members were traditionally buried in the Fujiwara clan cemetery in Kohata, but the fact that Yorimichi's son, grand Morozane, who died in 1101, was buried not in Kohata but on Mount Kurikumayama south of Uji is thought-provoking, considering that around this time, following the sudden death of his son Moromichi, his young grandson Tadazane became head of the clan and the situation of the Sekkan family facing the ex-Emperor Shirakawa in an unstable state was confronted by the ex-Emperor.

Relationship with Hiraizumi

As seen above, the urban areas that formed around Heian-kyō in the 12th century were all built by influential persons such as In and the Sekkan family, and since there was not much difference between the time and scale of their constructions and the center of Hiraizumi, comparisons have often been made with Hiraizumi as a city, but it goes without saying that discussions should take into account the differences in the types of power and politics that established the cities in the first place. Hiraizumi and the urban areas around Heian-kyō certainly have many similarities. There are similarities between the two cities, such as temples, gardens, and streets. The tombs and cemeteries of the imperial palaces and the Goden Hall are also same. However, these are only superficial similarities, and it seems necessary to explore new perspectives and think more deeply about the relationships, structure, and meaning of these in a city constructed based on the nature of power.

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