

竹崎季長が絵解きする 『蒙古襲来絵詞』 : 矢羽と風から

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Moko Shurai Ekotoba (Illustrated Account of the Mongol Invasion), Battle Record of TAKEZAKI Suenaga

Discussion on feathering patterns and the wind

服部英雄 (Hattori Hideo)

Abstract

(1) The Battle of Bun-ei, at Torikai tideland

Moko Shurai is the Mongol Invasion of Japan of 1272 (the Battle of Bun-ei) and 1281 (the Battle of Ko-an) By Kublai Khan of Yuan (Gen=Mongol, 蒙古). Moko Shurai Ekotoba (Illustrated Account of the Mongol Invasion), also called "Takezaki Suenaga Ekotoba," is a pair of illustrated scrolls commissioned By the samurai TAKEZAKI Suenaga in order to record his Battlefield valor and meritorious deeds. From the early stage of making a rough sketch of them, Suenaga carefully and precisely explained the Battle to the painter and his staff exchanging close and frequent talks with them. Suenaga gave many directions to them and a lot of revising and repainting were made Before completion. The accompanying explanatory notes described the Battle very realistically as well and they gave us the factual information. They were true-to-life record, not out of the painter's imagination. Researchers in the past have been like onlookers in reading the notes. I would like to read them with a more subjective view, letting myself become emotionally involved with Suenaga.

First, let me look at the scenes at Torikai tideland in the Battle of Bun-ei. Suenaga was fighting against three powerful Mongolian soldiers. They were depicted By the Iji-dozu-ho technique, a compositional method used to show successive events in a unified Background. One Mongolian soldier abandoned his quiver though there were many arrows left in it and ran for his life. The other two soldiers were fighting Back. An arrow pierced through the left eye of the soldier depicted in the front. The Blood splashed to the ground. They wore a cloak as the armor But no protector for the face, especially for eyes. Both in China and Japan, faces and eyes were the ideal

target, But they didn't stay still. The samurai who hit right in the face was a very good shooter.

The arrows of the samurai warriors were identified By their feathering pattern. Every samurai has his own pattern. The feathering pattern of the arrow which pierced the Mongolian left eye was Motoguro (Black in the tip side) and had Kasuri pattern (scratched or Blurred) in the middle and white in the end. This pattern was exactly the same as Suenaga's. The skillful shooter that pierced the Mongolian left eye was Takezaki Suenaga.

In the next scene, Suenaga was having difficulty fighting against another three strong soldiers. Iji-dozu-ho technique enabled us to see the different scenes at the same time. Suenaga received two arrows in the Body. His horse was also wounded and Bleeding. On the other hand, his Motoguro arrows passed very close to the two Mongolian soldiers. Suenaga missed defeating them unfortunately, But he had Been fighting quite well against the three.

There was another Japanese soldier named MITSUI Sukenaga in this scene. His feathering pattern was the combination of Motoguro and Nakaguro with Black and white in turn. One of his arrows hit the suspended neck guard of a Mongolian soldier's helmet who was running away Before him and his two other arrows hit the Back and the sleeve of another Mongolian soldier. Sukenaga may not have Been so powerful shooter as Suenaga, But this scene tells us that he was the samurai with splendid shooting skills as well.

(2) The Battle of Ko-an, in Hakata-wan Bay

A scholar in Higo (Kumamoto) Domain repaired "Moko Shurai Ekoto Ba" in 1797 and made it into scrolls. On that occasion, there were several pictures and explanatory notes which he could not tell when and where they described. These, so to speak, stray pictures and notes were attached to the end of

the scroll. The picture numbered 28 (in the second scroll) was the picture of the sea battle. Since the right side of this picture was missing, researchers had paid little attention to it. However, the left side was the wonderful battle scene with the Mongolian soldiers' expressions full of tension and spirit. I imagined Suenaga's battleships were depicted on the missing right. They must have been desperately fighting back though they were being hit hard by the Mongolian soldiers. I think this was the picture of the battle in Hakata Bay and the missing part must be the picture of the Japanese soldiers who were trying to attack the Mongolian battleships which had anchored off Shikano-shima Island.

According to *Koraishi Setuyo* (Digested History of Goryeo), the Mongolian army occupied Nihon Sekai Village (日本世界村) on May 21. Since "sekai 世界" is pronounced as "shiga 志賀" in Korean, I think the village was Nihon Shiga Village, that is, Shikano-shima (志賀島) Island in Hakata Bay. The Japanese record of this battle since June was written in *Kanmu Nikkisho* (also called *Koan Nikkisho*, Daily Record of Imperial Court) and in *Kanenaka-ki* (The Diary of FUJIWARA Kanenaka). They recorded when the hayauma (mails by horse) or the hikyaku (mails by running) telling about the battle arrived at Kyoto. As the distance between Hakata and Kyoto was 650 kilometers and it took about 7 days for mails to arrive, we can count backward when the letters were written. They were the report of the fierce battles that had happened right before the letters were written. Mongolian army had been repeatedly attacking in early June.

As for the Mongolian record of the battle, there was the inscription on the gravestone of a military officer Chosei. His troops arrived at Shikano-shima Island as a following unit on June 6th. It said they beat back soldiers and won every battle day and night, but there must have been some exaggeration with the intention of emphasizing their achievements. There were several Japanese documents in which the samurai warriors asked for the authorization of their meritorious deeds and they said the battle was on

June 8th. Chosei's inscription also had the description of this Battle of June 8th, but the Japanese considered the 8th Battle as the real all-out counterattack though there were many skirmishes between them.

The explanatory note numbered 38, which was not sure where to put and was set near the last part of the second scroll, was hard to understand clearly since the note before it was missing. It said that TAKEZAKI Suenaga's soldiers were sent to Kashima (Shikano-shima Island) to fight at around ten in the morning. Suenaga himself came back to meet the provincial governor to report the battle at around noon at the Ikuno-Matsu Bara Beach. He was recognized as the first retainer that made a great achievement for Higo Province in the battle. Therefore I think this was the first battle for the Higo soldiers who participated in the battle of Ko-an.

The date of this battle was not written since the former part of the note was missing. As the Chosei's inscription said the Japanese counterattacks were all made at night until June 6th, all the battles so far did not agree with this battle. Considering the flow of the tide, the Japanese soldiers left the beach of Hakata-wan Bay at full flood, arrived at Shikano-shima Island when the water was low with the ebb tide, and came back to the beach at high water after fighting. I checked the day which had the same ebb and flow as above and the day when the tide was low right before 10 o'clock in the morning. It was June 8th in the lunar calendar (moon phase 7). I think the battle took place on this day. Suenaga returned to the Ikuno-Matsu Bara Beach earlier than the soldiers who were sent to Shikano-shima Island. Then I presumed that Suenaga fought the battle in the offing of Nokono-shima Island, which lies nearer to the beach than Shikano-shima Island.

The picture numbered 28 was followed by the picture numbered 31. In the picture numbered 31, Mongolian ships were rushing. They were not yet in attack mode, but full of tense atmosphere. When did this picture illustrate? The strong wind in this picture corresponded to the picture number

ered 28. “Moko Shurai Ekoto Ba” faithfully depicted the wind direction. Scenes of the same place showed the same wind direction. (The pictures numbered 26 and 27, in which Suenaga was seen to venture into the enemy’s ship, were painted with the same west wind.) Not only the wind but also the waves corresponded exactly with each other. Considering these facts, I assume that the picture 28 and 31 painted the same day and place. I think the picture numbered 28 was the Mongolian ship fighting against Suenaga’s ship, and the picture numbered 31 was the Mongolian Baatar (Bator) ship (Brave, light, and fast ship) rushing to support. On the right end of the picture numbered 31, I see another ship’s stem (military officers or captains usually take command here). I guess there was more than one ship painted on the right missing part. Suenaga was in critical condition fighting against two ships with another Mongolian ship rushing to support.

As I have mentioned above, the picture numbered 31 depicted the sea battle in the offing of Nokono-shima Island on June 8th, 1281 (Ko-an 4). Some Mongolian soldiers on the ships pointed their arrows directly downward to the Suenaga’s ship and others pointed the arrows upward to make them fly describing a parabola in order to pass over the shields. TAKEZAKI Suenaga was there where the both arrows crossed. According to the explanatory note, his retainer ONO Raisho got wounded. Raisho must have been painted somewhere in the picture as well. Besides, there was a dying Mongolian soldier with his neck hit by an arrow in the picture numbered 28. The feathering pattern of this arrow was Kirifu (alternate stripes of black and white). Most other arrows did not make effective attacks only to hit the side panels of the ships. Kirifu must have belonged to the most accurate shooter like Suenaga. I assumed that Suenaga equipped himself with Kirifu arrows in his quiver this time though his shooting scene was lost. In the back of the same picture numbered 28, there was another Mongolian soldier wounded by an arrow. This arrow, however, was shot from the ship of the Shimadzu clan, which was sailing side by side with the Mongolian ship. Four retainers in the Shimadzu clan family, ARISAKA (Shinano Province),

IWAYA (Satsuma Province), HATAKEYAMA, and HONDA testified about who made a military exploit or who was wounded among Suenaga's retainers. I guess one of these men shot the arrow to the Mongolian soldier from the ship of the Shimadzu clan.

The Japanese soldiers fought well but they were in a totally disadvantageous condition. The pictures showed the wind was headwind and Suenaga's soldiers had to shoot from a low position at the bottom of the wave. The Japanese side had been facing disadvantages and uphill battles in common. Their attack in full force failed and the Mongolian army kept both Shikano-shima Island and Nokono-shima Island as their impregnable beachhead until leap month July 5th, 1281 (Ko-an 4).

Thus I could figure out where the pictures (numbered 28 and 31) and the explanatory note (numbered 38) belonged. They were about the sea battle in the offing of Nonono-shima Island on June 8th, 1281. Still we have another two pictures numbered 33 and 35, which we don't know where to put. They were also considered to be stray pictures in the history of research of the scrolls. In *Moko Shurai* (The Mongol Invasion of Japan, Yamakawa Shuppansha Limited, November, 2014), which I published, I presumed that the picture numbered 35 depicted Suenaga's party (Suenaga himself or his retainers). They were going deep underwater to land stealthily on Shikano-shima Island. They wanted to take the island back and had been trying to get the information of it since it was occupied by the Mongolian army. I also see Mongolian officers and his soldiers who were on heightened alert on Shikano-shima Island in this picture. The picture numbered 33 was put on the right side of the picture numbered 35 at present, but it was supposed to be on the left side of the picture numbered 35 when painted, probably with one or half-sized successive picture attached between them. I proposed they should be put in the right order. The picture numbered 33 depicted the Mongolian soldiers on the ship anchored off Shikano-shima Island. They found a dubious human figure and were pointing at him. Although I could not confirm the time and date of these two

pictures, I could put almost all the pictures and notes that had been like lost children in researching Moko Shurai Ekoto Ba in the right position.

竹崎季長が絵解きする『蒙古襲来絵詞』

——矢羽と風から——

はじめに——迷子は帰そう

I 章 矢羽の記録

1 三人の蒙古兵との苦闘

——二人を倒し、果敢な蒙古兵も倒す寸前だった！

2 ひとり、一人によって、矢羽は異なる

——生の松原石築地と三井資長の切斑

II 章 描かれた風

3 海上合戦・不利な低位置、逆風での苦闘！

4 海戦はいつか

5 画面の接合・詞書きの接合一弘安四年六月八日・能古島沖合戦の復原

III 章 迷子（断簡）をもとに戻す

6 『蒙古襲来絵詞』接続の是正

むすびにかえて——桜井清香『元寇と季長絵詞』

要旨

(1) (文永の役・鳥飼浜合戦)

蒙古襲来は、一二七四年（文永の役）と、一二八一年（弘安の役）に元（＝モンゴル、漢字表記が蒙古、皇帝はフビライ）が日本に侵攻した事件である。その様相を画いた絵巻が残されている。『蒙古襲来絵詞』である。その『蒙古襲来絵詞』すなわち『竹崎季長絵詞』は、竹崎季長の勲功録、武勇伝である。下絵作成の段階から、季長と絵師とのあいだには綿密なやりとりがあって、季長は絵師に対し、詳細かつ丁寧に現場の説明をした。多くの指示を出したし、完成までには相当な修正（描き直し）もなされた。詞書はリアルで具体的であって、絵師の想像の所産ではなく、実録そのものである。『絵詞』を読む

上で、これまでの研究者はあまりに傍観者であった。季長本人に感情移入し、主観的に読み解いていく。

まずは文永の役における鳥飼干潟、出現した三人の蒙古精鋭と対決する場面をみる。読解の前提となるキーワードは異時同図法である。時間差を持つ複数場面が一画面となっている。矢筒にまだまだ多くの矢が入っているにもかかわらず、弓を捨ててしまつて、懸命に逃走する蒙古兵。その中に二人だけ反撃する蒙古兵がいる。ところが手前の男の左眼に矢が刺さる。血しぶきは地面にまで飛散した。蒙古兵はマントのヨロイを着ているが、顔、とくに眼には、覆う防具がない。よつて（日本でも中国でも）顔面・眼は絶好の標的であったが、動く。そこに的中させうる武士は、よほどの名手である。

武士は的中した矢が、だれの射た矢なのかわかるように、個々人の矢羽が異なっていた。左眼に刺さる矢羽は本黒（もとぐろ、ヤジリ側が黒、うしろは白）で、その上部にかすり模様が入つて白になる。馬上の季長の矢羽も、本黒で、かすり模様がある。蒙古兵の左眼を射貫いた名手こそは、竹崎季長だった。

場面は展開する。異時同図法であるが故に、可能な描写である。三人の新たな精悍なる蒙古兵の出現に苦戦する季長は、自身二カ所に敵の矢を受けた。乗る馬にも中つて、血が流れる。いっぽう精悍な蒙古兵二名には至近距離に本黒の矢が通過している。きわめて惜しいところで、季長は相手を倒し損ねた。季長は三人に対し善戦した。

三井資長の矢羽の模様は、黒・白・黒・白と交互にあつて、本黒と中黒の組み合わせである（「切斑町型」）。彼の前面を逃げる蒙古兵の兜の鍔（しころ）と、もうひとりの背中、袖のあたり、二ヶ所に、この本黒・中黒の矢が命中している。三井資長は、竹崎季長ほどには強弓の引き手ではなかったかもしれないが、優れた技量を持つ武士であったことが、ここからわかる。

（2）（弘安の役・博多湾海戦）

一七九七年に、熊本藩の学者によつて、『蒙古襲来絵詞』が修理され、巻物になった。そのおり、いつ、どこの情景を画いたものなのかがわからず、巻末に貼り継がれた数枚があつた。いわば迷子となつてしまつた絵と詞書である。二八紙（後巻）、海上合戦の図は右側が失われていたため、これまで研究者もほとんど関心を示さなかつた。しかし蒙古兵の表情は、気迫と緊張に満ちあふれ、きわめて優れた合戦場面である。失われた右側には、季長兵船がいただろう。

蒙古側の標的となりつつも、必死に反撃していたと推定できる。つまりこの絵に画かれた博多湾合戦は、志賀島沖などに碇泊していた蒙古兵船を襲撃しようとした、日本兵船の戦いぶりである。

志賀島は五月二日に蒙古軍が占領した。『高麗史節要』は「日本世界村」と表記する。世界は Shiga と発音された。六月以降、戦いの経緯を示す日本側の記録には『官務日記抄』（別名『弘安日記抄』ともいう、朝廷の実務日誌）、および『勘仲記』（藤原兼仲日記）がある。そこには戦いの経緯を報告してくる早馬（馬で郵送・通信）・飛脚（走って郵送・通信）が、京に何日に到来したかが記録されている。博多・京都間六五〇キロの伝達日数（およそ七日）から、早馬（手渡し郵便箱）出発の日も逆算して推定できる。内容はその直前にあった激戦の報告と考えられる。六月上旬には蒙古側の攻撃がくりかえされていた。

元（蒙古）側の記録には、将校であった張成を顕彰する墓碑文がある。張成の部隊は後続隊として六月六日に志賀島に到着した。日夜激戦があつて、それを悉くはね除け、撃退したと記すけれども、その功績を強調するものだから、誇張もある。武士たちが手柄の承認を求めた古文書（軍忠状）がいくつか残されており、その合戦の日は六月八日となっている。むろんこの激戦は、張成碑文にも記されている。小競り合いはあつたけれど、総力を挙げた日本軍の本格的な反撃は六月八日で、それは翌日まで続いた。

後巻・末尾近くにあつて、迷子の扱いであつた詞書三八紙も、前欠であるためこれまで正しく理解されてこなかった。鹿島（＝志賀島）に派遣された竹崎季長の手ノ者（配下、家来）がいて、かれらは巳ノ時（午前一〇時前後）に合戦した。季長本人は午の時（一二時前後）に、生の松原にて守護に見（げんざん）を得た（面談して合戦の報告をした）。そして季長は「当国一番の引付」、つまり肥後国御家人としては、このたびの合戦の一番はじめの手柄であると認められた、と述べている。したがって肥後勢にとっては、これが弘安の役最初の合戦であつたことがわかる。

この合戦のあつた日が何日なのかは記されていない。詞書きが欠損して記録の前半が失われているからだ。しかし、前記の張成碑文が記す志賀島での日本側反撃は、六月六日までは、いずれも夜襲であつた。よつてこの巳ノ時の合戦には合致しない。潮流の流れからいえば、日本側は満潮時に博多湾沿岸を出て、引き潮に乗つて、干潮時に志賀島沖に到着し、合戦の後、満ち潮に乗つて沿岸に戻つた。この潮汐に一致する日、すなわち巳ノ時直前に干潮となる日は、旧

暦の六月八日（月齢七）であるから、合戦はこの日のものと推測できる。季長自身は志賀島の兵よりも早く、生の松原に戻ってきているから、かれの合戦場は、より近い、能古島沖であると推測できる。

絵二八紙に続いて絵三一紙がある。蒙古船が疾走している。いまだ戦闘態勢に入っていないが、緊張に充ち満ちている。この絵はいつの絵か。激しい西風は二八紙に共通する。『蒙古襲来絵詞』は、風向きを忠実に表現していて、一つの場面・シーンでは風向きは同じである（季長敵船乗船図である二六紙、二七紙も西風で統一されている）。風のほか波の描き方にも共通性がある。これらを考慮すれば、二八紙と三一紙は同じ日、同じ時のものと推測できる。二八紙が季長兵船と戦闘中の船であって、三一紙はそこへ救援に駆けつける船（バートル軽疾舟＝勇ましく、軽く、速い船、と呼ばれた）と判断できる。その右端に、別の船の艫の台（多く将校・艦長がここで指揮を執る）が描かれているから、二九紙と三一紙の間にはさらに一枚ないし半枚の絵画があって、一艘以上の船があった。二艘と対戦しさらに敵船が救援にくる。季長にとってはピンチだった。

よって画かれた日時と場面が、弘安四年六月八日で、能古島沖合戦であったことが分かった。季長兵船を狙う蒙古船からの射撃角度は俯角、および仰角で、俯角の軌跡は直線になり、仰角の軌跡は放物線となるから、両者が交わる場所に、竹崎季長がいた。また詞書から、小野頼承が手負いとなったことがわかる。絵には負傷した彼も画かれていただろう。だが二八紙・手前には首を射られて瀕死の蒙古兵がいた。その矢羽は切斑である。多くの矢は船の側板に中って有効な射撃にはならなかった。そうした中で唯一、適確な射撃ができた武者の矢羽は、この矢羽と同じ模様となる。失われた画面・竹崎季長の箆（えびら・矢筒）には、この模様の矢羽が収納されていたと推測した。二八紙・奥にも矢が中った蒙古兵がいたが、これは並走していた島津兵船からのものである。島津一門、有坂（信濃国）や薩摩国岩屋 Iwaya、畠山、本田を始め、数人が季長ならびに手ノ者の戦功・負傷の証人となった。かれらのうちの、だれかが射た矢であった。

このように善戦はしたけれど、季長兵船は低い位置からの射撃を強いられ、加えて風も逆風で、圧倒的に不利であった。不利な条件と苦戦は、日本軍全体に共通する。かくして総反撃は成功せず、以後弘安四年閏七月五日まで、志賀島・能古島、ともに蒙古軍の強力な海岸堡、陣地として機能し続けたのである。

かくして迷子になっていた絵二八・二九紙、詞書二八紙を弘安四年六月八日能古沖海戦と位置づけることができた。研究史において、なお残る迷子とされていた料紙に、三三紙、三五紙がある。別に発表した『蒙古襲来』（山川出版社・二〇一四年一二月）にて、三五紙の左側の人物は、海中より志賀島に潜行した季長一行（本人ないし手ノ者）であり、志賀島を蒙古側に占領されて以降、奪還作戦に先立ち、情報を得ようとしている場面と、および三五紙右上では志賀島にて嚴重に警備をする蒙古大将と、その配下が画かれていると推定した。現況では三五紙の右側になっている三三・三四紙は、本来、制作時には一紙ないし半紙を挟んで、三五紙の左側にあったものであるから、接続の訂正を提案した。志賀島沖にて碇泊中、あやしげな人影を発見した船上の蒙古兵が、そちらを指さしている。あやうく発見されそうなピンチであった。日時までは確定できないけれど、かくしてこれまでの蒙古襲来絵詞研究において迷子となっていた断簡は、ほとんどを正しい位置に帰すことができた。