

## 【表題】問者の教訓—北条流兵学書を中心に

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### 【要旨】

本発表では17世紀半ばに著された北条流兵学書及び注釈書から、物見・問者の教訓とその語りを検討する。近世は甲州流をはじめとして、山鹿流・長沼流・謙信流など数々の流派が生まれ、幕末まで数多くの兵学教訓書が成立した。本発表で扱う北条流兵学でいえば、開祖北条氏長（1609～1670）は後北条氏の重臣北条綱成の曾孫にあたり、大目付として幕府に仕えたほか、寛文江戸の市中図作成に携わった者としても知られる。氏長による『兵法雄鑑』（正保2〔1645〕年自序）・『士鑑用法』（正保3〔1646〕年自序）は北条流兵学の教科書として広まり、なかでも『兵法雄鑑』は將軍家光に献上されたという。これらの兵学書を紐解くと攻城・籠城時や陣形、武器の説明など戦闘全般に関わる教訓を網羅するのみならず、「忍」を表す問者の項目が確認できる。例えば『兵法雄鑑』巻23・24には「物見」上・下が、『士鑑用法』には「武者分人数積」・「知略計策の臣」に「忍」・「忍者」の文言が表れるほか「物見」・「用間行人法」・「五間」の項目が連なる。

ただし『兵法雄鑑』・『士鑑用法』の多くは項目のみの表記と簡易な解説にとどまるため、後世多くの注釈書が成立した。明石慶弘『兵法雄鑑伝註』（元文4〔1739〕年）や氏長の孫弟子、松宮観山による『士鑑用法直旨鈔』（宝暦6〔1756〕年奥書）、著者不明ではあるが『兵法雄鑑注解』・『士鑑用法口訣』等、一部を除き氏長以降の世代によって北条流兵学は引き継がれた。これらの注釈書の多くは詳しい成立年や著者が不詳ではあるが、項目ごとに詳しい解説が施されるケースもあり、原書にみられない「忍」特有の武功取得及び名誉意識を検討する上で貴重な資料である。事実、己の功名を思わず役割に徹して正確な情報のみ伝える「物見」の姿勢（『兵法雄鑑伝註』）、忠義勇を重視した「物見武者」が自らを犠牲にして死を覚悟する「捨てかまり」の教えを説くなど（『士鑑用法注解』）、解説書上の「忍」は忍術と一線を画した近世武士道論とつながる。

近世兵学書から「忍」の教訓を考察する研究は山田雄司氏による一連の論考がみられるが、北条流兵学書は未発表資料を含め課題を残している。当該資料から「忍」はいかに定義づけられるのか、また注釈書により「忍」の教訓が異なるのか。地域や時代ごとの傾向を分析する作業は、忍者学の資料発掘のみならず、近世日本兵学思想史の系譜を知る手がかりともなるだろう。本発表では近世武士道論を研究する筆者の立場から『兵法雄鑑』・『士鑑用法』の解説書を提示した上で「忍」及び「問者」等の教訓を歴史的に検討し、その名誉意識を明らかにする。

## Lessons for Kanja : Focusing on Hōjō-ryū Military Texts

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### abstract

This presentation examines the teachings concerning monomi (scouts) and kanja (spies) in the Hōjō-ryū school of military science (*heigaku*) through an analysis of its mid-seventeenth-century military manuals and later commentaries. During the early modern period, numerous schools of military learning—including Kōshū-ryū, Yamaga-ryū, Naganuma-ryū, and Kenshin-ryū—developed sophisticated bodies of military instruction, producing a large corpus of military texts that continued to circulate until the end of the Tokugawa period. Among these traditions, Hōjō-ryū occupies an important yet understudied position.

The founder of Hōjō-ryū, Hōjō Ujinaga (1609–1670), was the great-grandson of Hōjō Tsunashige, one of the principal retainers of the Late Hōjō clan. Serving the Tokugawa shogunate as an *ōmetsuke* (Senior Inspector), Ujinaga also participated in the compilation of official maps of Edo during the Kanbun era. His two major works, *Heihō yūkan* (preface dated 1645) and *Shikan yōhō* (preface dated 1646), became standard textbooks of the Hōjō-ryū tradition. *Heihō yūkan* was reportedly presented to Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu. These manuals provide comprehensive instruction on military affairs, including siege warfare, battlefield formations, weaponry, and command. They also contain sections devoted to intelligence gathering and espionage. In *Heihō yūkan*, Books 23 and 24 are entitled “Monomi”, while *Shikan yōhō* includes references to *shinobi* and *ninja* in chapters such as “Classification and Calculation of Warriors” and “Ministers of Strategy and Tactics,” followed by sections on “Monomi,” “Methods of Employing Spies,” and the “Five Types of Spies.”

The original texts, however, generally provide only concise headings and brief explanations, making it difficult to reconstruct the full meaning of their teachings from the manuals alone. Consequently, numerous commentaries were produced during the eighteenth century and later. These include Akashi Yoshihiro’s *Heihō yūkan denchū* (1739), Matsumiya Kanzan’s *Shikan yōhō jikishi-shō* (1756), as well as anonymous works such as *Heihō yūkan chūkai* and *Shikan yōhō kuketsu*. Although many of these commentaries remain poorly studied and their authorship or dates of composition are uncertain, they often provide detailed explanations of individual topics. They therefore constitute indispensable sources for understanding concepts of *shinobi* that are only implicit in the original manuals.

Particularly noteworthy is the ethical dimension revealed in these commentaries. Rather than emphasizing espionage solely as a technical skill, they present intelligence gathering as a moral duty grounded in samurai values. The ideal *monomi* is instructed to suppress personal ambition, seek no individual glory, and report only accurate information for the benefit of the commander. Likewise, the *monomi musha* (warrior-scout) is praised for loyalty, courage, and readiness for self-sacrifice, exemplified in the teaching of *sutekamari*, which requires the scout to accept death if necessary in the fulfillment of duty. Such ideals demonstrate that the discourse on espionage in Hōjō-ryū military thought extended beyond practical military techniques and became closely connected to ethical ideals that later came to be associated with bushidō.

Previous scholarship, particularly the studies of Yamada Yūji, has explored the teachings concerning *shinobi* in early modern military literature. Nevertheless, Hōjō-ryū texts—including several unpublished materials—remain insufficiently examined. This presentation asks how *shinobi* was conceptualized within Hōjō-ryū military thought, how later commentaries reshaped or expanded these teachings, and whether regional or chronological differences can be identified among the various interpretations. By examining these questions from the perspective of intellectual history and bushidō studies, this presentation aims to clarify the ethical ideals, especially concepts of honor and duty, embedded in Hōjō-ryū teachings on espionage. In doing so, it contributes not only to the growing field of Ninja Studies but also to a broader understanding of the intellectual history of military thought in early modern Japan. From the perspective of early modern bushidō studies, this presentation examines historically the teachings on *shinobi* and spies in the commentaries on *Heihō Yūkan* and *Shikan Yōhō*, thereby clarifying the sense of honor reflected in these texts.