

USC Lecture 2 [8fin]
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はじめに

Introduction

こんにちは。義江明子です。講義二回目の今日は、推古(すいこ)天皇がテーマです。推古は、『日本書紀』に記された最初の女性大王です。6世紀末592年に39歳で即位し、推古36年(628)に75歳で亡くなりました。12月に即位したので、翌年の593年が推古元年です。なお、年齢はすべて、生まれた時を1歳とし、正月を迎えるごとに1歳を加える数(かぞ)え年(とし)です。古代の史料はすべて数え年で記されています。

Hello, I am Yoshie Akiko. The theme for my second lecture is Suiko Tennō. Suiko is the first female heavenly sovereign (*tennō*, 天皇) recorded in the *Chronicle of Japan (Nihon shoki, 日本書紀, 720 CE)*.¹ She took the throne in 592 CE when she was 39 years old and she died in 628 CE, the 36th year of her reign, at age 75.²

現在の日本で、推古天皇の知名度はさほど高くありません。高校の日本史教科書では、仏教の積極的受容、豪族を官人として序列づけた冠位(かんい)十二階(じゅうにかい)の制定、中国への遣(けん)隋使(ずいし)派遣などに必ずふれています。しかしその主役は、推古の叔父蘇我馬子(そがのうまこ)と甥の聖徳太子(しょうとくたいし)(厩戸王(うまやどのみこ))で、推古は脇役にすぎません。

In Japan today, Suiko Tennō does not have a particularly high degree of name recognition. Japanese high school history textbooks always touch on the reception of Buddhism, the creation of the 12-step cap rank system that organized elites who had become officials into a hierarchy, and the dispatching of envoys to the Sui court in China. However, the lead actors are Suiko's uncle Soga no Umako and her nephew Shōtoku Taishi (Umayado no miko) – Suiko is no more than a supporting player.

一例として、高校教科書にもとづく社会人用の歴史教養書『もういちど読む山川日本史』(2009年刊)をみてみましょう。「蘇我氏の台頭／聖徳太子の政治／遣隋使」という3項目がたてられ、「甥の聖徳太子が皇太子として摂政となり、蘇我馬子とともに実際の政治にあたった」と記されています。前回の講義をおききになった方は、これを見て「なるほど!」と思いつけるのではありませんか。“卑弥呼は宗教的君主で、実際の政治は弟が行った”とする、男女の役割分担を強調する学説は、1910年に登場しまし

¹ It is important to note that calling this ruler “Suiko Tennō” is anachronistic – the title of heavenly sovereign was established in the late seventh century, before which Yamato rulers used the title great king. Even the two-character name “Suiko” was only created in the eighth century. For the sake of convenience, I will call her “Suiko Tennō” today.

² She took the throne in the twelfth month of 592, so the following year is considered the first year of her reign. Also, her age is recorded in the traditional East Asian reckoning system in which all babies were considered to be one year old at birth, with another year added at each New Year. All classical sources use this system.

た。そこでは、“古代の女性君主はすべて卑弥呼と同様の宗教性をもつ”、との断言もなされました。

To give one example, let's consider *Yamakawa Japanese History - Reading History Again*, published in 2009, a general education history book for adults based on high school history textbooks. It gives three section titles for this era: “The Rise of the Soga Lineage,” “Shōtoku Taishi's Government,” and “The Sui Envoys.” And the text states: “[Suiko's] nephew Shōtoku Taishi became Crown Prince and Regent, and together with Soga no Umako, handled the actual governing.” For those who heard my last presentation, you might see this and think: “Ah I see!” [In that presentation, I mentioned] the academic theory that emphasizes a division of roles between men and women and that argues that Himiko was the religious ruler, while the real governing was done by her younger brother. It appeared in 1910. At that time, it was also asserted that “classical female rulers were all like Himiko in that they had a religious quality.”

『もういちど読む山川日本史』をみれば、明治末期に提起された、史実とはかけ離れた学説が、その後の通説／社会的通念となったこと、それが現在でもなお、古代の女性統治者についての理解をさまたげていることが、明らかにみてとれるでしょう。同書によれば、「実際の政治にあたった」のは「蘇我馬子と聖徳太子」です。推古の宗教性に関しては、1973年刊の一般向け女帝通史『日本の女帝』（上田正昭著）が、「トヨミケカシキヤヒメ」という推古のおくり名（実名は額田部(ぬかだべ)王(みこ)）を、“神に食事をささげた巫女”の象徴とみなしています。もちろん、巫女王の始まりは卑弥呼です。ちなみに、コンパクトで読みやすい同書は、現在でも、卒論で古代の女帝をテーマにえらぶ学生に人気があります。

Looking at *Yamakawa Japanese History*, we can clearly see how an historically inaccurate, late-Meiji theory became the prevailing view and how it is even today disrupting our understanding of female sovereigns. According to this book, the people who “handled the actual governing” were Soga no Umako and Shōtoku Taishi. As for Suiko's religious quality, Ueda Masaaki's 1973 overview of female sovereigns for general audiences, titled *Female Sovereigns of Japan*, considered Suiko's posthumous name, Toyomike Kashikiyahime,³ to reflect that she was “a shaman who offered food to the gods.” Of course, [Ueda also argued that] the first shaman ruler was Himiko. It is also worth noting that Ueda's book is compact and easy to read, making it a popular choice among students who are writing their senior essays on female sovereigns.

「カシキヤヒメ」についてのこのような解釈への疑問から、私の推古研究は始まりました。以下、I：女帝をめぐる二つの通説、II：推古即位まで、III：仏法興隆と推古・馬子・厩戸、をみていき、最後に、欽明以降の王統と稲目以降の蘇我氏が、一体となって世襲王権をつくりあげたことを、当時の支配層の双系的意識にそって確認したいと思います。

It was from doubts about interpretations like this one about the name Kashikiyahime that my own research on Suiko began. Today, I will start with two prevailing theories on female sovereigns, then discuss the period preceding Suiko's ascension to the throne, and finally

³ Her actual name was Nukatabe no miko.

consider Suiko, Umako, and Umayado and the rise of Buddhism. Finally, I will discuss how the royal line after Kinmei and the main Soga lineage after Iname came together to create a hereditary monarchy and the bilateral consciousness of the ruling class at the time.

I：女帝をめぐる二つの通説

Two Prevailing Theories on Female Sovereigns

1) 「女帝」と「御子(みこ)」

1) “Female Sovereigns” and “Royal Children”

はじめに、「女帝」という用語の歴史的背景を説明します。「女帝」は、古代の法制史料で女性天皇をさす語です。8世紀初に制定施行された大宝令(たいほうりょう)の、皇族の身分・範囲を定めた条文(継嗣令(けいしりょう)1)に、「天皇の兄弟と子は親王(しんのう)、女帝の子も同じく(親王)、以外は王(おう)とせよ」という規定があります。日本の古代国家は、先進文明国である中国の律令法を、国家体制の骨格として体系的に取り入れ、自国の法としました。ただし、中国と日本では親族原理も社会慣習も全く異なるので、そのままでは適用できない箇所には、必要な修正を加えました。継嗣令1の「女帝の子も同じ」は、もともなった中国の令文にはなく、大宝令で付け加えられたものです。なお、他の法制史料には、「男帝」「女帝」という対の称もみられます。

First, let me explain the historical background of the term “female sovereign” (*jotei*, 女帝). It is used to denote female heavenly sovereigns (*tennō*, 天皇) in classical legal texts. The Taihō administrative code, established and put into effect in the early eighth century, includes regulations in Clause 1 of the Laws on Inheritance and Succession on the status and extent of the ruler’s family: “The siblings and children of the Heavenly Sovereign are princely persons of the royal blood (*shinnō* 親王),⁴ the children of female sovereigns are the same (i.e. they are princely persons of the royal blood); others are royals.” China was the advanced civilization [in the region], and the classical Japanese state systematically took in China’s penal and administrative codes as the framework for the Yamato polity. But China and Japan were utterly different in both kinship relations and societal customs, so it was necessary to make changes to clauses that could not be applied as they were. The phrase “the children of female sovereigns are the same” in Clause 1 of the Laws on Inheritance and Succession does not appear in Chinese law. It was an addition to the Taihō administrative code. Notably, we also find the paired terms “male sovereign” and “female sovereign” in other [Japanese] legal sources.

中国の皇帝制度では、皇帝は(武則天(ぶそくてん)をのぞき)すべて男性です。次代の皇帝候補(皇帝の兄弟および子)も男性で、彼らは「親王」です。皇帝の姉妹および

⁴ The key term here, *shinnō* 親王, is difficult to translate for this discussion as there are several layers of usage and meaning. As Yoshie explains below, in its original Chinese context it was typically used to refer to male royals who were eligible to take the throne, but in the Yamato context, it was used more expansively. According to Piggott, Yoshie, and Ijūin, “the term *shinnō* broadly denoted sons, daughters, and siblings of the monarch, a group that might be termed ‘princely persons.’” They also note that the term *naishinnō* 内親王 was used for “princess of the royal blood” when gender differentiation was necessary. I have adopted their suggestion of “princely persons” and included “of the royal blood” to indicate that they were royals who were eligible to become the heavenly sovereign. See Akiko Yoshie, Yōko Ijūin, and Joan R. Piggott, “Gender in the Administrative Code, Part 3: Laws on Officials in the Back Palace,” *Teikyo Shigaku* 57 (November 2014): p. 66-67.

娘は、皇帝になる可能性はなく、称号は「公(こう)主(しゅ)」です。男系男子皇位継承システムの中国では、皇族の男子と女子は身分称号が異なり、異なる社会的存在でした。ところが古代の日本は、6世紀末に即位した推古のあとも、女性と男性がほぼ半々で天皇になります。皇族を男＝親王と女＝公主に区分する中国的システムは、日本の現実には適合しません。そこで、条文構成と用語は借用しつつ、“女帝の子も親王（として即位資格あり）”とする修正文をつけ加えたのです。

In the Chinese imperial system, the emperors (with the exception of Empress Wu in the Tang dynasty) were all male. The candidates for next emperor (the siblings and children of the emperor) were also male, and they were called “princes of the royal blood.” There was no possibility for the daughters and sisters of the emperor to become the emperor, and their title was “princess.” Thus, in the patrilineal imperial succession system of China, the titles of male and female children in the imperial family differed, and these children had different statuses in society. In Wa, however, after Suiko took the throne at the end of the sixth century, men and women became heavenly sovereigns at roughly the same rate. The Chinese system of distinguishing between male = prince of the royal blood and female = princess in the imperial family did not conform to the reality of Japan. Accordingly, while borrowing the structure and terminology of the [Chinese] legal text, [Japanese officials] amended the law by adding: “the children of female sovereigns are also princely persons of the royal blood (i.e. they are qualified to succeed to the throne).”

日本令の他の条文でも、「親王」は男女共通です。女を「内親王(ないしんのう)」と記すのは、待遇面での違いがある若干の場合だけです。継嗣令1の「兄弟」「親王」「王」も、漢字をみると男性だけに思えますが、これも男女共通でした。七世紀後半の飛鳥(あすか)池(いけ)木簡や8世紀前半の長屋(ながや)王家(おうけ)木簡では、「大伯(おおくの)皇子(みこ)」（天武の娘）／「竹野(たけの)王(おう)」（長屋王の姉妹）と書かれています。『続日本(しよくにほん)紀(ぎ)』の用例でも、傍系から即位した淳(じゅん)仁(にん)天皇の“姉妹、が、淳仁の即位にともない「親王」になったことがわかります（天平(てんぴょう)宝(ほう)字(じ)三年〔759〕）。

In other articles of the Japanese administrative code, the term *shinnō* is used for both men and women. The rare cases in which women are called “princesses of the royal blood” (*naishinnō*, 内親王) are when there is a difference in their treatment. The “siblings” (兄弟), “princely persons of the royal blood” (親王), and “princes” (王) of Clause 1 of the Laws on Inheritance and Succession may appear to be male if we consider only the graphs, but each term is used for men and women alike. And on wooden documents from Asuka Pond, dated to the latter half of the seventh century, as well as those from Prince Nagaya’s residence, dated to the first half of the eighth century, we find “*Ōku no miko*” (大伯皇子) for Tenmu’s daughter and “*Takeno no ō*” (竹野王) for Prince Nagaya’s sister. There are also examples in the court annal, *Continued Chronicle of Japan (Shoku nihongi, 続日本紀, 797 CE)*: for example, when Junnin Tennō (r. 758-764) took the throne as a member of a collateral branch of the royal family, his sisters became “princely persons of the royal blood” (親王).⁵

⁵ See *Shoku nihongi* Tenpyō hōji 3 (759).

「親王」・「皇子」・「王」は、漢字では書き分けられていますが、倭語（やまとことば）での訓みは「みこ」です。本来、王族男女はすべて「みこ」で、序列／性別による区分はなかったのです。推古も、欽明天皇の娘として、兄弟たちと同様に即位資格を持つ「御子(みこ)」でした。ところが、720年成立の『日本書紀』は、「皇子(みこ)／皇女(ひめみこ)」「王(おう)／女王(じょおう)」という新たな男女別表記を、過去の歴史叙述に遡って適用しました。称号ジェンダー化の始まりです。

In Chinese, there are distinctions between these three different sets of graphs: 親王, 皇子, 王. But in the Yamato vernacular, these graphs were all read “*miko*.” Originally, all royal men and women were called *miko* (or “royal children”), with no distinction based on hierarchy or gender. Suiko was, as Kinmei Tennō’s daughter, a royal child with the same qualifications that all of her siblings had for taking the throne. That said, the 720 *Chronicle of Japan* also includes new written terms that distinguished between men and women – royal child (*miko*) and female royal child (*himemiko*), prince (*ō*) and princess (*joō*) – and compilers projected them back in history.⁶ This was the beginning of gendering these titles.

2) 女帝「巫女(ふじょ)」説

2) The Female Emperor as Shaman Theory

古代には、6世紀末から8世紀後半にかけて、推古・皇極(こうぎょく)／斉(さい)明(めい)・持(じ)統(とう)・元明(げんめい)・元正(げんしょう)・孝(こう)謙(けん)／称(しょう)徳(とく)という、8代6人の女帝がいました。女帝については、二つの主要な学説があります。折口(おりくち)信夫(しのぶ)による女帝「巫女(ふじょ)」説と、井上光(いのうえみつ)貞(さだ)による女帝「中継(なかつぎ)」説です。

In the classical period, between the late sixth century and the latter half of the eighth century, we find Suiko, Kōgyoku/Saimei, Jitō, Genmei, Genshō, and Kōken/Shōtoku – six female sovereigns and eight reigns. There are two main theories on female sovereigns: Orikuchi Shinobu’s female sovereigns as shamans theory, and Inoue Mitsusada’s female sovereigns as placeholders theory.

折口は、女性はすべて本質的に「巫女(ふじょ)」で、神の声をきく力を持つ、としました。古代の宮廷では、キサキが「巫女」として神意を伝え、天皇が現実の政治を行うのが本来のあり方だが、天皇が欠ける特別の状況のもとでは、キサキが仮に即位し女帝となった、というのです。女帝のもとで実際の政治を担ったとされるのは、摂政／大臣です。皆さんにももうお馴染みの、女は聖、男は俗という役割分担を想定する、聖俗二元論です。

Orikuchi (1887-1953) argued that all women were essentially shamans who had the power to hear the voices of the deities. In his view, the original pattern of the classical court was for the wife of the monarch⁷ to be a shaman who transmitted the will of the deities while the heavenly sovereign conducted the actual affairs of government. In special circumstances when there was

⁶ *Hime* and *jo* are both written with the graph 女 to indicate that the term is used for a female person.

⁷ The term translated “wife of the monarch” here is *kisaki*, which Prof. Yoshie gives in *katakana* (キサキ).

no heavenly sovereign, however, the wife of the monarch could provisionally take the throne as a female sovereign. The regent or senior minister would then take on the actual burden of governing under the female sovereign. This reflects the familiar binary that posits a division of roles in which women handled the sacred and men the worldly.

折口独特の直感的発想の魅力もあって、女帝「巫女」説は、通説の一つとして定着しました。その背景には、男女の性別役割分担が根強く続く日本社会の現実がある、と私は考えています。“女性は本質的に男性とは異なる役割を持つ（はずだ）、”というのは、今も、多くの国民にとって受け入れやすい見方なのです。

Orikuchi's original and intuitive concept had its fascination, and the female sovereign as shaman theory became established as a prevailing view. In my opinion, the reality of Japanese society, with its ongoing and deep-rooted gendered division of roles, lay in the background. “Women (*should*) have fundamentally different roles from men” is still an easy view for many Japanese people to accept today.

現在では、女帝をめぐる学問的議論の場で、巫女説がとりあげられることはあまりありません。史料の実証的吟味にもとづく説ではないからでしょう。現在でも重視されているのは、次ぎに述べる女性「中継ぎ」説です。

On the other hand, there are few who argue for the shaman theory when there are academic debates about female sovereigns today. This is likely because it is not a theory that was based on careful empirical examination of the sources. The theory that is still regarded as important today is the one I will discuss next: the female ruler as a placeholder theory.

3) 女帝「中継ぎ」説

3) The Female Sovereign as Placeholder Theory

「中継ぎ」説とは、皇位は男子が継ぐのが原則だが、男性による継承が困難だった場合に、女性（多くは前帝の皇后）が「仮に即位」して間をつないだ、という考え方です。1960年代半ばに、井上光貞によって確立された学説です。律令制以後は皇后でない女性も皇位につくようになるが、男性天皇即位までの“つなぎ”である点は変わらない、とされます。女帝のもとで政治を担ったのは皇太子や大臣、とする点は折口説と同様です。

The placeholder theory argues that in principle, male children would inherit the throne but that when there was trouble over male succession, women -- usually the queen-consort of the previous monarch -- would “provisionally ascend” the throne and fill the gap. This theory was established in the mid 1960s by the historian Inoue Mitsusada (1917-1983). He argued that after the penal and administrative legal system was established, women who were not the queen-consort could take the throne, but that this did not change the fact that they were acting as “connectors” to the accession of the next male heavenly sovereign. His view, that it was the crown prince or senior minister who handled governing under a female monarch, was the same as Orikuchi's.

『日本書紀』によれば、推古は先帝敏達(びだつ)の皇后、皇極は前帝舒(じょ)明(めい)の皇后、持統は前帝天武(てんむ)の皇后です。そして、推古の次ぎは敏達の孫にあたる舒明、皇極の次ぎは敏達の曾孫にあたる孝(こう)徳(とく)、持統の次ぎは天武の孫文武(もんむ)が即位しました。井上説のいう通り、女帝は男系男子継承を“つなぐ”役割を果たしたように見えます。同じく『日本書紀』は、推古の時には聖徳太子(厩戸王(うまやどのみこ))が皇太子になり、摂政として国政を委ねられた、としています。

According to the *Chronicle of Japan*, Suiko was the queen-consort of the previous ruler, Bidatsu (r. ?-585). The later female monarch Kōgyoku had been queen-consort to the previous ruler, Jomei. And Jitō had been queen-consort to Tenmu, who ruled before her. Furthermore, the ruler who took the throne after Suiko was Bidatsu's grandchild, Jomei. Kōgyoku was followed by Bidatsu's great-grandchild Kōtoku, and Jitō was followed by Tenmu's grandchild, Monmu. Just as the Inoue theory argued, it appears that these female monarchs played the role of “connectors” between men in a patrilineal succession system. The *Chronicle of Japan* also says that during Suiko's era, Shōtoku Taishi (Umayado no miko) became the crown prince and was entrusted with governing the country as regent.

井上説はこのように、『日本書紀』の記述を丁寧に整理して組み立てられました。そのため、史料に即した学問的に確かな学説として、現在でも通説の位置をしめつつけています。ちなみに、“過去に存在した女帝は、皇位継承困難時に臨時に立てられたもので、(初代神武(じんむ)以来、現在の天皇まで126代におよぶ)長い歴史の中では少数の例外”というのが、現在の日本政府の公式見解です。

In this sense, Inoue's theory was constructed by carefully considering the records in the *Chronicle of Japan*. It is thus clearly an academically reliable theory that fits the historical sources, and it continues to rank as one of the prevailing theories today. I should note, by the way, that the current official view of the Japanese government is this: “The female sovereigns that existed in the past were temporary rulers for times when there was difficulty in the royal succession, and there are only a few examples of it in the long history of the monarchy (126 reigns from Jinmu in the Age of the Gods to the present Heavenly Sovereign).”

けれども井上説では、大事な点が見落とされています。世襲王権成立以降、王族は濃密な近親婚を繰り返し、皇后の多くは先帝ないし前帝の娘でもある、ということです。推古についていえば、彼女が敏達の皇后として即位したのか、先帝欽明の娘(御子)であることによるのかは、大いに議論の余地があるでしょう。

Nevertheless, the Inoue theory overlooks an important point. That is – since the establishment of the hereditary monarchy, the royal family experienced many instances of consanguineous marriages, and many queen-consorts were also daughters of previous rulers. If we take Suiko as an example, whether she took the throne as Bidatsu's queen-consort or as Kinmei's daughter can be debated.

そもそも、「皇后」「皇太子」という地位／称号が成立するのは、7世紀末の飛鳥(あすか)浄(きよ)御原令(みはらりょう)によってであることが、現在では明らかになっています。最初の「皇后」は持統、最初の「皇太子」は文武です。推古の頃には、キサキの間に相対的な優劣(背景にある出身氏族／王族の勢力による)はあっても、正妻＝「皇

后」の地位はまだ存在しなかったのです。厩戸が「皇太子」になったというのも、史実ではありません。『日本書紀』成立時（720）には、すでに聖徳太子の偉人化は始まっていた。その一環として、実際には7世紀末に成立した「皇太子」を遡らせて、“国政を委ねられた皇太子”という幻像を作りだしたのです。

Furthermore, that the “queen-consort” and “crown prince” titles were first created by the late seventh century Asuka Kiyomihara administrative code has now been made clear by researchers. The first “queen-consort” was Jitō, and the first “crown prince” was Monmu. In Suiko’s time, even if there was a degree of hierarchy among the wives of monarchs (based on the influence of the lineage or royal branch from which they came), there was as yet no office of “queen-consort.” Even the idea that Umayado became the crown prince is not based in historical reality. In 720 CE when the *Chronicle of Japan* was completed, the transformation of Shōtoku Taishi into a legendary figure was already beginning. As part of that process, the title of “crown prince” that was actually established in the late seventh century was projected backwards in time and the imagined figure of the “crown prince entrusted with governing the realm” was invented.

推古が実際にどのような君主であったかを明らかにするためには、現在の研究水準にたつて、『日本書紀』の史料批判を厳密に行っていかなければなりません。

In order to clarify what kind of ruler Suiko actually was, we have to start with the existing research and then carefully review the *Chronicle of Japan* as a historical source.

4) 1990年代末以降の新たな展開

4) New Developments in Research from the Late 1990s

女帝論の二つの通説、女帝「巫女」説と女性「中継ぎ」説はどちらも、男女の役割分担を自明のこととする、“性差を前提とする”議論でした。実際の政治は男性に委ねたとみる点で、女帝を真の統治者としては認めない、女帝非統治者論というべきでしょう。

The two established theories on female sovereigns – the shaman theory and the placeholder theory – are both arguments that take a division of roles between men and women to be self-evident, and assume differences between the genders. We should really be calling them “female sovereigns did not rule” theories since they assume that men handled the real governing of the realm while rejecting female sovereigns as real rulers.

1999年に荒木敏夫氏が、“性差を前提としない女帝論”を提起して以降、状況は変わりました。荒木氏は、女帝も王者の一人だとして正面から考察した結果、血統、人格・資質、統治能力を備え、臣下の支持を得て即位した点において、男女の違いはないことを明らかにしたのです。以後、大王／天皇に求められた血統条件、資質、統治能力の具体的内容、その歴史的变化をめぐり、多くの研究者による考察が積み重ねられています。

Things began to change after the historian Araki Toshio presented a theory of female sovereigns that did not assume gender differences in 1999. He straightforwardly considered female sovereigns to be rulers, and, as a result, made it clear that they possessed the bloodline, personal qualifications, disposition, and talent for governing, and that there was no difference

between men and women in terms of receiving the support of the ministers and officials of the monarch for acceding to the throne. From that point on, advances have been made by many researchers on the specific lineage requirements, qualifications, and talent for governing demanded by the position of great king or heavenly sovereign, as well as change over time in these requirements.

私も、2002年に「カシキヤヒメ」についての論文を発表して以降、古代女帝全般の研究をすすめ、2020年には『推古天皇』を刊行しました。推古をタイトルとする専門書は、これまでありませんでした。関連史料の多くが聖徳太子の影に覆われていて、推古に光をあてることは極めて困難だったのです。以下、推古が大王に選ばれた背景、仏教興隆に果たした役割を、叔父蘇我馬子、甥厩戸王との関係をふくめて見ていきます。

In my own case as well, after publishing an essay in 2002 titled “Kashikiyahime,” I continued my research on classical female sovereigns, and in 2020 I published *Suiko Tennō*. Up until this point, there had been no monographs with Suiko in the title. The content of many of the historical sources had been obscured by the shadow of Shōtoku Taishi, and it was extremely difficult to shine light on Suiko. Below, I will consider the background of Suiko being chosen as the great king, her role in the rise of Buddhism, the role of her uncle Soga no Umako, and her relationship with her nephew, Prince Umayado.

II：推古即位まで

II: Before Suiko's Accession

1) 世襲王権の成立と世代内継承

1) Establishing a Hereditary Monarchy Within a Generation

初代神武(じんむ)から算えて、現在の天皇は126代目になります。宮内庁のホームページで、126名の名前・統治期間・系譜関係を見ることができます。ただし、全ての天皇が実在したわけではなく、これ以外の天皇がいなかったのでもありません。近代国家の出発にあたり、伝承の天皇たちの誰を残すか、南北朝対立の時代のどちら側を正統と認めるか、いろいろな議論の末に大正15年(1926)に確定した結果が、現在の公式天皇系図です。『日本書紀』編纂時にも同様のことがありました。古代国家体制の確立に際し、伝承を取捨選択し、架空の天皇も付け加えて、一つの血統に編み上げたのです。神武から算えて、推古は33代目です。

Counting from Jinmu in the Age of the Gods, today's heavenly sovereign is the 126th ruler. On the homepage of the Imperial Household Agency, you can find the names of all 126, along with the dates of their reigns and notes on the lineage. However, all of the rulers listed did not actually exist, and we cannot say with certainty that others did not exist. With the launch of the modern state, there were many debates over [questions like] which legendary rulers to leave in, and which side in the era of the Northern and Southern Courts (14th century) should be seen as legitimate. The result of the settlement reached in 1926 (Taishō 15) is the present official royal genealogy. Interestingly, a similar thing happened earlier when the *Chronicle of Japan* was compiled around the turn of the eighth century. As the form of the classical state was being established, the compilers sifted through and selected from legends, added some fictitious

heavenly sovereigns, and wove them together into a single bloodline. Counting from Jinmu, Suiko was considered the monarch of the thirty-third generation.

現在では、歴史学研究の成果として、初代神武からの数名は架空であること、5世紀末ごろまでは有力豪族のグループから交替で王が選出されたこと、一つの血統による世襲が始まるのは6世紀初の継体(けいたい)～欽(きん)明(めい)以降であることが明らかになっています。推古は欽明の子で、欽明を初代として算えた場合は5代目になります。『上宮(じょうぐう)聖徳(しょうとく)法王(ほうおう)帝説(ていせつ)』という、聖徳太子に関わる系譜・伝承をまとめた古代の歴史書があり、7世紀頃についての記述は史料として貴重です。そこに欽明とその子たち(敏達(びだつ)・用(よう)明(めい)・崇峻(すしゅん)・推古)を列挙し、「この五天皇は他人をまじえることなく天下を治めた」と書かれています。欽明を画期として一つの血統による世襲王権が確立したと、古代の人々も認識していたのです。

As the result of historical research, it is now clear that several of the rulers after Jinmu are fictitious, that the king was chosen by alternating between powerful elite families up until the end of the fifth century, and that succession in a single bloodline began after the transition from Keitai to Kinmei in the early sixth century. Suiko was Kinmei's child, and if we start counting with Kinmei, she was the fifth to rule after him. *The Exposition of Dharma King Shōtoku of the Upper Palace (Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu, 上宮聖徳法王帝説)* is a tenth-century historical text that summarizes the genealogy and succession [of the royal family] connected to Shōtoku Taishi, and it is a precious source of records for the seventh century. The text lists Kinmei and his children (Bidatsu, Yōmei, Sushun, and Suiko), and says: "These five heavenly sovereigns ruled all under heaven without mixing in any outsiders." That Kinmei marked a revolutionary shift and the establishment of hereditary kingship within a single bloodline was something that classical people recognized.

欽明以降の継承方法は、父から息子へという父系直系継承でも、兄から弟へという兄弟継承でもありません。一つの世代の有力御子たちが即位し、その世代が尽きると次ぎの世代にうつる、世代内継承です。世代を算える起点は、世襲王権成立の画期となった欽明です。欽明の死後、子世代の有力御子たちが即位しました。この継承システムで重要な点は、同世代の御子たちのなかで、血統・年齢条件をみたし実力を備えたものが、有力豪族の支持を得て即位したこと、女の「御子」にも即位資格があったことです。

The method of succession after Kinmei was neither direct patrilineal succession from father to son nor a horizontal succession from older brother to younger brother. It was a system of succession within a generation – the powerful royal children in a given generation would take the throne, and when that generation ran out of candidates, succession would move to the next generation. Kinmei[’s reign] is the point at which we can start counting these generations, and it was the turning point for the establishment of hereditary monarchy. After Kinmei’s death, the powerful royal children in his children’s generation took the throne. The key point about this system of succession was that within a given generation of royal children, those who met the necessary conditions of age and lineage, who possessed real power, and who received the support of powerful elites in taking the throne included women. As royal children, they were also qualified to take the throne.

血統条件として重視されたのは、欽明の子孫であることに加え、母方においても継体以後の天皇ないし最有力豪族蘇我氏の血を引くことです。欽明子世代で即位した4人のうち、敏達の母は継体の孫、用明・推古・崇峻の母は蘇我稲目の娘たちです。推古は異母兄敏達のキサキとなり、蘇我系と非蘇我系をつなぐ役割を担いました。用明は同じ蘇我系の異母妹間人(はしひと)をキサキとし、二人の間に生まれたのが厩戸(聖徳太子)です。欽明の孫世代の有力御子の中で、推古即位後にも生存していて活躍したのは厩戸だけでした。推古が75歳で亡くなった時、次ぎの継承候補に名前があがったのは、欽明曾孫世代の二人です(PWの系図参照)。

The critical genealogical condition was not only that they were the descendents of Kinmei but also that their mothers were either descended from a monarch after Keitai or they were descended from the powerful Soga family. Of the four people who took the throne from the generation of Kinmei's children, Bidatsu's mother was Keitai's grandchild. The mother of Yōmei, Suiko, and Sushun was Soga no Iname's daughter. Suiko became her half-brother Bidatsu's wife, and thus played the role of connector between the Soga and non-Soga. Yōmei's wife, Hashihito, was also his half-sister from the Soga line and their child was Umayado (Shōtoku Taishi). Among the powerful royal children in Kinmei's grandchildren's generation, Umayado was the one who continued to be active after Suiko's accession. When Suiko died at age 75, the two candidates to succeed her on the throne were both Kinmei's great grandchildren (see the genealogy on the slide).

2) 群臣推戴(すいたい)システム——豪族たちが王をえらぶ——

2) Powerful Elites Choose the Monarch

年齢も重要でした。仁藤(にとう)敦史(あつし)氏によって、6～7世紀の大王たちはほぼ40歳以上で即位したことが明らかにされています。意外に高齢だと思われるのではありませんか。古代には、40歳で長寿の祝いが行われました。平均寿命は30歳以下だったようです。だからこそ長生きした人物は、多くの経験を重ね、判断力を磨き、人々を率いる力を備えている、と考えられたのです。こうした年齢観は、村のリーダーも統治者も同様で、しかも男女共通だったのです。推古は39歳、兄の用明は46歳、二人の父欽明は31歳で即位しました。『日本書紀』は、即位前の欽明が、「私は31歳で幼く、政治にも未熟だが、先帝の皇后は国政に通じている」として辞退しようとした、と伝えていません。31歳は統治者としては「幼(おきな)く」、逆に、先帝のキサキは年長者で国政経験豊富、と考えられていたのです。

Another important qualification for a monarch was age. According to Nitō Atsushi, the great kings of the sixth to the seventh centuries took the throne at the age of 40 or above. Perhaps this seems surprisingly old, but in the classical period, there was a celebration of long life that took place at age 40, and it seems that the average life expectancy was less than 30 years. Therefore, we can imagine that these long-lived people had accumulated many experiences, polished their decision-making ability, and equipped themselves with the power to lead people. This kind of age qualification was the same for village leaders as for rulers, whether men or women. Suiko was 39 and her older brother Yōmei was 46. In contrast their father Kinmei had been only 31 at his accession. In the *Chronicle of Japan*, before taking the throne, he is said to have attempted to refuse by saying: "I am young in years [31], and of shallow knowledge. I have not yet had

experience in the affairs of government. The [queen-consort of the previous sovereign] has knowledge of all matters of rule...”⁸ For a ruler, 31 was “young,” and thus the wife of the previous monarch was considered a senior person with rich experience for governing the realm.

ただし、血統と年齢で条件を満たしたとしても、統率力を備えているとは限りません。それを見極め、複数候補の中から最もふさわしい御子を選び、次ぎの大王にかつぎあげたのは、ヤマト政権を構成していた有力豪族たちです。歴史的に振り返ってみると、3世紀の卑弥呼は、小国の首長たちによって王に選ばれたと、『魏志』倭人伝は伝えています。この頃は、国という政治的まとまりができ始めたばかりで、王には、呪力で人々をまとめあげ、中国王朝との外交を巧みにすすめる交渉力が必要でした。卑弥呼はその能力を備えていたのです。女であることは、中国王朝が「倭王」と認める妨げにはなりませんでした。

Even if the conditions of age and lineage were met, it did not necessarily mean that someone possessed the power to lead. The powerful elites who built the Yamato polity ascertained who had this power, chose which royal child was the most worthy among a number of candidates, and elevated them to be the next great king. If we look back through history to Himiko in the third century, the treatise on the Wa people included in the *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (commonly called the *Gishi Wajinden*, 魏志倭人伝, 297 CE) tells us that the ruler was chosen by the various heads of the small chiefdoms. At that time, the “country” as a political unit had just emerged, and rulers were said to bring people together through magic. They also needed to be canny in advancing their negotiations of diplomatic relations with the Chinese court. Himiko possessed all of these abilities. Moreover, that she was a woman was not an obstacle for the Chinese court in accepting her as “Ruler of Yamato.”

4～5世紀には武力による領土拡大が活発になり、軍事統率力にすぐれた者が、豪族たちによって倭王に選ばれたと考えられます。5世紀の倭王たちは中国南朝の宋(そう)に使者を派遣して、朝鮮半島南部の軍事支配権を含む「大將軍倭王」の称号を獲得しました。將軍に任命されたのは男王です。まだ世襲ではありません。「倭の五王——讚(さん)・珍(ちん)・斉(せい)・興(こう)、武(ぶ)」が、『日本書紀』に記載されたどの天皇にあたるかは諸説ありますが、五人は一つの血統ではつながらず複数の有力グループ(豪族連合)から選ばれた、と考えられています。

In the fourth and fifth centuries, expansion of territory by military means took off, and thus someone who excelled at leading armed forces were chosen by elites to become the great king. Yamato kings of the fifth century sent envoys to the Chinese Liu-Song court during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, and they received the title of “Great General, King of Wa” as well as recognition of their control of parts of the southern Korean peninsula. Those so appointed were male rulers, and their rulership was not yet hereditary. There are various theories as to which monarch recorded in the *Chronicle of Japan* corresponds to the “Yamato Five Kings — San (讚), Chin (珍), Sai (濟), Ko (興) and Bu (武)” [in the Chinese sources]— but it is thought that they were not from a single bloodline. Instead, they were chosen from a variety of powerful groups.

⁸ Modified from Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol II, p. 37.

6世紀以降、世襲王権が成立しても、有力豪族たちが王を選ぶ、というしくみはそれまで通り続きました。ただし「血統」という新たな条件が加わり、中国への遣使も途絶えて、朝鮮諸国との関係でも外交交渉が重視されるようになります。5世紀後半の倭王武は、「武装して戦いの先頭にたち海外にまで領土を広げてきた」と祖先以来の手柄を誇り、中国王朝から將軍号を獲得しました。そのような軍事王とは異なる資質が、6世紀以降の王にはもとめられたのです。血統的条件をみたし、交渉力にすぐれた熟年男女が王に選ばれる時代状況のもと、最初の女帝推古が誕生しました。

From the sixth century, even after a hereditary monarchy was established, the system in which powerful elites chose the ruler continued to exist. There [were several changes], however: a new lineage requirement [emerged], envoys to China were paused, and diplomatic relations with the Korean peninsula polities were emphasized. The late-fifth-century Yamato King Bu (aka Yūryaku) “took up arms and stood at the vanguard, even expanding his territory overseas.” His deeds were recognized, and he received the title of general from the Chinese court. That kind of military ruler was of a different disposition [than those who had come before]. Over time, such new characteristics were demanded of rulers. The first female great king, Suiko, was born in this new era in which men and women who were of advanced age and appropriate lineage, and who had excellent negotiating ability, were chosen as rulers.

3) 継承争いを勝ち抜いた推古

3) Suiko As Victor in a Succession Battle

敏達が治世14年（585）で没すると、穴(あな)穂部(ほべ)（母は蘇我稲目の娘）が大王への名乗りをあげ、一挙に緊張が高まります。推古の同母兄用(よう)明(めい)は、即位はしたものの二年弱で病没し、当初の埋葬場所も不明です。穴穂部を支持する物部守屋(ものべのもりや)と、対立する蘇我馬子との間で戦闘が始まり、その混乱の最中に亡くなったためでしょう。敏達と用明が磯長谷(しながだに)（大阪府南東部）に正式に埋葬されるのは、混乱がおさまったのち、推古即位前後のことです。

When Bidatsu Tennō died in 585 CE (the 14th year of his reign), a prince called Anahobe (whose mother was Soga no Iname's daughter) moved towards [taking] the title of great king, immediately raising tensions. Bidatsu's successor, Suiko's full brother Yōmei, would die of an illness less than two years after taking the throne, and his first place of burial is unclear. Armed conflict broke out between Monobe no Moriya, who supported Anahobe, and the powerful minister Soga no Umako, and it was perhaps due to Yōmei's dying in the middle of this confusion that his first burial place is unknown. Bidatsu and Yōmei were not officially buried in Shinagatani (now south-eastern Osaka) until after the confusion had subsided, around the time when Suiko took the throne.

18歳でキサキになった推古は、敏達没時には33歳。男女あわせて7人（『古事記』では8人）の子がいました。この時代、大王とキサキは別居です。通常、キサキは出身氏族の拠点に自身の宮を設け、宮に奉仕する大小の豪族たちとの間に強い絆を築いていきます。キサキになるというのは、宮の経営を通じて豪族たちとの結びつきを強め、子どもたちを次世代の有力御子にするための財政基盤と人脈を築きあげていく、ということなのです。推古の宮としては、飛鳥北方の豊浦(とゆらの)宮(みや)や三輪山東南麓の海

石榴市(つばいちの)宮(みや)など知られています。豊浦宮は、母方の祖父蘇我稲目(いなめ)の邸宅の一郭に設けられた母堅塩(きたし) (欽明のキサキ) の宮を、のちに推古が受けついただと、私は推定しています。

Suiko had become a royal wife at age 18, and she was 33 when Bidatsu died. They had seven children, male and female (the *Record of Ancient Matters Kojiki* 古事記, 712 CE, says eight). In this era, the great king and his wives lived in separate places. Normally, royal wives would have their own palaces in their home locales, and they formed strong bonds with various great and small elites who attended them. To become a royal wife meant strengthening ties to these elites through the operation of the palace and building up the financial foundation and personal connections that would make one's children the most powerful in the next generation of royal children. We know that Suiko's palaces included Toyura no miya in northern Asuka, and Tsubakichi no miya on the south-eastern foothills of Mt. Miwa. Toyura no miya had been the palace of her mother, Kitashi (Kinmei's wife), and had been established from one section of the home of Suiko's maternal grandfather, Soga no Iname. I believe Suiko later inherited this residence.

蘇我系キサキとして国政の中樞近くで過ごした十数年の間に、推古は豪族たちを動かす力を磨いたのでしょう。丁(てい)未(び)年(587)に戦いが始まると、推古は、「軍勢を整えて穴穂部を殺せ」という命令を発します。『日本書紀』は「詔(みことのり)」の字を用いて、推古が天皇に準じる立場で命令したことを示しています。穴穂部はただちに殺され、馬子の率いる軍勢は守屋(もりや)討滅に向かいます。推古の息子竹田(たけだ)や用明の息子厩戸も加わりました。十代半ばの彼らに戦闘能力はなくとも、馬子側の正当性を示す意味で、「御子」たちの参戦は重要だったのです。

During her dozen or so years as a Soga-line royal wife close to the center of government, Suiko would have polished her capacity for mobilizing her elite supporters. When the fighting broke out in 587 CE (the Teibi year), Suiko issued an order saying: “Prepare military forces and kill Anahobe.” The *Chronicle of Japan* uses the graph for a written royal order (*mikotonori*, 詔), showing that Suiko was issuing this order from a position equivalent to that of the monarch. Anahobe was immediately killed, and the military forces led by Umako moved on to annihilate Moriya. Suiko's son Takeda and Yōmei's son Umayado also joined that force. Though they were in their teens and would have had no fighting abilities, their participation lent legitimacy to Umako's side. It was important for the royal children to participate in the battle.

守屋敗死のあと、馬子を筆頭とする豪族たち(群臣)と推古の勧めにより、穴穂部の同母弟崇峻(すしゅん)が即位します。崇峻は守屋討伐軍に加わっていたから、その功績が評価されたのでしょう。年齢的にも、蘇我系キサキを母とする点でも、一応、順当な判断です。戦乱の中で発揮された推古の統率力を、群臣は認めていたはずで。しかし、5世紀以来つづいてきた男性王の歴史の重みが、女性を王に選ぶことをためらわせたのではないのでしょうか。

After Moriya's defeat and death, it was due to Suiko's suggestion that Anahobe's full brother, Sushun, took the throne with Soga no Umako as the head of the leaders of the court. Sushun had joined the punitive force sent against Moriya, so perhaps we should see this as a reward for his meritorious deeds. Choosing him as monarch was a relatively reasonable decision considering

both his age and that his mother was a Soga-line royal wife. [But] surely the selectors also recognized Suiko's leadership capacity, as demonstrated during the military disturbance. Still, the weight of the history of male rulers from the fifth century on must have made them hesitate to choose a female ruler such as Suiko.

ところが、即位後の崇峻は群臣と事々に対立し、統治者としての資質に欠けることが顕わになっていきます。治世五年目（592）に、馬子の命令により崇峻は殺されました。ここに至って遂に、群臣は推古を選びます。崇峻失政の混乱をおさめ、馬子と協調して安定した統治を実現してくれる王として、推古に即位を要請し、「天皇の璽印(みしるし)」を奉呈したのです。39歳の推古は、豊浦宮で即位し、以後、群臣の期待に見事に応えていきます。

Then, however, Sushun began to encounter opposition from his ministers and officials, revealing his lack of the key qualities of a ruler. And so, in 592 CE (the fifth year of his reign), Sushun was killed on Umako's orders. With this, court leaders finally chose Suiko. As a ruler who could contain the confusion after Sushun's misgovernment and work with Umako to realize a stable reign, they asked Suiko to take the throne and presented her with the insignia of the monarch. At 39 years of age, Suiko took the throne at Toyura no miya and went on to meet her ministers' expectations brilliantly.

III：仏法興隆と推古・馬子・厩戸

III: The Rise of Buddhism: Suiko, Umako, and Umayado

1) 仏法興隆に尽くした「トヨミケカシキヤヒメ」

1) *Toyomike Kashikiyahime* Devoted Herself to the Rise of Buddhism

『日本書紀』の天皇名は、和風諡号(わふうしごう) (倭語(わご)によるおくり名) で記載されています。推古は「トヨミケカシキヤヒメ」です。没後まもなく（おそらく葬送儀礼の際に）奉呈される和風諡号には、臣下による君主評価の意味がありました。「トヨミケカシキヤヒメ」は、何に対する評価なのでしょう。「ミケ＝御食」「カシキ＝炊」からの連想で、「農耕祭祀で神に食事を捧げる巫女」という解釈のあることは、はじめに紹介しました。しかし、「女帝は巫女だ」という思い込み以外に、推古と農耕祭祀の強い関わりを示す史料的根拠はありません。

The monarchs in the *Chronicle of Japan* are recorded with their Japanese-style posthumous names (i.e. posthumous titles in the Yamato vernacular). Suiko is “Toyomike Kashikiyahime.” It is likely that these Japanese posthumous names, which were presented shortly after death (probably during the funerary rites), reflected the evaluation of the ruler by those who advised her. So what kind of evaluation did “Toyomike Kashikiyahime” suggest? As I mentioned earlier, if we start with the idea that “mike” refers to divine food and “kashiki” refers to cooking, we arrive at the interpretation that it means “ritualist who offers food to the deities at the time of the agricultural festival.” However, other than the assumption that “female sovereigns are ritualists,” there is little textual evidence that indicates that Suiko had any strong involvement in agricultural festivals.

そこで私が注目したいのは、大安寺(だいあんじ)の成り立ちを語る史料(「大安寺伽藍縁起并流記(だいあんじがらんえんぎならびにるぎ)資財帳(しざいちょう)」)の中にみえる「炊女(かしきめ)」です。大安寺は、推古の次ぎの舒明の時に「百濟(くだら)大寺(おおでら)」として造られはじめ、その後、寺地を移して「大官(だいかん)大寺(たいじ)」となり、平城京(710年)に移転して「大安寺」となりました。同縁起には、舒明から託された寺造営の行く末を案じる齊(さい)明(めい)(舒明のキサキ)にむかって、息子の天智(てんじ)は「大工道具を背負い、斧を持って、寺を造ります」と答え、さらに「仲(なかつ)天皇(すめらみこと)」が「炊女として、ともに造ります」と申し上げた、と記されています。「仲天皇」が誰をさすのかは種々の説があり決定できませんが、「妾(め)」と自称しているのが、女性であることは間違いありません。「工(たくみ)」「炊女(かしきめ)」というのは喩えで、実際に天皇が木を切り、炊飯をしたわけではありません。統治者として先頭にたち、強い決意で寺院造営をすすめる、ということをしているのです。

What I would like to draw attention to is the term *kashikime* (炊女), which appears in the *Historical Account and Inventory of Holdings of Daianji (Daianji garan engi narabiniruki shizaichō, 大安寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳, 747 CE)*, a historical source that describes the founding of the temple Daianji. Daianji was built as the Kudara Great Temple during the reign of Suiko's successor, Jomei (r. 629-641). Later, the temple grounds were moved and it became Daikandaiji. When the capital was moved to Heijo-kyō in 710 CE, it became Daianji. Its origin narrative tells us that Saimei (Jomei's wife) had been entrusted by Jomei with monitoring the progress of the temple construction, and that her son, Tenji, said to her that he would “take up woodworking tools and a hatchet and build the temple. The text goes on to say: “Nakatsu Sumeramikoto replied, ‘I will build it with you as the cook (*kashikime*).” There are many theories and no final decision possible on who this “Nakatsu Sumeramikoto” was, but because the person calls herself a “concubine” (*me*, 妾), she is definitely female. Both “carpentry” (*takumi*) and “cooking” (*kashikime*) are metaphors – the rulers did not necessarily actually cut down trees or prepare food. Instead, these expressions reflected their strong desire to advance construction of the temple, and their intention as rulers to take the lead in the project.

「トヨミケカシキヤヒメ」とは、仏法興隆に尽くした推古の功績を讃えるおくり名だったのではないのでしょうか。6世紀の前半、推古の父欽明の時に初めて、百濟から倭国に仏像と経典が伝えられました。受容の可否をめぐる豪族の対立を経て、仏法興隆を推進した最初の大王が、推古でした。推古が36年間の治世を終えた時、臣下の豪族たちは彼女の最大の功績として「仏法興隆」を思い起こし、亡き君主を讃えたのでしょうか。ちなみに、古代の寺院には、「湯屋(ゆや)」や「炊屋(かしきや)」などの建物がありました。僧尼のための、風呂や調理の場所です。「トヨ」は“豊か”の意味で、皇極(こうぎょく)・孝徳(こうとく)・文武(もんむ)など、7世紀半ば～8世紀初の天皇たちのおくり名にも含まれる美称です。

So perhaps “Toyomike Kashikiyahime” was a posthumous name that celebrated Suiko's accomplishments in fostering the rise of Buddhism. In the first half of the sixth century, beginning with the time of Suiko's father Kinmei, Buddhist statues and sutras were transmitted to Yamato from Paekche. Once [Buddhism] had survived the conflict among the elites over whether or not to accept it, court leaders may have looked back on the flourishing of Buddhism as Suiko's greatest deed and praised the deceased ruler accordingly. I should also note that

classical temples typically had buildings called “baths” (*yuya*) and “kitchens” (*kashikiya*). These were places for the monks and nuns to bathe and prepare food. Finally, [the first part of Suiko’s posthumous name,] “*toyo*” could be read to mean “abundance,” and it was an element in the posthumous names of several late-seventh- and early eighth-century monarchs including Kōgyoku, Kōtoku, and Monmu.

2) 稲目から馬子・推古へ

2) From Iname to Umako and Suiko

蘇我馬子は、推古の母堅塩媛(きたしひめ)の弟です。推古とは叔父—姪の関係なので、馬子が年長者として推古を指導／補佐したと思いがちですが、実際にはほぼ同年齢です。馬子は推古34年(626)に76歳で、推古は2年後に75歳で亡くなりました。年齢差はわずか3年です。治世の安定期を迎えた推古20年(612)に、推古と馬子は、堅塩を欽明陵に改葬する一代イベントを挙ります。馬子にとっても、推古の母堅塩は大事な姉だったのです。古代の婚姻は別居婚で、母を同じくする子供たちは一緒に育ち、強い絆で結ばれるのが普通です。堅塩と馬子は、年の離れた同母の姉弟だったのでしょうか。馬子が堅塩の同母弟だったとすると、二人は一緒に育ったことになります。それはどこででしょうか。

Soga no Umako was the younger brother of Suiko’s mother, Kitashihime. He and Suiko were thus uncle and niece, and it is easy to think that Umako guided or assisted Suiko as her elder, but they were actually almost the same age. Umako was 76 in the 34th year of Suiko’s reign (626), and Suiko died two years later at the age of 75. So the difference in age was a mere three years. Around the time that the government was approaching a period of stability in the twentieth year of Suiko’s reign (612), Suiko and Umako reburied Kitashi in Kinmei’s tomb, a once-in-a-generation event. For Umako, Suiko’s mother must have been an important older sister. Marriages then were uxorilocal, so children with the same mother were raised together, and it was normal for them to form strong bonds. Kitashi and Umako were likely an older sister and younger brother who were distant in age. If we assume Umako was a full sibling to Kitashi, however, these two would have been raised together in one place. Where was that place?

『元興寺伽藍縁起并流記(がנגうじがらんえんぎならびにるき)資財帳(しざいちょう)』には、6～7世紀の貴重な伝えが断片的に含まれています。聖徳太子関係の伝承で覆われ、扱いの困難な史料ですが、慎重に検討すると、堅塩の“キサキの宮”は、父稲目(いなめ)の「向原家(むくはらのいえ)」の一郭にあったことが見えてきます。「向原家」は、崇仏の立場に立つ蘇我稲目が、百濟から伝えられた仏像を自宅に安置し寺とした、とされる場所です。堅塩が当時の慣例通り、自身の“キサキの宮”で欽明の「御子」たちを生み育てたとすると、馬子と推古は「向原家」にいて、同じ年ごろの遊び友だちだったことになります。推古の祖父、馬子の父である稲目は、欽明31(570)に65歳で亡くなりました。推古17歳、馬子20歳の時です。二人は、「向原家」で異国の仏像を拝み、仏教を軸とする国造りの夢を語る稲目の話をきいて成長した、と想像することも許されるのではないのでしょうか。

In the *Historical Account and Inventory of Holdings of Gangōji (Gangōji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō*, 元興寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳, 747 CE), a number of precious legends from the

sixth and seventh century are included as fragments. They are overshadowed by the legends related to Shōtoku Taishi, and they are very difficult to handle as historical sources. If we consider them carefully, however, we can see that Kitashi's palace was in one section of her father's (i.e. Iname's) Mukuhara residence. This Mukuhara residence is thought to be the place where Soga no Iname, who supported the acceptance of Buddhism, had installed a temple in his own home to house the Buddhist statues that had been transmitted from Paekche. If Kitashi was following the customs of the time, she would have given birth to and raised Kinmei's royal children in her own palace, and Umako and Suiko would likely have been playmates of roughly the same age at the Mukuhara residence. Iname, who was Suiko's uncle and Umako's father, died in 570 CE (Kinmei 31) at the age of 65. Suiko was 17 at the time, Umako was 20. I can imagine that the two of them worshipped the foreign Buddhist statues at the Mukuhara residence, and that they grew up hearing Iname speak of his dream of building a realm centered on Buddhism.

推古2年(594)二月、推古は「三宝(さんぼう)興隆(こうりゅう)」の詔を出します。「三宝」とは、仏(ほとけ)(仏像)・法(のり)(経典)・僧(ほうし)(僧尼)のことです。3年前の開(かい)皇(こう)11年(591)、隋(ずい)の文帝(ぶんてい)は「三宝紹(しょう)隆(りゅう)」詔を発しました。皇帝が率先して仏教を擁護し、国家体制の強化をはかる政策です。倭国もこれに倣い、大王推古による仏法「興隆」の決意を治世方針として示したのです。隋の皇帝に「菩薩(ぼさつ)天子(てんし)」とよびかけ、仏法興隆のための学問僧留学をもとめる遣隋使の派遣は、この延長上にあります。「三宝興隆」詔を受けて、豪族たちは競って寺を造りました。推古32年(624)には、寺46所、僧816人、尼569人、と記録されています。

In the second month of 594 CE (the second year of her reign), Suiko issued a written command that the Three Treasures should flourish. These “Three Treasures” were the Buddha (i.e. Buddhist statues), the Dharma (Buddhist sutras) and the Sangha (the monks and nuns). Three years earlier, in 591 (Kaikō 1), Emperor Wen of Sui had issued his own command for the “continued flourishing of the Three Treasures.” The emperor had taken the initiative in protecting Buddhism as a policy to strengthen his realm. Yamato imitated this, and the “flourishing” of Buddhism due to Great King Suiko's determination revealed itself in her governing policies. Referring to the Sui emperor as the “Bodhisattva Son of Heaven” and dispatching envoys to the Sui to request [permission for] scholarly monks to study there was an extension of [her policies] that supported the flourishing of Buddhism. Having received the command that the Three Treasures should flourish, elites competed to build temples. In 624 CE (the thirty-second year of Suiko's reign), it is recorded that there were 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns.

「向原家」のあった一帯(奈良県明日香村(あすかむら)豊浦(とようら))は、蘇我氏の本拠地です。馬子の息子蝦夷(えみし)も「豊浦(とゆらの)大臣(おおおみ)」と称されました。推古が即位した「豊浦宮(とゆらのみや)」は、のちに寺となります。寺の創建瓦の分析により、飛鳥寺の瓦工集団が派遣されたと推定されています。飛鳥寺(あすかでら)は、蘇我氏が造った倭国で最初の本格的寺院です。僧寺・尼寺のペアとして一体的に造られた飛鳥寺と豊浦寺(とゆらでら)は、仏法興隆をめざした推古と馬子の緊密な協力の証しといえるでしょう。

The region around the Mukuhara residence (now Nara prefecture, Asukamura, Toyoura) was the home base of the Soga lineage. Umako's son Emishi was also known as the Toyura Great Minister. The Toyura no miya where Suiko took the throne later became a temple. Based on analysis of tiles from the construction of that temple, it seems that a group of tile-makers had been dispatched from Asukadera. Asukadera had been built by the Soga lineage and was the first real temple in Yamato. Thus, Asukadera and Toyuradera were built as an integrated monastery/nunnery pair, and we can say that they were a testament to the close cooperation between Suiko and Umako, who both aimed for Buddhism to flourish [in Yamato].

3) 仏法を深く理解した「法王(のりのきみ)」厩戸

3) Umayado, the “Prince of the Law” Who Deeply Understood Buddhism

では、推古の甥厩戸の役割はどこにあったのでしょうか。『日本書紀』は推古元年(593)に厩戸を皇太子／摂政にして、国政を全てゆだねた、と記しています。すでに述べたように、この時代にはまだ皇太子の制度はありません。そもそも、即位時に推古は39歳、馬子は42歳なのに対して、厩戸は20歳にすぎません。政治経験豊富で働き盛りの二人を、厩戸が補佐したり、代わりに全権を担うなど、到底ありえないことです。『日本書紀』編纂時にはすでに聖徳太子の偉人化は始まっていました。これもその一環で、史実ではありません。

So, what role did Suiko's nephew, Umayado, play? According to the *Chronicle of Japan*, in the first year of Suiko's reign (593) Umayado was made crown prince and regent and took control of all affairs of state. Nevertheless, as I have already said, actually there was as yet no office of the crown prince. Also, at the time she took the throne Suiko was 39, Umako was 42, and Umayado was no more than 20. That these two people in the prime of their lives with their wealth of governing experience would be assisted by Umayado or turn over all authority to him is utterly impossible. At the time the *Chronicle of Japan* was compiled, the transformation of Shōtoku Taishi into a legend had already begun. Seen from that context, these records are not historical reality.

厩戸には、さまざまな讃(たた)え名が伝えられています。「聖徳太子」は後世の呼び方です。しかし、きわめて聡明なことを意味する「豊聡耳(とよとみみ)」は、元興寺塔(がごうじとう)露盤(ろばん)銘(めい)にもみえ、当時のものと推定できます。法(ほう)隆寺(りゅうじ)金堂(こんどう)釈迦三尊像(しゃかさんぞんぞう)は、厩戸死去(622年)の翌年に、光背(こうはい)銘文と一体で造られたことが、東野治之(とうのはるゆき)氏によって明らかにされました。膨大な伝承に埋もれてしまった厩戸が、推古治世当時どのような存在であったかを考える上で、貴重な手がかりです。そこには「上宮(かみつみや)の法皇(のりのきみ)」とありました。「上宮」は厩戸の営んだ宮です。『日本書紀』用明元年(586)正月条では「豊聡耳法(のりの)大王(おおきみ)」と書かれています。「法皇／法大王」は、「仏法にすぐれた偉大な王」を意味します。

A wide range of honorary names for Umayado have been passed down. He was called “Shōtoku Taishi” by later generations. The name “Toyotomimi,” which means that he was extremely wise, also appears in the inscription on the base of the Gangōji stupa, and it seems to have been a contemporary name. Tōno Haruyuki has also shown that the Shakyamuni Buddha triad statues in the Golden Hall at Hōryūji were created with an inscription on the halo in the

year after Umayado's death (622 CE). Umayado has been hidden by the vast body of legends around him, and the inscription is a precious clue if we wish to consider what kind of person he was thought to be during the time of Suiko's reign. The inscription includes the name "Kamitsumiya norinokimi." Kamitsumiya was the palace administered by Umayado. In the entry from the first month of 586 CE (the first year of Yōmei's reign) in the *Chronicle of Japan*, we also find: "Toyotomimi norinoōkimi." Both *norinoōkimi* and *norinokimi* denote "a magnificent ruler, well [versed in] the Buddhist teachings."

仏教伝来後も、人々の理解は、異国の仏像（の持つ呪力）への祈願にとどまっていた。経典も、文字を読むだけで内容の理解にまでは至らない、というのが実情だったのではないのでしょうか。推古朝初年に、高麗(こま)僧慧慈(えじ)と百濟(くだら)僧慧(え)聰(そう)が来朝して、状況は変わり始めました。厩戸は慧慈(えじ)を師として「内教(ほとけのみり)」(仏法)を学んだとされます。はるばると来朝した高僧の教えを、誰でもがきけたわけではありません。最上級の王族だからこそ、厩戸は仏法を学ぶ環境にアクセスできたのです。若く聡明な厩戸は、そこで優れた理解力を発揮したとされます。王族の中で初めて深い教義理解に達した厩戸は、仏法外(げ)護(ご)者としての推古・馬子とは異なる立場で「三宝興隆」に尽くし、生前からすでに「法皇／法王(のりのきみ)」と讃えられていたのです。

Even after the introduction of Buddhism, people's understanding of it was still limited to the idea that they should pray to the foreign images of the Buddha (to gain access to the magical power that they held). As for Buddhist sutras, it is likely that people could read the characters but had not yet come to understand their content. In the early years of Suiko's reign, a monk from Koguryō named Eji [Hyeja], and a monk from Paekche called Esō [Hyech'ong] came to her court and the situation began to change. Umayado took Eji as his tutor and studied the "inner teachings" (i.e. Buddhism). Clearly, it was not possible for everyone to hear the teachings of these eminent monks who had traveled so far to reach the court. It was because he was of the highest level of the royal family that Umayado had access to the environment in which he could study Buddhism. Umayado was young but intelligent, and he must have exhibited an outstanding ability to grasp [the Buddhist teachings]. He was thus the first member of the royal family to have a deep understanding of the dharma, and he devoted himself to the "Flourishing of the Three Treasures" from a different position than did Suiko and Umako who were considered external protectors of the Buddhist law. Even during his lifetime, he was being praised as a "Prince of the Dharma."

おわりに

Conclusion

推古は欽明の御子ですが、同時に母堅塩(きたし)を通じて、「朕(われ)は蘇我より出(いで)たり」（私は蘇我氏の出身だ）との意識を持っていました。厩戸が推古30年（622）に49歳で亡くなると、厩戸のキサキの一人だった橘(たちばな)（推古の孫娘）の願いにより、厩戸が往生した天寿国の様子を、采女(うねめ)に刺繍で描かせます。国宝「天寿国繡帳(てんじゅこくしゅうちょう)」はその残片です。写本として全体が伝わる銘文を見ると、前半の系譜は、欽明と蘇我稲目の子・孫が、何重もの近親婚を重ねて厩戸と橘にいたることを示しています。欽明王統と蘇我氏は一体となって、世襲王権を作り上げた

のです。父方母方に均等な重みをおく双系的血統観は、当時の倭国支配層に共通のものでした。

Suiko was Kinmei's royal child, but given her mother Kitashi, she also said: "I come from the Soga" (i.e. she was conscious of being a member of the Soga family). Umayado died at age 49 in 622 CE (the 30th year of Suiko's reign), and according to the request of one of his wives (Tachibana, who was also Suiko's granddaughter), female attendants were made to embroider a scene in Tenjukoku, where he was [thought to live]. The Tenjukoku Shūchō Mandala, a national treasure, is a fragment of that project. If we look at the inscription that survives in its entirety in manuscript form, we find that the first half of the genealogy shows numerous consanguineous marriages between Kinmei and Soga no Iname's children and grandchildren before the time of Umayado and Tachibana. Thus, Kinmei's royal line and the Soga family came together to create a hereditary monarchy and the bilateral view of succession in which the father and mother were given equal weight. Such a view was shared by the ruling class of Yamato at the time.

かつて、日本は昔から父系で男尊女卑の社会だと考えられていました。女帝をめぐる通説は、その頃に形づくられたのです。1980年代以降、双系という概念が人類学分野から導入され、新たな視点で史料を再検討することが可能になりました。私も80年代半ばから、日本古代を双系社会とみる立場で、氏族研究、系譜様式研究をすすめてきました。それを土台に推古関係の史料を読み直した成果を、本日、お話ししました。

Once it was thought that Japan was from the days of old a patrilineal society in which men were privileged. Theories about female sovereigns took shape in this context. After the 1980s, the notion of bilaterality was adopted from the discipline of anthropology, and it became possible to reconsider the historical sources from a new perspective. Since the 1980s, I have adopted this view of classical Japan as a bilateral society and spent my career doing research on lineage structure and what we can learn from the changes in the ways that genealogies are recorded. It was with this foundation that I began to re-read the sources related to Suiko and, as a result, arrived at what I have presented today.