Comparative analysis between Hiraizumi and other political centers in East Asia

–International symposium
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平泉と北・東アジアの政治拠点の比較研究

－国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」記録集－

2025

Iwate University Center for Hiraizumi Studies

Iwate Prefecture

Iwate Prefectural Board of Education

岩手大学平泉文化研究センター
岩手県・岩手県教育委員会

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例　言

１．本書は、岩手県と岩手大学で実施した共同研究「平泉と北・東アジアの政治拠点の比較研究」の成果をまとめるために、令和６年７月６日（土）に、岩手大学北桐ホールにおいて開催した『国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」』の記録である。
２．編集は岩手県教育委員会、岩手大学平泉文化研究センターで行った。
３．本書はⅠ研究報告、Ⅱ資料の構成としている。Ⅰは予稿集として配布作成したレジュメを基に収録した。当日の予稿集から、一部追記修正を行ったものがある。Ⅱは当日の内容を文章化したものである。文章化するにあたって、趣旨を変更しない範囲で補訂している。
４．本書は印刷刊行のほか、研究成果のオープンアクセス化の推進のため「岩手大学リポジトリ」で公開を行う。岩手大学リポジトリ（https://iwate-u.repo.nii.ac.jp/）

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遼上京、遼慶州・北宋開封 、南宋臨安

Notes

１．This report is a record of the international symposium "Hiraizumi and the Political Base of East Asia" held at Iwate University's Hokuto Hall on　July 6, 2024, to summarize the results of a joint research project between Iwate Prefecture and Iwate University, "A Comparative Study of Hiraizumi and the Political Base of Northeast Asia."
２．Edited by Iwate University Center for Hiraizumi Studies and Iwate Prefectural Board of Education.
３．This report is composed of I: research report and II: appendix.
I: is based on the summary that was distributed as a proceedings collection. Some additions and corrections have been made from the proceedings collection on the day. II: is a written version of the contents of the day. In writing it, revisions have been made to the extent that the gist of the content is not changed.
４．In addition to being published in print, this book will also be made available on the Iwate University Repository in order to promote open access to research results.
Iwate University Repository：https://iwate-u.repo.nii.ac.jp/

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I Report

I 研究報告

シンポジウム趣旨説明

11 世紀末から 12 世紀末のほぼ 100 年間、仏教文化圏の東端に政治・行政拠点（以下、政治拠点という。）として形成された平泉については、すでに 1940 年代には、都市への言及がなされていたが(1)、1990 年代以降は、平泉周辺における大規模な発掘調査の成果をうけ、都市としての評価が一般化し、平泉が日本における中世都市の端緒とも考えられるようになった(2)。

一方、2011 年に世界遺産一覧表に記載された「平泉」では、仏教的理想空間としての「仏国土（浄土）」が焦点化されていて(3)、平泉の造営に仏教（とくに浄土思想）が関与したことが強調されながらも、その都市的性格や政治拠点についての議論が深められることはなかった。

その後、岩手県においては、柳之御所遺跡などを含めた平泉の拠点造営を議論するため、国内外の諸分野の研究者・専門家による研究集会を５か年継続した。その成果は、同時に作成された「資料集」とともに、今後、平泉を多面的に考察していくための基礎資料といえる(4)。

これらの蓄積がありながら、平泉研究にはなお欠落部分が認められる。そのひとつが、政治拠点としての平泉で、これまでは都市や都市造営として論じられていたものの、正面から政治拠点の観点で論じられることはなかった。

政治拠点平泉においては、**為政者**である奥州藤原氏が、他の権力から一定程度独立した権限をもって**支配領域**の土地と民を掌握し、税を負担させ、それを基盤としてさまざまな事業を行い、また、それらが遂行できる組織と能力を有していたとみられる。それらは、合理的規律によって統制され、強制力が伴っていた。さらには、軍事組織も保持し指揮していた。こうした機能は、政治拠点たるにふさわしい為政者の権力と財力を示す**荘厳装置**や為政者の支配を正当化する**象徴事物**とともに、行為の場である平泉のかたちに反映されたと考えられる(5)。

本シンポジウムでは、平泉を前後する時期の東アジア各地域における政治拠点の事例を通じて、政治拠点としての平泉の理解を試みたい。政治拠点に通有の荘厳装置や象徴事物のありかたに加え、為政者の**墓や廟と政治拠点**との物理的関係などについて議論し、それらの宗教的・思想的背景とともに比較検討を行い、東アジアにおける新たな平泉像の結晶につなげたいと考えている。

（佐藤嘉広、岩手大学平泉文化研究センター）

（1）森嘉兵衛　1949　「平泉文化の社会的構成と変質」『岩手史学研究』３　pp.6～32

（2）斉藤利男　1992　『平泉　よみがえる中世都市』　岩波新書

入間田宣夫　2003　『都市平泉の遺産』　日本史ブックレット 18　山川出版社

（3）Japan 2010 “Hiraizumi- Temples, Gardens and Archaeological Sites Representing the Buddhist Pure Land” Nomination Dossier for Inscription on the World Heritage List

（4）岩手県ほか編　2018　『平泉の文化遺産』（『日本都市史のなかの平泉』（2013）、『アジア都市史における平泉』（2014）、『アジアにおける平泉文化』（2015）、『奥州藤原氏が構想した理想世界』（2016）、「世界の中の平泉」（2017）を包括。最終年を除き、各『資料集』を刊行。）

（5）佐藤嘉広　2023　「日本の政治拠点と平泉（中間報告）」『平泉文化研究年報』23　pp.6-25

Symposium Purpose

For almost 100 years from the end of the 11th century to the end of the 12th century, Hiraizumi was formed as a political and administrative center (hereafter referred to as the political center) at the eastern edge of the Buddhist cultural sphere. As early as the 1940s, it was mentioned that Hiraizumi was a city (1). However, since the 1990s, Hiraizumi has come to be generally evaluated as a city due to the results of large-scale excavations around the area, and Hiraizumi has come to be considered the beginning of medieval cities in Japan (2).

On the other hand, in 2011, when Hiraizumi was inscribed on the World Heritage List, the focus was on the Buddhist "Pure Land" as an ideal Buddhist space (3). Although the involvement of Buddhism (especially Pure Land thought) in the construction of Hiraizumi was emphasized, the discussion of its urban character and political center was not deepened.

After that, in Iwate Prefecture, a research meeting was held for five years by researchers and experts from various fields from Japan and abroad to discuss the construction of Hiraizumi's base, including the Yanaginogosho sites. The results, together with the books of "Corpus of Historical and Archaeological Materials" edited at the same time, can be said to be basic materials for future multifaceted studies of Hiraizumi (4).

Despite this accumulation, there are still gaps in Hiraizumi research. One of these is Hiraizumi as a political center. Until now, Hiraizumi has been discussed as a city and urban construction, but has never been discussed directly from the perspective of a political center.

In Hiraizumi, the rulers, the Oshu Fujiwara clan, had authority independent of other powers to a certain extent, seized control over the land and people of their territory, imposed taxes, and used that as a basis to carry out various projects, and it is believed that they had the organization and ability to carry them out. These were controlled by rational discipline and were accompanied by coercive power. Furthermore, they maintained and commanded a military organization. These functions are thought to be reflected in the shape of Hiraizumi as a place of action, along with the magnificent installations that displayed the ruler's power and financial strength appropriate to a political base, and the symbolic objects that justified the ruler's rule (5).

This symposium aims to understand Hiraizumi as a political center through examples of political centers in various regions of East Asia from periods before and after Hiraizumi. In addition to the decorative devices and symbolic objects common to political centers, we will discuss the physical relationship between the tombs and enshrined facilities of rulers and political centers, and compare and examine these with their religious and ideological backgrounds, with the aim of crystallizing a new image of Hiraizumi in East Asia.

(Sato Yoshihiro, Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center, Iwate University)

(1) Mori, Kahei, 1949, "Social Structure and Transformation of Hiraizumi Culture," Iwate Historical Studies, Vol. 3, pp. 6-32

(2) Saito, Toshio, 1992, “Hiraizumi: A Revival of the Medieval City”, Iwanami Shinsho
Irumada, Nobuo, 2003, “The Heritage of the City of Hiraizumi”, Japanese History Booklet 18, Yamakawa Publishing

(3) Japan 2010 "Hiraizumi- Temples, Gardens and Archaeological Sites Representing the Buddhist Pure Land" Nomination Dossier for Inscription on the World Heritage List

(4) Iwate Prefecture and others, 2018, "Cultural Heritage of Hiraizumi" (includes "Hiraizumi in Japanese Urban History" (2013), "Hiraizumi in Asian Urban History" (2014), "Hiraizumi Culture in Asia" (2015), "The Ideal World Envisioned by the Fujiwara Clan of Oshu" (2016), and "Hiraizumi in the World" (2017). Each "Collection of Materials" was published except for the final year.)

(5) Sato, Yoshihiro, 2023, " Interim Report of ancient and medieval Japan's regional political bases and Hiraizumi," Annual Report of Hiraizumi Studies 23, pp.6-25

政治拠点としての平泉の様相

櫻井友梓

１．はじめに

平泉は、12 世紀代に東北地方を支配した奥州藤原氏が拠点を置いた場所である（図１）。奥州藤原氏は、11 世紀末から 12 世紀初頭に藤原清衡が現在の奥州市江刺の豊田館から平泉に拠点を移し、その後、12 世紀末にその繁栄を終えるまで、ここを政治拠点とした。



図１　関連遺跡位置図

この時期の考古学的情報として、現在の岩手県平泉町の中央部を中心に当該時期の諸施設が確認されており、遺構遺物の検討が進められ、平泉が政治行政の拠点であったことが理解されてきた（註１）。奥州藤原氏の事績や、平泉の文化遺産については、考古資料、文献史料の検討から多くが指摘されてきたが、残された資料はいずれも断片的な内容も多く、理解や解釈には幅がある部分も少なくない。

表１　平泉に関わる略年表

年	事項	備考
1051（永承 6）	前九年合戦始まる	
1062（康平 5）	前九年合戦終わる	
1083（永保 3）	後三年合戦始まる	
1087（寛治１）	後三年合戦終わる	
1091（寛治 5）	藤原清衡、摂関家に馬を進上	『後二条師通記』
1100 年頃 （1094～1096、1099～1104）	藤原清衡、豊田館から平泉へ拠点を移す	『吾妻鏡』
1105（長治 2）	中尊寺造営開始。最初院多宝寺 この頃、藤原基衡誕生	
1122（保安 3）	この頃、藤原秀衡誕生	
1124（天治 1）	中尊寺金色堂建立	金色堂棟札
1126（大治 1）	中尊寺落慶供養	中尊寺建立供養願文
1128（大治 3）	清衡没	
1130（大治 5）	基衡、兄小舘を討つ	『長秋記』
1143（康治 2）	藤原基成、陸奥守に	
1150 年頃	この頃、毛越寺円隆寺建立	『吾妻鏡』
1155（久寿 2）	藤原泰衡誕生	
1157（保元 2）	この頃、基衡没	
1170（嘉応 2）	秀衡、鎮守府将軍に	『玉葉』ほか
1181（養和 1）	秀衡、陸奥守に	『玉葉』
	この頃、無量光院造営	
1186（文治 3）	秀衡、平泉館で没	『吾妻鏡』
1189（文治 5）	奥州合戦	

Characteristics of Hiraizumi as a Political Center

Sakurai Tomoharu (Iwate Prefectural Board of Education)

1. Introduction

Hiraizumi was the base of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, who ruled the Tohoku region in the 12th century (Figure 1 Map of the sites). From the end of the 11th century to the beginning of the 12th century, Fujiwara no Kiyohira moved the base of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan from Toyoda no Tachi in Esashi, Ōshū City, to Hiraizumi, and used it as a political center until the end of their prosperity at the end of the 12th century. Archaeological information from this period has confirmed various facilities from that period, mainly in the central part of Hiraizumi Town, Iwate Prefecture, and the examination of remains has progressed, and it has been understood that Hiraizumi was the center of political administration (note 1). Many points have been clear about the achievements of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan and the cultural heritage of Hiraizumi through the examination of archaeological materials and historical documents, but the remaining materials are fragmentary, so that there are various understandings and interpretations about the history of Hiraizumi.

Table 1 Chronological tabel about Hiraizumi

year	event	note
1051	Beginning of the Former nine-year war	
1062	End of the Former nine-year war	
1083	Beginning of the Later three-year war	
1087	End of the Later three-year war	
1091	Donation of horses to the regent family by Fujiwara no Kiyohira	Gonijo Moromichi-ki
c.1100	Moving the political base from Toyodanotachi to Hiraizumi	Azuma kagami
1105	Starting the construction of Chuson-ji, the first Buddha hall Taho-ji	
	Birth of Fujiwara no Motohira	
c.1122	Birth of Fujiwara no Hidehira	
1124	Construction of Konjikido	Sign board at construction
1126	Completion of Chuson-ji	Prayer for the Construction of Chusonji Temple
1128	Death of Fujiwara no Kiyohira	
1130	Motohira defeated his brother Kodachi	Choshu-ki
1143	Fujiwara no Motonari was appointed to the Mutsu province governor	
c.1150	Construction of Enryu-ji of Motsu-ji	Azuma kagami
1155	Birth of Fujiwara no Yasuhira	
c.1157	Death of Fujiwara no Motohira	
1170	Fujiwara no Hidehira was appointed to the general of Chinju-fu	Gyokuyo
1181	Fujiwara no Hidehira was appointed to the Mutsu province governor	Gyokuyo
	Construction of Muryoko-in	
1186	Death of Fujiwara no Hidehira at Hiraizumi no Tachi	Azuma kagami
1189	Oshu war	

以下では、政治拠点として機能した平泉について、主に考古学的事象として認識できる状況を中心にまとめる。また、文献史料の記載から想定されてきた内容についても、補足的に触れ、政治拠点としての形状や状況、場のあり方を把握していきたい。

２．平泉の様相

平泉の拠点域の様相について、遺跡や遺物を中心に確認されている状況を時系列に沿ってみていきたい。ここでは概ね３時期に区分して理解する（註２）。

（１）12 世紀以前（図２）

12 世紀以前の平泉周辺の様相は不明な点が多い。現在の平泉から衣川を越えた北岸の衣川地区には 11 世紀前半とみられる長者ケ原廃寺跡が所在するほか、瀬原Ⅰ・Ⅱ遺跡でも 11 世紀代の遺物が確認されている。衣川以北を中心にこの時期に利用されたことが考古資料からも窺える。

一方、平泉の拠点域では土器の出土が確認されているほか、中尊寺境内で 11 世紀後半の大溝が確認されているものの、まとまった遺物や遺構は確認されていない。当該期の様相は不明な点が多く、12 世紀代の状況とは大きく異なる。

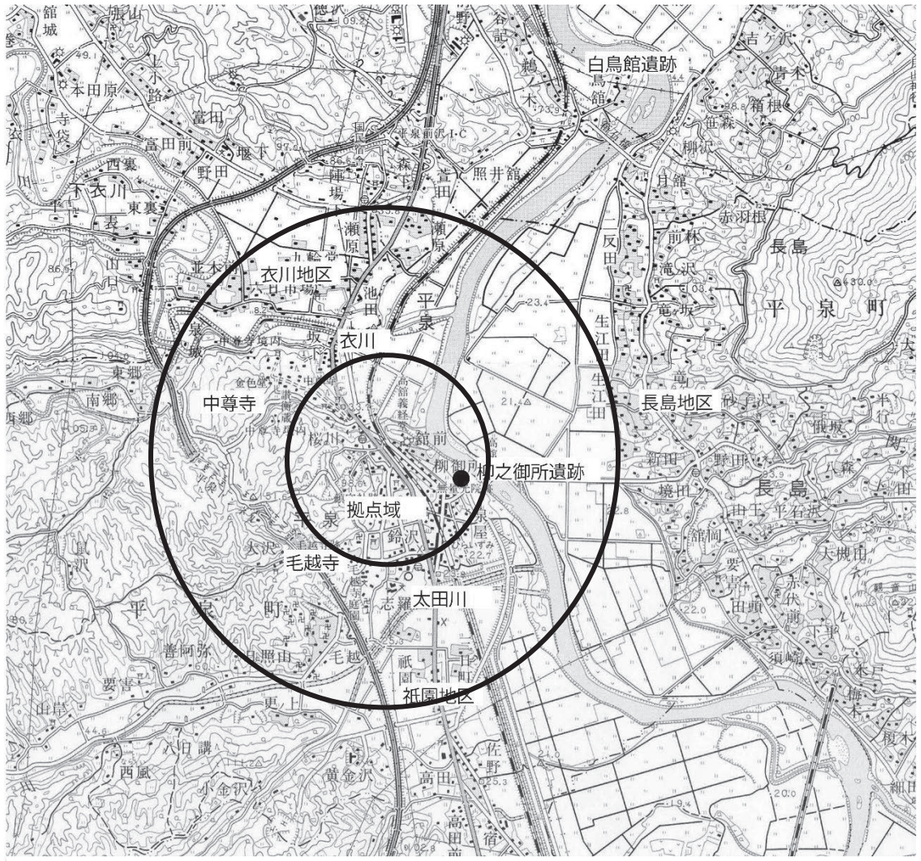


図２　平泉の中心部

In what follows, I will summarize Hiraizumi's role as a political center, focusing mainly on what can be recognized as archaeological phenomena. I will also supplement the content that has been assumed based on descriptions in historical documents, and try to grasp the shape, circumstances, and functions of the site as a political center.

2. The Appearance of Hiraizumi

Let us take a chronological look at the appearance of the central area of Hiraizumi, mainly based on ruins and artifacts. Here, we will divide it into three periods (note 2).

(1) Before the 12th century (Figure 2 The central area of Hiraizumi)

There are many unknowns about the appearance of the area around Hiraizumi before the 12th century. In the Koromogawa area on the north bank across the Koromogawa River from Hiraizumi, there is the Chōjagahara Temple ruins, thought to date back to the first half of the 11th century, and artifacts from the 11th century have been found at the Sewara I and II sites. Archaeological materials also suggest that the area was mainly used north of the Koromogawa River during this period.

On the other hand, although pottery has been excavated in the base area of Hiraizumi, and a large ditch from the late 11th century has been found in the grounds of Chūson-ji Temple, no significant artifacts or remains have been found. There are many unknowns about the appearance of this period, which is very different from the situation regarding the 12th century.

（２）12 世紀前半（図３）

平泉のうちでも 12 世紀前半代の遺物が出土する位置は限定的である。この時期の遺物や遺構がまとまって確認されている地域として柳之御所遺跡堀内部地区のほか、柳之御所遺跡堀外部の一部や中尊寺境内があげられる。

柳之御所遺跡は 12 世紀前半から機能を開始する。造営経過には時間幅も推察できるが、12 世紀前半のうちに、堀に囲まれた範囲に大型の建物が所在するという基本的な要素が形成される（櫻井 2022）。遺跡は周囲と自然地形により画された立地にある。それに加えて人為的な区画施設として溝や堀が構築され、周囲と画した範囲として明確に区分されたことが指摘できる。堀内部には大型の掘立柱建物が所在し、これらが遺跡内で中心的な機能をもったことが想定できる。堀による区画内部では、さらに塀による内部区画が形成される。周囲と区画される範囲の成立と捉えられ、機能的にも周囲と画される状況が成立したことが想定できる。堀による区画内部が周辺と区分され、さらにその中の塀による区画内部が、家政的もしくは外政的な機能の中心となった可能性を想起できよう。塀による区画が内部に所在するものの、遺物も含めた分布範囲は狭く、遺跡が機能した範囲は堀に区画され範囲内のうちでも限定的だったと考えられる。

表２　柳之御所遺跡の構成要素

段階	時期		中心域			周辺区画		
		堀跡	大型建物	内部区画	園池	建物	区画域	工房域
Ⅰ段階	12 世紀前半	外側の堀	○	○	－	△	－	△
Ⅱ段階	12 世紀中	外側の堀	○	○	Ⅰ期	○	○	○
Ⅲ段階	12 世紀後半	内側の堀	○	○	Ⅱ期	○	○	○

柳之御所遺跡堀外部では、遺構の状況は不明な部分も残るものの当該時期の遺物が一部で出土している。この段階でも散在的な状況の可能性はあるが、一部の利用が開始されている。

このほか、中尊寺境内で遺物等がまとまって出土している。中尊寺境内では金剛院下層の調査で 12 世紀初頭の土器類が確認されるなど、12 世紀前半には機能を開始する。また、大池伽藍跡でも当該段階からの造営が見込まれており、この段階で園池の造営が想定されている。これらの考古学的事象は 12 世紀前半の金色堂建立や、「寺塔已下注文」（『吾妻鏡』文治 5 年 9 月 17 日条）で記される藤原清衡の事績としての中尊寺造営といったその他の文献記載とも整合的である。なお、当初期の伽藍、建物の具体的な様相やその性格、宗教的意義については多くの議論がある（入間田 2013、斉藤 2014 ほか）。

このほか、平泉町中心部の花立地区でも、花立Ⅱ遺跡から 12 世紀前半とみられる瓦が出土しており、12 世紀前半代のうちに、この地区でも部分的に利用が開始されたことがわかる。遺構の時期変遷等には不明確な部分が残るが、近接する花館廃寺跡も合わせ、瓦の利用から寺院等の関連が想起される。さらに、この地区では陶器生産が試みられており、窯跡が確認されている。生産量や操業期間は限定的なものと見込まれるが、出土資料の特徴から 12 世紀前半の年代が指摘されている。

これらから 12 世紀前半代の状況を概観すると、瓦の出土などから寺院の造営が想定される花立地区や中尊寺が位置する関山丘陵などの平泉中心部北側及び西側の丘陵部に寺院が造営されたことが窺える。そして、柳之御所遺跡は居館として機能し、饗宴などを行なう場が築かれた。造営初期の平泉はこれらを中核的な施設に、生産施設が散在する状況を復元できる。柳之御所遺跡堀内部地区でも、

(2) First stage of the 12th century (Figure 3)

Even in Hiraizumi, the locations where artifacts from the first stage of the 12th century have been excavated are limited. Areas where artifacts and remains from this period have been confirmed in large numbers include the area inside the moat at the Yanaginogosho site, as well as part of the area outside the moat at the Yanaginogosho site and the grounds of Chūson-ji Temple.

The Yanaginogosho site began functioning in the beginning of the 12th century. The construction process would be continued over a certain time period, but the basic element of a large building being located within an area surrounded by a moat was formed in the first half of the 12th century (Sakurai 2022).

The site is in a location that is defined by the surrounding area and natural topography. In addition, ditches and moats were constructed as artificial division facilities, and it can be noted that the area was clearly divided from the surrounding area. Inside the moat, there is a large post-hole building, and it can be assumed that these played a central role within the site. Inside the division by the moat, further internal divisions are formed by fences. This can

Table 2 Components of Yanaginogosho site

phase	period	central area				periphery		
		moat	large building	area division	garden pond	building	area division	workshop area
I	early 12c	outer	○	○		△	-	△
II	middle 12c	outer	○	○	I	○	○	○
III	late 12c	inner	○	○	II	○	○	○

be seen as the establishment of an area that was separated from the surrounding area, and it can be assumed that a situation was established where the area was functionally separated from the surrounding area as well. The area separated by the moat from the surrounding area, and the area separated by the fence within that may have been the center of domestic or foreign affairs functions. Although the area was separated by the fence, the distribution area, including the artifacts, was small, and the area in which the site was used was probably limited within the area separated by the moat.

Outside the moat of the Yanaginogosho site, some remains from that period have been excavated, although the state of the remains is still unclear. Even at this stage, they may still be scattered, but some use had already begun.

In addition, a large number of remains have been excavated in the grounds of Chūson-ji Temple. In the grounds of Chūson-ji Temple, early 12th century pottery was found during an investigation from the lower layer of Kongō-in Temple, and it is believed that the temple began to function in the early 12th century. Construction is also expected to have begun at the Ōikegaran Ato from this stage, and it is assumed that a garden pond was built at this stage. These archaeological events are consistent with other written records, such as the construction of Konjikidō in the first half of the 12th century and the construction of Chūson-ji Temple as an achievement of Fujiwara no Kiyohira, as recorded in the "Report on the Temples and Others in Hiraizumi" (Azuma Kagami, September 17, 1189). However, there is much debate about the specific appearance, character, and religious significance of the temples and buildings from this early period (Irumada 2013, Saito 2014, etc.).

In addition, roof tiles believed to date to the first half of the 12th century have been excavated from the Hanadate II site in the Hanadate district in the center of Hiraizumi Town, showing that partial use in this area began in the first half of the 12th century. Although there are still some unclear points regarding the time transition of the remains, the use of roof tiles, along with the nearby ruins of Hanadate Temple, suggests a connection to temples and other structures. Furthermore, attempts at ceramics production were made in this area, and kiln remains have been confirmed. The production volume and period of operation are expected to have been limited, but the characteristics of the excavated materials point to the first half of the 12th century.

From these, it can be seen that temples were built in the Hanadate area, where the roof tiles were excavated, and on the hills to the north and west of central Hiraizumi, such as the Kanzan Hills where Chūson-ji Temple is located. The Yanaginogosho site also functioned as a residence, and a place was built for holding banquets and other events. It is possible to reconstruct Hiraizumi in the early period of construction with these as the core facilities and production facilities distributed around.

遺跡のうち北側に偏した位置での利用が窺えることやこれらの遺跡の分布傾向から、平泉の中でも当初期から機能した位置は限定的で、中尊寺と柳之御所遺跡堀内部を結ぶ部分と、花立地区に限られることがわかる。この段階の平泉は寺院と政治拠点が造営され地域拠点としての性格が築かれていったとみられる。特に、中尊寺（金色堂）と居館（柳之御所遺跡）の関係性がこの段階からみえることは重要である。一方で、後に比べると面的な広がりは少なく、限定的な規模と機能をもつ拠点であったと想定できる。



図３　12 世紀前半の平泉

（３）12 世紀中葉（図４）

居館である柳之御所遺跡は機能を継続する。当該時期の柳之御所遺跡の状況は、堀によって区画された内部にさらに塀に囲まれた中心域の区画があり、12 世紀前半段階からの基本的構成が継続される（櫻井 2023）。塀内部を中心に、規格的な四面庇建物群と多量の遺物から拠点空間としてのあり方が顕著になる。塀による区画の内部に規格的な四面庇建物群とそれに近接して当該時期には園池が造営される。構成要素が掘立柱建物に限定された前段階から変化し、饗宴儀礼空間としての性格がより顕著になることが想起できる。四面庇建物の所在と、規格性の高い建物が造営された状況からは、遺跡機能の拡充が想定できよう。

また、柳之御所遺跡堀内部地区と遺跡外が前述の堀内部で確認されている道路によって関連し、堀外部も含めた周辺域の利用が明確になる。道路とつながる位置にある、外側の堀に架かる南端部や北西端の橋は、中尊寺や平泉の街区と遺跡との関係を示す遺構であろう。また、空間的な位置関係では、柳之御所遺跡の園池に架かる橋が、延長方向に金鶏山が位置する真西方向を向く。遺跡内の大型の建物が南北棟で構成されることと合わせ、東西方向への重視との推測ができる。遺跡内の基準方位が正方位であることも、金鶏山方向との関係を想起させる。文献史料に現れない、当時の金鶏山の把握のされかたは確定できないが、12 世紀中葉以降に山頂に経塚が断続的に築かれることは注目できる。

前段階に造営された中尊寺は機能を継続するほか、この段階において新たに毛越寺や隣接する観自在王院が造営される。毛越寺は藤原基衡によって造営が開始され、観自在王院は毛越寺に隣接し、藤原基衡の妻が造営したと記される。いずれも寺院仏堂とその前面に浄土庭園が築かれた。毛越寺は藤

Even in the area inside the Yanaginogosho site's moat, the use of the remains is seen to be biased towards the north, and from the distribution of these remains, it is clear that the areas that were active in Hiraizumi from this early period were limited to the area connecting Chūson-ji Temple and the inside of the Yanaginogosho site's moat, and the Hanadate area. It is believed that Hiraizumi at this stage established temples and political bases, and established its character as a regional center. It is particularly important that the relationship between Chūson-ji Temple (Konjikidō) and the residence (Yanaginogosho site) can be seen from this stage. However, compared to later periods, it was less extensive, and it can be assumed that it was a base with limited scale and function.

(3) Mid-12th century (Figure 4)

The Yanaginogosho site, which was a residence, continued to function. The situation of the Yanaginogosho site at this time was that the interior was divided by a moat, with a central area surrounded by fences, and the basic structure from the early 12th century was continued (Sakurai 2023). The standardized four-sided eaves buildings and the large number of artifacts inside the fence make it clear that it was a base space. Inside the fence, standardized four-sided eaves buildings were built, and a garden pond was built nearby during this period. It can be imagined that the components changed from the previous stage, when they were limited to post-hole buildings, and that the characteristics of the space as a banquet and ceremonial space became more prominent. The location of the four-sided eaves buildings and the situation in which highly standardized buildings were built suggest that the functions of the site were expanded.

In addition, the area inside the moat at the Yanaginogosho site and the outside of the site are connected by the road confirmed inside the moat mentioned above, making the use of the surrounding area, including the outside of the moat, clear. The bridges at the southern and northwestern ends of the outer moat, which connect to the road, are likely relics that show the relationship between Chūson-ji Temple and the Hiraizumi town area and the site. In terms of spatial positional relationships, the bridge over the garden pond at Yanaginogosho site faces due west, where Mt. Kinkeisan is located. This, along with the fact that the large buildings in the site are composed of north-south buildings, suggests that the emphasis was on the east-west direction. The fact that the reference direction within the site is a square also suggests a relationship with the direction of Mt. Kinkeisan. It is unclear how Mt. Kinkeisan was understood at the time, as it does not appear in historical documents, but it is noteworthy that sutra mounds were intermittently built on the mountaintop from the mid-12th century onwards.

Chūson-ji Temple, which was built in the previous stage, continues to function, and in this stage, Mōtsū-ji Temple and the adjacent Kanjizaiō-in Temple were newly built. Construction of Mōtsū-ji Temple was started by Fujiwara no Motohira, and Kanjizaiō-in Temple is adjacent to Mōtsū-ji Temple and is recorded as having been built by Fujiwara no Motohira's wife. In both cases, a pure land garden was constructed in front of a temple hall.

原基衡によって円隆寺が、その後藤原秀衡によって嘉祥寺が造営されて完成する。

また、12 世紀中葉以降、平泉の街区を構成する道路が造られることも重要である。毛越寺から東西に延びる東西大路のほか、南北方向に延びる道路が複数の位置で確認されている。これらの志羅山遺跡や泉屋遺跡などで確認されてきた道路跡は構築の時期差などもあり、工程差や年代などさらなる検討も必要だが、12 世紀中葉前後に構築され始めることがおおむねの共通見解となっている。

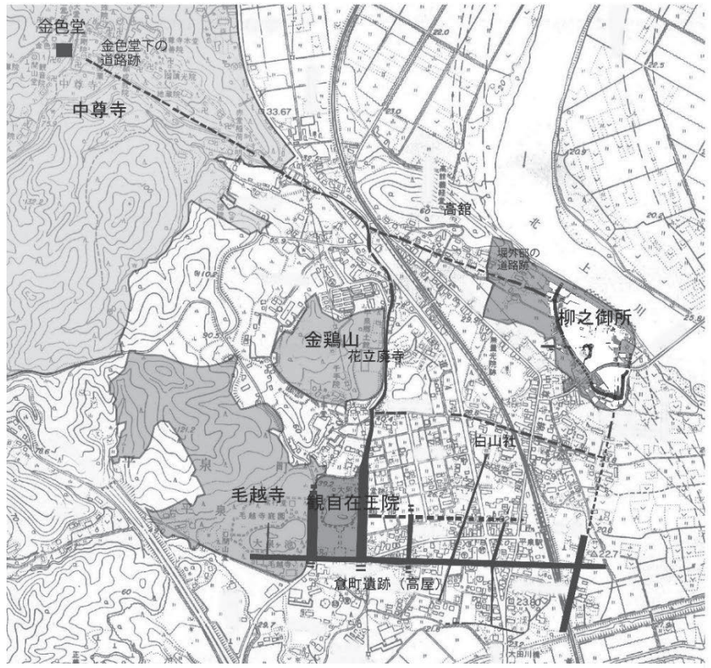


図４　12 世紀中葉の平泉

なお、東西大路などの正方位を基軸に作られる幹線道路は、柳之御所遺跡の主要な建物群と同様の正方位を軸方向とする傾向を示す。政治行政の実際的拠点である柳之御所遺跡、奥州藤原氏の平泉を拠点とした統合の象徴のひとつと推察できる寺院（毛越寺）や東西大路周辺の整備などの事象とが時間的、内容的に対応する。権力基盤である実務的拠点と象徴的な側面のそれぞれが重視され、寺院や大路の整備は居館とは異なる位置に行われるが、正方位の重視といった構造上の類似もあり、同一の方向性での整備と推察できよう。

（４）12 世紀後半（図５）

柳之御所遺跡は堀によって区画された内部に、さらに塀に囲まれた中心域の区画と塀の内部を中心に規格的な建物群が所在する拠点空間としてのあり方が継続する。塀内部に四面庇で規格性の高い建物群や園池があり、塀に区画された範囲が広がり、行政的空間と饗宴空間などが分節しながら構築された状況が想定できる（櫻井 2024）。堀内部全体が一体として機能しながら、塀等の区画による空間の分節と道路による周囲との接続が理解できる。他遺跡など周囲との関連をみると、柳之御所遺跡堀内部地区と遺跡外が前述の堀内部で確認されている道路によってつながる。柳之御所遺跡堀外部の詳細な年代と遺構変遷は課題が残るが、遺構状況や外部の出土資料などからは、12 世紀後半段階には道路に沿って区画が形成され、大規模な建物が存在する。柳之御所遺跡の西側に位置する高館でも中腹に堀が巡っており、この時期には丘陵部も頂部において利用が行われた。堀内部地区全体を俯瞰できる位置にあり、具体的な性格は判然としないが、関係性の想定は不自然なものではない。これらから平坦部の堀内部から、堀外部の道路などが所在する範囲を挟んで丘陵部まで利用された状況がわかる。

Mōtsū-ji Temple was completed when Kashō-ji Temple was constructed by Fujiwara no Hidehira after Enryū-ji Temple was constructed by Fujiwara no Motohira.

It is also important to note that the roads that make up the blocks of Hiraizumi were constructed from the mid-12th century onwards. In addition to the east-west avenue that runs from Mōtsū-ji Temple, roads running north-south have been confirmed in multiple locations. The remains of these roads that have been confirmed at the Shirayama and Izumiya sites have differences in the construction period, and further investigation is necessary into the differences in construction process and dates, but it is generally agreed that they began to be constructed around the mid-12th century.

In addition, main roads such as the east-west avenue that are built on the square axis tend to have their axes aligned in the square direction, similar to the main buildings at the Yanaginogosho site. Events such as the Yanaginogosho site, the practical base of political administration, the temple (Mōtsū-ji) that can be assumed to be one of the symbols of the integration of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan with Hiraizumi as its base, and the development of the area around the east-west main street correspond in time and content. Emphasis was placed on both the practical base that was the power base and the symbolic aspect, and the development of the temple and main street was carried out in a location different from the residence, but there are structural similarities such as the emphasis on the north-south direction, and it can be assumed that the development was in the same direction.

(4) Late 12th century (Figure 5)

The Yanaginogosho site continues to function as a base space, with a central area surrounded by fences and a group of standard buildings located inside the fence. Inside the fence, there are highly standardized buildings with eaves on all four sides, as well as a garden pond, and the area divided by the fence expands, and it can be imagined that administrative space and banquet space were constructed while being segmented (Sakurai 2024). While the entire inside of the moat functions as a whole, it can be understood that the space is segmented by the fences and other partitions, and is connected to the surrounding area by roads. Looking at the relationship with other ruins and other surrounding areas, the area inside the moat at Yanaginogosho site is connected to the outside of the site by the road confirmed inside the moat mentioned above. Although the detailed age and changes in the remains outside the moat at Yanaginogosho site remain an issue, the state of the remains and excavated materials outside indicate that in the late 12th century, partitions were formed along the roads and large buildings existed. Takadachi, located to the west of Yanaginogosho site, also had a moat running around the middle of the hillside, and the hilltop was also used during this period. It is located in a position that overlooks the entire area inside the moat, and although its specific nature is unclear, it is not unnatural to assume a relationship. From this, we can see that the flat area inside the moat, including the area outside the moat where roads are located, was used up to the hillside.

平泉の中心域では、12 世紀中葉以降に作られた街区を構成する道路が整備され、12 世紀後半段階には道路周辺の区画などが知られている。道路跡は構築の時期差などの検討も必要だが、12 世紀中葉以降には構築されており、12 世紀後半段階には街路整備された範囲が広がり、柳之御所遺跡はこれらの道路とつながるが、その状況は前段階より継続する。前述の堀外部地区のほか、街路周辺でいくつかの区画が想定されているほか、調査事例も蓄積されつつある。区画は地形的な制約などもあり、街路周辺に限られるなど、集住の程度や集住者の具体などには不明な点が残り、現在確認されている規模などからは、いまだ限定的な内容が考えられるものの、街区の整備と都市域の形成がこの段階でも継続していると考えられる。

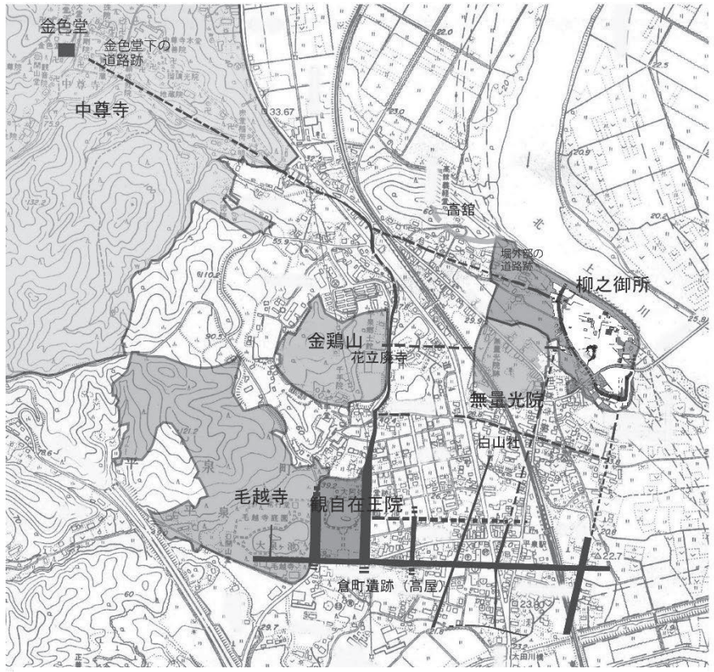


図 5　12 世紀後半の平泉

当該時期には、柳之御所遺跡と猫間ケ淵を挟んで隣接する無量光院が造営される。無量光院の軸方位には計測の方法や位置などによりいくつかの説明がなされてきているが、正方位から傾きがあることが知られており、土塁や堀の軸方位の角度は傾きが大きいことも指摘されている（本澤 1993）。近年の調査成果から、本堂と関連するとみられる本堂前の舞台遺構での計測から８°ほどとされている（前川・島原 2014）。柳之御所遺跡では当該段階に 10〜15°の軸方向をもつ建物を想定しており、正方位の建物群を壊して、傾きをもつ建物群が造営されている。正方位から 10°前後の傾きをもって形成されることは重要であろう。また、無量光院から延びる地形の高まりと柳之御所遺跡方向に延びる遺構が確認されており、両遺跡間をつなぐ施設の可能性が高く、両遺跡の関連性を補強する材料となろう。

また、無量光院の南側、大きくは柳之御所遺跡、無量光院などの所在する近傍に白山社も存在する。白山社が『吾妻鏡』で記載されるうちにいずれに比定されるか、また鎮守の成立した時期や性格には議論があるが（上島 2010、菅野 2020 ほか）、白山社遺跡の出土資料が 12 世紀中葉の特徴を示すことや道路の角度と無量光院の下層遺構からは、当該段階までには柳之御所遺跡や無量光院周辺の景観が確立していると考えられよう。

In the central area of Hiraizumi, roads that make up blocks were built from the mid-12th century onwards, and areas around the roads are known from the later stage of the 12th century. Although it is necessary to consider the difference in the construction period of the road remains, they were built from the mid-12th century onwards, and the area where the streets were developed expanded in the second half of the 12th century, and the Yanaginogosho site is connected to these roads, but this situation continues from the previous stage. In addition to the area outside the moat mentioned above, several areas are assumed to exist around the streets, and survey examples are being accumulated. Due to topographical constraints, the area was limited to the area around the streets, and the extent of the settlement and the specific residents remain unclear. Based on the currently confirmed scale, the details are still limited, but it is believed that the development of the blocks and the formation of the urban area continued even at this stage.

During this period, Muryōkō-in Temple, adjacent to the Yanaginogosho site and Nekomaga-fuchi, was built. There have been several explanations for the axial direction of Muryōkō-in Temple, based on the measurement method and location, but it is known that it is tilted from the normal direction, and it has been pointed out that the axial direction of the earthworks and moat is greatly tilted (Honzawa 1993). Based on the results of recent surveys, it is estimated to be about 8° based on measurements of the stage remains in front of the main hall, which are thought to be related to the main hall (Maekawa and Shimahara 2014). At the Yanaginogosho site, buildings with an axial direction of 10 to 15° were assumed at this stage, and the buildings of north-south direction were demolished to build the buildings with an inclination. It is significant that the site is tilted at about 10° from the north direction. In addition, a bridge like structure of the terrain extending from Muryōkō-in Temple and remains extending in the direction of the Yanaginogosho site have been confirmed, making it highly likely that this is a facility connecting the two ruins, and this will reinforce the relations between the two ruins.

In addition, Hakusansha Shrine is located to the south of Muryōkō-in Temple, in the vicinity of the Yanaginogosho site and Muryōkō-in Temple. There is debate as to which shrine Hakusansha Shrine corresponds to as described in the Azuma Kagami, as well as the time and nature of the shrine's establishment (Ueshima 2010, Kanno 2020, etc.), but the materials excavated from the Hakusansha Shrine ruins show characteristics of the mid-12th century, and the angle of the road and the remains of the lower layer of Muryōkō-in Temple suggest that the landscape around Yanaginogosho site and Muryōkō-in Temple had been established by this stage.

３．政治拠点としての平泉

上記の確認された考古資料などを中心に、今回の研究集会のテーマとして設定した各種の属性に従ってまとめる（表３）。この際、一つの構築物等が複数の性格をもつことも十分に想定されるが、ここでは整理上、重複はあるものの属性ごとに記載していく。また、考古資料では確認できていないが文献史料等から存在が想定される属性についても若干触れていくこととする。

表３　整理表

為政者と支配領域	政治拠点の範囲と権力機構	拠点の荘厳（権力と財力の表象）	象徴事物（支配の正当性）	為政者の居所と墓所
奥州藤原氏 現在の東北地方（濃淡あり）	現在の平泉周辺 ※以下参考 平泉館の省帳田文 奥大道 実務官僚層 「秀衡泰衡先例」ほか	寺院 （中尊寺・毛越寺・観自在王院・無量光院） 浄土庭園 高屋・倉町	中尊寺 （金色堂・一基塔ほか） 金鶏山 惣社 ※以下参考 銅印 一切経	平泉館と金色堂

（１）為政者と支配の期間

奥州藤原氏が、11 世紀末から 12 世紀初頭に豊田館から平泉に拠点を移し、その後 1189（文治５）年に奥州合戦で滅びるまでの 90 年ほどにわたって平泉に拠点を築く。ただし、既述のとおり、90 年間の中でも拠点域の様相及び支配のあり方に変遷があるもしくは想定されることは留意すべき点である。

為政者である奥州藤原氏は、初代清衡、２代基衡、３代秀衡、４代泰衡にわたる。藤原経清から知られる奥州藤原氏の出自や系譜には議論もあるが、京都の藤原氏から系譜が辿れ、東北地方に土着したものと捉えられている。なお、自己の名乗りとしてではないと指摘されているが、『中尊寺建立供養願文』には、「東夷遠酋」「俘囚上頭」などの文言がみえる。

（２）支配領域と政治拠点の範囲と捉え方

【支配領域】　陸奥、出羽両国にあたる東北地方が奥州藤原氏の支配領域として想定されてきた。関連する事象として、藤原秀衡は 1170 年に鎮守府将軍に、1181 年に陸奥守に補任される（註３）。また、寺塔已下注文（『吾妻鏡』文治５年９月 17 日条）にみられる「先自白河関、至于外浜」や奥大道に傘卒都婆を立てるとの記事、「計当国中心」などの文言が支配領域としての東北地方との想定につながってきた。このほか、平泉館に陸奥、出羽の省帳田文が保管されており、平泉館とともに焼亡したことの記載も、本来は国府に存すべき文書類が平泉に存在したことと捉えられ、支配領域として東北地方の想定につながってきたほか、「奥州羽州地下管領」の記載も支配領域と関連する。

これらから支配領域として、陸奥出羽両国（現在の東北地方６県）を想定する場合が多いが、その影響には濃淡があり、例えば国府である多賀城周辺やその以南には奥州藤原氏との関係が弱い地域があることが考古資料の特徴から想定されてきた。つまり奥州藤原氏が直接的に支配する範囲と、その関係が強い地域のほかに、他の氏族や国府周辺などの関係性の弱さが想定される地域などがある。よく知られているように、文治合戦の際の防衛線となった阿津賀志山防塁は宮城県と福島県境にあたる

3. Hiraizumi as a political center

The above confirmed archaeological materials will be used as a basis for organizing the various attributes set as the theme of this symposium (Table 3). Even though it is entirely possible that a single structure may have multiple characteristics, they will be listed by attribute, although there will be some overlap. I will also touch briefly on attributes that have not been confirmed in archaeological materials but are assumed to exist based on historical documents.

(1) Rulers and period of rule

table 3 Elements of political center

ruler and domain	bounfary of base and the organizattion of power	solemnity: manifestation of political and financial power	symbolic materials: legitimacy of the rule	residence and tomb of rulers
Oshu Fujiwara clan	Hiraizumi and around	temples: Chuson-ji, Motsu-ji, Kanjizaio-in and Muryoko-in	Chuson-ji: Konjikido, the pagoda, etc.	Hiraizumi no Tachi and Konjikido
Tohoku region	appendices	Pure Land gardens	Mt. Kinkeisan	
	documents of people and land at Hiraizumi no Tachi	Takaya: tall buildings Kuramachi: storages	integrated shrine	
	large road to northern area		appendices	
	bureaus		copper seal	
	precedents of Hidehira and Yasuhira'		Issai-kyo sutra	

The Ōshū Fujiwara clan moved their base from Toyoda no Tachi to Hiraizumi between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century, and maintained their base in Hiraizumi for about 90 years until their downfall in the Ōshū War in 1189 (Bunji 5). However, as mentioned above, it should be noted that there were or are expected to be changes in the state of the base area and the way of rule during those 90 years.

The Ōshū Fujiwara clan, who ruled the area, spanned the first Kiyohira, the second Motohira, the third Hidehira, and the fourth Yasuhira. There is some debate about the origins and genealogy of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, known from Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo, but it is believed that their lineage can be traced back to the Fujiwara clan in Kyoto and that they were indigenous to the Tohoku region.

In addition, although it has been pointed out that they did not refer to themselves, the words "Eastern Barbarian Distant Chief" and "Captive Prisoner Head" appear in the "Prayer for the Construction of Chūson-ji Temple."

(2) The extent and understanding of the controlled territory and political base

[Controlled territory] The Tohoku region, which corresponds to both Mutsu and Dewa provinces, has been assumed as the controlled territory of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan. As a related event, Fujiwara no Hidehira was appointed Chinjufu Shogun in 1170 and Mutsu no Kami in 1181 (note 3). In addition, the phrases "From Shirakawa Barrier to Outer Beach" in the order for the Report of Temples and Others in Hiraizumi (Azuma Kagami, September 17, 1189), the article about erecting an umbrella stupa on the Okudaidō Road, and "Planning the center of the country" have led to the assumption that the controlled territory was the Tohoku region. In addition, the fact that the Mutsu and Dewa provincial ledgers and field documents were kept in the Hiraizumi no Tachi and that it was burned down together with the Hiraizumi no Tachi is also taken to mean that documents that should have been kept in the provincial capital were in Hiraizumi, leading to the assumption that the controlled territory was the Tohoku region, and the mention of " Ōshū and Ushū Underground Kanrei" is also related to the controlled territory. From these, it is often assumed that the area under their control was the two provinces of Mutsu and Dewa (the six prefectures of the Tohoku region today), but the extent of their influence was not similar. For example, it has been assumed from the characteristics of archaeological evidence that there were areas around Taga-jō, the provincial capital, and areas south of it that had weak ties with the Ōshū Fujiwara clan. In other words, in addition to the area directly controlled by the Ōshū Fujiwara clan and areas with strong ties, there are also areas where ties with other clans and areas around the provincial capital are assumed to be weak. As is well known, the Atsukashiyama fortifications, which served as a defense line during the Bunji War, were built on Atsukashiyama, which is on the border between Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures.

厚樫山に築かれている。文治５年合戦の動員や、その後の大河兼任の乱などからも、東北地方全域への奥州藤原氏の影響の濃淡が指摘されてきた。このほか、紫波町日詰地区に拠点を置いた樋爪氏などが代表的だが、東北各地に支配氏族の存在が知られている場所がある。また、摂関家領荘園の存在も知られている。これらと奥州藤原氏の関係性は議論があり、具体的な奥州藤原氏の支配のあり方とその領域は検討課題として残されている。

【政治拠点】奥州藤原氏の政治拠点として機能したのが平泉であることは異論がない。しかし、平泉の範囲の捉え方は複数ありうる（図２）。拠点域の定義によって異なるが、12 世紀代の資料が比較的まとまって確認されている範囲として、ここでは下記を想定した。この範囲でも、①から③に漸移的に 12 世紀代の考古資料分布密度が薄くなっていく。道路遺構などが確認され、拠点域の整備状況がある程度面的に確認できるのは①の範囲である。

①北上川、衣川、太田川で区画された範囲。

中尊寺や毛越寺などの寺院、浄土庭園及び柳之御所遺跡はこの範囲に含まれる。現在の平泉町の中心部にあたり、これは現在の平泉町の中心部から直線で１㎞ほど、２キロ四方くらいの範囲となる。

②衣川地区や祇園地区を含む範囲。

①の寺院や史跡に加えて、南方鎮守に想定される祇園社が位置する範囲や、北側の衣川北岸の接待舘遺跡などが位置する範囲などが含まれる。平泉町の中心部から直線で２㎞ほど、４キロ四方くらいの範囲となる。

③奥州市白鳥館遺跡や北上川対岸の月舘、達谷窟などを含む範囲。

北上川上流の奥州市白鳥舘遺跡や、北上川対岸の月舘大師堂、平泉町西部の達谷窟などを含む範囲である。平泉町の中心部から直線で５㎞ほどの範囲となる。

④さらに外側の範囲

境界は不明瞭だが、現在の奥州市前沢周辺、一関市域などが想定される。

（３）権力と財力を表象する構造物等

政治拠点を示すあるいはそれを荘厳する構造物について確認する。

考古資料及び文献史料との対応が概ね了解されているものについてあげていく。まず、拠点として居館である柳之御所遺跡が機能する。堀内部地区と外部に遺構が所在するが、堀で区画された内部が居館として機能し、これが『吾妻鏡』に記される「平泉館」（註４）にあたると考えられている。ただし、その範囲が例えば塀の内部などとして、さらに限定できるかなどの特定は難しい。

拠点施設となる柳之御所遺跡は堀によって区画されており、堀による周囲からの区画は区画内外の差を視覚的、物理的に示すものだったと考えられる。また、堀による区画の内部には、さらに塀による更なる区画と大規模な建物、園池などが所在する。これらは周囲からの視認性は判然としないが、権力を示す構造物でもあったと考えられる。内部の大型建物や園池とそこで行われたとみられる饗宴儀礼などの儀式は、支配氏族の威勢を示す内容となったとみなしうる。このほか、倉の可能性が惹起される総柱建物や竪穴遺構も権力財力を示す可能性があろう。

なお、堀による区画やその位置は 12 世紀代を通じて継続し、当主等の変化によっても継続される要素とみられる。一方、居館内の施設は建て替えが行われるなど継続せず、遺跡の建物が拡充するなど変化する要素もある。継続する要素と変化する要素を把握できることを指摘しておきたい。

The mobilization for the Bunji 5th year War and the subsequent Ōkawa Kaneto Rebellion have also pointed out the extent of the influence of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan throughout the Tohoku region. Other examples include the Hizume clan, based in the Hizume area of Shiwa Town, and other places where the presence of ruling clans is known throughout the Tohoku region. The existence of manors under the regent family is also known. The relationship between these and the Ōshū Fujiwara clan is debated, and the specific form of rule and territory of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan remain an issue for further study.

[Political base] There is no disagreement that Hiraizumi functioned as the political center of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan. However, there are multiple ways of interpreting the boundaries of Hiraizumi (Figure 2). Although it depends on the definition of the base area, we have assumed the following as the area where a relatively large number of materials from the 12th century have been confirmed. Even within this area, the distribution density of archaeological materials from the 12th century gradually decreases from ① to ③. It is in area ① where road remains have been confirmed and the development status of the base area can be confirmed to a certain extent.

① The area surrounded by the Kitakamigawa River, the Koromogawa River, and the Ōtagawa River.

Temples such as Chūson-ji and Mōtsū-ji, the pure land garden, and the Yanaginogosho site are included in this area. It corresponds to the center of present-day Hiraizumi Town, and is an area of about 1 km in a straight line from the center of present-day Hiraizumi Town, and about 2 km square.

② The area including the Koromogawa and Gion districts

In addition to the temples and historic sites in ①, this includes the area where Gion Shrine, assumed to be the guardian deity of the south, is located, and the area where the Settaidate site on the north bank of the Koromogawa River are located to the north. This is an area of about 2km in a straight line from the center of Hiraizumi town, and about 4km square.

③ This is an area that includes the Shirotoritate site in Ōshū city, Tsukidate on the opposite bank of the Kitakamigawa River and Takkoku-no-Iwaya.

This is an area that includes the Shiratoritate site in Ōshū city upstream of the Kitakamigawa River, Tsukidate Daishidō on the opposite bank of the Kitakamigawa River, and Takkoku-no-Iwaya in the west of Hiraizumi town. This is an area of about 5km in a straight line from the center of Hiraizumi town.

④ Further outer area

The border is unclear, but it is thought to include the current area around Maesawa in Ōshū city and the area of Ichinoseki city.

(3) Structures that represent power and wealth

We will review the structures that represent or adorn the political center.

We will list those whose correspondence with archaeological materials and historical documents is generally understood. First, the Yanaginogosho site, which was a residence, functioned as a base. There are remains inside the moat and outside, but the inside, which was divided by the moat, functioned as a residence, and it is thought that this corresponds to the "Hiraizumi no Tachi" (note 4) described in the Azuma Kagami. However, it is difficult to determine whether the area can be further limited, for example, to the inside of a fence.

The Yanaginogosho site, which served as a base facility, was divided by a moat, and it is thought that the division by the moat from the surrounding area visually and physically indicated the difference between the inside and outside of the division. In addition, inside the division by the moat, there were large buildings, gardens, ponds, etc., which were further divided by fences. These are not clearly visible from the surrounding area, but they are thought to have been structures that indicated power. The large buildings and pond inside, as well as the banquets and other ceremonies that were likely held there, can be considered to have been indicative of the power of the ruling clan. In addition, the remains of the pillared buildings and pit structures, which may have been storehouses, may also indicate the clan's power and wealth. The moat divisions and their locations continued throughout the 12th century, and are considered to have continued even with the change of head of the family. On the other hand, the facilities within the residence did not continue, as they were rebuilt, and some elements changed, such as the expansion of the remains. It is important to note that it is possible to grasp the elements that continue and the elements that change.

次に、奥州藤原氏によって累代で構築された寺院及び浄土庭園があげられる。12 世紀前半に造営された中尊寺、12 世紀中葉に造営された毛越寺及び観自在王院、12 世紀後半に造営された無量光院がこれにあたる。奥州藤原氏の当主の各時期において、それぞれの寺院と庭園が造営されたことは重要であろう。これらの寺院の大伽藍と、そこに作られた浄土庭園は、実際の宗教儀礼や思想的な内容とともに、内外へ権力と財力を示す装置としても機能したと考えられる。また、花立廃寺など不明な点が残る寺院も所在する。

このほか、視認可能であったとみなされるものとして、東西大路沿いにあたる倉町遺跡では総柱構造の建物が確認されており、『吾妻鏡』にみえる「高屋」にあたると考えられている。また、観自在王院跡では車宿が確認されている。拡幅が確認されているが、幅 20m ほどの広さで造営された東西大路自体がもつ視覚的な効果とともに、道路沿いに形成されたこれらの諸施設が政治拠点の威勢を表象するものだったことが想定される。特に毛越寺の前面に位置し、平泉の拠点部への導入に近いであろう場所にあることは視覚的な意義を窺わせる。

なお、財力・権力を示す構築物、正当性のいずれに該当するか峻別することは難しいが、東西大路は平泉の重要な属性である。東西大路は法会の場でもあり（誉田 2018、入間田 2013）、大規模な道路が表象として機能したことは十分に想定されよう。日本の都市における軸線道路の重要性は指摘されており（吉田 2014）、平泉についても触れられているところだが、周辺状況が明らかになるにつれて、東西大路の重要性がより明らかとなっているように思われる。東北地方でも古代の多賀城における大路の存在は指摘されてきた。なお、軸線が東西大路である点も注目でき、この点は象徴性という視点からは古代の国府等との相違点となろう。一方で、機能面を重視し、それが象徴性につながるとみれば、共通する状況である。

また、文献史料に記載されるものの、現地比定等に議論があるものとして、加羅御所が「常居所」として記されている。

（４）支配の正当性を示す象徴事物等

氏族による領域支配について、その正当性を示すような施設について確認する。

考古資料及び文献史料との対応が概ね了解されているものをあげていく。代表的なものに中尊寺の諸施設があげられよう。中尊寺金色堂は３代の遺体を葬る廟として機能した。廟の形成は氏族の系譜を示す可能性があり、特に個人の墓ではなく、累代の墓所として機能したことが注目できる。また、金色堂と居館の関係についても注目できるが、次項で後述する。このほか、考古資料として明確には確認されていないが「一基塔」の存在が記されており、内容についての議論も多い（入間田 2013 ほか）。立地について関山丘陵の中尊寺境内の中でも標高の高い地点に比定されており、周囲からの視認性も高いと推察できる。このほかの伽藍や傘卒塔婆など中尊寺の伽藍が奥州藤原氏の支配の正当性に重要な位置を占めたとみられる。

また、同時代史料には記載がないが、金鶏山は無量光院の背景として重要なほか、山頂には 12 世紀中葉頃から経塚が築かれている。経塚が継続的に築かれることは政治拠点の正当性を示す可能性がある。なお、居館からも視認でき、建物や橋などの施設が金鶏山方向を指向したと推察される。無量光院との関係などから注目されるが、毛越寺と観自在王院の位置関係もあり、12 世紀中葉以降の金鶏山の位置づけは注目できる。なお、金鶏山のほかにも平泉の周囲に経塚が築かれたことが指摘されており（八重樫 2019）、権力などを示す象徴としての機能も想定できる。

Next, there are the temples and pure land gardens built by the Ōshū Fujiwara clan over successive generations. These include Chūson-ji Temple, built in the early 12th century, Mōtsū-ji Temple and Kanjizaio-in Temple, built in the mid-12th century, and Muryōkō-in Temple, built in late 12th century. It is important to note that temples and gardens were built during the period of each head of the Oshū Fujiwara clan. The large temples and pure land gardens created within them are thought to have functioned not only as religious ceremonies and ideological structures, but also as a means of demonstrating power and wealth both within and outside of Japan. There are also temples such as Hanadate Temple ruins about which there are still many unknowns.

In addition, a building with a pillar structure was found at the Kuramachi site along the east-west avenue, which is considered to have been visible, and is thought to correspond to the "Takaya" seen in the Azuma Kagami. A carriage lodge was also found at the ruins of Kanjizaiō-in Temple. The widening of the road has been confirmed, and it is assumed that the east-west avenue itself, which was built with a width of about 20 meters, had a visual effect, and that the various facilities built along the road represented the power of the political center. In particular, the fact that it is located in front of Mōtsū-ji Temple and in a place that is likely close to the entrance to the center of Hiraizumi suggests visual significance. Although it is difficult to clearly distinguish whether it is a structure that indicates wealth and power, or legitimacy, the east-west avenue is an important attribute of Hiraizumi. The east-west avenue was also a place for Buddhist ceremonies (Honda 2018, Irumada 2013), and it is quite conceivable that the large road functioned as a symbol. The importance of axial roads in Japanese cities has been pointed out (Yoshida 2014), and Hiraizumi has also been mentioned, the importance of the east-west main road seems to be gradually becoming clearer. The existence of a main road in ancient Taga-jō in the Tohoku region has also been pointed out. It is also noteworthy that the axis was an east-west main road, which is a difference from the viewpoint of symbolism with ancient provincial capitals. On the other hand, if the emphasis is placed on functionality and this is seen as connected to symbolism, then there is a common situation.

Additionally, although it is mentioned in historical documents, the Kara Imperial Palace is described as the "daily residence," and there is debate over its location, etc.

(4) Symbolic objects that show the legitimacy of rule

Confirm facilities that show the legitimacy of the clan's rule over the territory.

We will list those facilities whose correspondence with archaeological and historical documents is generally understood.

The facilities of Chūson-ji Temple are representative. Chūson-ji Temple's Konjikidō functioned as a mausoleum for the burial of three generations. The formation of the mausoleum may indicate the genealogy of the clan, and it is particularly noteworthy that it functioned as a burial site for successive generations, not as a grave for an individual. The relationship between Konjikidō and the residence is also noteworthy, but will be discussed in the next section.

In addition, although it has not been clearly confirmed as archaeological material, the existence of a "two stories pagoda" is recorded, and there is much discussion about its contents (Irumada 2013, etc.).

Its location is considered to be at a high altitude within the grounds of Chūson-ji Temple on the Kanzan Hills, and it can be assumed that it was highly visible from the surrounding area. Other buildings of Chūson-ji, such as the temple buildings and the stupas, are believed to have played an important role in legitimizing the rule of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan.

Although not mentioned in contemporary historical documents, Mt. Kinkeisan is important as the background of Muryōkō-in, and sutra mounds have been built on its summit since the mid-12th century. The continuous construction of sutra mounds may indicate the legitimacy of the political center. It can be seen from the residence, and it is presumed that buildings, bridges, and other facilities were oriented in the direction of Mt. Kinkeisan. It is noteworthy in terms of its relationship with Muryōkō-in, but the positional relationship between Mōtsū-ji and Kanjizaiō-in makes the positioning of Mt. Kinkeisan from the mid-12th century onwards noteworthy. It has been pointed out that sutra mounds were built around Hiraizumi in addition to Mt. Kinkeisan (Yaegashi 2019), and it is possible to assume that they functioned as symbols of power.

なお、柳之御所遺跡にあたる政庁・居館についても、堀による区画とその位置が代替わりによっても継承されたことからは、その利用が正当性を示すものだった可能性も示唆される。堀の機能について象徴的な意義を指摘する見解もある。

このほか、文献史料に記載され、比定に議論があるものとして惣社がある。『吾妻鏡』には鎮守の項があり、記載内容から寺院（中尊寺、毛越寺）の鎮守と平泉全体の鎮守の２者が指摘されている。中央鎮守として記される「惣社」は、国府惣社を模したものと考えられている。寺院の鎮守と、平泉の都市鎮守があり、神祇祭祀とともに奥州藤原氏の権威を示すものとなったと思われる。惣社や各鎮守現地比定やそれぞれの勧請の時期には議論があるが、白山社遺跡から出土した土器類は 12 世紀中葉にあてられている。

なお、構造物以外の支配の正当性を示す事物として、一切経や諸仏などの寺院に集積された事物や荘厳物も権力・財力を示すと同時に、文献に残された法会などの仏事とあわせてそれらを執行する氏族の正当性と関連したことは十分に想定される（註５）。各代の寺院と浄土庭園の造営は権力、財力を示すとともに、これらの法会の場の造営や法会の執行として支配につながるものであっただろう。

各代で寺院が造営されたことは周知のとおりだが、同時に各代で一切経など仏事・作善が行われたことも広く指摘されており、為政者と仏教との関わりを示している。文献には中尊寺、毛越寺の経蔵の存在が記され、中尊寺経蔵は「中尊寺建立供養願文」には瓦葺経蔵が記される。各代での金銀字一切経、千部一日経、紺紙金字法華経、紺紙金字一切経などの経典や宋版一切経などを収める経蔵の意義はこれまでも詳細に指摘されている（誉田 2018、入間田 2013、斉藤 2014 ほか）

（５）居所と墓所

1124 年に中尊寺金色堂が建立され、阿弥陀堂として機能する。藤原清衡没後に遺体が安置され、以降に堂内の改修とともに３代の遺体が安置され、３代の墓所として機能する。『吾妻鏡』において、居館である平泉館の説明には「金色堂の正方」と記載され、墓所と居館の関係性が意識されたことが窺える。金色堂は初代清衡の後に３代の墓所となるが、個人墓としてではなく、累代の墓所として機能したことは重要な特徴であろう。また、金色堂が居館や拠点となる平泉を見下ろす位置に立地することも注目されてきた。金色堂からの視点と、居館からの視点といずれからも視認されたことが想定できよう。累代の当主と、政治拠点施設の現在の当主との関係性や正当性を示唆するものである。

なお、中尊寺と居館（柳之御所遺跡）をつなぐ道路が断続的ではあるが、発掘調査成果として確認されている。道路の施工時期は確定が難しいが、柳之御所遺跡堀外部の位置では近年の調査状況からは造り替えも確認されており（西澤ほか 2024）、堀内部及び外部の遺構。遺物からみた機能の開始時期を鑑みれば、当初の道路の施工時期が 12 世紀のうちでも古い段階に対応することは十分に可能性がある推察であろう。

４．まとめ－政治拠点としての平泉の特徴－

最後にここまで述べた内容をまとめる。

【拠点施設】　政治拠点として、平泉にはその中核的施設である居館（柳之御所遺跡）が築かれる。柳之御所遺跡は、その位置が代替わり等があっても継承され、また、堀によって区画される状況が継続する。塀による区画や大規模な建物などは構成要素として継続するが、位置や建て替えが行われるなど、内容は変化することがわかる。位置や堀による区画、建物群の存在などの継続する要素と、建

In addition, the fact that the moat-lined area and its location at the government office and residence at the Yanaginogosho site have been inherited through successive generations suggests that its use may have been a justification for its legitimacy. Some also point out the symbolic significance of the function of the moat.

In addition, there is the integrated shrine that is mentioned in historical documents, but the identification is debated. The Azuma Kagami has an entry on tutelary deities, and from the contents, it is pointed out that there were two types of tutelary deities: the tutelary deities of temples (Chūson-ji and Mōtsū-ji) and the tutelary deities of Hiraizumi as a whole. The "sosha" described as the central tutelary deity is thought to be modeled after the Kokufu sosha. There were tutelary deities of temples and the tutelary deities of the city of Hiraizumi, and it is thought that they demonstrated the authority of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan along with the Shinto rituals. There is debate about the actual identification of the integrated shrine and each tutelary deity and the time of their enshrinement, but pottery excavated from the Hakusansha Shrine ruins is dated to the mid-12th century.

In addition, as things that show the legitimacy of rule other than structures, the objects and ornaments accumulated in temples, such as all sutras and Buddhas, also show power and financial strength, and it is fully assumed that they were related to the legitimacy of the clan that performed them, along with Buddhist ceremonies and other Buddhist services recorded in documents (note 5). The construction of temples and pure land gardens in each era was an indication of power and wealth, and would have been linked to rule through the construction of venues for these ceremonies and the execution of these ceremonies.

It is well known that temples were constructed in each era, in addition, it is also widely pointed out that Buddhist rites and good deeds such as the Issaikyo Sutra were also performed in each era, indicating the relationship between rulers and Buddhism. Documents record the existence of sutra storehouses at Chūson-ji and Mōtsū-ji, and the Chūson-ji sutra storehouse is described as a tiled sutra storehouse in the "Prayer for the Construction of Chūson-ji." The significance of the sutra storehouses, which housed sutras such as the Issaikyo Sutra in Gold and Silver, 1,000 One-Day Sutras, the Lotus Sutra in Gold on Dark Blue Paper, and the Issaikyo Sutra in Gold on Dark Blue Paper, as well as the Song edition of the Issaikyo Sutra, has been pointed out in detail in the past (Honda 2018, Irumada 2013, Saito 2014, etc.).

(5) Residence and Tomb

Konjikidō of Chūson-ji Temple was built in 1124 and functions as an Amida Hall. After the death of Fujiwara no Kiyohira, his body was enshrined there, and after the interior of the hall was renovated, the bodies of three generations were enshrined there, and it functions as tomb of the three generations. In the Azuma Kagami, the description of the Hiraizumi no Tachi is written as "Facing to Konjikidō," which suggests that the relationship between the tomb and the residence was taken into consideration. Konjikidō became the tomb of three generations after the first Kiyohira, but it is an important feature that it functioned not as a personal tomb but as a mausoleum for successive generations. It has also been noted that Konjikidō is located in a position overlooking Hiraizumi, which served as the residence and base. It can be assumed that it was visible from both the viewpoint of Konjikidō and the viewpoint of the residence. This suggests the relationship and legitimacy of the successive lords of the family and the current lord of the political base facility.

Furthermore, the road connecting Chūson-ji Temple and the residence (Yanaginogosho site) has been confirmed as an excavation result, albeit intermittently. It is difficult to determine when the road was constructed, but recent surveys have confirmed reconstruction outside the moat at the Yanaginogosho site (Nishizawa et al. 2024), and remains inside and outside the moat. Considering the time when the function began based on the remains, it is quite possible that the original road was constructed during the early stages of the 12th century.

4. Summary - Characteristics of Hiraizumi as a political center

[Base facility] As a political center, Hiraizumi was built with a residence (Yanaginogosho site) as its core facility. The location of the Yanaginogosho site has been passed down even when the owner changed hands, and the situation of dividing the area by moats continues. The division by fences and large buildings remain as components, but the content changes with changes in location and rebuilding. The fact that there are continuing elements such as location, division by moats, and the presence of buildings, and elements that do not continue and change such as building layout and the buildings themselves, is thought to be an important aspect that shows the characteristics of the site.

物配置や建物自体など継続せずに変化する要素があることは、遺跡の特徴を示す重要な内容と思われる。

【拠点の領域】　拠点施設の区画がある一方で、平泉の領域には囲繞施設などはなく、自然地形や特徴からいくつかの捉え方ができる。このうちでも考古資料の分布が特に濃厚な範囲として、河川などによって周囲と画される中心域が想定できる。

中心域には道路を基軸として街区形成が行われるが、一部の方形区画の想定を除き、域内に広がる方形街区の形成とはなっていない。東西大路が基軸のひとつとして設けられており、正方位の道路が基準となったことが想定されるが、軸方位が異なる道路も存在し、施設の分布が限定される状況からは、古代都城や多賀城周辺でみられるような明確な方形地割などの整然とした都市計画の想定は難しい。

道路の周囲には屋敷地とみられる区画が存在し、柳之御所遺跡西側の堀外部と合わせて、一族等の屋敷地が築かれたことが想定される。これらから、拠点における一定階層の集住が推定できるが、直接的に為政者と関連する氏族を超えた大規模な集住といった様相を想定できるかは不透明である。現在得られている考古学的な成果としての屋敷地等の分布などからは、集住の程度や規模をそれほど大規模なものとはみなしづらいと思われる（註６）。拠点造営や都市の発展には、意図的な造営・集住と消費を支えるなどの自然発展的な造営・集住があり得るが、平泉においては意図的、政策的な集住の程度はまだ強くなく、発展の中途だったかと思われる。ただし、平泉の中心部では発掘調査が継続しており、今後も継続的な検討課題となろう。

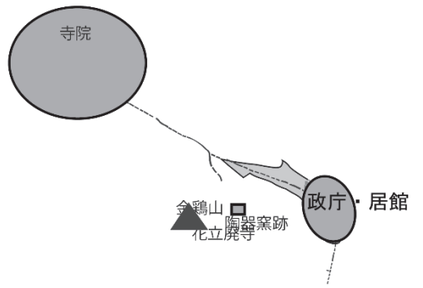


図６　政治拠点としての平泉

【荘厳・象徴となる関連施設】　関連施設として、当主累代の墓所が築かれる点も注目される。特に、居館と累代の墓所の位置関係が意識されていたことも重要であろう。しかし、両者は直線距離で２㎞ ほどの位置関係となっており、隣接しているなどの立地を取るものではないことは、関係性の意味を考える上で重要であろう。

また、仏教寺院の造営もあり、居館と寺院及び浄土庭園の関係性が注目できる。２代藤原基衡段階で、毛越寺及び観自在王院が、３代藤原秀衡段階では居館と隣接した無量光院が造営される。

[Area of the political center] While there are divisions for base facilities, there are no surrounding facilities in Hiraizumi's area, and there are several ways to interpret it based on the natural topography and characteristics. Among these, the central area, which is separated from the surrounding area by rivers, can be assumed to be the area where the distribution of archaeological materials is particularly dense.

In the central area, blocks are formed around roads as axes, but apart from some assumed square sections, they are not formed as square blocks that extend throughout the area. The east-west main street is one of the axes, and it is assumed that the roads were standard in a north-south direction, but there are also roads with different axial directions, and the distribution of facilities is limited, so it is difficult to imagine an orderly urban plan such as a clear square division of land as seen in ancient capitals and around Taga-jō.

There are plots that appear to be residence sites around the roads, and together with the outside of the moat on the west side of the Yanaginogosho site, it is assumed that the residence sites of family members were built there. From this, it can be inferred that a certain level of settlement was established at the center, but it is unclear whether it is possible to imagine a large-scale settlement that went beyond the clans directly related to the rulers. Based on the distribution of residence sites and other items as archaeological findings currently available, it is difficult to consider the extent and scale of the settlement to be particularly large (note 6). The construction of political centers and the development of cities can be the result of natural development, such as intentional construction and concentration of settlements, and the support of consumption, but in Hiraizumi the level of intentional or policy-driven concentration is not yet strong, and it appears that development is still in the middle of its stages. However, excavation surveys are still ongoing in the center of Hiraizumi, and this will continue to be an issue for further study.

[Solemn and symbolic related facilities] It is also noteworthy that the tomb of the lords of the family were built as related facilities. It is particularly important that the relative positions of the residence and the tomb of the lords of the family were taken into consideration. However, the two are located about 2 km apart in a straight line, not adjacent to each other, which is important when considering the meaning of the relationship.

In addition, Buddhist temples were built, and the relationship between the residence, temples, and pure land gardens is noteworthy. During the time of the second lord, Fujiwara no Motohira, Mōtsū-ji Temple and Kanjizaiō-in Temple were built, and during the time of the third lord, Fujiwara no Hidehira, Muryōkō-in Temple was built next to the residence.

【時期的変化（註７）】

12 世紀前半に機能を開始した後、12 世紀中葉以降に大路造営などの変化がある。図６で示した模式的な変化からは、地域支配の拠点から政治拠点への変化を辿る事例としての把握可能性を指摘できよう。平泉の様相が、居館である柳之御所遺跡の変化もあり、政治拠点の様相として地域支配拠点から、より広域の政治行政の拠点といった様相把握が妥当であれば興味深い状況であろう（註８）。

表４　時期ごとの概要

時期	概要	備考
12 世紀前半	【居館と寺院】政庁－中尊寺 【廟】	点的な施設配置
12 世紀中頃	【居館と寺院】政庁－中尊寺 毛越寺 【廟】 【大路】　東西大路・南北大路	施設配置が線でつながる
12 世紀後半	【居館と寺院】政庁－中尊寺 毛越寺 無量光院 【廟】 【大路】　東西大路・南北大路 方形地割	面での広がり
平泉の様相 【拠点施設】柳之御所遺跡が継続的に機能 【大路】　東西大路を基軸に、方格の区画が形成 【廟】政治拠点と関係した位置関係。累代の墓所 【領域】拠点域が形成。一部に屋敷地が所在 外縁部にも拡大		

本発表では形態的特徴、構成要素を、考古資料を中心にまとめた。平泉の各施設や配置がどのような歴史的背景のもとに形成されたのか、寺院の造営など仏教との関係が色濃いことは広く知られているが、政治拠点として機能したことも踏まえた把握とその意義もまた検討課題である。本発表は限定的な内容にとどまるものではあるが、その中でもいくつかの特徴が理解できた。

平泉とその他の政治行政拠点との形態的類似についての議論では、直接的な影響関係の議論が日本国内的な比較では行われてきた。この影響関係についての実態や意味するものを明らかにすることで、平泉の特徴が示されうると思われる。また、国家外縁部に形成された拠点として、直接的系譜のみならず比較史的な視野も踏まえた、他地域との類似の把握やその背景も課題として残る。

註

（１）平泉が拠点として機能したことは広く認められている。しかし、その実態、例えばどの程度の人口が、どういった階層の人で構成されていたかなどは判然としない。また、平泉が都市として機能したか、仏教的性格をどう評価するかなど、先行研究で論点として提起されながらも課題として残る部分も多い。本発表では、これらの前提として、状況の把握に重きを置く。

（２）これは土器の編年的な研究の成果や、遺構の状況からも区分されてきた内容である。奥州藤原氏の各当主の時期とは完全に対応するものではない。

なお、柳之御所遺跡の遺構区分については報告書で３時期に区分している（岩手県教育委員会 2019『柳之御

[Changes by stages (note 7)] After starting its function in the first half of the 12th century, changes such as the construction of a main road occurred from the mid-12th century onwards. From the schematic changes shown in Figure 6, it can be pointed out that it can be understood as an example of the change from a base for regional control to a political center. It would be interesting to see if it were appropriate to understand Hiraizumi, given the changes at the Yanaginogosho site, where the area's residence was located, as a political center rather than a regional control base, and as a center for political administration over a wider area (note 8).

Table 4 Summary of each period

period	summary	note
eraly 12th c	residence and temple: government office---Chuson-ji mausoleum	facilities were laid as point
mid. 12th c	residence and temples: government office---Chuson-ji Motsu-ji mausoleum avenues: east-west and north-south	facilities were connected by line
late 12th c	residence and temples: government office---Chuson-ji Motsu-ji Muryoko-in mausoleum avenues: east-west and north-south grid square	broard surface
Hiraizumi: base site: Yanaginogosho site avenue: grid swuare was formed based on the east-west axis mausoleum: deep relation to the political base used as successive tombs area: core area with residences, and expanding peripheral area		

In this presentation, I summarized the morphological characteristics and components, mainly based on archaeological materials. It is widely known that Hiraizumi's facilities and layout were formed under what historical background, and that it has a strong connection to Buddhism, such as the construction of temples, but it is also a topic for consideration to understand and, and to understand the significance of its function as a political center. Although this presentation was limited in content, I was able to understand some characteristics. In discussions of the morphological similarities between Hiraizumi and other political and administrative centers, discussions of direct influence relationships have been made in comparisons within Japan. I believe that by clarifying the actual situation and meaning of this influence relationship, the characteristics of Hiraizumi can be shown. In addition, as a base formed on the outskirts of the nation, it remains to be understood the similarities with other regions and their backgrounds, taking into account not only direct genealogy but also a comparative historical perspective.

Notes

(1) It is widely accepted that Hiraizumi functioned as a political center. However, its actual situation, such as the size of its population and the class of people it was made up of, is unclear. Furthermore, while previous research has raised the issue of whether Hiraizumi functioned as a city and how to evaluate its Buddhist character, many issues remain. In this presentation, we will place emphasis on understanding the situation as a premise for these issues.

(2) This is a content that has been divided based on the results of chronological research on pottery and the state of the remains. It does not completely correspond to the period of each lord of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan. The Yanaginogosho site is divided into three periods in the report (Iwate Prefectural Board of Education 2019 "Yanaginogosho site: archaeological survey of the area inside the moats", Iwate Prefectural Cultural Property

所遺跡　堀内部地区内容確認調査』本文編　岩手県文化財報告書第 155 集）。

（３）後年の記載として、藤原清衡には「陸奥押領使」、藤原基衡には「六郡押領使」「出羽押領使」との記述もあるが、実態は必ずしも判然としない。

（４）『吾妻鏡』では、秀衡期の居館が「平泉館」と記される。他の時期の具体的な名称は確定できない。

（５）研究会当日に杉本宏氏から、「経蔵」の重要性について指摘を受けた。予稿集及び当日の発表では考古学的情報の限定性もあり、「一切経」などの作善が各代で行われたことへの言及にとどまっており、御教示へ御礼申し上げるとともに、以下に若干追記をしておきたい。

（６）平泉に後続する鎌倉では御家人たちの宿館が築かれており、この点は平泉の状況とは相違する状況かと思われる（吉田 2014）。

（７）当日発表スライドを基に、予稿集に追記したものである。

（８）なお、地域支配の拠点と記載したが、単一の居館の調査事例もあり、階層的なモデル化は課題であろう。その点では柳之御所遺跡は一貫して一定の領域支配の拠点であったと考えるもので、その上で地域支配拠点モデルから政治支配拠点モデルとしての把握を試みたものである。

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(3) In later records, Fujiwara no Kiyohira is described as the "Mutsu Oryoushi" and Fujiwara no Motohira as the "Rokugun Oryoushi " and "Dewa Oryoushi," but the actual situation is not necessarily clear.
(4) In the Azuma Kagami, Hidehira's residence is described as the "Hiraizumi no Tachi". The specific name for other periods cannot be determined.
(5) On the symposium, Mr. Hiroshi Sugimoto pointed out the importance of the "sutra repository." Due to the limited archaeological information in the proceedings, it was only mentioned that the "complete sutra" and other good works were made in each generation on the presentation. I would like to thank him for his guidance and make the following addition.
(6) In Kamakura, which followed Hiraizumi, residences for the vassals were built, which seems to be different from the situation in Hiraizumi (Yoshida 2014).
(7) This was added to the proceedings based on the slides presented on the day.
(8) Although I have described it as a base for regional control, there have also been cases of investigations of single residences, so hierarchical modeling will be an issue. In that respect, I believe that the Yanaginogosho site was consistently a base for controlling a certain area, and I have attempted to understand it as a base for political control from the model of a base for regional control.

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本稿は、2024（令和 6）年 7 月 6 日に開催したシンポジウムの当日資料（「政治拠点としての平泉の様相」『国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」予稿集』）を当日の議論を踏まえ追記修正したものである。発表論旨は予稿集及び当日の口頭報告から変更していない。

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※The excavation report is omitted due to space restrictions, but it is based on the excavation reports of Hiraizumi Town Board of Education, Iwate Prefecture Cultural Promotion Foundation Buried Cultural Properties Center, Iwate Prefecture Board of Education, Hiraizumi Site Research Association, etc.

This paper is an addition and revision of the materials for the symposium held on July 6, 2024 ("Aspects of Hiraizumi as a Political Base" "Proceedings of the International Symposium "Hiraizumi and Political Bases in East Asia") based on the discussions on the day.

The presentation points have not been changed from the proceedings and the oral report on the day.

平泉以前の地方政治拠点

古代城柵から有力者居館へ

古川　一明

はじめに

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

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

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

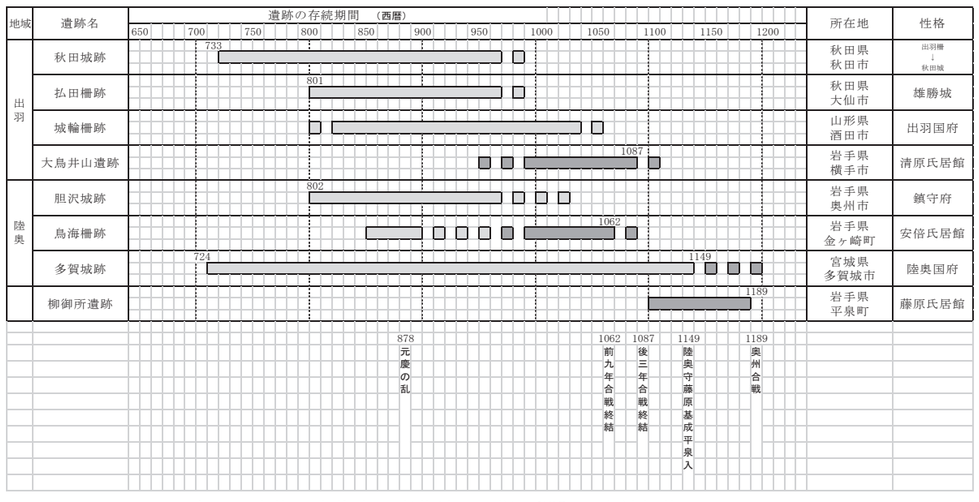


表 1　古代～古代末　東北地方の拠点遺跡の存続年代

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

Furukawa Kazuaki（Former Director of Miyagi Prefectural Research Institute of the Taga-jō Ruins）

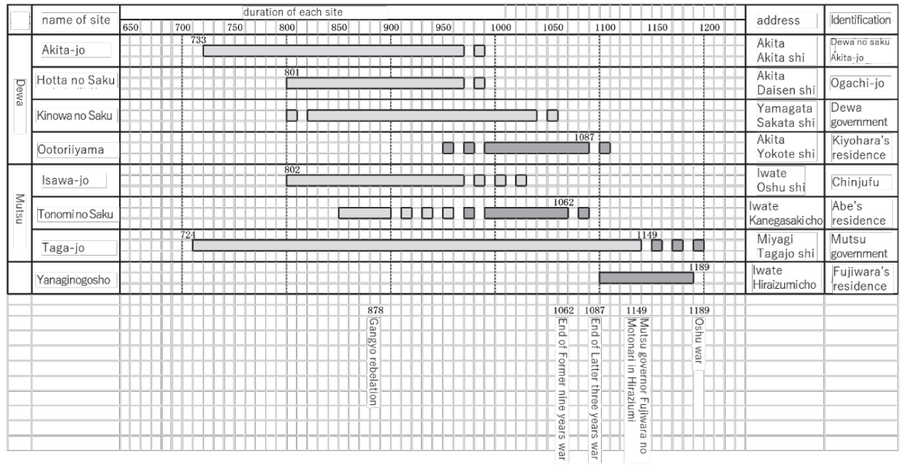
Introduction

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

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

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

Table 1 Duration of each base site in the Tohoku region during the ancient age



１．多賀城跡の変遷

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

（１）多賀城の為政者

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

（２）多賀城の支配領域

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

（３）多賀城の政治拠点の範囲

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

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

1. Changes in the Taga-jō ruins

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

(1) Rulers of Taga-jō

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

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

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

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

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

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

（4）多賀城の権力を表徴する構造物

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

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

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

（5）多賀城の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

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

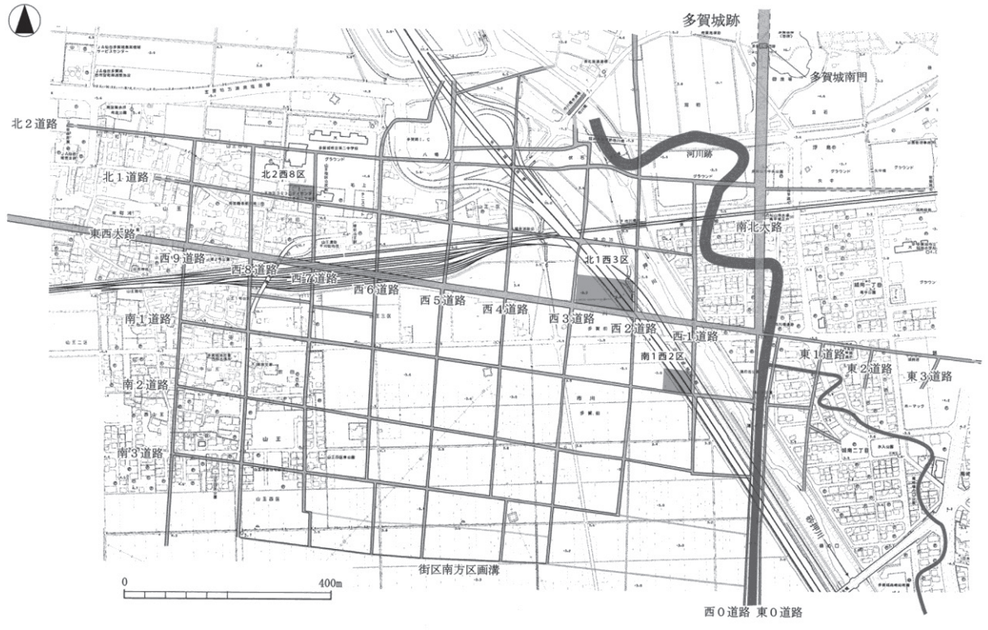


図１　多賀城下方格地割の街区構成図

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

（6）多賀城の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

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

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

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

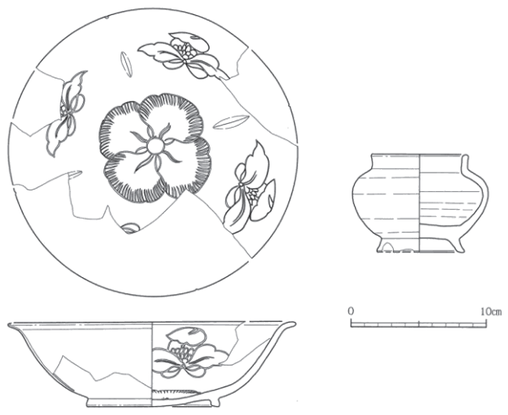


図２　多賀城跡第 84 次調査区出土緑釉陶器輪花中埦（左）・白色土器壺（右）

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2．胆沢城から鳥海柵へ

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

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

（1）胆沢城・鳥海柵の為政者

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

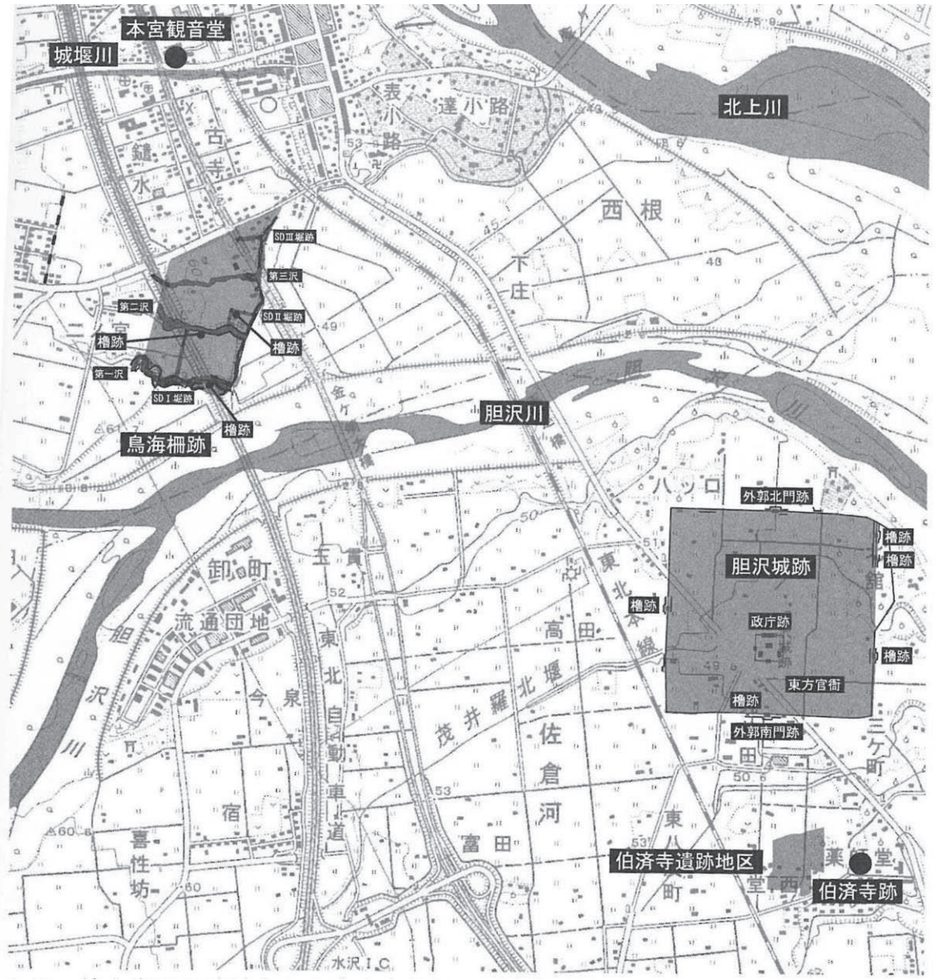


図３　胆沢城と鳥海柵の位置関係

2. From Isawa-jō to Tonomi no Saku

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

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

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

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

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

（2）胆沢城・鳥海柵の支配領域

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

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

（3）胆沢城・鳥海柵の政治拠点の範囲

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

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

（4）胆沢城・鳥海柵の権力を表徴する構造物

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

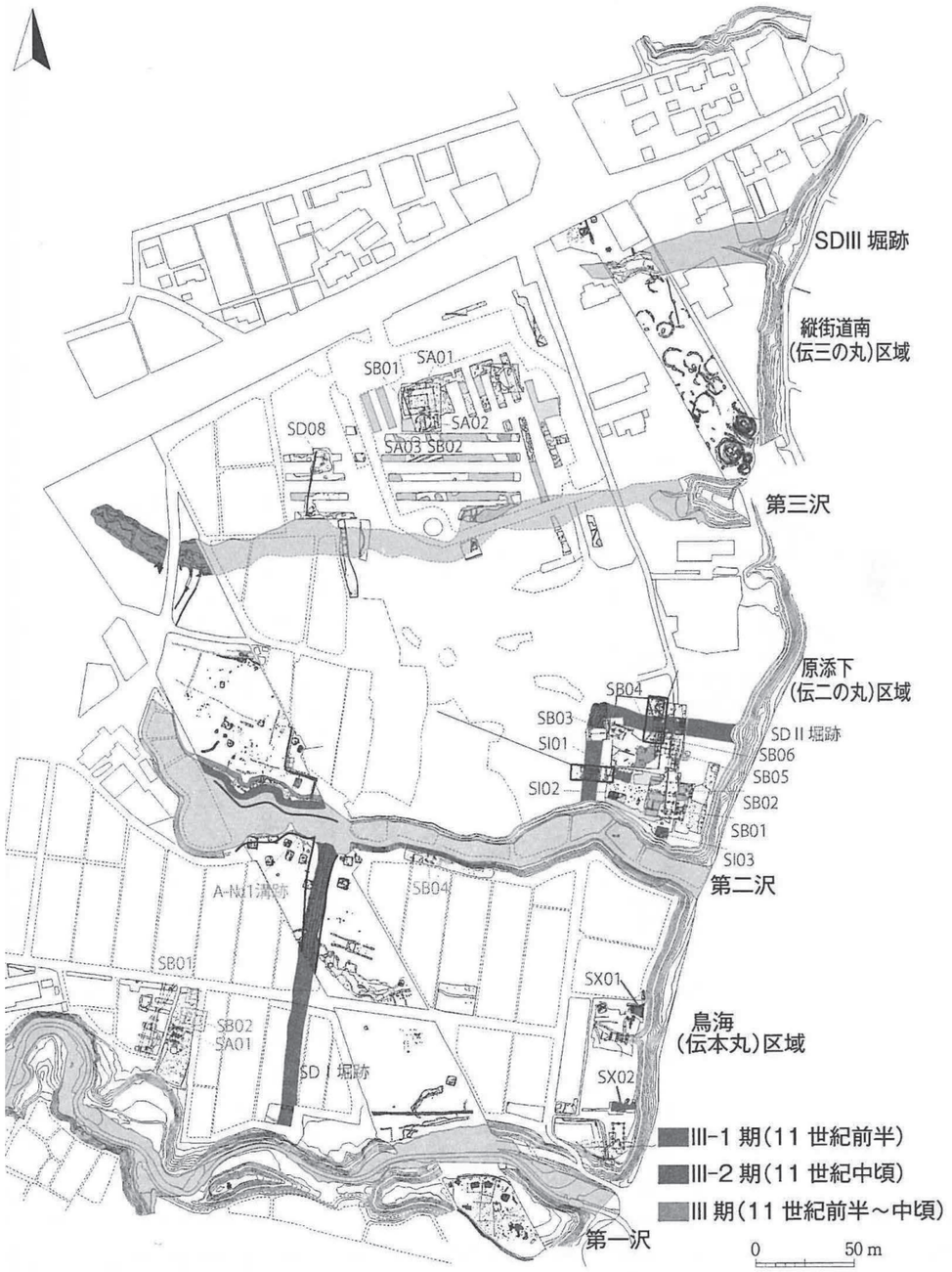


図4　鳥海柵跡遺構位置図

（5）胆沢城・鳥海柵の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

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

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

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

（6）胆沢城・鳥海柵の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

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

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

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

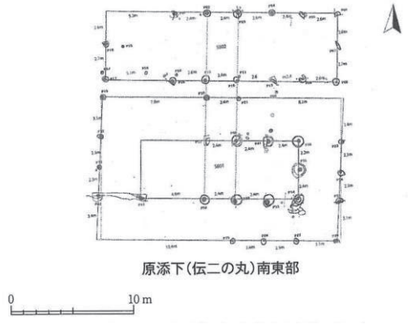


図 5　鳥海柵原添下区域南東部　SB01・02 建物跡

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3．秋田城・払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡へ

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

10 世紀後葉以降、秋田城・払田柵跡の拠点機能は清原氏一族の居館へと移行したと考えられている。払田柵跡のおよそ 15km 南に位置する（図 6）横手市大鳥井山遺跡が清原氏宗家の居館として出羽北部の新たな政治拠点になったと推定される（島田 2022）。清原氏一族もしくは姻戚関係にある一族の居館として美郷町鎧ケ崎城、横手市金沢柵（信太 2011）、同沼柵跡（信太 2011）、秋田市虚空蔵大台滝遺跡（信太 2011）なども重要な拠点であったとみられるがこれらはいずれも一部の調査にとどまり実態解明の途上にあるためここでは触れない。



図６　払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡・金沢柵跡の位置

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

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

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

（1）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の為政者

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

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

（2）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の支配領域

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

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

（3）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の政治拠点の範囲

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

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

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

(1) The rulers of Akita-jō, the Hotta no Saku, and the Ootoriiyama Site

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

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

(2) The area under the control of Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku, and Ootoriiyama site

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

(3) The scope of the political base of Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku ruins, and the Ootoriiyama site

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

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

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

（4）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の権力を表徴する構造物

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

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

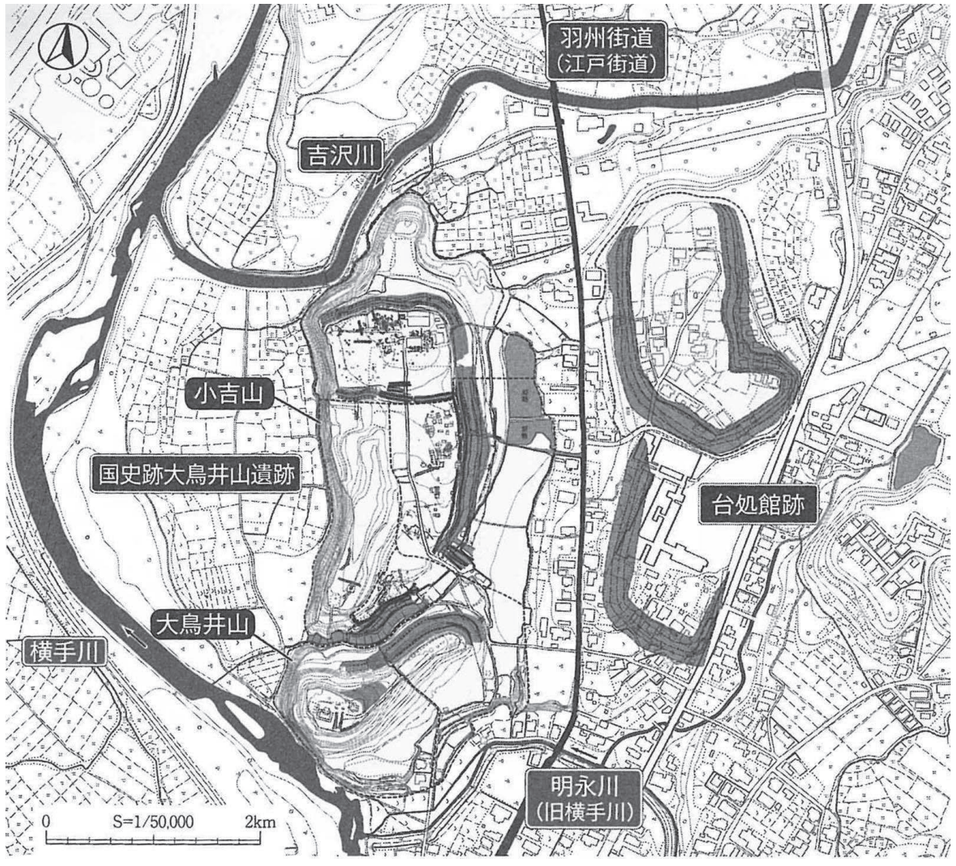


図７　大鳥井山遺跡と台処館跡

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

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

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

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

（5）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

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

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

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

（6）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

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

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

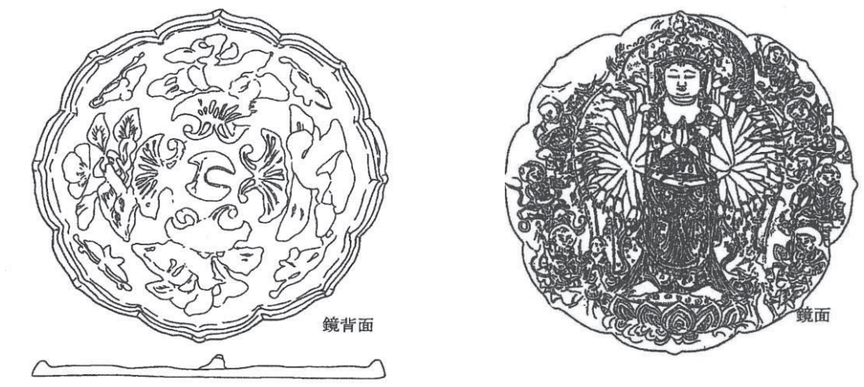


図８　大仙市水神社所蔵　国宝　空花蝶鳥八稜鏡

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

(5) Items symbolizing the legitimacy of rule at Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku ruins, and the Ootoriiyama site

Among the artifacts excavated at Akita-jō, there are a lot of items considered to symbolize a political base, such as hand-written calendars, wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, ink inscriptions, inkstones, belts, and ceramics, similar to those from Taga-jō and Isawa-jō,

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

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

(6) Residences, tombs, and mausoleums of rulers at Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku and the Ootoriiyama site

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

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

４．政治拠点の変化

（１）為政者の変化

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

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

（２）支配領域の変化

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

（３）政治拠点の範囲

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

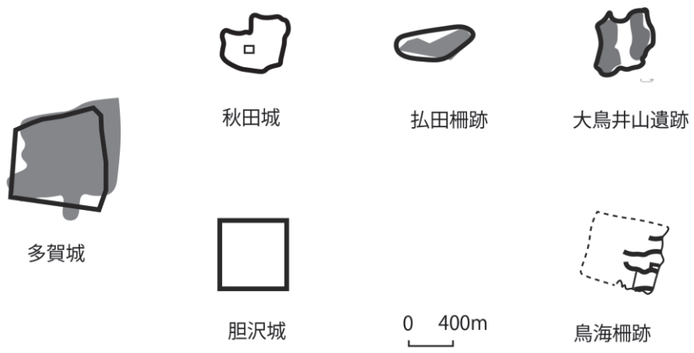


図９　古代城柵官衙と鳥海柵跡・大鳥井山遺跡の平面規模比較

4. Changes in political bases

(1) Changes in rulers

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

(2) Changes in the controlled area

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

(3) Scope of the political bases

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

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

（4）権力を表徴する構造物

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

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

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

（5）支配の正当性を象徴する事物

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

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

（6）為政者の居所・墓所・廟

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

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

(4) Structures that represent power

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

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

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

(5) Objects symbolizing the legitimacy of rule

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

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

(6) Residences, tombs, and mausoleums of rulers

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

5．まとめ

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

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

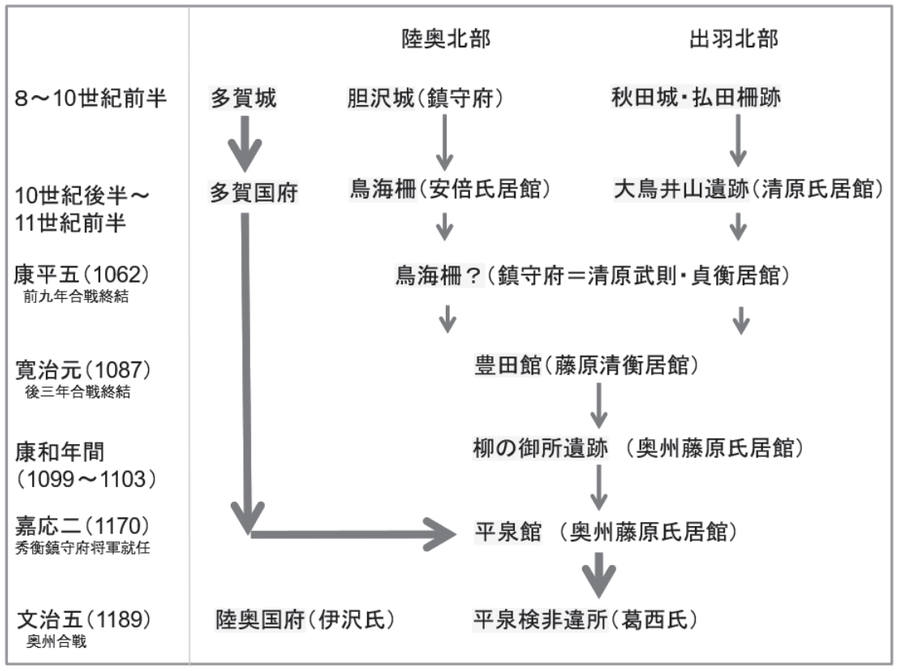


図 10　古代から中世初頭の東北地方の政治拠点の変動

5. Summary

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

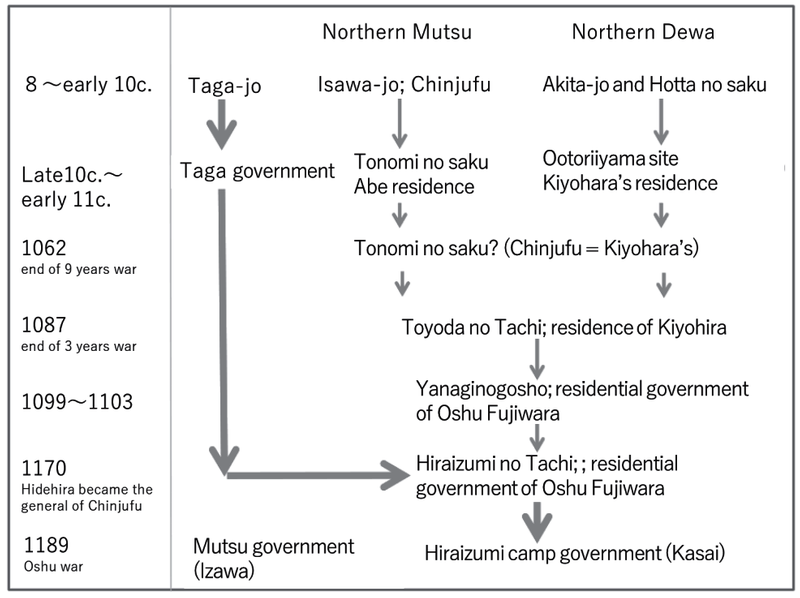


Figure 10, Transition diagram of the political base in Tohoku region from ancient to medieval age

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平安京周辺の政治拠点
–白河・鳥羽殿・法住寺殿・宇治–

京都芸術大学　日本庭園・歴史遺産研究センター
杉本　宏

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

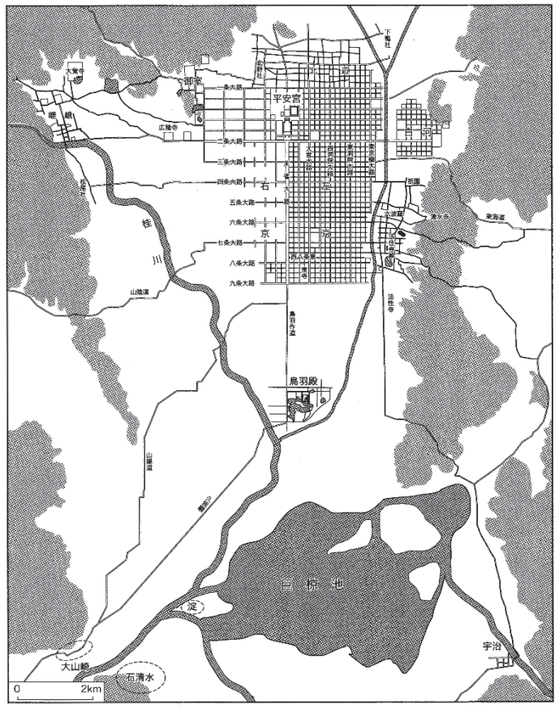


図 1　中世の京都周辺　山田 2012 より

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に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粟田口であり、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、それを南に折れれば粟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

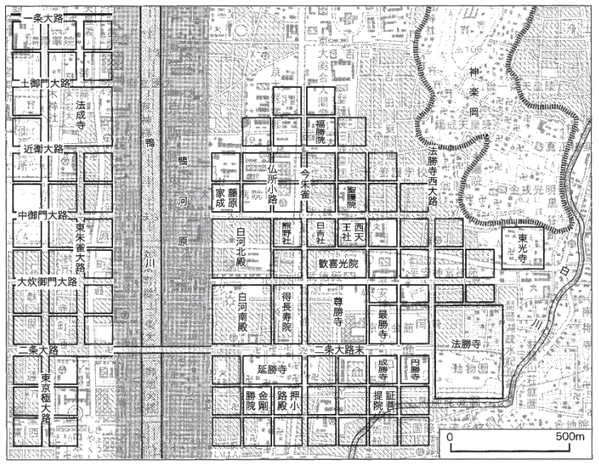


図２　白河復元想定図　山田 2012 より

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乗会は、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、白河は巨大仏堂が甍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 4㎞ 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 1㎞、東西 1.3㎞ 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で、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、

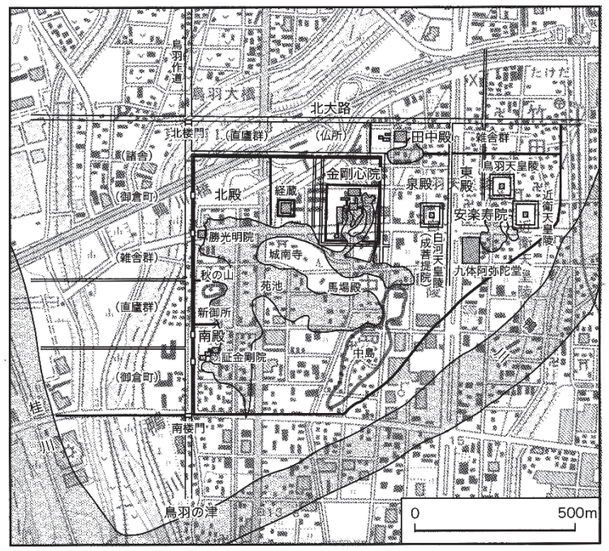


図 3　鳥羽殿想定復元図　山田 2012 より

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 Daijo-e held at Hosshō-ji Temple was combined with the Saisho-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, Daijo-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 Tadazane, 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、貴族の宿舎や雑舎、また荘園などからの貢納物を集積する御倉町 からなる周辺部とからなる、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、太上大臣藤原為光が花山天皇女御であった娘の怃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が、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っ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。

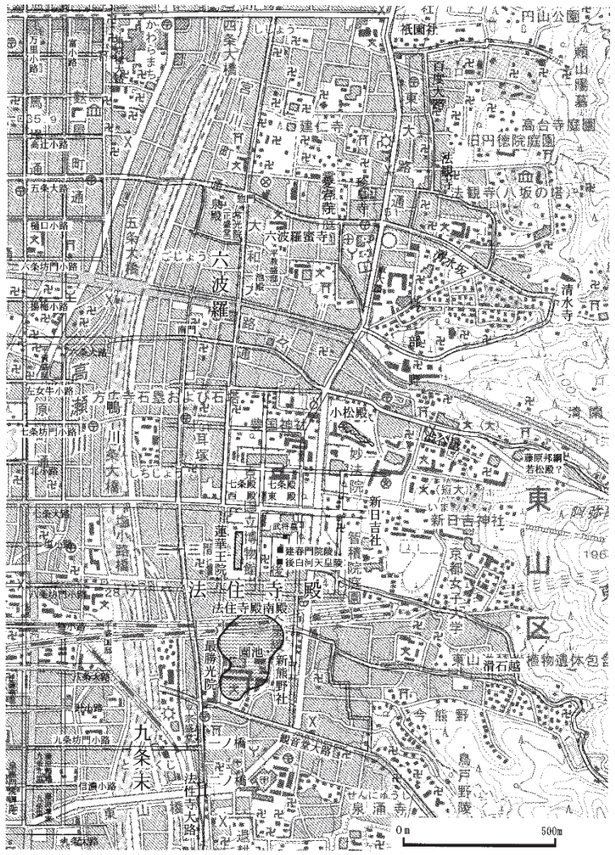


図 4　法住寺殿・六波羅想定復元図　山田 2012

清盛室時子の妹であった建春門院は、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っ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った。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

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 15㎞、鳥羽殿からすれば 9㎞ 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っ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 4.5㎞ 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 ㎞、南北 0.8 ㎞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。

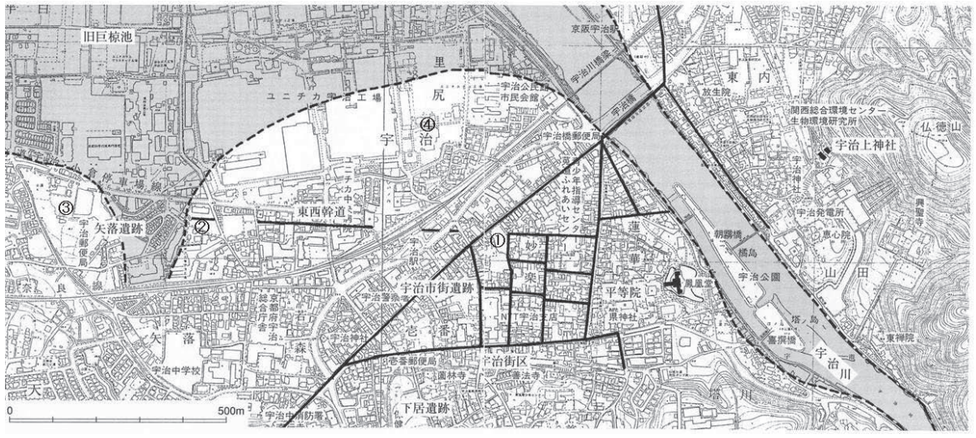


図 5　宇治の想定復元図　杉本 2023 より

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。宝楼閣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えたい。

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 Goreizei, 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 Tadazane, 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 Iichijō Masako, the mother of grand Fujiwara no Tadazane, Komatsu-dono, the main residence of Fuke-dono and later Tadazane, which also became the palace of Tadazane'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 Tadazane, 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っ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わか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も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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中国の政治拠点：遼上京、遼慶州、北宋開封、南宋杭州

劉　海宇
（山東大学考古学院、岩手大学平泉文化研究センター）

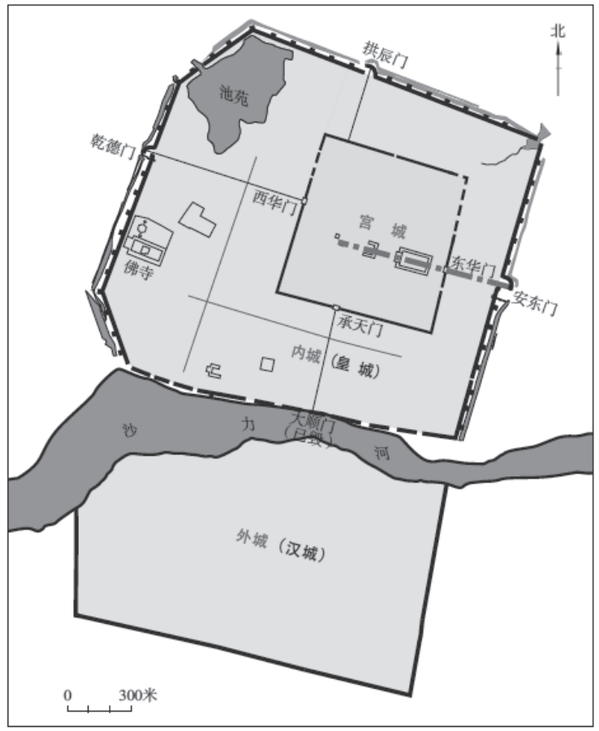
奥州藤原氏の政治・行政拠点としての平泉が、東・北アジアにおいて独特の位置にあることを明らかにするため、東・北アジアにおける前近代の政治都市（拠点）の成立過程及びその構造を検討し、関連する文献および考古資料の精読に基づいて整理したうえで、12 世紀における平泉との比較研究を行うことが必要である。これまで平泉における政治・行政上の拠点の淵源を中国都城にさかのぼらせ、平泉の拠点造営が人類の価値観交流の産物であるかを明らかにするため、中国唐宋期における中心都市の寺院に関連した資料を中心に、都市造営と寺院との関係及び寺院建立の理由とその位置関係を示す史料を収集して整理した（劉海宇 2015）。2021 年には隋唐洛陽における宮城の空間構造（隋から則天武后期を中心として）について、仏教的な視点から関連資料を調査・整理して考えることにした（劉海宇 2021）。また、2022 年には、北宋（960–1127）都城の開封における主要な宗教的空間に焦点を当て、それらの宗教施設（寺院や道観）の概要及びその政治的な役割を整理して、北宋皇帝の宗教施設への行幸とその政治的目的及び入宋僧成尋の礼拝した開封仏教寺院などを概観し、日本の北宋仏教文化に対する受容及び平泉との関連性について考えてみた（劉海宇 2022）。

そこで、2024 年には平泉の時代と近い中国の政治拠点：遼の上京と慶州、北宋の開封、南宋の杭州を中心にして、為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物、支配の正当性を示す象徴物、居所・墓所・廟及びそれぞれの関係等の視点から関連資料を調査・整理してみたい。

一、遼の上京

遼（916–1125）は、北方の騎馬民族契丹によって建立された征服王朝である。神冊元年（916）、耶律阿保機（872–926）が「契丹」を建国し、その三年に根拠地の「西楼」をベースにして都の「皇都」を造営すると同時に孔子廟・仏寺・道観を建てた（『遼史』太祖本紀）。天顕十三年（会同元年、938）、太祖耶律徳光（902–947）は幽雲十六州を奪い、国号を「大遼」にし、「皇都」を「上京」に改名して臨潢府を設けた（『遼史』太宗本紀）。上京は、天慶十年（1120）五月女真族の金に攻め落とされるまで二百年余り遼の政治拠点として存続していた（『遼史』天祚皇帝本紀）。

近年来、中国社会科学院考古研究所と内蒙古自治区文物考古研究院は共同で発掘チームを組織して遼上京の発掘調査を行っている。その発掘調査の成果により、遼上京の様相は徐々に明らかになった。以下では、発掘調査の成果（董新林



図一、遼上京平面復元図（董新林 2019）

Chinese Political Centers: Liao Shangjing, Liao Qingzhou, Northern Song Kaifeng and Southern Song Hangzhou

Liu Haiyu (Shandong University)

In order to clarify that Hiraizumi, as the political and administrative center of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, occupies a unique position in East and North Asia, it is necessary to examine the establishment process and structure of premodern political cities (centers) in East and North Asia, organize them based on a close reading of related documents and archaeological materials, and then conduct a comparative study with Hiraizumi in the 12th century. In order to trace the origins of Hiraizumi's political and administrative center back to the Chinese capital and clarify whether the construction of Hiraizumi's base was the product of human value exchange, historical materials that show the relationship between city construction and temples, as well as the reasons for temple construction and their location, were collected and organized, focusing on materials related to temples in central cities during the Tang and Song periods in China (Liu Haiyu 2015). In 2021, we decided to investigate and organize related materials from a Buddhist perspective and consider the spatial structure of the palace in Luoyang during the Sui and Tang dynasties (mainly from the Sui to Wu Zetian periods) (Liu Haiyu 2021). In 2022, I will focus on the main religious spaces in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), and summarize the overview of these religious facilities (Buddhist temples and Taoist temples) and their political roles. I will also outline the visits of the Northern Song emperors to religious facilities and their political purposes, as well as the Kaifeng Buddhist temple where the Song-bound monk Jōjin worshiped, and consider Japan's reception of Northern Song Buddhist culture and its relationship with Hiraizumi (Liu Haiyu 2022).
Therefore, in 2024, I would like to investigate and organize related materials from the perspective of structures that represent the power and financial strength of rulers, symbols that show the legitimacy of rule, residences, tombs, shrines, and the relationships between them, focusing on Chinese political centers close to the time of Hiraizumi: Liao's Shangjing and Qingzhou, Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty, and Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty.

1. The Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty

The Liao Dynasty (916-1125) was a conquering dynasty established by the northern horse-riding tribe, the Khitan. In the first year of the Shence era (916), Yelu Abaoji (872-926) founded the Khitan state, and in the third year of that era, he built the imperial capital on his base at Xilou, and built a Confucius temple, a Buddhist temple, and a Taoist temple (Liao History, Taizu Annals). In the 13th year of the Tianxian era (the first year of the Huitong era, 938), Taizu Yelu Deguang (902-947) seized the Sixteen Prefectures of Youyun, renamed the state "Great Liao," renamed the imperial capital "Shangjing," and established Linhuang Prefecture (Liao History, Taizong Annals). Shangjing continued to exist as the political center of the Liao dynasty for over two hundred years until it was attacked and captured by the Jin of the Nǔzhen tribe in May of the 10th year of the Tianqing era (1120) (Liao History, Annals of Emperor Tianzuo).

In recent years, the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region have jointly organized an excavation team to conduct excavation surveys of Liao Shangjing. As a result of the excavation survey, the appearance of Liao Shangjing has gradually become clear. Below, we will summarize the overview of Liao Shangjing based on the results of the excavation survey (Dong Xinlin 2019, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Inner Mongolia Second Work Team, etc. 2020) and document records.

2019・中国社会科学院考古研究所内蒙古第二工作隊等 2020)及び文献記録によって遼上京の概要をまとめていきたい。遼上京遺跡は、現在の内蒙古自治区巴林左旗林東鎮の東南部に位置し、大興安嶺山脈南端の盆地で山に囲まれている。二本の川が上京の東側に合流し、重要な水源となっている。遺跡の平面は、おおよそ「日」字形を呈し、北部の皇城と南部の漢城からなっている(図一)。皇城の平面は不規則な方形を呈し、南城壁の長さが 1619. 6m、北城壁の長さが 1513. 4m、東城壁の長さが 1492. 3m、西城壁の長さが 1816mである。城壁の保存状態が比較的よく、現在でも高さ 6-9mが残る。皇城四面に一つずつ城門が設けられており、『遼史』地理志・上京臨潢府条に「東に安東と曰い、南に大順と曰い、西に乾徳と曰い、北に拱辰と曰う」とある。皇城の北・東・西の三面に外堀が巡り、南側に沙力河が流れている。城門跡は、北・東・西の三面に残っているが、南だけは川の流れに破壊されている。

宮城は、おおよそ方形の平面を有し、皇城中部の東寄りに位置する。城壁が巡り、皇城面積の約五分の一を占める。東・西・南の三面に城門が確認され、それぞれ東華門・西華門・承天門となっている。東門の中には東向きの宮殿群が三か所検出された。そのなかの一号宮殿群は、廊下に囲まれ、宮殿の基壇跡南北長さ 48m東西幅 26. 2m、規模最大の建築で宮城の正殿であると断定できる。

皇城の西部と南部に多くの建築基壇が存在するが、官署・邸宅・孔子廟・仏寺・道観等であろう。そのなか、西北隅に大きな苑池があり、西南部の台地に大規模な仏教寺院と二基の塔が確認された。西門と南門の一本の道に対して、皇城の東門と宮城の東門は三本の道を有し、また宮城内の東向きの宮殿跡及び中間の道路と合わせてこれまでの歴代王朝都城の南北軸線と異なる様相を呈し、東西方向の軸線を表した。『遼史』地理志・上京道条に上京の宮殿がみな東向きと記載されたのと一致する。

南部の漢城は、不規則な方形を呈し、城壁の保存状態が悪く、東・南・西の方向に一部が残り、高さ 2-4mである。城門について、『遼史』地理志・上京臨潢府条に「東に迎春と曰い、雁児と曰う。南に順陽と曰い、南福と曰う。西に金鳳と曰い、西雁児と曰う」とあるが、まだ発掘調査によって証明されていない。『遼史』地理志・上京道条に「天顕元年、渤海を平らげて帰り、乃ち郛郭(ふかく)を展(の)べ、宮室を建



図二　大同元年(947)遼の支配領域図(余蔚 2012:26)

The Liao Shangjing site is located in the southeast of today's Lindong Town, Balinzuoqi, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, in a basin at the southern end of the Greater Xingan Mountains, surrounded by mountains. Two rivers join on the east side of Shangjing, making it an important water source. The plane of the ruins is roughly shaped like the character "日" and consists of the imperial city in the north and the Han city in the south (Figure 1, Plan of the Liao Shangjing site, by Dong Xinlin 2019). The imperial city has an irregular square plan, with the southern wall 1,619.6m long, the northern wall 1,513.4m long, the eastern wall 1,492.3m long, and the western wall 1,816m long. The walls are relatively well preserved, and even today they are 6-9m high. There was a gate on each of the four sides of the imperial city, and the " Liaoshi " Geography, "Shangjing Linhuangfu" entry states, "The east is called Andong, the south is called Dashun, the west is called Qiande, and the north is called Gongchen." The imperial city is surrounded by moats on three sides, the north, east, and west, and the Shali River flows on the south side. The remains of the gates remain on the north, east, and west sides, but the south one has been destroyed by the river. The palace has a roughly square plan and is located towards the east of the central part of the palace. It is surrounded by a castle wall and occupies about one-fifth of the palace's area. Gates have been confirmed on three sides, the east, west and south, called Donghuamen, Xihuamen and Chengtianmen. Three palace groups facing east have been discovered inside the east gate. Among these, Palace Group No. 1 is surrounded by a corridor, and is the remains of a palace foundation measuring 48m north to south and 26.2m wide east to west. It is the largest building and can be determined to be the palace's main hall.

There are many architectural foundations in the western and southern parts of the imperial city, likely for government offices, residences, Confucius temples, Buddhist temples, and Taoist temples. Among them, a large garden pond is located in the northwest corner, and a large Buddhist temple and two pagodas have been confirmed on the plateau in the southwest. Compared to the single road between the west gate and south gate, the east gate of the imperial city and the east gate of the palace have three roads, and together with the remains of the palace facing east within the palace and the intermediate road, they present an east-west axis that differs from the north-south axis of previous imperial capitals. This coincides with the description in the Geography of the Liao History, Section on the Road to the Upper Capital, that all the palaces in the upper capital faced east.

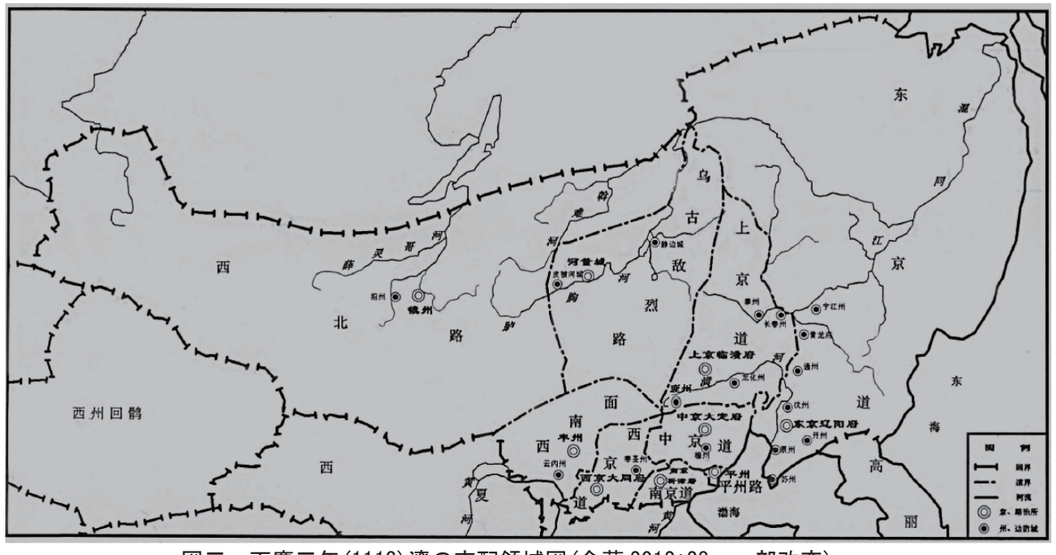
The southern Han city has an irregular rectangular shape, and the walls are in poor condition, with parts remaining on the east, south, and west sides, measuring 2-4m in height. Regarding the city gates, the "Liao History" Geography, Shangjing Linhuangfu section states, "In the east, there are Yingchun and Yan'er. In the south, there are Shunyang and Nanfu. In the west, there are Jinfeng and Xiyan'er." However, this has not yet been verified by excavation. The "Liao History" Geography, Shangjing Road section states, "In the first year of Tianxian, they returned after pacifying Bohai, and then expanded Fuguo, built palaces, and named them Tianzan." It is assumed that Hancheng was built in the first year of Tianxian (926).

て、名づけて天賛を以てす」とあり、漢城が天顕元年(926)の造営であると推定されている。

遼の太祖・太宗皇帝は、領土を大いに拡張し、会同元年(938)に中原王朝から幽雲十六州の地を得た。大同元年(947)に太宗皇帝が亡くなった際、遼の支配領域は図二のような広範囲に及んだ。この図で分かるように、上京臨潢府はほぼ遼帝国の中心に位置しており、儒教伝統の「択中建都」思想に影響されたことと思われる。上京宮城の中で、為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物として三大宮殿の開皇・安徳・五鸞などを造営した。また太祖耶律阿保機の亡父の遺像を奉安する天雄寺が建てられ、これは祖廟の性格をもつ施設である。太祖の死後、その応天皇后が上京の東南部二十数キロ離れる祖山に「太祖天皇帝廟」と「太祖陵」及び付属施設「聖踪殿」・石碑などを造営した。また陵墓の保護・祭祀機能をもつ「奉陵邑(ほうりょうゆう)」祖州城も造営した(『遼史』地理志・上京道・祖州条)。遼太宗が皇帝号を称する際、開皇殿に御し、宮城南門の承天門で礼を受けたため、これらの施設には為政者の支配の正当性を示す象徴事物としての性格を備えていると見て取れる。

二、遼の慶州

遼の慶州とは、第六代皇帝聖宗 (972-1031)・第七代皇帝興宗(1016-1055)・第八代皇帝道宗(1032-1101)及びそれぞれの后妃を埋葬した陵墓(慶陵)を保護・祭祀する奉陵邑のことである。上京臨潢府西南約 85 キロのところに位置する黒河州北の黒嶺は、南興安嶺山脈の山々が連綿と続き、第四代皇帝穆宗が毎年ここに駐蹕して遊猟する秋の「捺鉢」の地であった。聖宗も、黒嶺の秀麗な景色を好み、慶雲山と改名し、ここに陵墓を造営することを決めた。その子の興宗が即位後、景福元年(1031)に「慶州を慶陵の南に建て、民を徙(うつ)しこれに実(み)ち、奉陵邑を充つ」(『遼史』興宗本紀)とし、陵墓の東南部 15 キロに奉陵邑の慶州城を建置した。その後、興宗と道宗もここで陵墓を造営した(図六)。聖宗・興宗・道宗の陵墓名はそれぞれ永慶陵(東陵)・永興陵(中陵)・永福陵(西陵)であるが[1]、後世には合わせて慶陵東北と呼ばれている(王巍 2014:556-557)。慶州は、この三陵の奉陵邑であり、遼代の最後まで繁栄を極め、「遼国宝貨は多くここに聚蔵」した(『金史』地理志・慶州条、図三)。女真族の金が遼を滅ぼしてから、天会八年(1130)に慶州を奉州に改め、皇統三年(1143)に廃止された。元・明時代には、慶州はすっかり廃れて、人々の記憶から消えていった(田村実造等 1953:1-4)。



図三　天慶三年(1113)遼の支配領域図(余蔚 2012:28、一部改変)

[1] 東陵は興宗の永興陵、中陵は聖宗の永慶陵、という説もある(彭善国 2008)。

Emperor Taizong, the founder of the Liao dynasty, greatly expanded his territory, and in the first year of Huitong (938), he obtained the land of the Sixteen Prefectures of Youyun from the Central Plains Dynasty. When Emperor Taizong died in the first year of Datong (947), the Liao Dynasty's territory extended to a wide area, as shown in Figure 2 (Domain of Liao Dynasty in 947, source Yu Wei 2012:26). As can be seen from this diagram, the Linhuang Prefecture of Shangjing was located almost at the center of the Liao Empire, and it seems to have been influenced by the traditional Confucian idea of "selecting the center and establishing the capital." Within the Shangjing Imperial Palace, the three great palaces of Kaihuang, Ande, and Wuluan were constructed as structures that symbolized the power and financial strength of the rulers. In addition, Tianxiong Temple was built to enshrine the statue of Taizu Yelu Abaoji's late father, and this facility also had the character of an ancestral temple. After Taizu's death, Empress Ying constructed the "Temple of Emperor Taizu" and the "Taizu Mausoleum" as well as the auxiliary facilities, the "Holy Disappearance Hall" and stone monuments, on Mt. Zushan, about 20 kilometers southeast of Shangjing. The Zuzhou Castle, a " Fengling village" that served to protect the tomb and perform rituals, was also constructed (Liao History, Geography, Shangjing Road, Zuzhou Article). When Emperor Taizong of Liao assumed the title of emperor, he was accommodated in the Kaihuang Hall and received a ceremony at the Chengtian Gate at the south gate of the Imperial Palace, so these facilities can be seen as having the character of symbols that demonstrate the legitimacy of a ruler's rule.

2. Qingzhou in the Liao Dynasty

Qingzhou in the Liao Dynasty refers to the tomb town that protects and enshrines the tombs (Qingling) of the sixth emperor Shengzong (972-1031), the seventh emperor Xingzong (1016-1055), the eighth emperor Daozong (1032-1101), and their respective wives. Heiling, located in the north of Heihe Prefecture, about 85 km southwest of Linhuang Prefecture in Shangjing, is surrounded by the mountains of the Southern Xingan Mountains, and was the place where the fourth emperor Muzong would stay every year for his autumn hunting expeditions. Shengzong also liked the beautiful scenery of Heiling, so he renamed it Qingyunshan and decided to build his tomb here. After his son Xingzong ascended to the throne, in the first year of the Jingfu era (1031), he "established Qingzhou to the south of Qingling, brought the people there and filled the area with products" (History of Liao, Annals of Xingzong), and constructed the Fengling Qingzhou Fortress 15 km southeast of the tomb. Later, Xingzong and Daozong also built their tombs here (Figure 6, Topographical map of three tombs in Qingzhou). The names of the tombs of Shengzong, Xingzong and Daozong were Yongqingling (Eastern Tomb), Yongxingling (Central Tomb) and Yongfuling (Western Tomb), respectively[1], but in later times they were collectively called the Northeast Qingling (Wang Wei 2014:556-557). Qingzhou was the Fenglingyi for these three tombs, and it prospered until the very end of the Liao Dynasty, with "many of the national treasures of the Liao dynasty being stored here" (Geography, Qingzhou section, Figure 3, Map of Liao domain in 1113, source Yu Wei 2012:28, partly modifying; History of the Jin Dynasty). After the Nǔzhen Jin dynasty destroyed the Liao dynasty, Qingzhou was renamed Fengzhou in the 8th year of the Tianhui era (1130) and abolished in the 3rd year of the Huangtong era (1143). During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, Qingzhou fell into total decline and was forgotten by people (Jitsuzo Tamura et al. 1953:1-4).

慶州城の所在について、『大清一統志』巻三四七巴林条に「この城は喀喇木倫河畔に在り、蒙古名を挿漢城という。周囲五里余」とある。1893 年 6 月にポズドネーエフは、外国人として初めて慶州白塔のある慶州城址を訪れ、その後 1908 年 4 月に鳥居龍蔵もここを踏査した。なお、当時は城内中央土壇の陀羅尼経経幢に「宮[2]を新営の慶州の攢塗殿に移す」などの文字が残っていたという。その調査結果によれば、慶州城址は、城壁が東約 1090m、西約 1095m、北約 935m、南約 930m、城内に大小数十の土壇があり、西北隅に八角七層高さ約 65mの白塔が聳え立つ(田村実造等 1953:5)。

2018 年 6 月に筆者は、慶州城址と白塔を調査した(劉海宇 2019)。慶州城址は、現在の内蒙古自治区巴林右旗大板鎮の北 80㎞ ほど離れる索博日嘎鎮に位置しており、城壁址の一部が地面の上に見えるほか(図四)、城内の北西部に聳え立つ慶州白塔(釈迦仏舎利塔)が残っている(図五)。白塔は、興宗の母親章聖皇太后(欽愛皇后)によって 1049 年に建てられたものである。白塔の修復工事は 1988 年から 1992 年にかけて行われ、その際、塔の天宮から数多くの法舎利及び法舎利容器等々の遺物が発見された(徳新等 1994)。

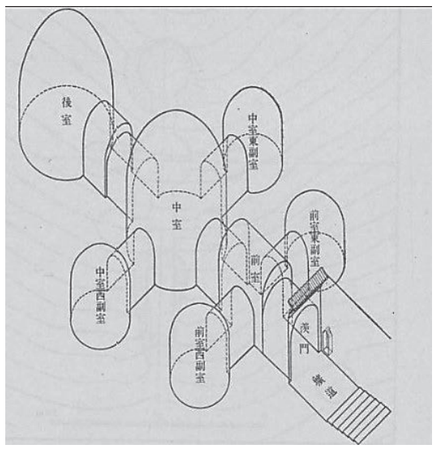


図四　慶州城内から見た城壁



図五　慶州白塔及び保護碑

慶陵は、白塔から西北十四キロの山中にあり、1920 年カトリック宣教師のミューリ師に報道され、1922 年同宣教師のケルヴィン師は三陵墓中央のものを盗掘し、漢字及び契丹文字の哀冊の碑石が存在することを確認した。またケルヴィン師の盗掘と同じ年に林西県知県の王士仁(鉄珊)は慶陵から興宗皇后の哀冊篆蓋を持ち出し、林西県城隍廟に保管した。1930 年夏、湯佐栄(当時熱河省主席湯玉麟の息子)が大規模な発掘を行い、陵墓から漢字哀冊碑石の碑身と篆蓋五組十点・契丹文字のもの二組四点及び数々の副葬品を承徳に持ち出したという。1920 年から日本の研究者鳥居龍蔵・関野貞らは数回にわたって慶陵の予備的な調査を行い、さらに 1939 年の夏に田村実造・小林行雄らが本格な調査を行った(田村実造等 1953:6-8)。



図七　東陵墓室の全形

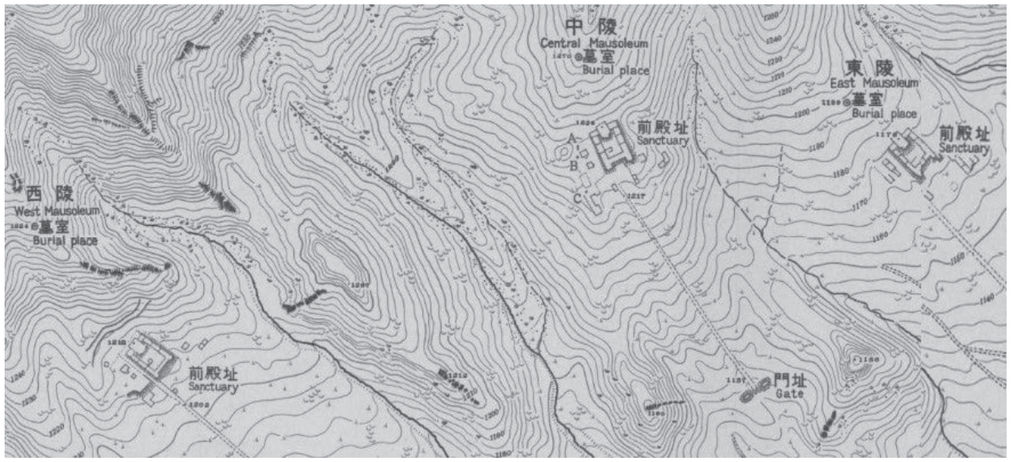
[2] 拓本によれば、所謂「宮」字は「窆(へん)」の可能性が高く、「移窆」とは、遷葬のことである。

Regarding the location of Qingzhou Castle, the "Great Qing Yi Tong Zhi", Volume 347, Balin section, states, "This castle is located on the banks of the Kala Mulun River, and its Mongolian name is Chahan Castle. Its circumference is over 20 kilometers." In June 1893, Pozdneev was the first foreigner to visit the Qingzhou Castle site, where the Qingzhou White Pagoda is located, and later in April 1908, Ryuzo Torii also explored the site. At that time, the Dharani Sutra scriptures on the central platform inside the castle still had inscriptions such as "The palace[2] will be moved to the newly built Qingzhou's Sutra Hall." According to the results of the investigation, the Qingzhou Castle site has walls that stretch about 1,090m east, 1,095m west, 935m north, and 930m south, and there are dozens of large and small platforms inside the castle, and an octagonal, seven-story, 65m high white pagoda stands in the northwest corner (Jitsuzo Tamura et al. 1953:5).

In June 2018, I investigated the Qingzhou Base site and the White Pagoda (Liu Haiyu 2019). The Qingzhou Base site is located in Suoboriga Town, about 80 km north of Daban Town, Balinyouqi, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Part of the fortress wall remains above ground (Figure 4; Surrounding walls seen from inside Qingzhou Base), and the Qingzhou White Pagoda (Shaka Buddha Relic Pagoda) stands tall in the northwest part of the fortress (Figure 5; Qingzhou White Pagoda and plate). The White Pagoda was built in 1049 by King Xingzong's mother, Empress Dowager Zhangsheng (Empress Qin'ai). Restoration work on the White Pagoda was carried out from 1988 to 1992, during which numerous relics, including Dharma relics and Dharma relic containers, were discovered in the pagoda's heavenly palace (De Xin et al. 1994).

Qingling is located in the mountains 14 km northwest of the White Tower. It was reported by Catholic missionary Father Myuri in 1920, and in 1922, another missionary Father Kelvin robbed the central tomb of the three tombs and confirmed the presence of a steles with mourning tablets in Chinese and Khitan characters. In the same year as Kelvin's robbery, Wang Shiren (Tie Shan), magistrate of Linxi County, removed the mourning tablet and seal cover of Empress Xingzong from Qingling and stored it in the Linxi County City God Temple. In the summer of 1930, Tang Zuorong (son of Tang Yulin, then Chief Minister of Rehe Province) carried out a large-scale excavation and removed the body of the steles with mourning tablets in Chinese and five sets of ten seal covers, two sets of four in Khitan characters, and numerous grave goods from the tombs to Chengde. Starting in 1920, Japanese researchers Ryuzo Torii and Tei Sekino conducted several preliminary investigations of the Qingling tomb, and in the summer of 1939 Jitsuzo Tamura, Yukio Kobayashi and others conducted a full-scale investigation (Jitsuzo Tamura et al. 1953:6-8).

慶陵の三陵墓は、慶雲山南斜面の中腹辺りに位置する(図六)。東陵永慶陵(聖宗陵)を例にすると、羨道の延長線に平面長方形の前室と平面円形の中室・後室、前室と中室の両側に平面円形の耳室が備えており、大小計7室及びそれを連結する通路がある(図七)。前室と通路には筒型天井、ほか平面円形のものには半球形の天井を載せている。規模的には前室長さ 3.27m 幅 2.4m 高さ 4.08m、中室径 5.6m 高さ 6.38m、後室径 5.14m 高さ 6.5m。羨道の長さは不明だが、高さ 4.6m、上部の幅 2.86m 下部の幅 2.58m となっている(田村実造等 1953:16-18)。



図六　慶陵の三陵墓の地形図(田村実造等 1953:Fig.7 の部分)

慶州には、聖宗皇后が八年間居住した七括宮(『遼史』后妃列伝)、興宗が拝謁した大安殿(『遼史』興宗本紀)、興宗が幾たびか焚香した「諸寺」(『遼史』遊幸表)など皇室の建築があった。また興宗以降、歴代皇帝は、慶陵の祭祀や秋の「捺鉢」のため、多く慶州へ出向いた。慶州の為政者には、上記の皇帝や皇室関係者以外に「慶州玄寧軍節度使」は常駐していた(『遼史』百官志)。

三、北宋の開封

開封は、洛陽の東 200 キロに位置し、隋の煬帝に開削・整備された大運河沿線の要所で、水運に恵まれた都市である。五代十国時代(907-960)では、開封は、全国の物流集積の拠点となり、後梁(907-923)・後晋(936-946)・後漢(947-950)・後周(951-960)の都城であった。『宋史』食貨志漕運条に「宋都大梁(開封)は、四河有りて以て漕運を通ず。汴河と曰ひ、黄河と曰ひ、恵民河と曰ひ、広済河と曰ふ。而も汴河の漕ぐところは多きとなす」とある。汴河とは、隋の煬帝に開削された通済渠のことで、開封城内の南部を貫通し、大運河の一部である。江南地区所産の米穀は、おもに汴河の漕運によって首都開封に運ばれた。水運の利便性こそ五代諸王朝及び北宋が開封を首都とする理由である。

北宋時代の開封は、宮城・内城・外城からなっている。宮城は、皇城や大内とも呼ばれ、周囲約 2500m、内城の北部に位置している。内城は、旧城・里城・闕城とも呼ばれ、唐代汴州城のもとに修築され、ほぼ正方形を呈しており、周囲 11550m である。外城は、後周顕徳三年(956)に世宗によって内城の外側に増築されたものであり(『五代会要』城郭)、内城(旧城)に対して新城・羅城とも呼ばれた。それは、周囲 29120m、南北やや長く東西やや短い長方形を呈している(劉春迎 2004)。北宋時代に外城の修復工事が十数回行われ、そのなか真宗皇帝大中祥符年間(1008-1016)・神宗皇帝熙寧年間(1068-1078)・徽宗皇帝政和年間(1111-1117)の三回は大規模な修復であった。

The three tombs of the Qingling tombs are located halfway up the southern slope of Mt. Qingyun (Fig. 6; Topographical map of three tombs of the Qingling tombs, source Jitsuzo Tamura et al. 1953 prat of fig.7). Taking the Eastern Tomb Yongqingling Tomb (Shengzong Tomb) as an example, it has a rectangular anterior chamber and circular middle and rear chambers on the extension of the antechamber, and circular ear chambers on both sides of the anterior and middle chambers, for a total of seven chambers of various sizes and passageways connecting them (Fig. 7, Drawing of the rooms of east tomb). The anterior chambers and passageways have cylindrical ceilings, and the other circular ones have hemispherical ceilings. In terms of size, the anterior chamber is 3.27m long, 2.4m wide, and 4.08m high, the middle chamber is 5.6m in diameter and 6.38m in height, and the rear chamber is 5.14m in diameter and 6.5m high. The length of the passageway is unknown, but it is 4.6m high, 2.86m wide at the top and 2.58m wide at the bottom (Jitsuzo Tamura et al. 1953:16-18).

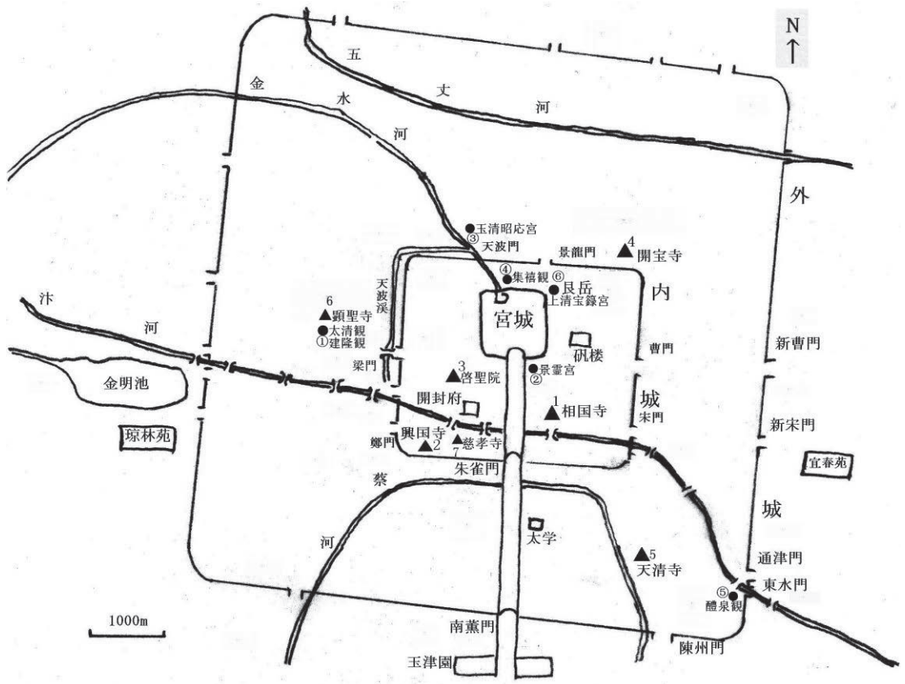
Qingzhou was home to many imperial buildings, including the Qikuo Palace where Empress Shengzong lived for eight years (History of the Liao Dynasty, Biographies of Empresses), Daan Hall where Emperor Xingzong had an audience (History of the Liao Dynasty, Records of Emperor Xingzong), and "various temples" where Emperor Xingzong burned incense on several occasions (History of the Liao Dynasty, Travelogue). After Emperor Xingzong, many successive emperors traveled to Qingzhou for the rituals at the Qingzhou Tomb and the autumn “Nabo” ceremony. In addition to the emperors and members of the imperial family mentioned above, the rulers of Qingzhou included the resident "Qingzhou Xuanningjun Jiedushi " (History of the Liao Dynasty, Records of One Hundred Officials).

3. Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty

Kaifeng is located 200 km east of Luoyang and is a key point along the Grand Canal, which was excavated and developed by Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty, making it a city blessed with water transportation. During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (907-960), Kaifeng was a base for the accumulation of goods throughout the country and was the capital of the Later Liang Dynasty (907-923), Later Jin Dynasty (936-946), Later Han Dynasty (947-950), and Later Zhou Dynasty (951-960). In the "Song History," the "Food and Cargo Journal," it is written that "The Song capital of Daliang (Kaifeng) has four rivers through which boats can pass. They are called the Bian River, the Yellow River, the Huimin River, and the Guangji River. However, the Bian River is often rowed." The Bian River is a canal dug by Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty that runs through the southern part of Kaifeng City and is part of the Grand Canal. Rice produced in the Jiangnan region was mainly transported to the capital Kaifeng by boat on the Bian River. The convenience of water transportation is the reason why the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song Dynasty chose Kaifeng as their capital.

Kaifeng during the Northern Song Dynasty consisted of the palace, inner city, and outer city. The palace, also known as the imperial city or the great inner city, has a circumference of about 2,500m and is located in the north part of the inner city. The inner city, also known as the old city, rural city, and confiscation city, was rebuilt based on Bianzhou City of the Tang Dynasty, is almost square, and has a circumference of 11,550m. The outer city was added to the outside of the inner city by Emperor Shizong in the third year of the Xiande era of the Later Zhou Dynasty (956) (City Walls in the "Five Dynasties Huiyao"), and was also called the new city or Luocheng in contrast to the inner city (old city). It has a circumference of 29,120 m, and is shaped like a rectangle that is somewhat long from north to south and somewhat short from east to west (Liu Chunying 2004). During the Northern Song dynasty, restoration work on the outer city was carried out over a dozen times, with three of these large-scale restorations during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong's Dazhongxiangfu (1008-1016), Emperor Shenzong's Xining (1068-1078), and Emperor Huizong's Zhenghe (1111-1117).

北宋開封の内城は、後周開封の里城を継承したもので、後周のそれは唐代汴州城のもとに造営されたものである。唐代建中二年(781)に汴州刺史李勉は、大規模に汴州城を増築し、後世の開封城の基礎を築いたのである。後周広順二年(952)に太祖の郭威は開封の城壁を修復した(『五代会要』城郭)。北宋時代に仁宗皇祐元年(1049)と嘉祐四年(1059)に内城の城壁を修復したことがある。宮城は、内城の北部に位置しており、北宋太祖皇帝が建隆三年(962)に五代の宮城をもとに、洛陽の宮殿を模倣して修築したものである。その後、太宗雍熙三年(986)と真宗大中祥符五年(1012)に修復工事が行われたことがある(図八)。



図八　北宋の都城開封の平面図と主要な寺院道観の位置(劉春迎 2004 二二頁図をもとに作成)
寺院(▲):1. 相国寺　2. 興国寺　3. 啓聖院　4. 開宝寺　5. 天清寺　6. 顕聖寺　7. 慈孝寺
道観(●):①太清観・建隆観　②景霊宮　③玉清昭応宮　④集禧観・中太一宮　⑤醴泉観　⑥上清宝籙宮・艮岳

1　開封宮城の宮殿と内道場

開封の宮城は、内城の北部に位置しており、皇帝が国事行為を行うところで、また皇居の宮殿などのある所である。内道場とは、宮中に設けられた宗教(仏教や道教を含む)の修行をするための所である。隋唐時代における内道場は、宮中における仏・道を「修行」する場だけではなく、時には仏典の訳場及び国家的宗教統制の行政機関でもあり、おおよそ宮城内及び禁苑の中に位置している(劉海宇 2021)。北宋時代の内道場は、基本的に唐代の内道場の性格を継承しつつ、皇帝の好みや政治的必要性によって流動的でもある。北宋時代では、大半の皇帝が仏教と道教を同じように重視する宗教政策を採用するが、中に神宗と徽宗のように道教を重んじる皇帝もいた。

北宋太祖と太宗皇帝は、後周世宗(在位 954-959)の廃仏と対照的に、仏教を容認する政策に転換した。太祖は乾徳五年(967)七月に「存留銅像詔」を下し、仏像の「存奉」を命令した(『宋大詔令集』巻 223)。太宗皇帝は、「浮屠氏之教有裨政治(浮屠氏の教は政治に有裨なり)」(『宋太宗実録』巻 26)という認識

The inner city of Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty inherited the rural city of Kaifeng in the Later Zhou Dynasty, which was built on the site of Bianzhou City during the Tang Dynasty. In the second year of the Jianzhong era of the Tang Dynasty (781), Bianzhou governor Li Mian expanded Bianzhou City on a large scale, laying the foundation for later Kaifeng City. In the second year of the Guangshun era of the Later Zhou Dynasty (952), Emperor Taizu Guo Wei restored the city walls of Kaifeng (City Walls, Five Dynasties Essentials). During the Northern Song Dynasty, the inner-city walls were restored in the first year of the Huangyou era of Emperor Renzong (1049) and the fourth year of the Jiayou era (1059). The palace, located in the northern part of the inner city, was rebuilt by Emperor Taizu of the Northern Song Dynasty in the third year of the Jianlong era (962) based on the palaces of the Five Dynasties and imitated the palace in Luoyang. Subsequent restoration work was carried out in the third year of the Yongxi era of Emperor Taizong (986) and the fifth year of the Dazhongxiangfu era of Emperor Zhenzong (1012) (Figure 8; Plan of the Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty and the location of major Buddhist and Taoist temples).

1. The palace and inner daochang of the Kaifeng Imperial Palace

The Kaifeng Imperial Palace is located in the northern part of the Inner City, where the emperor performs state affairs and where the imperial palace is located. The inner daocheng is a place established within the palace to practice religion (including Buddhism and Taoism). The inner daochang during the Sui and Tang dynasties was not only a place to "practice" Buddhism and Taoism in the palace, but was also sometimes a place to translate Buddhist scriptures and an administrative agency for national religious control, and was generally located within the palace and the Forbidden Gardens (Liu Haiyu 2021). The inner daochang during the Northern Song Dynasty basically inherited the characteristics of the inner dojo during the Tang Dynasty, but was also fluid according to the emperor's preferences and political needs. During the Northern Song Dynasty, most emperors adopted religious policies that placed equal importance on Buddhism and Taoism, but there were also emperors who valued Taoism, such as Shenzong and Huizong.

In contrast to the anti-Buddhist policy of Later Zhou Emperor Shizong (reigned 954-959), Emperor Taizu of the Northern Song Dynasty and Emperor Taizong shifted to a policy of tolerating Buddhism. In July of the fifth year of the Qiande era (967), Emperor Taizu issued the "Edict to Preserve Bronze Statues," ordering the "preservation" of Buddhist statues (Collection of Great Edicts of the Song Dynasty, Volume 223). Emperor Taizong recognized that "the teachings of the Futu family are related to politics" (Annals of the Song Dynasty, Volume 26), and sought to use Buddhism for political purposes.

をもち、仏教の政治利用をはかった。『仏祖統紀』巻四十三によれば、太祖皇帝は、乾徳三年(965)に雲門禅師の真身を宮中に一か月ほど供養し、翌年に益州の献上した金字金剛経を天清寺沙門崇蘊に大内で講演せしめ、さらに開宝五年(972)に京城の名僧玄超等をして金字大蔵経を大内で誦せしめたという。同書には、太平興国三年(978)に「令僧統賛寧奉釈迦舎利塔入見於滋福殿。(中略)滋福殿者、安仏像経蔵、立刹声鐘即内道場也(僧統賛寧をして釈迦舎利塔を奉り滋福殿に入見せしむ。(中略)滋福殿は、仏像・経蔵を安んじ、刹を立て鐘を声にするは即ち内道場なり)」とあり、太宗皇帝は、滋福殿で大蔵経と仏像を安置し、賛寧に釈迦舎利塔を持って謁見させ、滋福殿を内道場にしたという。同書には、さらに雍熙二年(985)に「詔両街供奉僧於内殿建道場、為民祈福、歳以為常(両街の供奉僧を詔し内殿に道場を建てしめ、民が為に祈福し、歳ごとに以て常と為す)」とあり、太宗皇帝は内道場を立て、両街の供奉僧に民のために祈福させることを毎年の常例仏事にしたという。また、入宋僧の奝然は、滋福殿で栴檀釈迦瑞像を拝見したことがある(塚本 2011)。滋福殿は、もと皇儀殿と呼ばれ、宮城紫宸殿の西側に位置する宮殿である(『宋史』地理志・京城)。このように、太祖と太宗皇帝は滋福殿に仏像を荘厳して大蔵経を安置した仏教の内道場を立てたことがわかる。それが民心の収攬という政治的目的を含んでいると指摘されている(横井克信 1999)。一方、太祖と太宗皇帝は、仏教のみならず道教についても重視している。例えば、太祖皇帝は、水旱災害に遭うたびに莱州道士の劉若拙を「必召於禁中、設壇場致祷(必ず禁中に召し、壇場を設けて祷りを致さしむ)」(『続資治通鑑長編』巻十三)、と宮中に道教の内道場を設けて祈祷を行った。また、太宗皇帝は、道士の陳摶を重んじて、「摶を闕下に留」め、またその修業場の雲台観を修繕した(『宋史』隠逸列伝)。

その後の真宗は道教と仏教両方を重視し、王朝の統治に有益であるとした。真宗は、天禧三年(1019)に宮城正殿の天安殿で天地に答謝するための道場を立て、沙門・道士一萬三千八十六人を集めて式典を行ったという(『仏祖統紀』巻四十四)。仁宗皇帝は、比較的仏教に興味を示し、天聖九年(1031)に南華寺の六祖恵能の衣鉢を大内の清浄堂に奉安して供養したことがあり、また、慶暦三年(1043)に開封相国寺の仏牙を内殿に迎えて自ら祈雨の儀を行ったという(『仏祖統紀』巻四十五)。この記録によれば、仁宗皇帝は宮城の清浄堂において内道場を設けたことがわかる。

神宗皇帝の内道場は宮城後苑の瑶津亭にある。熙寧六年(1073)三月に入宋僧成尋(『宋史』日本列伝では「誠尋」と記される)がそこの祈雨と謝雨道場で十日間の修法したことを、その日記『参天台五台山記』(以下は『参記』と略す)に事細かく記している(小川貫弌 1980)。『参記』巻七には、宮城北側後苑に方二町の大池があり、池の中島に神宗皇帝の「御念誦堂」の大宝殿が八角二階建ての建物で、瑶津亭と呼ばれており、池に竜頭舟が十数隻浮かべているとある。さらにこの瑶津亭・大宝殿の荘厳について、弥勒・釈迦・薬師の三幅画像が本尊として安置され、その東と西の壁面に十六羅漢像の画像が東西に八幅ずつかけられている。正面の本尊画像に向かって、九曜七星の十七星像が東に八幅、西に九幅がかけられ、その中に十大明王像・降三世二臂像・軍荼利二臂像・吒紇明王如不動尊などの画像も安置されている。また、成尋は、祈雨と謝雨の作法についても記しており、神宗の内道場を知るには重要な資料を残した。ここで指摘したいのは、この内道場の仏像がすべて画像であることである。その理由は、僧侶による仏教的な祈雨と謝雨の修法が終了すると、画像が外されて、この瑶津亭の宮殿が別の用途に使用されるからであろう。言い換えれば、神宗の内道場は臨時的なもので、流動的であることが伺える。

また、神宗期には元豊二年(1079)十月に皇太后曹氏が崩御する際、禅師道臻が大内の慶寿宮で説法に召されたという(『釈氏稽古略』巻四)。その翌三年正月に皇太后追福のため、千僧斎が大内で行われたという(『仏祖統紀』巻四十五)。哲宗期にも禅師道臻が福寧殿に召され高座で説法したという(『釈氏稽古略』巻四)。これらの内道場も場所が一定せず、その臨時性が物語られる。

徽宗皇帝は、即位当初に仏教に興味を示したが、崇寧三年(1104)に相国寺の仏牙を大内に迎えて供養したり、政和二年(1112)に嘉州の古樹から出てきた定僧を禁中に召したりすることがあった(『仏祖統紀』巻四十六)。しかしその後、道士の林霊素を寵愛し、道教の信奉者となり、仏教に対する抑圧政

According to volume 43 of the " Fozutongji," in the third year of the Qiande era (965), Emperor Taizu enshrined the body of Zen Master Yunmen at the palace for about a month, and the following year he had the monk Shamen of Tianqing Temple lecture in Danei on the Golden Diamond Sutra, which had been presented to him by Yizhou. He then had the famous monk Xuanchao of Seoul and others recite the Golden Tripitaka in Danei in the fifth year of the Kaibao era (972). The book states that in the third year of the Taipingxingguo era (978), "the monks ordered Zanning to enshrine the Shaka Relic Stupa in Zifu Hall and view it. (Omitted) In Zifu Hall, where the Buddha statue and sutra storehouse are enshrined, the temple is erected and the bell is rung, this is the inner training hall." Emperor Taizong enshrined the Tripitaka and a statue of Buddha in Zifu Hall, and had Sannei view the Shaka Relic Stupa, making Zifu Hall the inner training hall. The book also states that in the second year of the Yongxi era (985), Emperor Taizong "ordered the accompaniment of the monks from both districts to build an inner daochang in the inner hall to pray for the people's blessings, and made it a regular practice every year." Emperor Taizong established an inner daochang and made it a regular Buddhist practice to have the accompaniment of the monks from both districts pray for the people's blessings every year. In addition, the monk Chōnen, who went to Song, once saw the sandalwood Shakyamuni statue in Zifudian (Tsukamoto 2011). Zifudian was originally called the Imperial Ceremony Hall, and is a palace located to the west of the Imperial Palace's Zichendian (Geography, Seoul). Thus, we can see that Taizu and Emperor Taizong established an inner daochang for Buddhism in Zifudian, where a Buddha statue was decorated and the Tripitaka was enshrined. It has been pointed out that this included the political purpose of winning the hearts and minds of the people (Katsunobu Yokoi 1999). On the other hand, Taizu and Emperor Taizong placed importance not only on Buddhism but also on Taoism. For example, whenever Emperor Taizu suffered from a drought or flood, he would "call upon the Laizhou Taoist priest Liu Ruozhuo to come to the palace and set up an altar to offer prayers" (Continued Zizhi Tongjian Chang Pian, Volume 13), setting up an internal Taoist training hall within the palace to hold prayers. Emperor Taizong also held the Taoist priest Chen Tuan in high esteem, "keeping him under the control of the emperor" and repairing his training hall, the Yuntai Temple (History of the Song Dynasty, Hidden Biographies).

Later, Zhenzong placed importance on both Taoism and Buddhism, and considered them beneficial to the governance of the dynasty. In 1019, Zhenzong established a training hall in the Tian'an Hall, the main hall of the palace, to give thanks to heaven and earth, and held a ceremony attended by 13,860 monks and Taoists (Fozutonji, vol. 44). Emperor Renzong showed a relatively strong interest in Buddhism, and in 1031, he enshrined the robes and head of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of Nanhua Temple in the inner hall of the palace as a memorial, and in 1043, he welcomed the tooth of the Buddha from Kaifeng Xiangguo Temple into the inner hall and personally performed a rain-praying ceremony (Fozutonji, vol. 45). This record shows that Emperor Renzong established an inner training hall in the palace's Purification Hall.

Emperor Shenzong's inner training hall was located in the Yaojin Pavilion in the rear gardens of the palace. In March of the 6th year of the Xining era (1073), the Song monk Jōjin (recorded as “Jōjin” in the "Song History" Japanese Retsuden) entered the country and prayed for rain there and performed ten days of training at the Xieyu Daochang. His diary Santendai Wutaishanki (hereinafter abbreviated as "Sanki") records this in detail (Kanichi Ogawa 1980). Volume 7 of "Sanki" states that there were a large pond two blocks wide in the rear garden on the north side of the palace, and on an island in the pond is the Great Treasure Hall of Emperor Shenzong's "Recitation Hall," an octagonal two-story building called Yaojinting, and that there are a dozen dragon-headed boats floating in the pond. Furthermore, regarding the splendor of Yaojinting and the Great Treasure Hall, three paintings of Maitreya, Shaka, and Yakushi are enshrined as the principal image, and eight paintings of the Sixteen Arhats are hung on the east and west walls of the pond. Facing the main image in front, eight scrolls of 17-star images of the nine stars and seven stars are hung on the east and nine on the west, among which are the images of the Ten Great Kings, the two-armed image of Jiangsanshi, the two-armed image of Juntuli, and the Zhahe Mingwang Rubudongzun. Jōjin also wrote about the manners of praying for rain and giving thanks for the rain, leaving behind important material for understanding the inner daochang of the Shenzong Dynasty. What I would like to point out here is that all the Buddha images in this inner daochang are images. The reason for this is that when the Buddhist rituals of praying for rain and giving thanks for the rain are completed by the monks, the images are removed and the palace of Yaojinting is used for other purposes. In other words, the inner daochang of the Shenzong Dynasty is temporary and fluid.

In addition, during the Shenzong Dynasty, when Empress Dowager Cao passed away in October of the second year of the Yuanfeng era (1079), Zen master Daozhen was summoned to preach at the Qingshou Palace in the great palace ("Shakushi Keiko Ryaku", Volume 4). In the first month of the following year, a Thousand Monks' Festival was held within the palace to commemorate the Empress Dowager's good fortune (Fozutonji, Volume 45). During the reign of Emperor Zhezong, the Zen master Daozhen was summoned to the Funing Hall and preached on the dais (Shakushi Kyōgōryū, Volume 4). The locations of these palaces were not fixed, which indicates their temporary nature.

Emperor Huizong showed an interest in Buddhism when he first ascended to the throne, and in 1104, he welcomed a Buddha tooth from Xiangguo Temple into the palace for a memorial service, and in 1112, he summoned a monk who had been found in an ancient tree in Jiazhou to his palace (Fozutonji, Volume 46). However, he later favored the Taoist priest Lin Lingsu, became a follower of Taoism, and adopted a policy of oppression against Buddhism.

策をとった。徽宗は、政和三年(1113)に宮中福寧殿の東に道教の内道場として玉清和陽宮を建ててのちに玉清神宵宮と改名し(『宋史』地理志) 、林霊素に「通真達霊先生」号を賜り、盛大に「千道会」という大斎を行ったという(『宋史』方技伝)。また宮城内に明堂や延福宮が建造された。この玉清神宵宮は、臨時的な内道場ではなく、常設のものの可能性が高い。

2 寺院と道観

北宋開封の内城には、中央官庁・地方官衙・仏院道観・商業施設などが集中しており、開封のもっとも繁栄したところである。一方、内城と外城との使い分けがはっきりしてはいないため、ここでは開封城内の主要な宗教空間について概観してみたい。宗教的空間としては、仏寺と道観に分けられるが、北宋初期に既存していたものもあれば、北宋歴代皇帝に新造されたものもある。以下は、仏寺と道観の両面から王朝の政治と関係が深い主要なものについてまとめる。

1)仏寺

相国寺、内城の南東部に位置しており、北斉時代に建てられ、唐代中宗が相王から即位したことで相国寺と改名されたという(『仏祖統紀』巻四十三)。汴河の埠頭がすぐそばにあるため、相国寺は、北宋初期から商品集散地となり、太宗至道二年(996)に雄大な楼門が造られ、御筆金字「大相国寺」額がかけられた(『燕翼貽謀録』巻二)。太祖・太宗から欽宗まで歴代の皇帝は上元節に多く相国寺に行幸し、またここで祈雨、祈雪及び祝寿のための道場を行った(『宋史』・『宋会要輯稿』等)。地方から召した僧侶や外国の使者などを相国寺に泊めたりしていた(『宋史』方技列伝・同外国列伝)。

太平興国寺、内城の南西部に位置しており、唐代の龍興寺で、太祖開宝二年(969)に修復され、太宗太平興国元年(976)に太平興国寺と改名され、同五年(980)に大殿の西に訳経院(のちに伝法院と改名)が造られたという(『事物紀原』巻七)。太宗から歴代皇帝が興国寺に上元節の行幸をしたり、祈雨・止雨のための道場を行ったりしていた。真宗は、景徳二年(1005)に伝法院に新訳仏典を御覧した(『宋史』真宗本紀)。また、仁宗天聖八年(1030)に太祖の御容が興国寺奉先殿に安置されたという(『宋史』仁宗本紀)。奝然や成尋のような外国の僧侶をも興国寺に泊めたりしていた(『宋史』日本国列伝、『参記』巻四)。

啓聖院、内城の南西部に位置しており、五代後晋の軍営の護聖営で太宗皇帝誕生の地であったため、雍熙二年(985)に寺院「啓聖禅院」として建造されたという(『事物紀原』巻七)。至道二年(996)八月、啓聖院の永隆殿に太宗皇帝の聖容が安置された(『宋会要輯稿』礼十三)。入宋僧の奝然が将来した清涼寺釈迦如来像は、啓聖禪院の釈迦像の模刻とされている(塚本 2011)。太祖・太宗・神宗など歴代皇帝の御容が安置された。歴代皇帝は上元節の行幸や祈雨・止雨の道場をおこなった(『宋史』)。

開宝寺、内城外側の東北部に位置し、北斉天保年間に創建され、唐開元十七年に封禅寺と改名され、北宋開宝三年(970)に開宝寺と改名された。なかに福勝塔院があり、呉越国阿育王塔からの仏舎利を安置するための塔が建造されたという(『仏祖統紀』巻四十三)。太祖皇帝は、開宝寺に行幸して新鐘や大蔵経の完成を御覧したりした。太宗皇帝が開宝寺で科挙合格者「進士」に饗宴を賜った(『宋史』選挙志)。その後、歴代皇帝が多く開宝寺に行幸し、また祈雨道場をも行ったりした。

天清寺、外城の東南部に位置しており、後世宗顕徳年間(954-958)に創建されており、大変興国二年に修復されたという(『汴京遺跡志』巻十)。開宝年間、六角形のレンガ造りの繁塔が建てられ、現在も聳え立つ。北宋時代に、天清寺で多く祈雨道場が設けられ、仁宗・神宗皇帝が数多く行幸したことがある(『宋史』真宗本紀・同英宗本紀・同五行志)。

顕聖寺、内城西門の大梁門の西北部に位置しており、五代後周顕徳四年(957)に創建されたという(『汴京遺蹟志』巻十)。寺内に感慈塔があり、北宋韓維の「顕聖寺感慈塔為立御篆碑了畢道場斎文」(『全宋文』第 49 冊)により、そこに皇帝の篆書石碑が建てられたことが分かる。太宗至道二年(996)に祈雨道場を行い、天聖六年(1028)に仁宗皇帝が行幸した(『宋会要輯稿』)。

慈孝寺、城内雷家橋の西南部に在り、もとは駙馬都尉呉元扆の住居で、天聖二年(1024)十二月に勅命により寺院とされ、同五年(1027)に真宗皇帝の肖像が殿内に供養された(『汴京遺蹟志』巻十)。仁宗皇

In the third year of the Zhenghe era (1113), Emperor Huizong built the Yuqingheyang Palace to the east of the Funing Hall in the palace as an inner training hall for Taoism, which he later renamed the Yuqingshenxiao Palace (Song History, Geography), bestowed the title of " Tongzhendaling Teacher" to Lin Lingsu, and held a grand ritual called the "Thousand Daoists' Meeting" (Song History, Fangji Zhuan). He also built the Ming Hall and Yanfu Palace within the palace grounds. It is highly likely that this Yuqingshenxiao Palace was a permanent structure, rather than a temporary inner training hall.

2. Temples and Taoist temples

The inner city of Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty was the most prosperous part of the city, with a concentration of central and local government offices, Buddhist temples, Taoist temples, and commercial facilities. However, the distinction between the inner city and the outer city is not clear, so here we will take a general look at the main religious spaces within Kaifeng. Religious spaces can be divided into Buddhist temples and Taoist temples, some of which existed in the early Northern Song Dynasty, and others that were newly built by successive emperors of the Northern Song Dynasty. Below, we will summarize the main ones that were closely related to the politics of the dynasty from the perspective of both Buddhist temples and Taoist temples.

1) Buddhist Temple

Xiangguo Temple is located in the southeastern part of the inner city. It was built in the Northern Qi period and was renamed Xiangguo Temple when Zhongzong of the Tang period ascended to the throne from the position of Xiangwang (Fozutongji, Volume 43). As it is located close to the wharf of the Bian River, Xiangguo Temple became a distribution center for goods from the early Northern Song period. In the second year of the reign of Emperor Taizong (996), a magnificent tower gate was built and a plaque with the name "Da Xiangguo Temple" written in gold was hung (Yanyiyimoulu, Volume 2). Many emperors from Taizu and Taizong to Qinzong visited Xiangguo Temple on the Shangyuan Festival, and held training halls here to pray for rain and snow and to celebrate the birth of their children (Song History, Songhuiyaojigao, etc.). Monks summoned from the provinces and foreign envoys were also accommodated at Xiangguo Temple (Song History, Fangjiliezhuan, Foreigner Liechuan).

Taipingxingguo Temple is located in the southwest of the inner city. It was originally the Longxing Temple of the Tang Dynasty. It was restored in the second year of the Kaibao era under Taizu (969) and renamed Taipingxingguo Temple in the first year of the Taipingxingguo era under Taizong (976). In the fifth year of the same era (980), the Translation Hall (later renamed the Transmission Hall) was built to the west of the main hall ("Shiwujiyuan ", Volume 7). From Taizong onwards, successive emperors made imperial visits to Xingguo Temple on the Lantern Festival and set up a training hall to pray for rain and to stop the rain. In the second year of the Jingde era (1005), Emperor Zhenzong viewed a newly translated Buddhist scripture at the Transmission Hall ("Song History", Shinzong Honki). It is also said that in the eighth year of the Tiansheng era under Emperor Renzong (1030), Emperor Taizu's image was enshrined in the Xingguo Temple's Hall of Dedication ("Song History", Renzong Benji). Foreign monks such as Chōnen and Jōjin were also allowed to stay at Xingguo Temple (Song History, Japanese Records, “Canji”Vol. 4).

Qishengyuan Temple is located in the southwestern part of the inner city and was the military camp guardian camp of the Later Jin Dynasty of the Five Dynasties, and the birthplace of Emperor Taizong, so it is said to have been built as the temple "Qisheng Zen Temple" in the second year of the Yongxi era (985) (Shiwujiyuan,Vol. 7). In August of the second year of the Zhidao era (996), the sacred appearance of Emperor Taizong was enshrined in the Yonglong Hall of Qishengyuan Temple (Song Huiyao Jigao, Rites 13). The Shaka Nyorai statue at Qingliang Temple made by Soran, a monk who went to Song, is said to be a copy of the Shaka statue at Qisheng Zen Temple (Tsukamoto 2011). The appearances of successive emperors such as Taizu, Taizong, and Shenzong were enshrined there. Successive emperors made imperial visits to Kaibao Temple on the Shangyuan Festival and held training halls for praying for rain and stopping the rain (Song History).

Kaibao Temple is located in the northeast of the outer inner wall and was founded during the Tianbao period of the Northern Qi Dynasty. In the 17th year of the Kaiyuan period of the Tang Dynasty, it was renamed Fengchan Temple, and in the third year of the Kaibao period of the Northern Song Dynasty (970), it was renamed Kaibao Temple. Inside the temple is the Fusheng Pagoda Temple, where a pagoda was built to house the relics from the Archaic Pagoda of the Wuyue Kingdom (Fozutonji, Volume 43). Emperor Taizu made imperial visits to Kaibao Temple to see the new bell and the completion of the Tripitaka. Emperor Taizong held a banquet at Kaibao Temple for the "Jinshi" (Judges' Records) who had passed the imperial examinations (Song History, Elections). After that, many successive emperors made imperial visits to Kaibao Temple and held training halls for praying for rain.

Tianqing Temple is located in the southeast of the outer city and was founded during the Xiande period of the later reign of Emperor Zong (954-958) and was restored in the second year of the Xingguo period (Bianjingyijizhi,Volume 10). During the Kaibao period, a hexagonal brick tower was built and still stands today. During the Northern Song dynasty, many rain-praying halls were set up at Tianqing Temple and Emperors Renzong and Shenzong visited it on many occasions (Song History, Annals of the True Buddhism, Annals of the Yingzong, and Records of the Five Elements).

Xiansheng Temple is located in the northwest of the Daliang Gate, the west gate of the inner city and was founded in the fourth year of the Xiande period of the Later Zhou Dynasty (957) (Bianjingyijizhi, Volume 10). Within the temple is a tower of gratitude, and according to the Northern Song Han Wei's "The Tower of Gratitude at Xiansheng Temple was Established as a Seal Stele for the Daochang" (Complete Song Texts, Book 49), a stone monument with the emperor's seal inscription was erected there. A rain-praying temple was held in the second year of the Taizong Zhidao era (996), and Emperor Renzong visited the temple in the sixth year of the Tiansheng era (1028) (Songhuiyaojigao).

Cixiao Temple is located in the southwest of Leijia Bridge within the city and was originally the residence of the commander-in-chief Wu Yuanyi. In December of the second year of the Tiansheng era (1024), it was made into a temple by imperial decree, and in the fifth year of the same era (1027), a portrait of Emperor Zhenzong was enshrined within the temple (Bianjingyijizhi Volume 10). Emperor Renzong and the Empress Dowager once visited the temple (Song History, Biography of Luzongdao).

帝と太后は行幸したことがある(『宋史』魯宗道列伝)。

2)道観

太清観、大梁門外の西北に位置し、周世宗に創建されたものであった。北宋太祖が建隆の改元に合わせて「建隆観」と改名したとされるが(『汴京遺跡志』巻十)、『宋史』礼志に太祖皇帝が建隆元年に太清観・建隆観両方を行幸したとあるため、疑問が残る。太祖皇帝が四回太清観に行幸したことがあり(『宋史』太祖本紀)、太祖と太宗皇帝が十回ほど建隆観に行幸した記録があり、そのなか雍熙三年(986)・四年(987)及び淳化二年(991)に祈雪道場を行った(『宋史』太祖・太宗本紀)。

景霊宮、宮城南門宣徳門の外側に位置しており、大中祥符五年(1012)に真宗皇帝によって造営された趙氏の始祖を奉祀する道観である。神宗元豊五年(1082)に北宋歴代皇帝の遺容が安置されて皇家の太廟として改造された (『文献通考』巻九十四)。徽宗崇寧年間(1102-1107)に御街の東西に西宮と東宮二つに拡張された。真宗皇帝以降、北宋の歴代皇帝は多く景霊宮に行幸し、祖先祭祀や朝献等の式典を行い、その回数がなんと百回近くあった。

玉清昭応宮は内城北門の外側、外城の西北部に位置しており、真宗皇帝によって建造された重要な道観である。景徳二年(1005)に、北宋は遼との間に「壇淵の盟」を結び、毎年遼へ銀 10 万両・絹 20 万疋を歳幣として送ることを約束した(『遼史』聖宗本紀)。屈辱的な「城下の盟」を結んだという朝野の誹りをそらすため、道教を崇拝した真宗皇帝は、皇帝の権威を強化するため天書が降下したという演出をし、また泰山で封禅の儀を行った。その後、大中祥符元年(1008)に開封宮城北門の外に天書を安置するための玉清昭応宮を建てた。真宗・仁宗皇帝は行幸して、薦献式典や祈雨道場を重ねた。

集禧観・中太一宮。集禧観は仁宗皇祐六年に造営された。神宗のとき、その東側に中太一宮が造営された。神宗皇帝は、ここで上元節の行幸、饗宴及び祈福などを行った(『宋史』神宗本紀)。徽宗の時に五岳観と改名されたようである。所在位置の変動もあったとされている(劉夢琴 2016)。

醴泉観、仁宗至和二年に創建されたもので(『宋史』仁宗本紀)、東水門の内側に位置している(『汴京遺跡志』巻十)。その後の英宗・哲宗・欽宗皇帝等が多く醴泉観に行幸し、祈雨等をも行った(『宋史』)。

上清宝籙宮、宮城東門の外側に位置しており、道士林霊素によって政和五年(1115)に建造された。徽宗の往来の便利のため、宮城の景龍門から宝籙宮まで復道(渡廊下)が造られたという。また、政和七年(1117)に上清宝籙宮の東側に周囲十数里の万歳山艮岳が造られた(『宋史』地理志)。艮岳が上清宝籙宮の一部として建造された可能性があり、徽宗の道教信仰による神仙世界でもあると考えられている(久保田和男 2007)。

以上の資料で分かるように、寺院の多くは前代より継承されたものではあるが、一方、道観の多くは北宋期に創建されたものである。特に真宗と徽宗皇帝は、道教を崇拝してそれを政治的に利用したため、道観を多く建立したのである。

3　北宋の皇帝陵

北宋の皇帝陵は、北宋皇帝七代とその一族の陵墓で、現在河南省鞏義市の南西、嵩山少室山脈の北側に位置し、おおよそ都城の開封と 150 キロ離れている。陵墓の造営と同時に、そばに寺院を設置するのが北宋皇陵の特徴である。永昌院は永安陵・永昌陵・永熙陵に、永定院は永定陵に、昭孝禅院は永昭陵・永厚陵に、寧神禅院は永裕陵・永泰陵に、それぞれ薦福・祈祷・読経を担当する。ほかにまた永安院(永安寺)・浄恵羅漢院などの寺院もある。宋代の制度では、皇帝が生前に陵墓を造営することなく、崩去した後に初めて陵墓を造営すること、また崩去後七か月に埋葬することとなっている(陳朝雲 2003)。

4　入宋僧成尋が礼拝した開封の仏寺

入宋僧の成尋は、熙寧五年(1072)三月十五日に宋人の商船に乗り、四月十三日に杭州港に着き、五月に天台山を参拝してから首都の開封に向かった。十月十二日に開封に到着し、翌日に太平興国寺伝法院に泊まることが許可された。二十二日に神宗皇帝に謁見し、『斎然日記』四巻と円仁『入唐求法行記』

2) Taoist Temple
Taiching Temple is located northwest of the Daliang Gate and was built during the reign of Zhou Shizong. It is said that Northern Song Taizu renamed it "Jianlong Temple" when the era name changed to Jianlong (Bianjingyijizhi, Volume 10), but this is questionable because the Records of Lizhi in the Song History states that Emperor Taizu visited both Taiqing Temple and Jianlong Temple in the first year of Jianlong. Emperor Taizu visited Taiqing Temple four times (Records of Taizu in the Song History), and there are records of Emperor Taizu and Emperor Taizong visiting Jianlong Temple about ten times, including the snow-praying temple in the third year (986), fourth year (987) and second year of Chunhua (991) of the Yongxi era (Records of Taizu and Taizong in the Song History).
Jingling Palace is located outside the Xuande Gate, the south gate of the palace. It is a Taoist temple built by Emperor Zhenzong in the fifth year of the Dazongxiangfu era (1012) to worship the ancestor of the Zhao clan. In the fifth year of the Yuanfeng era of Emperor Shenzong (1082), the remains of the Northern Song emperors were enshrined and it was remodeled into a royal temple (Wenxiantongkao, Volume 94). During the Chongning era of Emperor Huizong (1102-1107), it was expanded to two palaces, the Western Palace and the Eastern Palace, on the east and west sides of the imperial street. After Emperor Zhenzong, many of the Northern Song emperors visited Jingling Palace to hold ceremonies such as ancestral worship and morning offerings, nearly 100 times in total.
Yuqingzhaoying Palace is located outside the north gate of the inner city and in the northwest of the outer city. It is an important Taoist temple built by Emperor Zhenzong. In the second year of the Jingde era (1005), the Northern Song Dynasty made a "Tanyuan Pact" with the Liao Dynasty, promising to send 100,000 taels of silver and 200,000 pieces of silk as annual offerings to the Liao Dynasty (History of Liao, Shengzong Benji). To deflect criticism from the government and people that the Northern Song Dynasty had made a humiliating "pact under the city," Emperor Zhenzong, who worshipped Taoism, staged the descent of the Book of Heaven to strengthen his authority, and held the Fengshan ceremony on Mt. Tai. Later, in the first year of the Dazhongxiangfu era (1008), the Yuqingzhaoying Palace was built outside the north gate of the Kaifeng Palace to house the Book of Heaven. Emperors Zhenzong and Renzong made numerous visits to the palace, holding dedication ceremonies and rain-praying training halls.
Jixi Temple and Zhongtaiyigong Palace. Jixi Temple was built in the sixth year of Emperor Renzong's Huangyou era. During the reign of Shenzong, Zhongtaiyi Palace was built to the east of it. Emperor Shenzong visited the temple here for the Shangyuan Festival, held banquets, and offered prayers for good fortune (Song History, Annals of Shenzong). It appears that the temple was renamed Wuyueguan during the reign of Huizong. Its location is said to have changed (Liu Mengqin 2016).
Liquangun was built in the second year of the reign of Emperor Renzong (Song History, Annals of Renzong) and is located inside the East Water Gate (Bianjingyijizhi, Volume 10). Many of the subsequent emperors, including Emperors Yingzong, Zhezong, and Qinzong, visited Liquan Temple and offered prayers for rain (Song History).
Shangqingbaolu Palace is located outside the east gate of the palace, and was built by the Taoist Lin Lingsu in the fifth year of the Zhenghe era (1115). It is said that a return road (corridor) was built from the Jinglong Gate of the palace to Baolu Palace to facilitate Huizong's travels. Furthermore, in the seventh year of the Zhenghe era (1117), the Mt. Wansui Genyue was built to the east of the Shangqingbaolu Palace, measuring over 40km in circumference (Song History, Geography). It is possible that Genyue was built as part of the Shangqingbaolu Palace, and it is also thought to be a world of immortals based on Emperor Huizong's Taoist beliefs (Kazuo Kubota 2007).
As can be seen from the above materials, many of the temples were inherited from previous dynasties, but on the other hand, many of the Taoist temples were founded during the Northern Song period. Emperor Zhenzong and Emperor Huizong in particular revered Taoism and used it for political purposes, which is why they built many Taoist temples.

3.　Imperial tombs of the Northern Song
The Northern Song imperial tombs are the tombs of the seven Northern Song emperors and their families. They are located southwest of Gongyi City, Henan Province, on the north side of the Shaoshi Mountains Range of Mt. Song, about 150 km from the capital city of Kaifeng. A characteristic of the Northern Song imperial tombs is that temples were built nearby at the same time as the tombs were constructed. Yongchang Temple was responsible for offering blessings, offering prayers, and chanting sutras at the Yong'an, Yongchang, and Yongxi tombs, Yongding Temple was responsible for the Yongding tombs, Zhaoxiao Zen Temple was responsible for the Yongzhao and Yonghou tombs, and Ningshen Zen Temple was responsible for the Yongyu and Yongtai tombs. There were also other temples such as Yong'an Temple (Yong'an Temple) and Jinghui Arhat Temple. According to the system of the Song Dynasty, emperors were not required to construct tombs during their lifetime, but rather to construct tombs only after their death, and they were buried seven months after their death (Chen Chaoyun 2003).

4.　The Buddhist temples in Kaifeng where the Song-bound monk Jōjin worshipped
The Song-bound monk Jōjin boarded a Song merchant ship on March 15, 1072 (5th year of the Xining era), arrived at Hangzhou port on April 13, and in May visited Mt. Tiantai before heading to the capital, Kaifeng. He arrived in Kaifeng on October 12, and was permitted to stay at the Taiping Xingguo Temple Chuanfa the following day. On the 22nd, he met with Emperor Shenzong and presented him with four volumes of the "Jōjin Diary" and three volumes of Ennin's "Journey to See the Law in China in Search of the Law" (The fourth volume was not presented because the fourth volume describes the abolition of Buddhism in Huichang).

三巻(四巻目に会昌の廃仏が記されたため献上しなかった)などを献上した。その際、開封城内の仏寺への焼香及び五台山への参拝を乞ったため、悉く許可された。同日に下賜された聖旨に、「大相国寺・太平興国寺・啓聖禪院・顕聖寺・感慈塔・開宝寺・福聖院」といった、焼香に行くべき寺院名が示された。そして、成尋は、翌日に太平興国寺・啓聖禪院・大相国寺に、翌々日に福聖禪院・開宝寺に焼香したことを、その日記に詳しく記した。以下のようにその概要をまとめる(『参記』巻四)。

十月二十三日に、宦官の「入内内侍省内侍殿供奉官」の案内のもと、まず広大伽藍をもつ太平興国寺で大仏殿を拝見し、そこに安置された丈六の釈迦三尊像を礼拝した。次ぎに啓聖禪院に行き、大仏殿・盧舎那大殿・西大殿・泗州大師堂・仏牙堂などを礼拝し、そのなか西大殿に安置された金字一切経が「荘厳不可思議」だと讃嘆した。また、次ぎに大相国寺に行き、弥勒大殿・盧舎那大殿・仏牙堂などを礼拝・焼香した。翌二十四日に、宦官の「中使侍中」の案内のもと、まず福聖禪院に行き、大仏殿・東堂泗州大師像・弥勒堂・経蔵・盧舎那堂・羅漢殿などを礼拝し、そのうち経蔵の中心宝殿に安置された銀泥一切経を拝見した。次ぎに開宝寺に行き、感慈塔・羅漢堂などを礼拝した。成尋は、これらの寺院の仏殿・仏像・一切経などの状況を詳細に記しており、しきりに「甚妙」「不可記尽」などと称賛している。

これらの仏教寺院は、北宋首都開封の寺院の代表として朝廷より示されたもので、朝廷との関係が深いものと考えられる。また、その仏殿・仏像・仏典などすべてを自慢して外国僧に見せられるものでもあるのであろう。その後、成尋は、神宗皇帝に「善慧大師」号を賜り、訳場の監事に任命され、帰国が許されず開封にとどまるようとことになり、元豊四年(1081)に開宝寺に入滅し、天台山国清寺に葬られたという(『本朝高僧伝』巻 67)。

四、南宋の杭州

五代十国時代には、杭州は呉越国の首都として栄えていた。梁開平年間(907-911)、呉越王銭鏐(せんりゅう)は、浙江の水害から杭州城を守るため、堤防の「捍海塘」を造営した(『宋史』河渠志)。また、宮室・街道・市場・居屋などの区域に分けて都市計画を立てて杭州の拡張を図った。呉越国の歴代国王は、浚渫工事によって西湖を杭州の不可分の一部とし、基本的に都市用水の問題を解決した。また、仏教を篤信し、霊隠寺・浄慈寺などの仏寺及び雷峰塔・六和塔・白塔と保俶塔など数多くの著名な寺院や仏塔を建立した(唐俊傑等 2008:1-3)。

北宋時代には、杭州は州の官衙所在地として規模がさらに拡大され、崇寧年間(1102-1106)の人口が 30 万人近くまで増えた(『宋史』地理志)。北宋初期に杭州で市舶司が設置され、海外との貿易が大いに展開された(『宋史』食貨志)。南宋初期の建炎三年(1129)に、高宗皇帝は杭州の鳳凰山に行宮造営の詔書を下し、杭州を「臨安府」に昇格した(『宋史』高宗本紀)。その後、杭州は、一時期金軍に占領された。紹興八年(1138)、杭州は正式に首都とされた。紹興十一年(1141)「紹興和議」で宋・金両国の平和条約が締結されて時局が安定したため、臨安行宮に宮殿の崇政・垂拱が造営され、また、天章閣・寝殿の福寧殿なども増築された(『宋史』輿服志・宮室)。ほかの国家的構造物としては、紹興四年(1134)に太廟、十二年(1142)に太社太稷・皇后廟・太学、十三年に圜丘・景霊宮等、十五年に内中神御殿等が造営されたり、その後も太廟が拡張されたりして約二十年をかけて宮殿・宗廟などが完備された(『建炎以来朝野雑記』甲集巻二「渡江後郊廟宮省」)。

南宋の臨安城は、西に西湖、東に銭塘江に臨んで、南に鳳凰山の南麓、北に武林門に至り、南北が長く東西が狭い。陸上の城門 13 か所と水門 5 か所をもつ。陸上の城門は、楼閣をもち、水門は平屋である(唐俊傑等 2008:2-4)。当時には、城壁の高さは三丈余り、幅は一丈余りあったという(『夢梁録』巻七「杭州」)。

1　皇城と宮殿

皇城(宮城)は、鳳凰山の東麓に位置し、五代呉越国宮城のもとに造営されたもので、「大内」とも称される。四つの門をもち、南門の麗正門は正門とされ、北門は和寧門、東は東華門、西は西華門という。

At that time, he requested permission to offer incense at Buddhist temples in Kaifeng City and to visit Mt. Wutai, which he was granted permission for. In the imperial decree that was granted on the same day, the names of the temples where he should offer incense were listed, including "Daxiangguo Temple, Taipingxingguo Temple, Qisheng Zen Temple, Xiansheng Temple, Ganci Tower, Kaibao Temple, and Fushengyuan." In his diary, Jōjin wrote in detail about his visits to Taipingxingguo Temple, Qisheng Zen Temple, and Daxiangguo Temple the next day, and to Fusheng Zen Temple and Kaibao Temple the day after that. The outline of his visit is summarized as follows (Sanki, Volume 4).

On October 23rd, accompanied by a eunuch "entering the Neishisheng Neishidian escort officer," he first viewed the Great Buddha Hall at the vast Taipingxingguo Temple and worshiped the 4.8m high Shaka Triad that was placed there. He then went to Qisheng Zen Temple, where he worshipped the Great Buddha Hall, Vairocana Great Hall, Western Great Hall, Sizhou Master Hall, and Buddha's Tooth Hall, among others, and praised the Golden Lettered Sutra that was placed in the Western Great Hall as "magnificently mysterious." He then went to Daxiangguo Temple, where he worshipped, and worshipped the Maitreya Hall, Vairocana Great Hall, and Buddha's Tooth Hall, among others. On the following day, the 24th, accompanied by the eunuch "Chinese envoy attendant," he first went to the Fusheng Zen Temple, where he paid tribute to the Great Buddha Hall, the statue of Master Sizhou in the East Hall, the Maitreya Hall, the Sutra Repository, the Vairocana Hall, and the Arhat Hall, among others, and viewed the silver-plated Buddhist sutras enshrined in the central treasure hall of the Sutra Repository. He then went to Kaibao Temple, where he paid tribute to the Ganci Tower and the Arhat Hall. Jōjin wrote in detail about the state of the Buddha halls, Buddhist statues, and Buddhist sutras of these temples, frequently praising them as "extraordinary" and "unparalleled in all that can be recorded."

These Buddhist temples were presented by the imperial court as representatives of the temples in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty, and are thought to have had deep ties to the court. They were also likely to be shown off to foreign monks, with their Buddha halls, Buddhist statues, and Buddhist sutras. Later, Jōjin was bestowed the title of "Great Master Shanhui" by Emperor Shenzong and was appointed as the supervisor of the translation office; he was not permitted to return to his home country and was forced to remain in Kaifeng. He passed away at Kaibao Temple in 1081 and was buried at Guoqing-ji Temple on Mt. Tiantai ("Honcho Koso-den," Volume 67).

4. Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty

During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, Hangzhou flourished as the capital of the Wuyue Kingdom. During the Kaiping era of the Liang Dynasty (907-911), Wuyue King Qian Liu built the "Hanhaitang" embankment to protect Hangzhou from flooding in the Zhejiang River (Song History, Hequzhi). He also expanded Hangzhou by dividing the city into areas such as palaces, streets, markets, and residences through urban planning. The successive kings of Wuyue made the West Lake an integral part of Hangzhou through dredging work, essentially solving the problem of urban water supply. They also devoutly believed in Buddhism and built many famous temples and pagodas, including Lingyin Temple, Jingci Temple, and Leifeng Pagoda, Liuhe Pagoda, Bai Pagoda, and Baochu Pagoda (Tang Junjie et al. 2008:1-3).

During the Northern Song Dynasty, Hangzhou expanded further as the location of the provincial government office, and its population rose to nearly 300,000 during the Chongning era (1102-1106) (Song History, Geography). In the early Northern Song dynasty, a shipping office was established in Hangzhou, and trade with overseas countries expanded significantly (Song History, Shihuozhi). In the third year of the Jianyan era (1129) during the early Southern Song dynasty, Emperor Gaozong issued an imperial decree to build a temporary palace on Mt. Fenghuang in Hangzhou, and elevated Hangzhou to the "Lin'an Prefecture" (Song History, Gaozongbenji). Afterwards, Hangzhou was occupied by the Jin army for a time. In the eighth year of the Shaoxing era (1138), Hangzhou was officially made the capital. In the eleventh year of Shaoxing (1141), a peace treaty was signed between the Song and Jin dynasties at the "Shaoxing Peace Conference," and the situation stabilized. The palaces of Chongzheng and Chuigong were built at the Lin'an Temporary Palace, and the Tianzhang Pavilion and the Funing Palace were also expanded (Song History, Yufuzhi, Palace Chambers). Other national structures included the Taimiao in the fourth year of Shaoxing (1134), the Taishetaiji, Huanghou Temple, and Taixue in the twelfth year (1142), the Huanqiu and Jingling Palace in the thirteenth year, and the Inner Central God Palace in the fifteenth year. The Taimiao was expanded after that, and it took about twenty years to complete the palaces and ancestral temples (Jianyanyilaochaoyezaji, Collection A, Volume 2, " Dujianghoujiaomiaogongsheng "). Lin'an City of the Southern Song Dynasty faces West Lake to the west, the Qiantang River to the east, the southern foot of Mt. Fenghuang to the south, and Wulinmen to the north, so it is long from north to south and narrow from east to west. There are 13 land gates and 5 water gates. The land gates have towers, and the water gates are single-story (Tang Junjie et al. 2008:2-4). At that time, the city walls were over three zhang high and over one zhang wide (Menglianglu, Volume 7, "Hangzhou").

1.　The Imperial City and the Palace

The Imperial City (palace) is located at the eastern foot of Mt. Fenghuang and was built under the imperial city of the Wu-Yue Kingdom in the Five Dynasties. It is also called "Danei". It has four gates, the southern gate of Lizhengmen is the main gate, the northern gate is called Heningmen, the eastern gate is called Donghuamen, and the western gate is called Xihuamen. Lizhengmen has three caves and a magnificent tower.

The government office “Yiluansi”,” which is in charge of court etiquette such as the emperor’s

麗正門は、三つの門洞をもち、壮麗な楼閣を備えている。麗正門の外に官署「儀鸞司」が設置され、皇帝の祭祀・巡幸・宴会などの宮廷礼儀をつかさどる。麗正門は政治的に象徴的な場所で多くの重要な儀礼活動がここで行われている(杜正賢 2016:75)。大慶殿は、麗正門の内側に位置し、朝会の正殿であり、儀式の目的により文徳・紫宸・集英・祥曦などの名称に変えられることがあり、多目的用途の宮殿である。ほかにも一殿多名・一殿多用の場合も多く、南宋宮殿制度の顕著的な特徴でもある(『宋史』地理志)。垂拱殿は、大慶殿の北にあり、皇帝が日常政務を処理する場所である。そのほか、延和・崇政・復古・緝熙・勤政・嘉明・射殿・選徳などの宮殿、天章・宝瑞の諸閣及び皇太后の坤寧殿・皇后の福寧殿などの寝殿もある(唐俊傑等 2008:2-4)。紹興三十二年(1162)、高宗皇帝が退位して、皇位を孝宗に禅譲した。皇城の外の望仙橋の東に位置する秦桧の旧居を上皇の住む宮殿に改装し、徳寿宮と命名した。この徳寿宮は皇城(大内)の北にあるため、「北内」と称される(『宋史』輿服志)。

皇城の面積は約 50 万㎡、その遺跡が現在 2-3mの地下に埋められている。遺跡は、現在の建築と重なっているため、系統的な大規模発掘ができなく、発掘調査の箇所と面積に限りがある。宮城の城壁について、東が長さ約 390m、南が長さ約 600m、北が長さ約 710mを確認でき、西には鳳凰山の山体と城壁約 100mが確認できた(唐俊傑等 2008:23-24)。宮城正門の麗正門は、北門の和寧門とは直線ではなく、言い換えれば南宋宮城には中軸線が存在しない。皇城は、臨安府の南端に位置し、歴代都城のそれが中部か北部に位置するのと違う。それまでの五代呉越国の宮城と杭州官衙にちなんだこと、鳳凰山辺りが城内でもっとも高台であること、などの理由が挙げられる(杜正賢 2016:111)。

2 臨安城の寺院

禅宗は、唐代中期に起こり、五代・北宋期には江南地区を中心に発展してきた。南宋期には、朝廷が天下寺院の等級を定め、もっても著名な寺院に禅宗五山十刹を指定した。五山は、臨安の径山寺・霊隠寺・浄慈寺と明州の天童寺と阿育王寺であり、十刹は、杭州永祚寺・湖州護聖万寿寺・建康太平興国寺・蘇州報恩光孝寺・明州資聖寺・温州龍翔寺・福州崇聖寺・婺州宝林寺・蘇州雲岩寺・台州国清教忠寺である。その中、臨安城に位置する寺院は径山寺・霊隠寺と永祚寺である。その他の寺院も数多く存在しており、文献資料の記録により、臨安城内の寺院が 60 か所以上知られるが(孫旭 2010:121-122)、筆者はその 50 か所を図九に落とした(劉海宇 2015)。

南宋の歴代皇帝は多く仏教を篤信して、杭州の寺院と密接な関係を持つ。皇帝はたびたび寺院に臨幸したり賜与したりしていた。例えば、高宗皇帝は、紹興五年(1135)に上天竺霊感観音寺に、紹興二十五年(1155)に浄明院に臨幸した。孝宗は、乾道八年(1172)正月二十八日に景徳霊隠寺に臨幸した。また、孝宗は、上天竺霊感観音寺に数回臨幸した。高宗・孝宗・光宗三代の皇帝は勝相院に臨幸したことがある。后妃も寺院に臨幸したことがある。皇室の臨幸にあわせて、寺田・資産や寺額が賜与されたことが多い(孫旭 2010:121-122)。

これまで発掘された南宋臨安寺院の遺跡は、姚園寺遺跡・永福寺遺跡・霊隠寺法堂遺跡などの三か所ある。姚園寺遺跡は、現在杭州市姚園寺巷の南側に位置し、1998 年に煉瓦敷きの建築址・三本の水渠跡などが発掘された。永福寺遺跡は、霊隠西の石笋峰の下にあり、2002 年に煉瓦敷きの建築や壁の址・排水溝などが検出された。霊隠寺法堂遺跡は、現在霊隠寺蔵経閣のそばにあり、散水・排水溝・池などの遺跡及び銅銭・陶磁器等が検出された(杜正賢 2016:319-325)。

3 南宋の皇帝陵

南宋皇陵は、現在浙江省紹興市富盛鎮霧連山の南麓に位置しており、六代皇帝の陵墓があるため、南宋六陵とも称される。陵墓は、杭州から約 85 キロ離れており、皇帝が崩去すると、葬儀の行列が水路・陸路に沿って十五日の行程が必要となる(何忠礼等 1985)。女真の金に占領された北方の領土を回復した後に、北宋の皇帝陵区域に改葬する理由で、南宋皇帝陵のことを「攢宮(臨時の陵墓)」と称され、規模も小さくされた。2018 年以来、南宋六陵は正式な発掘調査がなされており、一部の陵園の復元研究作業も行われた(李松陽等 2021)。2022 年 12 月、南宋六陵遺跡公園は、国家文物局に国家考古遺跡

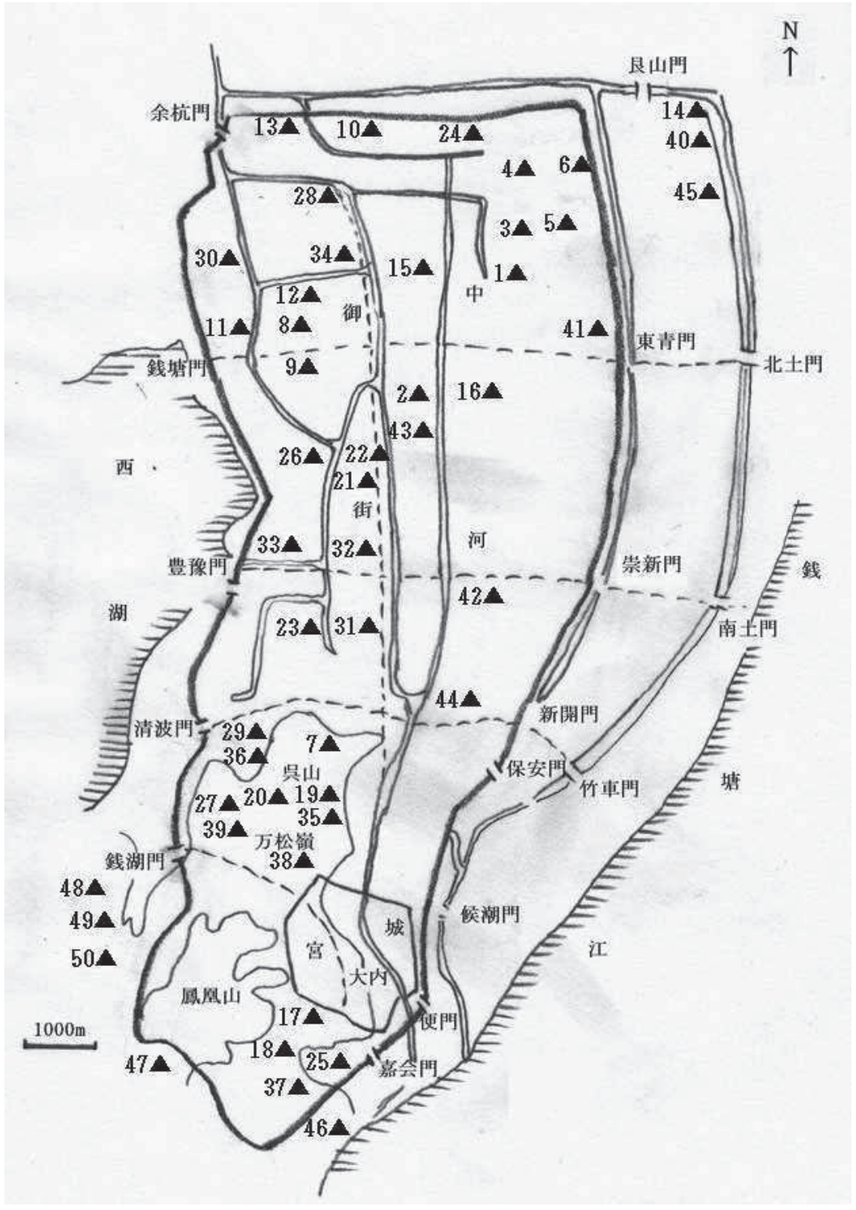
ceremonies, tours, and banquets, is located outside Lizhengmen. Lizhengmen is a politically symbolic place where many important ceremonial activities are held (Du Zhengxian 2016:75). Daqing Hall is located inside Lizhengmen and is the main hall of the morning assembly. It is a multi-purpose palace, and its name can be changed to Wende, Zishen, Jiying, Xiangxi, etc. depending on the purpose of the ceremony. In addition, there were many cases of one hall with multiple guests or multiple uses of one hall, which was a notable feature of the Southern Song palace system (Song History, Geography). The Chuigong Hall is located north of the Daqing Hall and is where the emperor handled daily government affairs. There were also palaces such as the Yanhe, Chongzheng, Fugu, Jixi, Qinzheng, Jiaming, Shedian, Xuande, and the Tianzhang and-Baorui pavilions, as well as the Empress Dowager's Kunning Hall and the Empress's Funing Hall (Tang Junjie et al. 2008:2-4). In the 32nd year of Shaoxing (1162), Emperor Gaozong abdicated and handed over the throne to Xiaozong. The former residence of Qin Hui, located east of Wangxian Bridge outside the Imperial City, was remodeled into a palace for the retired emperor and named Deshou Palace. This Deshou Palace is called "North Inner" because it is located north of the Imperial City (Danei) (Song History, Yufuzhi). The imperial city covers an area of about 500,000 ㎡, and its ruins are currently buried 2-3m underground. As the ruins overlap with current buildings, systematic large-scale excavation is not possible, and there are limitations on the locations and areas that can be excavated. The palace walls have been confirmed to be about 390m long in the east, about 600m long in the south, and about 710m long in the north, and the mountain body of Mt. Fenghuang and its walls of about 100m have been confirmed to the west (Tang Junjie et al. 2008:23-24). The main gate of the palace, Lizhengmen, is not in a straight line with the north gate, Heningmen, meaning that the Southern Song palace does not have a central axis. The imperial city is located at the southern end of Lin'an Prefecture, unlike the previous capitals which were located in the central or northern part of the city. Possible reasons for this include the fact that it was named after the imperial palace and Hangzhou government office of the Wu-Yue Kingdom of the Five Dynasties, and that the area around Mt. Fenghuang is the highest ground within the city (Du Zhengxian 2016:111).

2. Temples in Lin'an City

Zen Buddhism originated in the mid-Tang Dynasty, and developed mainly in the Jiangnan region during the Five Dynasties and Northern Song Dynasties. During the Southern Song Dynasty, the imperial court determined the ranks of temples throughout the country, and designated the Five Mountains and Ten Temples of Zen Buddhism as the most famous temples. The Five Mountains are Jingshan Temple, Lingyin Temple, and Jingci Temple in Lin'an, and the Tiantong Temple and Ayuwang Temple in Mingzhou. The Ten Temples are Yongzuo Temple in Hangzhou, Hushengwanshou Temple in Huzhou, Taipingxingguo Temple in Jiankang, Bao'en'guangxiao Temple in Suzhou, Zisheng Temple in Mingzhou, Longxiang Temple in Wenzhou, Chongsheng Temple in Fuzhou, Baolin Temple in Wuzhou, Yunyan Temple in Suzhou, and Guoqingjiaozhong Temple in Taizhou. Among them, the temples located in Lin'an City are Jingshan Temple, Lingyin Temple, and Yongzuo Temple. There are many other temples, and more than 60 temples are known to exist within Lin'an City according to records from written sources (Sun Xu 2010:121-122), but the author has listed 50 of them in Figure 9 (Map of Lin'an City of Southern Song; surce Tong Chun Kit and To Ching Yin “Archaology on Southern Song Lin’an City” 10) (Liu Haiyu 2015). Many of the Southern Song emperors were devout Buddhists and had close ties with the temples in Hangzhou. The emperors frequently visited temples and made gifts. For example, Emperor Gaozong visited the Shangtianzhulinggan Guanyin Temple in the fifth year of Shaoxing (1135) and the Jingming Temple in the twenty-fifth year of Shaoxing (1155). Emperor Xiaozong visited the Jingdelingyin Temple on the twenty-eighth day of the first month in the eighth year of Qiandao (1172). Emperor Xiaozong also visited the Shangtianzhulinggan Guanyin Temple several times. The three emperors Gaozong, Xiaozong, and Guangzong all visited the Shengxiang Temple. Their empresses also visited temples. In conjunction with imperial visits, temples were often granted land, assets, and temple plaques (Sun Xu 2010:121-122). So far, three ruins of Southern Song Lin'an temples have been excavated: Yaoyuan Temple Ruins, Yongfu Temple Ruins, and Lingyin Temple Dharma Hall Ruins. The Yaoyuan Temple Ruins are located to the south of Yaoyuan Temple Lane in Hangzhou City, and in 1998, the remains of a brick-paved building and three water channels were excavated. The Yongfu Temple Ruins are located under Shisun Peak west of Lingyin, and in 2002, brick-paved buildings, walls, and drainage ditches were discovered. The Lingyin Temple Dharma Hall Ruins are located near the current Lingyin Temple Library Pavilion, and the remains of water sprinklers, drainage ditches, ponds, copper coins, ceramics, etc. were discovered (Du Zhengxian 2016:319-325).

3. Southern Song Imperial Tombs

The Southern Song Imperial Tombs are located at the southern foot of the Wulian Mountains in Fusheng Town, Shaoxing City, Zhejiang Province, and are also known as the Six Tombs of the Southern Song Dynasty because they contain the tombs of six emperors. The tombs are about 85 km away from Hangzhou, and when an emperor dies, a funeral procession takes 15 days to travel by water and land (He Zhongli et al. 1985). After recovering the northern territories occupied by the Jin, the Southern Song Imperial Tombs were called "temporary tombs" and reduced in size because they were reburied in the Northern Song imperial tomb area. Since 2018, the Six Tombs of the Southern Song Dynasty have been officially excavated, and some of the tombs have also been restored (Li Songyang et al. 2021).



図九　南宋臨安城平面示意図（唐俊傑·杜正賢『南宋臨安城考古』一〇頁により作成）

1. 明慶寺 2. 仙林慈恩普済教寺 3. 太平興国伝法寺 4. 大中祥符寺 5. 千頃広化院 6. 浄住院 7. 開宝仁王寺 8. 天長静心寺 9. 永福院 10. 妙行院 11. 浄戒院 12. 吉祥院 13. 翔鸞院 14. 普照院 15. 妙慧院 16. 七宝院 17. 聖果寺 18. 梵天寺 19. 広厳院 20. 宝月院 21. 諸天閣華厳院 22. 安国羅漢院 23 光相寿昌院 24. 祥符教寺 25. 千仏閣安福院 26. 百福院 27. 呉山智果院 28. 興福院 29. 百法広潤院 30. 上方院 31. 顕法院 32. 奉慶院 33. 能仁寺 34. 白蓮慈雲院 35. 瑞雲院 36. 霊智院 37. 定水院 38. 報恩院 39. 顕教院 40. 広寿慧雲禅寺 41. 無礙院 42. 報国院 43. 崇恩延福院 44. 国清寺 45. 宝山院 46. 慈恩開化教寺 47. 褒親崇寿寺 48. 顕厳院 49. 普寧寺 50. 興教寺

公園に選ばれた（李暉達 2023）。発掘成果により、南宋陵園の建築は部分的に復元された（李松陽等 2023）。

南宋は、前述した皇帝が崩去した後に初めて陵墓を造営すること、また崩去後七か月に埋葬することなど祖先の陵墓制度を守っている。皇族の死去から埋葬までの間には、その亡骸を入れる霊柩は寺院に一時的に安置するのが一般的で、その寺院を「攢所」という。寺院に葬られる例もみられ、墳寺と称されるさらに寺院の法堂に葬られる場合もある（孫旭 2010：128-130）。

おわりに

上述の中国の政治拠点では、性格上、遼の上京・北宋の開封・南宋の臨安城は、王朝の正式の都城であり、遼の慶州は慶陵などの陵墓の祭祀や保持のために設置された奉陵邑である。為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物、支配の正当性を示す象徴物、居所・墓所・廟及びそれぞれの関係等の視点から以下にまとめたい。

遼の上京では為政者の権力と財力を表彰する構造物及び支配の正当性を示す象徴物は、宮城と皇城の三本の道を有する東門の東華門・南門の承天門及び規模の最大な一号宮殿群「開皇殿」などであろう。皇城西北隅の苑池と西南部の寺院及び二基の塔も重要な象徴事物である。祖廟の性格をもつ建築は、宮城の中では天雄寺である。また、墓所には上京の東南部の二十数キロ離れる祖山に建てられた「太祖天皇帝廟」と「太祖陵」及び付属施設「聖踪殿」・石碑などがある。

慶州における為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物は上記の大安殿・七括宮・諸寺等であろう。現存白塔の「建塔碑銘」によれば、釈迦舎利塔は「大契丹国章聖皇太后」乃ち聖宗皇后が重熙十六年（1047）から十八年（1049）にかけて多くの官人や軍人によって建立したもので、まさに為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物、かつ為政者の支配の正当性を示す象徴事物である。また、慶州は性格上「奉陵邑」であり、慶陵の祭祀や保持のために設置されたもので、皇帝及び皇族の墓所・廟と関係が深い。

北宋都城の開封では、為政者の権力と財力を表する構造物は宮城の宮殿や城門などで、支配の正当性を示す象徴物は天書を安置した道観の玉清昭応宮や城内に点在した寺院などであろう。その中で、入宋僧の成尋が北宋皇帝に示された焼香に行くべき寺院「大相国寺・太平興国寺・啓聖禪院・顕聖寺・感慈塔・開宝寺・福聖院」などは注目される。城内の祖廟の性格と持つのは、北宋歴代皇帝の遺容が安置されて皇家の太廟として改造された景霊宮で、宮城の外側に位置する。墓所の皇帝陵は、都城開封と150 キロも離れる場所にあり、その薦福・祈祷・読経のために、永昌院・永定院・昭孝禅院・寧神禅院などの寺院が設置された。

南宋都城の臨安では、為政者の権力と財力を表彰する構造物及び支配の正当性を示す象徴物は、皇城（宮城）の宮殿群とその正門の麗正門などであろう。墓所の皇帝陵は、臨安城と 85 キロも離れる紹興にあり、居所の皇城と祖廟の景霊宮とは距離的に遠い。

政治拠点平泉の特徴は、政庁面積が小さいこと、墓所の金色堂と関山山頂の塔とともに支配の正当性を象徴するもの、政治拠点内に累代為政者の陵墓や廟が造成されたなどが指摘されている（佐藤嘉広2023）。為政者及びその一族の葬式に仏教が大いに関与したことは当時の東北アジアでの共通点で、特に墓所の陵墓に仏教的要素が多いのは遼の慶州及び北宋の皇帝陵である。儒教伝統の「択中建都」思想は、東北アジア各時代政権の共通認識で平泉・遼の上京・北宋開封ではほぼそれを守っているが、遼の慶州と南宋の臨安がその特殊性格により、例外である。政治拠点内に陵墓を造成することは平泉のみで、遼の上京・北宋開封・南宋臨安ではおおよそ都城の離れたところにあるが、奉陵邑の慶州城は陵墓と比較的近い。

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In December 2022, the Southern Song Six Tombs Relics Park was selected as a National Archaeological Relics Park by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (Li Huida 2023). As a result of the excavation, the architecture of the Southern Song Tombs Relics Park has been partially restored (Li Songyang et al. 2023).

The Southern Song Dynasty maintained the ancestral tomb system, such as constructing a mausoleum only after the emperor's death and burying the deceased seven months after death. Between the death and burial of a member of the imperial family, it was common to place the coffin containing temporarily the body, and such a temple was called a "burial site." There were also cases where the deceased was buried in a temple, and in some cases, they were buried in a temple's lecture hall, called a "temple burial site" (Sun Xu 2010:128-130).

Conclusion

Among the Chinese political centers mentioned above, the Liao's Shangjing, the Northern Song's Kaifeng, and the Southern Song's Lin'an City were the official capitals of the dynasties, while the Liao's Qingzhou was a vassal town established for the preservation and ceremonies of the tombs such as the Qingling tomb. Below, we will summarize the structures that represent the power and wealth of the rulers, the symbols that show the legitimacy of their rule, their residences, tombs, shrines, and their respective relationships.

In the Liao's Shangjing, the structures that commemorate the power and wealth of the rulers and the symbols that show the legitimacy of their rulers would be the Donghua Gate, the eastern gate with three roads between the palace and the imperial palace, the Chengtian Gate, the southern gate, and the largest palace complex, the Kaihuang Hall. The garden pond in the northwest corner of the imperial palace and the temple and two towers in the southwest are also important symbolic objects. Within the imperial palace, the building with the character of an ancestral shrine is the Tianxiong Temple. The tombs include the " Taizu Great Emperor's Temple" and " Taizu Tomb" built on Mt. Zushan, about 20km southeast of Shangjing, as well as the attached facilities “Shengzongdian” and stone monuments. The structures that represent the power and financial strength of the rulers in Qingzhou are the Da’andian, Qikuogong, and various temples mentioned above. According to the "inscription on the tower monument" on the existing white pagoda, the Shakasheli Stupa was built by "Da Qidan National Zhangsheng Empress Dowager," also known as Empress-Shengzong, from the 16th year of the reign of Zhongxi (1047) to the 18th year of the reign of Zhongxi (1049) with the help of many government officials and soldiers, and is a structure that represents the power and financial strength of the rulers, as well as a symbolic thing that shows the legitimacy of the rulers' rule. Qingzhou is also a "village for enshrining imperial tombs" in nature, and was established for the purpose of ceremonies and maintenance of the Qingzhou tomb, and is closely related to the tombs and shrines of the emperor and royal family.

In Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty, structures that represent the power and wealth of the rulers are the palaces and gates of the imperial palace, while symbols of the legitimacy of rule include the Taoist temple of Yuqingzhaoying Palace, which houses the Heavenly Book, and the temples scattered throughout the city. Among these, the temples that the monk Jōjin was recommended to visit by the Northern Song emperor to offer incense are noteworthy, such as Daxiangguo Temple, Taipingxingguo Temple, Qisheng Zen Temple, Xiansheng Temple, Ganci Tower, Kaibao Temple, and Fusheng Temple, are noteworthy. The Jingling Palace, which is located outside the imperial palace and has been remodeled to house the remains of the Northern Song emperors and serve as the imperial family's temple, has the character of an ancestral temple within the city. The imperial tombs, where the emperors were buried, are located 150 kilometers away from the capital Kaifeng, and temples such as Yongchang Temple, Yongding Temple, Zhaoxiao Zen Temple, and Neishen Zen Temple were established to offer blessings, pray, and recite sutras. In Lin'an, the Southern Song capital, the palace complexes and the main gate of the Imperial City (Imperial Palace) were symbols of the power and wealth of rulers and the legitimacy of their rule. The imperial tombs of the emperors were in Shaoxing, 85 kilometers away from Lin'an, and were far from the imperial city where they lived and the Jingling Palace, their ancestral temple.

The characteristics of Hiraizumi, a political center, include the small size of the government offices, the Konjikidō of the tombs and the pagoda on the top of Kanzan, which symbolize the legitimacy of the rule, and the construction of the mausoleums and tombs of successive rulers within the political center (Yoshihiro Sato 2023). The fact that Buddhism was heavily involved in the funerals of rulers and their families was a common feature in Northeast Asia at the time, and the tombs of the emperors of the Liao Dynasty and the Northern Song Dynasty have particularly many Buddhist elements in their tombs. The Confucian traditional idea of "selecting the center and establishing the capital" was a common understanding among the governments of each era in Northeast Asia, and was mostly adhered to in Hiraizumi, Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty, and Kaifeng of the Northern Song Dynasty, but Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty and Lin'an of the Southern Song Dynasty were exceptions due to their unique characteristics. Hiraizumi was the only city that constructed mausoleums within political bases, and in Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng of the Northern Song Dynasty, and Lin'an of the Southern Song Dynasty, the mausoleums were generally located far from the capitals, but Qingzhou Base in Fenglingyi was relatively close to the mausoleums.

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Notes

1) There is also a theory that the Eastern Tomb is the Yongxing Tomb of Emperor Xingjong, and the Central Tomb is the Yongqing Tomb of Emperor Shengjong (Peng Shanguo 2008).

2) According to the rubbing, the so-called "miya" character is most likely "yao," with "yao" referring to relocation.

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政治拠点における寺院成立とその仏教思想
－百済後期と高麗初期の例

金　天鶴（東国大学仏教文化研究所）

Ⅰ．はじめに

本発表は古代の百済後期と中世の高麗初創期において、政治拠点として成立した寺院である、百済の王興寺と弥勒寺、高麗の奉恩寺と開泰寺に注目し、その創建理由とそれに関わる仏教思想について検討することを目的とする。百済においても、高麗においても、政治を行う上で仏教の寺院や僧侶は非常に重要な役割を果たしている。とすれば、寺院成立と関連する考え方を支えている仏教思想があると想定できる。本発表は、このような視点から政治拠点としての寺院にその時代の仏教思想を関連付けてみる試みである。

Ⅱ．百済における政治拠点としての寺院と仏教思想

一．中央政治拠点としての陵寺と王興寺

１．創建理由

百済における中央政治拠点の中で、陵寺と王興寺は銘文の残っていることでその創建理由とそれに関わる仏教思想が推測できる。まず、陵寺は聖王（＝聖明王）を追善のため建立られたと推測される勅願刹である。陵寺の存在（寺の正式名称は不詳）は 567 年の銘文をもつ舎利龕＜写真１＞の発見によって確認されている。

銘文は「百済昌王十三季太歳在　丁亥妹兄公主供養舎利（百済昌王の 13 年、年は丁亥、妹兄公主が舎利を供養する。）」とあり、この短い銘文により、王系の人が舎利を供養する主体になっていることがわかる。これに関しては武寧王時代より確認される骨族意識から舎利供養が行われたと読み取る解釈も存在する[1]。百済において骨族意識は聖王の治世（在位 523～554）から明らかに現れる。聖王は在位期間中に他称として聖王と呼ばれたようである[2]。自称ではないが、骨族意識のもと仏教の理想的君主である転輪聖王を夢見た可

[1] 金寿泰，「百済法王代の仏教」，『先史と古代』15，p. 8でいうように骨族意識は排他的である。仏教に基づくとは言っても、排他性を放棄しないと考えられる。参考までに、『日本書紀』には百済国主の骨族として武寧王の純陀太子の名がみえる。

[2] 『三国史記』「聖王元年」

Establishment of Temples in Political Centers and their Buddhist Thought
- examples of late Baekje and early Goryeo

Kim Cheon hak (Dongguk University)

I. Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to focus on temples that were established as political centers in the late ancient Baekje period and the early medieval Goryeo period, namely Wangheungsa Temple and Mireuksa Temple in Baekje, and Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple in Goryeo, and to examine the reasons for their establishment and the Buddhist thought associated with them. In both Baekje and Goryeo, Buddhist temples and monks played a very important role in conducting politics. If this is the case, it can be assumed that there is a Buddhist thought that supports the ideas related to the establishment of temples. From this perspective, this presentation is an attempt to relate the Buddhist thought of the time to temples as political centers.

II. Temples and Buddhist Thought as Political Centers in Baekje

1. Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple as Central Political Bases

1 Reasons for Founding

Among the central political bases in Baekje, Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple have inscriptions that allow us to infer the reasons for their founding and the Buddhist ideology associated with them. First, Neungsa Temple is a temple built to commemorate King Seong (King Seongmyeong). The existence of Neungsa Temple (the temple's official name is unknown) was confirmed by the discovery of a relic niche (Photo 1, Relic niche in the Emperor temple) with an inscription from 567.

The inscription reads, "In the 13th year of King Chang of Baekje, the year is Jeonghae, Princess of Mae-hyong offers a memorial for the relics." This short inscription shows that the royal family were the ones who were responsible for offering the memorial for the relics. There is also an interpretation that the sarira memorial service was performed because of the same tribe consciousness that was confirmed from the time of King Muryeong[1]. The same tribe consciousness in Baekje clearly appeared from the reign of King Seong (reigned 523-554). It seems that King Seong was called Seong-King by others during his reign[2]. Although it was not a self-proclaimed name, it is possible that he dreamed of becoming a Wheel-Turning Holy King, an ideal Buddhist monarch, based on the same tribe consciousness[3].

＜写真 1＞陵寺の石製舎利龕



能性もありうる[3]。そしてそのような転輪聖王の流れを組むという意識から威徳（昌）王の時代に舎利供養がなされたとみられる。なお、威徳王はこの年から南朝だけでなく、北朝とも本格的に交流するが、舎利供養はこの時期中国仏教からの影響で行われたとみられる[4]。

王興寺に関しては、記録の錯綜によって定めにくい面があるが、当面は王興寺発掘調査によって発見された舎利荘厳具に刻まれた銘文＜写真２＞による年代から考えながら、『三国史記』と『三国遺事』の記録を併用する。

＜写真２＞＜舎利荘厳具＞



https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1113403270000&pageNo=1_1_1_1
（韓国文化財庁提供）

＜写真２＞の銘文は「丁酉年二月　十五日百済　王昌為亡王 子立刹本舎 利二枚葬 時神化為三」（丁酉年(577) 2 月 15 日に百済王昌、亡き王子のため刹を立てるが、本来 2 枚だった舎利が葬時に神の造化によって３枚になった。）とあり、この記録から寺の創建年代と創建理由が読み取れる、①創建は 577 年である。②亡き王子を弔うため刹（＝塔或いは寺）を立てたということなので、勅願刹である[5]。

王興寺址の位置は「春の二月に王興寺が完成した。その寺は水を臨んで彩飾は壮麗であった。王は毎度舟に乗って寺に入り行香した）（『三国史記』武王 35 年）とあるように創建当時は河に面したと推測される。

[3] 河上麻由子,「梁武帝の『阿育王経』転輪聖王標榜と百済聖王」,『木簡と文字』24，2020，p. 124では儒教の聖人とみることを提案する。但し、百済の聖王の活動時期と重なる新羅の法興王が仏教的文脈で聖法興大王，聖王と呼ばれた例があるし、その次の真興王の時代には確実に転輪聖王を目指したことから、百済の聖王は自称まではしなかったものの、仏教的聖王を念頭に入れたかもしれない。金英美,「新羅人の理想的人間像－聖人観を中心に」,『韓国思想史学』23，2004，223～251と、崔seonja『新羅転輪聖王研究－真興王代を中心に』建国大博士論文，2021を参照されたい。

[4] 申光燮,『百済泗沘時代陵寺研究』，中央大博士論文，2006，pp. 95～96.

[5] 大橋一章,「 六世紀後半の百済寺院の舎利安置について」,『早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 第3分冊』、2010，pp. 109～126では、歴史の記録との相違に関しては決めにくいが、中国舎利安置の方法について、丸のみの時代が終わり、百済の葬送の作法も取り入れる工夫考案した時代の産物として評価する。

It is believed that the sarira memorial service was performed during the reign of King Ideok (Chang) out of the consciousness of following in the footsteps of such a Wheel-Turning Holy King. It is also believed that King Ideok began to have full-scale exchanges not only with the Southern Dynasty but also with the Northern Dynasty from this year, and it is believed that the sarira memorial service was performed during this period under the influence of Chinese Buddhism[4].

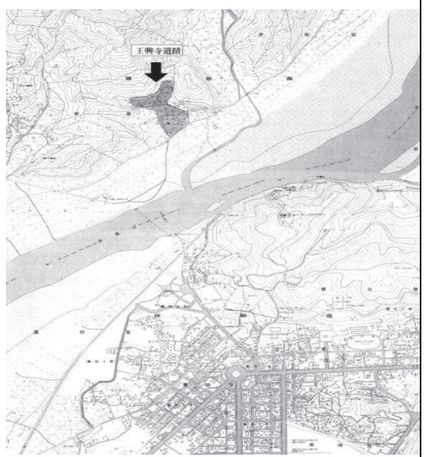
Regarding Wangheungsa Temple, it is difficult to determine due to the confusion of records, but for the time being, we will consider the date based on the inscription engraved on the sarira ornament discovered during the excavation of Wangheungsa Temple (Photo 2, Relic ornaments), and use the records in the "Samguk Sagi" and "Samguk Yusa" in combination.

The inscription on <Photo 2> reads, "On the 15th of the second month of the year of Jeongyu, King Chang of Baekje erected a tower for the deceased prince. Two relics were originally erected, but at the time of his funeral, they became three due to the divine intervention." From this record, the date and reason for the temple's founding can be inferred: 1) It was founded in 577. 2) It is a temple (= pagoda or temple) built to mourn the deceased prince, so it is a temple built at the request of the emperor[5].

The location of Wangheungsa Temple site is assumed to have faced a river when it was first built, as it is written in the Samguk Sagi, "Wangheungsa Temple was completed in the second month of spring. The temple faced the water and was beautifully decorated. The king would always enter the temple by boat to offer incense" (35th year of King Mu's reign, Samguk Sagi).

この河沿地域は当時の百済にとってどの意味があったのであろうか。『三国史記』太宗武烈王条には「（660）11 月〕 5 日に王は渓灘を越え王興寺岑城を攻めて七日目に勝って 700 人を殺した」とある。即ち、この記録から遡ってみると王興寺が亡き王子のため建立した勅願刹でありながら、百済の王権を最後まで守るための要害として認識されていたと考えられる。その意味を念頭におきながら、王興寺の銘文を検討してみると、仏教が関わっている中央政治拠点として役割も見えてくる。

＜図 1 ＞王興寺址の位置〉



王興寺発掘中間報告Ⅰ，2002，p. 4

２．寺院の成立と関わる仏教思想

2.1　仏教に基づいた骨族思想

まず、最も注目すべきは、舎利が二つから三つに増えたとの銘文である。威徳王が父聖王の血筋を継承しているとの意識を持っていたことはすでに述べたが、父聖王が転輪聖王と他称されたならば、威徳王はその思想を舎利信仰を通じて継承したかったとも読み取れる。そして貴族や百姓には、舎利への貴重品などの布施（写真 3）によって[6]、舎利供養による感応としての現世利益や来世にいい場所に生まれ変わることを求めることが予想される。こうした信仰行為は集団の結束を図るにも役立てるが、舎利が二つから三つになる神異を知ることによって結束は一層深くなるだろう。そして、そうした神秘的な変化こそ骨族の能力によるもので、為政者の政治的な力を強化するにも役立てる。

2.2　釈迦仏信仰なのか弥勒信仰なのか

2.2.1.　釈迦仏信仰

銘文に明らかにされている 2 月 15 日はあくまでも象徴である。2 月 15 日は釈迦牟尼の涅槃日としてよく知られているが、『弥勒上生経』によると、弥勒が兜率天に行くため滅定に入った日でもある。これまでは釈迦の涅槃日に注目し[7]、『弥勒経』に関してはほとん

[6] 鈴木靖民，「百済・王興寺と飛鳥寺の創建」，『古代日本の東アジア交流史』，勉誠出版，2016，pp. 41～71では、中国・百済・日本の供養品などを比較している。

[7] 新川登亀男，「古代朝鮮半島の舎利と舎利銘文」，『古代東アジアの仏教と王権 - 王興寺から飛鳥寺へ』，勉誠出版，2010，pp. 53～58では南本『涅槃経』と『釈迦譜』の影響が強いと指摘しながらも、この日に関しては意識され続けていた形跡はなく、王興寺に突出しているとの見解を示している。他の研究も涅槃日に注目する。

What significance did this riverside area have for Baekje at that time? In the Samguk Sagi, the section on King Taejong Muyeol states, "On the 5th day of November (660), the king crossed the Gye Bay and attacked Wangheungsa Minseong Fortress, and on the 7th day he was victorious, killing 700 people." In other words, going back from this record, it is thought that Wangheungsa Temple was a temple built for the deceased prince, but was also recognized as a stronghold to protect the royal authority of Baekje until the end. With this meaning in mind, when we examine the inscriptions at Wangheungsa Temple, we can see its role as a central political base where Buddhism was involved.

2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

2.1 Buddhism-based same tribe thought

First, the most noteworthy thing is the inscription that the number of relics increased from two to three. As already mentioned, King Ideok was aware that he inherited the bloodline of his father, King Seong, and if his father was also called the Wheel-Turning Holy King, it can be interpreted that King Ideok wanted to inherit that idea through the belief in the relics. It is also expected that the nobles and peasants would ask for benefits in this life and to be reborn in a good place in the next life as a result of the offering of the relics by donating valuables to the relics (Photo 3; Memorial items)[6]. Such acts of faith are useful for uniting the group, but unity will be deepened even more by knowing the mystical phenomenon that caused the number of relics to increase from two to three. And such mysterious changes are due to the abilities of the same tribe, and they also help to strengthen the political power of the rulers.

2.2 Belief in Shaka Buddha or Maitreya(Mireuk)?

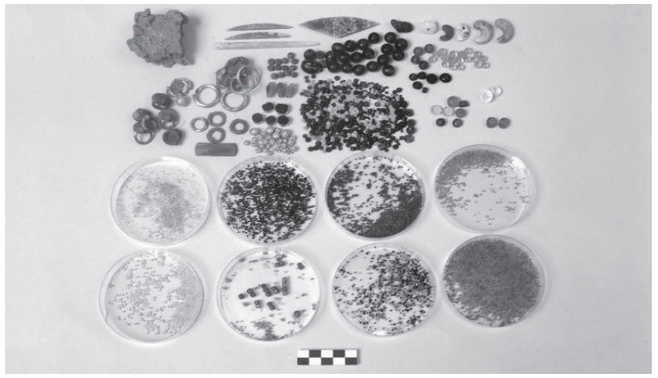
2.2.1. Belief in Shaka Buddha

February 15, as revealed in the inscription, is merely symbolic. February 15 is well known as the day of Shakyamuni's nirvana, but according to the Maitreya Sutra, it is also the day Maitreya entered nirvana to go to Tushita Heaven. Until now, attention has been focused on the day of Shaka's nirvana[7], and little attention has been paid to the Maitreya Sutra.

ど注意を払っていない。

まず、『涅槃経』を通じて考えると、王興寺の位置と舎利記銘文のことが説明できる。『涅槃経』には次のようにある。

＜写真３＞供養具



https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/imgHeritage.do?ccimId=1626691&ccbaKdcd=13&ccbaAsno=04270000&ccbaCtcd=34
（韓国文化財庁提供）

かつて仏陀は、アジタヴァティ川の近くにあるマラスの地のクシナガラに滞在しており、そこには双沙羅の木が立っていた。その時に（中略）、2 月 15 日、涅槃に望みたもうとき）（新国訳大蔵経『涅槃経』）

この経典で描写したように釈迦は河の畔で 2 月 15 日に涅槃の準備に入る。王興寺の位置は『涅槃経』に表現されている釈迦涅槃の場所とオーバーラップする。銘文の 2 月 15 日のことは釈迦の涅槃日を象徴しているといえる[8]。なお、釈迦の火葬方法や舎利が増える神秘的な故事などの情報が百済に入っていた可能性はすでに指摘されている[9]。

ここで舎利が増えることに関しては、威徳王が真身舎利を供養できる聖なる能力を備えた王であることを立証するという意味で、転輪聖王のなすことを直接実践した王として王興寺を建立したと解釈している[10]。もし、寺の位置と銘文の内容が『涅槃経』と舎利信仰に依拠しているならば、当時百済の威徳王は何を期待していたのか。短い銘文からは何を言っても推測の枠を超えないが、『涅槃経』の内容に照らし合わして推測してみたい。

聖王が梁に涅槃経・疏などを求めたのは 541 年であり、その関連資料は百済に入る。なお、『続日本記』に武寧王の太子で純陀の名前がみえる。純陀は釈尊に最後に供養した人として『涅槃経』に出てくる名前である。このことから少なくとも『涅槃経』に基づく情

[8] 堀裕氏は、王興寺を王宮の後苑とみる田中俊明氏の説を紹介しながら、批判はしないが検討の余地が残るとし、王興寺は追善のために建立されたので、中国の王宮外の寺院と比較すべきではないと意見を加えている。堀裕「東アジア王宮内仏教施設の比較研究－南朝・百済・倭を中心に」，『東アジアの王宮・王都と仏教』，勉誠社，2023，pp. 177～178.

[9] 周炅美，「百濟王興寺址出土舍利莊嚴具と6世紀東アジア仏教文化」，『百濟研究』67，2018，pp. 51～86.

[10] 周炅美，同上, pp. 74～77. 但し、舎利が増えることと転輪聖王の関係については述べていない。

First, by considering the Nirvana Sutra, the location of Wangheungsa Temple and the inscription on the Sarigi can be explained. The Nirvana Sutra states the following:

> Once upon a time, the Buddha stayed in Kushinagar in the land of Maras near the Ajitavati River, where a twin-sala tree stood. At that time (omitted), on February 15th, he aspired to Nirvana. (New Japanese Translation of the Tripitaka, Nirvana Sutra)

As described in this sutra, Shakyamuni prepares for Nirvana by the river on the 15th of the second month. The location of Wangheungsa Temple overlaps with the location of Shakyamuni's Nirvana described in the Nirvana Sutra. The date of February 15 in the inscription symbolizes the day of Shakyamuni's Nirvana[8]. It has already been pointed out that Baekje may have had information about the cremation method of Shakyamuni and the mysterious story of the increase in the number of relics[9]. As for the increase in the number of relics, it is interpreted that King Ideok built Wangheungsa Temple as a king who directly put into practice the work of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, proving that he was a king with the holy ability to offer a memorial service for the real relics[10]. If the location of the temple and the content of the inscription are based on the Nirvana Sutra and the belief in relics, what was King Ideok of Baekje hoping for at the time? Anything we say from this short inscription cannot go beyond the bounds of speculation, but we would like to make a guess based on the contents of the Nirvana Sutra.

King Seong requested the Nirvana Sutra and commentaries from Liang in 541, and the related materials date to Baekje. Furthermore, the name of Junda, the crown prince of King Muryeong, appears in the Shoku Nihongi. Junda is the name that appears in the Nirvana Sutra as the last person to make an offering to Shakyamuni.

報は熊津百済の時代に入っていたことになる。聖王は『涅槃経』の理解の進展を図るため、梁に涅槃などの経義を求めている。

その時期、百済に入った可能性の高い、或いは銘文の背景になっている『涅槃経』は二種類である。2 月 15 日を明記した経典と転輪聖王の葬儀を明確に述べた経典は異なるからである。経典翻訳の年代を勘案した際に、釈迦牟尼の涅槃日を 2 月 15 日としたのは、法顕訳『仏説大般泥洹経』(T12. 6 巻)と南・北本『涅槃経』（T12）である。これに舎利信仰と関連して釈迦牟尼の葬儀に関して詳しく述べているのは、法顕訳で非大乗に分類される『大般涅槃経』(T1. 3 巻)があげられる。すると、二種類の経典からこの銘文を支える仏教思想が推測できる。

まず、上に紹介した＜写真 3＞の供養具をみると、それぞれ人に貴重な装飾品のようである。法顕訳の非大乗の『涅槃経』では、仏の 4 大聖地に行って拝むと大きな功徳があるとされているし[11]、布施すると福徳を獲得し涅槃に至るという[12]。2 月 15 日の釈迦牟尼に入寂した聖地に因んで王興寺を創建したとみれば、経典によって布施（＝供養）して福徳を願っていたかもしれない。なお、舎利に関しては、『涅槃経』には舎利が増える例はないにせよ、舎利供養による福徳は非大乗の『涅槃経』にも、大乗の『涅槃経』にも説かれている[13]。以上のように 2 月 15 日が釈迦牟尼の涅槃日を象徴的に表す場合、舎利供養による現世と未来の福徳を迎えることができよう。

2. 2. 2.　弥勒信仰

『弥勒上生経』には、弥勒は 2 月 15 日に生まれた処に戻って結跏趺坐にして滅定に入るとし、紫金色の全身舎利を残して兜率天に行くと説かれている。そして、その身からは首楞厳三昧と般若波羅蜜の字と義が明らかであるとする[14]。ここでいう字と義とは意味がよく分からないが、三昧と般若智慧が明らかに我々にも認識される意味になろう[15]。この経典には仏が入寂した後に、仏(弥勒)の形像を念じ、弥勒を称名し、礼拝し、兜率陀天を思惟するなどの人は、命終して兜率天に往生することが説かれている。こうした実践による得益については、後の註釈ではあるが百済出身の璟興の『疏』にもあるように、大きく滅罪

[11] 『大般涅槃經』卷2「於我滅後，能故發心，往我四處，所獲功德不可稱計，所生之處，常在人天，受樂果報，無有窮盡」(CBETA, T1, 199c)
[12] 『大般涅槃經』卷2：「布施者獲福，　慈心者無怨，　為善者消惡，　離欲者無惱。 若行如此行，　不久般涅槃」(CBETA, T1, 198c9)
[13]『涅槃経』卷30「如來為益衆生福德，故碎其身而令供養」(CBETA, T12, 806a)；『涅槃経』卷2「若有衆生，懸繒幡蓋，燒香散華，及然燈燭，禮拜讚歎我兜婆者，此人長夜獲大福利」(CBETA, T1, 200a)
[14] 『弥勒上生経』 (CBETA, T14, 419c)
[15] 基『觀彌勒上生兜率天經贊』卷2 (CBETA, T38, 292b)

This means that at the very least, information based on the Nirvana Sutra dates to the time of Ungjin Baekje. King Seong requested the teachings of the sutra, including nirvana, from Liang in order to advance his understanding of the Nirvana Sutra.

There are two types of Nirvana Sutras that are likely to have entered Baekje during that period or that are the background for the inscription. Because the sutra that specifies February 15th is different from the sutra that clearly describes the funeral of the Chakravartin. When considering the dates of the translation of the sutras, the date of Shakyamuni's Nirvana is set to February 15th in the translation of the Mahāparinirvana Sutra (T12, vol. 6) and the Southern and Northern versions of the Nirvana Sutra (T12). In addition, the Mahāparinirvana Sutra (T1, vol. 3), which is classified as a non-Mahāyāna sutra in the translation of Faxian, describes Shakyamuni's funeral in detail in relation to relic worship. From these two types of sutras, we can infer the Buddhist thought that supports this inscription. First, looking at the offerings in <Photo 3; Offered objects> introduced above, they seem to be valuable ornaments for people. In the non-Mahayana Nirvana Sutra translated by Faxian, it is said that visiting and worshiping at the four great holy sites of the Buddha brings great merit[11], and that making donations will bring good fortune and lead to Nirvana[12]. If Wangheungsa Temple was founded in honor of the holy site where Shakyamuni passed away on February 15, people may have prayed for good fortune by making donations (i.e. offerings) in accordance with the sutra. Regarding sarira, although there are no examples of relics increasing in the Nirvana Sutra, the good fortune that comes from offerings to the Buddha is described in both the non-Mahayana Nirvana Sutra and the Mahayana Nirvana Sutra[13]. As described above, if February 15 symbolizes the day of Shakyamuni's Nirvana, offerings to the Buddha may bring good fortune in this life and in the future.

2.2.2. Maitreya Faith

The Maitreya Sutra states that Maitreya will return to the place where he was born on the 15th of February, sit in a cross-legged position, and enter samadhi. He will leave behind a purple-gold body relic and go to Tushita Heaven. His body clearly embodies the characters and meanings of Shurengan Samadhi and Prajna Paramita[14]. The meanings of the characters and meanings here are unclear, but they are clearly recognizable to us as samadhi and Prajna Wisdom[15]. This sutra states that after the Buddha enters nirvana, those who remember the image of the Buddha (Maitreya), chant the name of Maitreya, worship him, and contemplate Tushita Heaven will be reborn in Tushita Heaven after death. The benefits of such practices can be broadly divided into those from eliminating sins and those from listening to the Dharma, as explained later in the Commentary by Gyeongheung of Baekje.

益と聞法益とに分けられる。即ち、帰依、礼敬、聞名、聞称、悔過することによって滅罪の利益が得られるし、更には聞法により、無上道を得たり、弥勒や諸仏に見えるか、授記が得られる[16]。

『弥勒経』の中身や『疏』の解釈をみるならば、王興寺の銘文は、弥勒を奉ることによって滅罪という現世利益でだけてなく、兜率天に行くという弥勒上生信仰とも関連付けられる。特に亡き人に対する儀礼やそれと関連する弥勒信仰は中国や高句麗からの影響によるとみられる[17]。『三国遺事』によると王興寺は弥勒寺ともいうが[18]、2 月 15 日を弥勒信仰と関連付けるなら理解できる。

2. 3　転輪聖王思想

王興寺という名称は管見の限り百済にしか見えない。すると、王興寺はどのような意味をもっているのか。既存の研究では興王と理解していたが[19]、ここではあえて転輪聖王と結び付けてみたい。

梁僧祐の「釈迦譜」巻 5 によれば、アショーカ王が三宝に広く供養を興り、この世（閻浮提）に八萬四千塔を起こし、仏法を興隆させたとする[20]。なお、『正法華経』巻 7〈13　安行品〉には、転輪聖王が兵を興ると周りの諸々の国が従うことが説かれている[21]。こうして法を興し、兵を興すことは、転輪聖王の時代に弥勒が下生して説法をするという『弥勒下生経』とも関連できる。王興とは、当時に百済に伝わっている転輪聖王の概念を取り入れて、弥勒の時代を念頭に入れて名称を付けたとも読み取れる。なお、ちょうどこの時期に新羅で弥勒下生が望まれていたのも[22]参考になる。

以上のように、王興寺の背景にある思想とは、単純に一つの思想や信仰に基づいているというより、複合的な思想や信仰から成り立つとみてよい。釈迦仏のゆかりを参拝するこ

16　憬興『三彌勒經疏』〈彌勒上生經料簡記〉（CBETA，T38, 317a）

17 平岡定海，『日本弥勒浄土思想展開史の研究』，大蔵出版，1977，pp. 34～37．北魏の弥勒像は「亡息」「七生父母」など儒教的孝の理念に基づき兜率天に上生した菩薩の姿が多いとされる。北魏の影響を多く受け入れた高句麗の弥勒信仰の傾向も同じである。西松日奈子，『北魏仏教造像史の研究』，ブリュシケ，2005，pp. 247～253．；金永皇，「弥勒仏信仰と仏像―韓国古代弥勒信仰を中心に」『仏教文化学会紀要』16，平成20年，pp. 2～5を合わせて参照されたい。

18　『三国遺事』巻３「其寺亦名彌勒寺」（CBETA, T49, 988b）

19 吉基泰，『百済泗沘時代の仏教信仰研究』，西京文化社，2006，pp. 133～137では、王権が興す意味として理解しているようである。

20 「我般涅槃百歲之後。當作国王字阿輸迦（阿育之別名也）　其次小兒當作大臣。共領閻浮提一切国土。興顯三宝広設供養。分布舍利遍閻浮提。起八萬四千塔」（CBETA, T50, 82c）

21 「溥首！譬有大力転輪聖王，威徳弘茂順化所領，諸余敵国未率伏者，不敢闚□。若転輪王　興挙軍兵，当有所討，不賓之臣　欲距大邦，雄猛将士　奮武剋捷，莫不稽顙」（CBETA T9，109b）

22 『三國遺事』卷3「及真智王代。有興輪寺僧真慈（一作[3]貞慈也）毎就堂主彌勒像前發原誓言。願我大聖化作花郎。出現於世」（CBETA　T49, 995a）[3] 貞【大】，員【甲】；真智王（在位：576～579）

That is, by taking refuge, paying respects, hearing the name, reciting the name, and repenting, one can obtain the benefit of erasing one's sins, and by listening to the Dharma, one can attain the supreme path, see Maitreya and other Buddhas, and receive predictions[16].
If we look at the contents of the Maitreya Sutra and the interpretation of the commentaries, the inscriptions at Wangheungsa Temple are not only related to the worldly benefit of erasing one's sins by offering Maitreya, but also to the belief in Maitreya's rebirth in the Tushita Heaven. In particular, the rituals for the deceased and the associated Maitreya belief appear to have been influenced by China and Goguryeo[17].
According to the Samguk Yusa, Wangheungsa Temple is also called Mireuksa Temple[18], which makes sense if February 15th is associated with the Maitreya belief.

2.3 The idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King

From what I can see, the name Wangheungsa Temple can only be associated with Baekje. So what does it mean? In existing research, it has been understood as King Heung[19], but here I would like to link it to the Wheel-Turning Holy King.
According to Volume 5 of the "Shakapu" by Yang Seung-u, King Ashoka established widespread offerings to the Three Jewels, built 84,000 pagodas in this world (Jambuddha), and promoted Buddhism[20]. In addition, Volume 7 of the "Zheng fa hua jing" teaches that when the Wheel-Turning Holy King raises an army, the surrounding countries will follow[21].
This establishment of the law and raising an army can also be related to the "Maitreya Descent Sutra," which says that Maitreya will descend to earth and preach during the reign of the Wheel-Turning Holy King. Wangheung can also be interpreted as a name that incorporates the concept of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, which was known in Baekje at the time, and was named with the age of Maitreya in mind. It is also instructive that Maitreya's Descending Birth was desired in Silla at this time[22].
As mentioned above, the ideology behind Wangheungsa Temple can be seen as being composed of a complex set of ideologies and beliefs, rather than being based simply on one ideology or belief.

とによって功徳を得る釈迦仏信仰、弥勒の舎利に供養するか称名するかなどの実践によって現世の福徳を得て、未来に往生する弥勒思想、そして寺の名称から窺われる転輪聖王思想である。百済王においては、こうした信仰こそ百済を強くすると信じ、それによって平和に国を統治することを望んでいたと思われる。

2. 4.　仏教思想とかかわる人物

背後にいる人物は誰なのか。百済から中国に留学して帰ってきている僧侶として発正が思い浮かぶ。発正は梁天鑑(502–519)に留学して 30 年ほど学んだとする。彼は『法華経』を中心に修学していた。また、王興寺が創建される頃には中国慧思の弟子である玄光も百済に戻ってきたずである。二人とも『法華経』を基盤に修行する僧である。『法華経』の菩薩像である観世音菩薩と弥勒菩薩は彫刻としては同時出現するほど親密である[23]。また『法華経』「普賢菩薩勧発品」には弥勒上生のことが説かれている[24]。発正や玄光は『法華経』修行者だったので、『法華経』に基づきながら、弥勒思想を受け入れやすかったと考えられる。

二．地方政治拠点としての弥勒寺

１．創建理由

益山の弥勒寺は 639 年に完成した。この寺は弥勒の三会に備えて三塔式の寺院であり、弥勒下生思想に基づいていることが認められている。ところで、同じく『三国遺事』によると、この弥勒寺は王興寺とも呼ばれたようである[25]。その記載を尊重すれば、弥勒寺は弥勒思想を根本に国を強くするための政治拠点としての役割を念頭に入れた寺院であるといえる。2009 年に発見された舎利銘文からは弥勒思想らしい文章は見当たらないが、その内容は王興を連想させる銘文ともいえる。結論的に言えば、構造は弥勒三会に備えているが、銘文を合わせてみると、弥勒寺は明らかに王興寺的な二重構造となっている。なぜそう言えるかについて二つの面から追究したい。

まず、その弥勒寺と王宮里との関係であり、次は銘文から考えられ仏教思想である。王

[23] 石松日奈子,『北魏仏教造像史の研究』, 星雲社, 2005, p. 245, 247には、551年の『法華経』の文化基盤と思われる三世仏の造像、562年の観音と勢至とを脇侍として弥勒像が報告されている。なお、打本和音,『弥勒信仰の初期形態についての基礎的研究 ―いわゆる「上生信仰」を中心に―』, 2018, 龍谷大学大学院文学研究科博士論文, pp. 133～136に『法華経』と弥勒像の関係について述べられている。

[24] 『妙法蓮華經』卷7〈28 普賢菩薩勸發品〉「若有人受持、讀誦, 解其義趣, 是人命終, 為千佛授手, 不恐怖, 不墮惡趣, 即往兜率天上彌勒菩薩所。彌勒菩薩, 有三十二相大菩薩眾所共圍繞, 有百千萬億天女眷屬, 而於中生, 有如是等功德利益」(CBETA, T09, 61c)

[25] 『三國遺事』卷2「額曰彌勒寺(國史云王興寺)」(CBETA, T49, 979c)」

The belief in Shakyamuni Buddha, in which merit is gained by visiting places associated with Shakyamuni Buddha; the Maitreya belief that merit can be gained in this life by making offerings to Maitreya's relics or chanting his name, and that one will be reborn in the afterlife; and the Wheel-Turning Holy King belief, which is implied in the name of the temple. The Baekje king believed that these beliefs would strengthen Baekje, and it seems likely that he hoped to govern the country peacefully through them.

2.4. People Associated with Buddhist Thought

Who is the person behind this? Baljeong comes to mind as a monk who returned from Baekje after studying in China. Baljeong studied under Liang's Tianjian (502-519) for around 30 years. He mainly studied the Lotus Sutra. Also, around the time Wangheungsa Temple was founded, Hyeongwang, a disciple of the Chinese Huisi, had also returned to Baekje. Both were monks whose training was based on the Lotus Sutra. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and Bodhisattva Maitreya, which are bodhisattva statues in the Lotus Sutra, are so close that they appeared as sculptures at the same time[23]. Also, the "Encouraging Rebirth of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra" chapter of the Lotus Sutra teaches about Maitreya's rebirth[24]. Baljeong and Hyeongwang were practitioners of the Lotus Sutra, so it is thought that they found it easy to accept the idea of Maitreya while basing their training on the Lotus Sutra.

2. Mireuksa Temple as a local political base

1. Reasons for its construction

Mireuksa Temple in Iksan was completed in 639. This temple is a three-pagoda style temple in preparation for the three Buddhist sermon assemblies of Maitreya, and is recognized as being based on the idea of Maitreya's descending birth. Incidentally, according to the same "Samguk Yusa," this temple also appears to have been called Wangheungsa Temple[25]. If we respect this description, we can say that Mireuksa Temple was a temple that was based on Maitreya thought and had the role of a political base to strengthen the country. Although there are no sentences that seem to be related to Maitreya thought in the inscription on the relics discovered in 2009, the contents can be said to be inscriptions that are reminiscent of Wangheung. In conclusion, the structure is prepared for the three assemblies of Maitreya, but when the inscriptions are taken into consideration, Mireuksa Temple clearly has a double structure like Wangheungsa Temple. I would like to explore why this can be said from two perspectives.

First, there is the relationship between the temple and Wanggung-ri, and secondly, the Buddhist thought that can be considered from the inscription.

宮里の近くには帝釈寺址がある。この帝釈寺については『観世音応験記』によると、その寺に銅版金剛経が納められたとする。まず、帝釈寺に関しては、新川登亀男氏の論考で解明されているように、不思議な世界という百済独自の秩序を天（舎利、釈尊、金剛般若経など）を介在として構築することであり、それこそが百済仏法の大きな結実だったと述べている[26]。趙景徹氏は、益山に対して神都と規定して、帝釈天は忉利天、弥勒寺は兜率天という聖地として営んでいくことを目指していたとみている[27]。崔鉉植氏は帝釈寺の『金剛経』については天台の慧思が『般若波羅蜜経』を収めて弥勒の説法を待っている「立誓願文」に影響を受けている可能性を指摘し、また神都説を一部受容して王宮は弥勒が出生する家，帝釈寺は弥勒が出家する場所，弥勒寺は３会の説法場所に想定している[28]。

ここでは先行研究を少し補いながら述べたい。まず、新川氏は帝釈寺に安置した銅版金剛経は、梁の武帝の影響、当時『金剛経』が流行した影響も考えるべきであると指摘する[29]。『金剛経』には経典を受持することが第一希有とあるし、その功徳も財物を布施することより勝れると説かれている。『金剛経』を安置したのはこのような効果を期待していたとみられる。ところで、帝釈寺を弥勒思想と関連してみる場合、弥勒経類には、経典の受持と修行などを関連づける文言がないので、帝釈寺に安置した銅版金剛経についてどう考えるべきか問題になる。

半島三国の君主や日本の聖徳太子などの東アジアの為政者は中国の梁武帝から端を発したともいえる転輪聖王という理想の君主を夢見ていたのであろう。弥勒寺を創建した武王にしてもその理想は変わらない。そこで、弥勒経類の中で、転輪聖王が登場するのは、『弥勒下生経』と『弥勒成仏経』である。『弥勒下生経』では、閻浮提が理想的な時期になって、法王として転輪聖王が翅頭（末）という城で正法を以て理想的な政治を行っている。その時に、弥勒は転輪聖王の大臣に託し生まれ、間もなく城から遠くない道樹の下で出家したその日に道果を成就するという。

よく言われる弥勒三会の説法は何を指すのか定めにくいが、『下生経』、『成仏経』を読む限り、道樹・翅頭城・狼跡山の三か所で数回にわたって説法し、それを包み込んで三会という用語を使っている。道樹は弥勒が出家し、悟って、説法を行う場所であり、翅頭城は転輪聖王の居場所でありながら、時には弥勒の説法が行われる。狼跡山は迦葉が弥勒を待っていた山であり、弥勒はそこで迦葉に会ってから説法する。

[26] 新川登亀男，「古代朝鮮半島の舎利と舎利銘文」４．百済「帝釈精寺」の意義，『古代東アジア仏教と王権－王興寺から飛鳥寺』，勉誠出版，2010，pp. 63～69.
[27] 趙景徹，「百済武王代神都建設と弥勒寺・帝釈寺創建」，『百済文化』39，公州大百済文化研究所，2008，pp. 118～122.
[28] 崔鉉植，「百済後期弥勒思想の展開と特徴」，『韓国思想史学』37，2011，pp. 22.
[29] 新川登亀男，前掲論文，2010，pp. 63～67.

Near Wanggung-ri is the site of Jeseoksa Temple. According to the “Kannon Ogenki”, the copperplate Diamond Sutra was kept at this temple. First, as explained by Tokio Shinkawa in his study, Jeseoksa Temple aims to establish Baekje's unique order of a mysterious world through the medium of heaven (Sarira, Shakyamuni, Diamond Sutra, etc.), and this was the great fruition of Baekje Buddhism[26]. Cho Gyungcheol believes that Iksan was designated as the sacred capital, and that the aim was to operate Jeseokcheon (Sakra Devanam Indra) as Trayastrimsa Heaven and Mireuksa Temple as Tushita Heaven[27]. Regarding the Diamond Sutra at Jeseoksa Temple, Choi Yeonsik points out the possibility that it may have been influenced by the "Vow Text" written by Tiantai's Huisi, who kept the Perfection of Wisdom Sutra and awaited Maitreya's preaching. He also partially accepts the Divine Capital Theory and assumes that the royal palace is the house where Maitreya was born, Jeseoksa Temple is the place where Maitreya became a monk, and Mireuksa Temple is the location of the three sermons[28].

Here, I would like to supplement previous research. First, Shinkawa points out that the influence of Emperor Wu of Liang and the popularity of the Diamond Sutra at the time should also be considered when considering the copperplate Diamond Sutra that was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple[29]. The Diamond Sutra states that upholding the sutra is the most precious thing, and that its merit is greater than donating wealth. It is believed that the Diamond Sutra was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple in hopes of achieving such an effect. However, when considering Jeseoksa Temple in relation to Maitreya thought, there is no text in the Maitreya Sutra that links up upholding the sutra with ascetic practices, so the question arises as to how to interpret the copperplate Diamond Sutra that was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple.

East Asian rulers such as the rulers of the three countries over peninsula and Shōtoku Taishi of Japan probably dreamed of an ideal ruler, the Wheel-turning Holy King, which can be said to have originated from Emperor Wu of Liang in China. This ideal did not change even for King Wu, who founded Mireuksa Temple. Among the Maitreya sutras, the Wheel-Turning Holy King appears in the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Maitreya Sutra on Enlightenment. In the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth, Jambudvipa reaches an ideal time, and the Wheel-Turning Holy King, as the Dharma King, governs ideally with the correct teachings in the fortress of Chitoumo. At that time, Maitreya is born in the care of the minister of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, and shortly thereafter, he becomes a monk under the Dosu tree, not far from the fortress, and on the day he achieves enlightenment.

It is difficult to determine what the commonly mentioned Three Maitreya sermons refer to, but as far as the Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Sutra on Enlightenment are concerned, Maitreya preaches several times in three places, Bodhi tree, Chitou Castle City, and Mt. Langjishan, and the term Three Sermons is used to encompass all of these. Bodhi tree is the place where Maitreya becomes a monk, attains enlightenment, and gives sermons, and Chitou Castle City is the residence of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, but also where Maitreya sometimes gives sermons. Mt. Langjishan is the mountain where Kashyapa was waiting for Maitreya, and Maitreya met Kashyapa there and preached to him.

中国の塔には須弥山があって、地上と天上（弥勒の兜率天）をつなぐ機能を果たしていたとの解釈を参照すれば[30]、帝釈寺はそれを象徴する。即ち、仏陀（＝舎利）を供養する功徳によって、須弥山（＝帝釈寺）を通じてその二つ上の天となる兜率天の弥勒菩薩が感応して帝釈寺に降神する。そして、『金剛経』は慧思に倣って弥勒が下生した時に説法する経典として期待していただろう。

『弥勒下生経』と『成仏経』によれば、弥勒が無上道を得た時に、釈提桓因（＝帝釈天）と大梵天などを含む無数の天子が道樹の花林園龍花樹に行って弥勒仏に法輪を勧請する。そして王は弥勒仏に出家を果たして阿羅漢となる。このように弥勒に説法を請うのが帝釈寺らの天の機能である。帝釈天にはもう一つの能力がある。帝釈天が修羅と戦う主役であることは周知のごとくであるが、欲界で転輪聖王の挙兵を率いる役を象徴的に帝釈寺に任せたのではではないかと考えられる。

帝釈天（釈提桓因）は欲界の忉利天の王でありながら、転輪聖王の兵士を率いて法治を助けるし、『金剛経』を受持する功徳によって弥勒が成道した際に勧請し弥勒三会を切り開く役を期待していただろう。そして弥勒菩薩は弥勒下生信仰の結晶体である理想的時期の理想的地域に身を降ろして成仏し衆生を救済する。よって王宮、帝釈寺、弥勒寺は、趙景徹氏のいうように神都であり[31]、理想的政治拠点として企画された都市であるといえる。

＜図２＞は上が弥勒寺、下が王宮里と隣の帝釈寺址になっているが、以上の説明と『弥勒経』とを関連付けるなら、弥勒寺は弥勒の成道の地、すなわち龍花樹であり、王宮里は転輪聖王の宮である。そして帝釈寺は、天から降りる弥勒を仲介し、説法の勧請、挙兵の大きな役を果たして、王興の時に法治を助ける。こうした関係図の企画の完成を象徴するのが弥勒寺である。

＜図２＞弥勒寺と王宮里



[30] 向井佑介，『中国初期仏塔の研究』，臨天書店，2020，pp. 67～81.
[31] 趙景徹，前掲論文，2008，pp. 122.

If we consider the interpretation that Chinese pagodas have Mt. Sumeru, which functions to connect the earth and the heavens (Maitreya's Tushita Heaven)[30], Jeseoksa Temple symbolizes this. In other words, by making offerings to the Buddha (= Sarira), Maitreya Bodhisattva in Tushita Heaven, the heaven two levels above, is inspired through Mt. Sumeru (= Jeseoksa Temple) and descends to Jeseoksa Temple. Following Huisi's example, the Diamond Sutra would have been expected to be a sutra to preach when Maitreya descends to earth.

According to the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Enlightenment Sutra, when Maitreya attains the Unsurpassed Realm, countless heavenly beings, including Shaktikanin (= Jeseokcheon) and Mahabharata, go to the Flower Grove Garden of Bodhi tree to repuest Maitreya Buddha to turn the Dharma wheel. The king then becomes a monk to Maitreya Buddha and becomes an arhat. In this way, the function of the heavens such as Jeseoksa Temple is to ask Maitreya to preach. Jeseokcheon has another ability. It is well known that Jeseokcheon is the main char Jeseokcheon who fights against Asura, but it is thought that he symbolically entrusted the role of leading the Wheel-Turning Holy King's uprising in the Desire Realm to Jeseoksa Temple.

Jeseokcheon (Shaktikanin) is the king of Trayastri Heaven in the Desire Realm, but he leads the Wheel-Turning Holy King's soldiers to help govern the law, and he would have been expected to invite Maitreya when he attains enlightenment due to the merit of upholding the Diamond Sutra and open the three Maitreya assemblies. And Maitreya Bodhisattva will descend to the ideal place at the ideal time, which is the crystallization of the belief in Maitreya's descent, attain Buddhahood, and save all living beings. Therefore, the royal palace, Jeseoksa Temple, and Mireuksa Temple can be said to be sacred cities[31], as Cho Gyungcheol says, and cities planned as ideal political bases.

In Figure 2 (; Location of Mireuksa Temple and Wanggung-ri), the top is Mireuksa Temple, the bottom is Wanggung-ri and the neighboring Jeseoksa Temple site. If we relate the above explanation to the Maitreya Sutra, Mireuksa Temple is the place where Maitreya attained enlightenment, that is, the Dragon Flower Tree, and Wanggung-ri is the palace of the Chakravartin King. Jeseoksa Temple then mediated between Maitreya who descended from heaven, played a major role in both praying for thr coming of a deity and raising an army, and helped with the rule of law at the time of the rise of the king. Mireuksa Temple symbolizes the completion of this relationship map project.

２. 寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

2. 1 弥勒思想

創建説話や『三国遺事』の記録より弥勒寺が弥勒思想、特に下生経類に寄っているのは確かである。その創建とまつわるに伝承から弥勒思想が読み取れる。すなわち、弥勒寺縁起によると、「百済の王と王妃が師子寺へ向かっている途中で、山の麓の大きな蓮池を通りかかった時、蓮池から弥勒三尊が現われた。この地に寺を建てて欲しいと王に頼んだ。師子寺の知明法師に聞いて、知明法師の神通力によって蓮池を埋めて寺を建てた。」とし、弥勒寺は弥勒下生の時に 3 回の説法を通じて衆生を救済することを目指して、それを象徴する伽藍配置ということに関して異論はない。即ち、弥勒の三会を龍花樹での説法と認めているのである。

2. 2　転輪聖王思想

ところで、上に述べたように弥勒寺は王興寺とも呼ばれた。そして、弥勒寺の「舎利記銘文」を見ると百済王権が長くなることを願う文章が目立つ。「舎利記銘文」の文章に関しては、瀬間正之氏によって、その構造や典拠による思想背景について詳しく分析されている[32]。私は瀬間正之氏の分析に同意するが、そうした「舎利記」と転輪聖王思想はどのように関連するのか簡単に検討したい。銘文は王后が発願主体のようなので王との関連を見つけ出しにくい。その中で、端的にいうと、“宝暦は天の地と共に久しく、上は正法を弘め、下は蒼生を化さむことを。”という文章から弥勒寺が王興寺とも呼ばれた由、すなわち転輪聖王思想が垣間見える[33]。

2. 3.　仏教思想と関わる仏教人物

「舎利記銘文」に関する瀬間正之氏の分析をまず簡略にまとめてから論を進めたい。瀬間正之氏はこの内容について、＜第一段＞　釈迦の出生と入滅、＜第二段＞王后による伽藍造立と仏舎利奉安、＜第三段＞供養による大王と王后の福徳と分けている[34]。ここで瀬間正之氏は、「舎利記」の典拠に関して、仏教経典章疏、歴史書などを調べ尽くして提案しているので、それに異存はない。その趣旨をまとめると、梁の南朝仏教を淵源に隋・初唐

[32] 瀬間正之，「文字表現から観た「弥勒寺金製舎利奉安記」－典拠を中心に」，新川登亀男編『仏教文明の東方移動』，2013，pp. 129～152.

[33] 韓国で弥勒寺の創建と思想的背景をめぐる研究は多くある。朴賢淑，「益山弥勒寺址出土の金製舎利奉迎記研究の争点と課題 - 文献史を中心に」，『韓国古代史研究』106，2022，pp. 32～36を参照されたい。そこでは、法華思想、弥勒信仰、釈迦仏信仰などの主張が発表されている中、弥勒仏の理想国家実現に関して肯定的な意見が多い。

[34] 全文は省略する。＜写真４＞は半面。

2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

2.1 Maitreya thought

It is certain that Mireuksa Temple is based on the Maitreya thought, especially the Sutra of the Descent of Birth, from the founding legend and the records of the "Samguk Yusa". The Maitreya thought can be read from the legends surrounding its founding. That is, according to the History of Mireuksa Temple , "When the king and queen of Baekje were on their way to Sajasa Temple and passed a large lotus pond at the foot of the mountain, the Maitreya Triad appeared from the lotus pond. They asked the king to build a temple on this land. After hearing about it from the monk Jimyung of Sajasa Temple, the lotus pond was filled in with the supernatural powers of the monk Jimyung, and the temple was built." There is no disagreement that Mireuksa Temple aims to save all living beings through the three Buddhist sermon assemblies at the time of Maitreya's descent, and that the layout of the temple is symbolic of this. In other words, the three sermons of Maitreya are recognized as the sermon at the dragon flower tree.

2.2 The idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King

As mentioned above, Mireuksa Temple was also called Wangheungsa Temple. Furthermore, when one looks at the "Sarira bowl Inscription" of Mireuksa Temple, one notices passages wishing for the Baekje monarchy to be long-lasting. Regarding the text of the "Sarira bowl Inscription," Mr. Masayuki Sema has analyzed in detail its structure and ideological background based on the sources. I agree with Mr. Masayuki Sema's analysis, but I would like to briefly consider how such a " Sarira bowl" is related to the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King. Since the inscription seems to have been made by the queen, it is difficult to find a connection with the king. In short, the reason why Mireuksa Temple was also called Wangheungsa Temple, that is, the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, can be seen from the passage, "May the Treasure last as long as the heavens and the earth, and above spread the true Dharma, and below transform the living beings[33])."

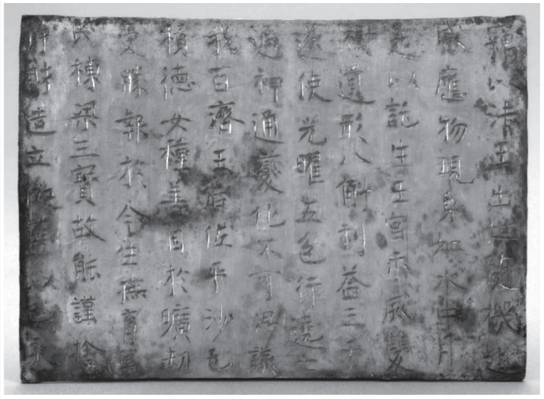
2.3. Buddhist figures involved in Buddhist thought

I would like to begin by briefly summarizing Masayuki Sema's analysis of the "Sarira bowl Inscriptions" before proceeding with my argument. Masayuki Sema divides the contents of the inscriptions into the following sections: <Section 1> The birth and death of Shakyamuni, <Section 2> The construction of temples and the enshrinement of the Buddha's relics by the queen, and <Section 3> The blessings of the king and queen through memorial services[34]). Masayuki Sema has thoroughly researched Buddhist sutras, commentaries, and historical books to propose the sources of the "Sarira bowl" so I have no objection to it.

にかけて同時代の交流の中で書かれたし、具体的な典拠として、法雲の『法華義記』と百済人とされる慧均の『大乗四論玄義記』の影響に注目し、他に『金光明経』、吉蔵、智顗の名前をあげている。これに少し付け加えると、舎利と関連しては『涅槃経』との関係が認められるし、「光曜五色」とは『法苑珠林』に「五色光曜」となって、それに関わる梁の普通年間の話が紹介されていることや「七世久遠」という表現からは梁武帝の『慈悲道場懺法』との関連がいえる。これらは、瀬間氏の指摘していた「舎利記」にみえる南朝仏教の影響を補う例に属する。

瀬間正之氏は「舎利記」と深くかかわる沙宅氏に関しては資料を通じてその役割を説明していると同時に[35]、思想の背後にある僧侶として、慧均をはじめとして、発正、玄光の名前をあげている[36]。確かに弥勒寺の伝承に登場する知命法師は、弥勒思想の持ち主で「舎利記」の文章とはほぼ関係が求められない。

＜写真４＞弥勒寺の銘文



https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/imgHeritage.do?ccimId=7106914&ccbaKdcd=11&ccbaAsno=03400000&ccbaCtcd=35（文化財庁提供）

となると、弥勒寺を立てる思想を根拠を提供した知命法師と「舎利記」を書いた人とは、役割が分担されたとみた方が良いだろう。弥勒寺の思想形態は少なくとも二人の僧侶の合作によって、創立されたとみてよいと考えられる[37]。

Ⅲ．高麗における政治拠点としての寺院とその背後の仏教思想

一．中央政治拠点としての奉恩寺

１．創建理由

高麗時代の政治拠点における寺院は、訓要十条の第一条に現れたような[38]高麗太祖王建の

[35] 瀬間正之氏の論考と共に、연민수，「泗沘時代沙宅氏の位相と滅亡以降の古代氏族」，『 韓国学』44-1，pp. 215～252を参照されたい。

[36] 瀬間正之，前掲論文，pp. 151～152.

[37] 当時百済に弥勒信仰が流行したことは、百済が滅びたのちに、近江に定着した百済亡命人の影響で日本に急に弥勒信仰が勃興した例からも窺われる。中井真孝，『朝鮮と日本の古代仏教』，東方出版，1994，pp. 36～40.

[38] 第一条は“我国家の大業は諸仏の護衛の力に資するが故に禅教の寺院を創る”とある。

To summarize the gist of the inscriptions, it was written during the exchanges of the same period, originating from the Buddhism of the Southern Dynasties of Liang, and extending to the Sui and early Tang dynasties. As specific sources, he focuses on the influence of Fayun's "Lotus Flowering Records" and Hyegyun's "The Mysterious Records of the Four Treatises of Mahayana" , who is said to be from Baekje, and also cites the "Golden Light Sutra" Gijang, and Jiyi. To add a little, the relationship with the Sarira bowl is recognized in the Nirvana Sutra, and the "five colors of light" is written as "light of five colors " in the Fayuanzhulin, and a story related to it from the Liang Dynasty is introduced. The expression "seven ages of eternity" suggests a connection with the Liang Wu Emperor's “Cibei Daochang chanfa”. These are examples that supplement the influence of Southern Dynasty Buddhism seen in the Sarira bowl, as pointed out by Sema.

Masayuki Sema explains the role of the Shataku family, who are deeply involved in the Sarira bowl, through materials[35], and at the same time lists the names of Hyegyun, Baljeong, and Hyeongwang as monks behind the ideas[36].

It is true that Jimyeong, who appears in the legend of Mireuksa Temple, is a holder of the Maitreya idea and has almost no connection to the text of the Sarira bowl.

In that case, it would be better to consider that Jimyeong, who provided the basis for the idea of establishing Mireuksa Temple, and the person who wrote the Sarira bowl shared roles. It is safe to say that the ideological structure of Mireuksa Temple was established through the collaboration of at least two monks[37].

III. Temples as political bases in Goryeo and the Buddhist ideas behind them

1. Bongeunsa Temple as a central political base

1. Reasons for its establishment

Temples in political bases during the Goryeo period were likely to have been based on the founding ideals of the Goryeo king Taejo Wang Geon, which was related to Buddhism, as stated in the first of the Ten Ruls[38].

仏教と関連する建国理想が貫いていたと思われる。そのような理解を中央政治拠点の真殿寺院である奉恩寺と地方経政治拠点の王室寺院である開泰寺から読み取りたい。

高麗時代の祖先崇拝のための施設は、陵、真殿、太廟、景霊殿などがあるが、この中で真殿こそ仏教との関わりが深い。真殿は王、王の太后といったように王室と直接関連のある場合に限って使う用語である。高麗の都である開京の重要寺院はほとんど真殿寺院であるとされる[39]。そして、太祖の顕陵と真殿寺院である奉恩寺が同じく城南に位置しているように、真殿寺院は陵の付近に建立する例が多いと推測されている[40]。真殿寺院を創建する理由は、祖先崇拝という孝思想もあるが、王権を正当化する意図も込めている[41]。真殿寺院の中で、特に太祖は別格の崇拝の対象となるし[42]、その意味で最も重要な真殿寺院が太祖王建の真影があった奉恩寺である。

奉恩寺は高麗代光宗２年（951）に開京の南に創建された[43]。光宗は王権の正当性を保つ策として奉恩寺を創建して、そこに王建の真影を奉って太祖を崇拝し、その上に、太祖の銅像を安置することによって王権の神聖化を図ったと見られる[44]。光宗の時代に奉恩寺に等身の銅像はさることながら、真影さえ安置されていなかったとの見方もあるが[45]、もしそうだとしても高麗を通じて奉恩寺が最も重要視されたのは間違いない。

奉恩寺が最も重要な真殿寺院であったことは、真殿を守る圍宿軍が他の真殿寺院より倍の多い４人が配置されることや王の行幸が最も多かったことからも窺われるとされている[46]。時には、奉恩寺が事件解決の場所、遷都のため吉凶を占う場所、政策を決定する場所になるほどである[47]。というのは、奉恩寺が単なる宗教施設の枠を超えて、政事を執り行ったことを意味している。

それは光宗の時代からの政策上の趣を受け継いだ結果と言える。特に光宗は王権の強化と同時に仏教以て先王の崇拝を制度化した[48]ともいわれるので、奉恩寺は太祖の真殿寺院と

39 許興植，『高麗仏教史』Ⅰ．高麗社会の仏教的基盤、1986，p. 60.
40 同上，p. 84.
41 최봉준，「祖先崇拝儀礼の確立とその意味」，『奎章閣』56, 2020，p. 8
42 豊島悠果，「高麗王室の祖先崇拝と仏教・儒教」，『東アジアの王宮・王都と仏教』，勉誠社，2023，p. 343.
43 韓基汶，「高麗時代における開京奉恩寺の創建と太祖真殿」，『韓国思想史学』33，2008，pp. 210～212には、奉恩寺の位置比定が如何に難しいかを述べている。
44 しかし、実際に奉恩寺における太祖崇拝は徳宗時代(1031～1034)からであると推定されている。（韓基汶，前掲論文，2008，p. 210.）
45 최봉준, 前掲論文，pp. 16～18.
46 許興植，前掲書，1986, p. 69.
47 박윤진，「高麗時の開京一帯寺院の軍事的・政治的性格」，高麗史学会『韓国史学報』3-4, 1998，p. 78～120.；禹成勳，「国家権力の都市支配装置としての開京寺院」，『日本建築学会企画系論文集』2004，pp. 167～172．こうした高麗時代における寺院の政治的な役割は、奉恩寺に限られているではなく、開京、即ち都の寺院がもつ性格と言ってよい。
48 許興植，前掲書，1986, p. 71.

We would like to read that understanding from Bongeunsa Temple, the portrait hall temple of the central political base, and Gaetaesa Temple, the royal temple of the local economic and political base.

Facilities for ancestor worship during the Goryeo period included tombs, portrait halls, Taemyo, and Gyeonryeongjeon, but of these, portrait halls are the ones that are most closely related to Buddhism. Portrait halls are a term used only in cases directly related to the royal family, such as the king or the king's dowager. It is said that most of the important temples in Gaegyeong, the capital of Goryeo, were portrait hall temples[39]. And, as Taejo's Hyeonreung and portrait hall temple Bongeunsa are both located south of the capital, it is assumed that portrait hall temples were often built near tombs[40]. The reason for establishing a portrait hall temple was not only the idea of filial piety, the worship of ancestors, but also the intention to justify royal authority[41]. Among portrait hall temples, Taejo was especially worshipped[42], and in that sense the most important portrait hall temple was Bongeunsa Temple, where the true portrait of Taejo Wang Geon was kept.

Bongeunsa Temple was founded south of Gaegyeong in the second year of the reign of King Gwangjong (951) during the Goryeo dynasty[43]. Gwangjong founded Bongeunsa Temple as a measure to maintain the legitimacy of royal authority, worshipped Taejo by enshrining the true portrait of Wang Geon there, and is thought to have sought to sanctify royal authority by placing a bronze statue of Taejo on top of it[44]. Some say that during Gwangjong's reign, Bongeunsa Temple did not even house a true portrait, let alone a life-size bronze statue[45], but even if this is the case, there is no doubt that Bongeunsa Temple was the most important temple throughout the Goryeo Dynasty.

The fact that Bongeunsa Temple was the most important portrait hall temple can be seen from the fact that the number of guards to protect the portrait hall temple was four, twice as many as at other portrait hall temples, and that it was the temple where the king visited most frequently[46]. At times, Bongeunsa Temple was used to resolve disputes, to read fortunes for the relocation of the capital, and to decide on policies[47]. This means that Bongeunsa Temple went beyond being a mere religious facility and conducted political affairs.

This is the result of inheriting the policy ideas from the time of Gwangjong. In particular, Gwangjong is said to have strengthened royal authority and at the same time institutionalized the worship of the previous king through Buddhism[48], so it can be said that Bongeunsa Temple achieved a certain purpose throughout Goryeo by becoming the portrait hall temple of Taejo.

なって高麗を通じて一定の目的が達成されたといえる。この奉恩寺に関連する仏教思想は記録の不在で確認できないが、宗派と王建の銅像を関連して論じてみたい。

２．寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

直ちに真殿寺院と関わる仏教思想を推測することは記録上に見出しにくい。許興植氏は高麗時代の僧政が宗派ごとに行われたことを利用する手法で宗派を当てた結果、＜表１＞のように奉恩寺は禅宗となる。しかし、宗派がなかったとの見方もある[49]。

＜表１＞王室の真殿寺院とその所属宗派

〈表 6〉　王室의 眞殿寺院과 그 所屬宗派

眞殿寺院	眞殿의 王과 王妃	設置時期	所屬宗派	所屬宗派의 典據
奉恩寺	太祖	光　宗	禪　宗	本朝, 皇室 항조
佛日寺	神明王后		華嚴宗	〃
寬善寺	成宗		華嚴宗	〃
眞觀寺	獻貞王后		華嚴宗	〃
重光寺	安宗		華嚴宗	〃
玄化寺	顯宗	顯　宗	瑜伽宗	〃
大雲寺	元惠王后		神印宗	〃
興王寺	文宗	文　宗	華嚴宗	〃
國淸寺	仁睿太后	肅　宗	天台宗	〃
天興寺	肅宗・明慈太后	睿　宗	天台宗	〃
安和寺	睿宗・文敬王后	仁　宗	禪　宗	〃
靈通寺	仁宗・恭懷太后	毅　宗	華嚴宗	〃
宣孝寺	毅宗	明　宗	瑜伽宗	〃
龍興寺	明宗		華嚴宗	〃
賢聖寺	康宗		神印宗	『三國遺事』卷5, 明朗神印
(景福殿)	高宗			
(景福殿)	元宗			
妙蓮寺	忠烈王・齊國公主	忠肅王	天台宗	『益齋集』妙蓮寺重興記
神孝寺	忠惠王・德寧公主			
廣明寺	忠肅王		禪　宗	本朝, 皇室 항조
普濟寺	恭愍王・魯國公主	禑　王	禪　宗	〃

許興植，『高麗仏教史』p. 87

なお、国師・王師の制度からみると、太祖の時代には、２人とも禅宗の人で、太祖の真殿寺院を奉恩寺にした光宗代には禅宗が３人、華厳宗が２人である[50]。＜表１＞に太祖と王后の真殿寺院の所属宗派が異なることは、もちろん光宗の意図ではあるが、太祖の宗派に対する思いも反映されたとみられる。太祖は国師・王師は禅宗の人物を登用しながらも、海印寺の希朗のような華厳宗の人の後援を受けているし、後に触れる開泰寺には華厳僧二人を住させているなど、王建の時代には後三国の統一のためどの宗派に対しても均等に待遇し、その上、仏教に対する統制も行われたと解釈されている[51]。それは太祖の僧侶統合策とも言われる[52]。とはいえ、王建に禅宗との関係が華厳宗より深かった。＜表１＞で確認できるように光宗が太祖の真殿寺院を禅宗の奉恩寺に、王后の真殿寺院を華厳宗の仏日寺はにしたのは、太祖のこうした禅と華厳に対する取り扱いが主に関連して均衡を合わせた形である。

奉恩寺は花祭りの燃灯会の後太祖の忌日の法要が行われるほど重要な寺であり、そこには、太祖を釈迦と同一な位置で崇拝しようとする意識があったと解されている[53]。まさに太祖の神格化と言える。真殿寺院の奉恩寺に王建の銅像が安置されたことからもうかがえる

[49] 韓基汶，「高麗時代における開京奉恩寺の創建と真殿寺院」，『韓国思想史学』33，2008，pp. 215～

[50] 許興植，前掲書，1986，p. 90.

[51] 同上，p. 88.

[52] 金杜珍，「王建の僧侶統合とその意図」，『韓国学論叢』4，国民大学校，1981，pp. 127～154.

[53] 許興植，前掲書，1986，pp. 299～300.

Although the Buddhist ideology related to Bongeunsa Temple cannot be confirmed due to the absence of records, I would like to discuss it in relation to the sect and the bronze statue of Wang Geon.

2. Buddhist ideology related to the establishment of temples

It is difficult to find records that directly suggest the Buddhist ideology related to the Portrait Hall Temple. Heo Heung sik used a method to guess the sect by taking advantage of the fact that the Goryeo Dynasty's monastic government was conducted by sect, and as a result, Bongeunsa Temple is Zen Buddhist, as shown in <Table 1; The True Hall Temple and its sect>. However, there are also views that it did not have a sect[49].

In addition, looking at the system of National Masters and Royal Masters, during the reign of Taejo, both were Zen Buddhists, and during the reign of Gwangjong, who turned Taejo's Portrait Hall Temple into Bongeunsa, there were three Zen Buddhists and two Huayan Buddhists[50]. The fact that the Portrait Hall Temples of Taejo and the Queen belong to different sects in <Table 1> was of course Gwangjong's intention, but it also seems to reflect Taejo's feelings about sects. While Taejo appointed Zen Buddhists as National Master and Wang Master, he was supported by Huayan Buddhists such as Huirang of Haeinsa Temple, and two Hwaeom Buddhist monks were living at Gaetaesa Temple, which will be mentioned later. It is interpreted that during the reign of Wang Geon, all sects were treated equally in order to unify the Later Three Kingdoms, and that Buddhism was also controlled[51]. This is also said to be Taejo's policy to unify monks[52]. However, Wang Geon's relationship with Zen Buddhism was deeper than that of Hwaeom Buddhism. As can be seen in Table 1, Gwangjong made the Zen temple of Bongeunsa Temple for Taejo and the Huayan Buddhist temple of Bulilsa Temple for the queen, which was mainly related to Taejo's treatment of Zen and Huayan, and thus balanced it out. Bongeunsa Temple was so important that a memorial service for Taejo's death was held there after the Lotus Lantern Ceremony of the Flower Festival, and this is interpreted as there having been an intention to worship Taejo in the same position as Shakyamuni[53]. It can be said that Taejo was deified. As can be seen from the fact that Wang Geon's bronze statue was placed in the main temple, Bongeunsa Temple, it is likely that Bongeunsa Temple was primarily responsible for his deification.

Table1. Portrait hall temples and their sect

Potrait hall temples	King and Queen	period	sect	source
Bongunsa Temple	Taejo	Gwangjong	Zen	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Bulilsa Temple	Gueen Shinmyeong		Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Sungseonsa Temple	Seongjong		Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Jingwansa Temple	Gueen Heonae		Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Juggwangsa Temple	Anjong		Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Hyeonhwasa Temple	Hyeonjong	Hyongjong	Yoga	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Daeunsa Temple	Gueen Weonhye		Shinin	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Hungwangsa Temple	Munjong	Munjong	Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Kukcheongsa Temple	Gueen Dowager Inye	Sukjong	Tiantai	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Cheonsusa Temple	Sungjong/ Gueen Dowager Myongi	Yejong	Tiantai	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Anhwasa Temple	Yejong/ Gueen Mungyong	Injong	Zen	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Yeongtongsa Temple	Injong/ Gueen Dowager Kongye	Uijong	Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Seonhyosa Temple	Uijong	Myongjong	Yoga	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Yonghungsa Temple	Uijong		Hwaeom	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Hyeonseongsa Temple	Myongjong		Shinin	The Three Kingdoms,vol.5
(Kyongryongjeon)	Kojong			
(Kyongryongjeon)	Weonjong			
Myoryeonsa Temple	King Chugryol / Princess Jeguk	King Chugsuk	Tiantai	Bonsai Collection,Chronicle of the restoration of Myonrenji Temple
Shinhyosa Temple	King Chunghye/ Princess Deoknyeong			
Gwangmyeongsa Temple	King Chungsuk		Zen	History of Goryeo Buddhism
Bojesa Temple	King Kongmin/ Princess Noguk	King U	Zen	History of Goryeo Buddhism

ようにその神格化は主に奉恩寺が担う役割であったに違いない。

〈写真５〉王建の銅像　2006. 3. 29（中央日報）



この神格化は釈迦信仰ともいえるが、王建の銅像には転輪聖王の特徴がみられるとの意見もある[54]。弥勒仏を表現したとも理解し、これによって王建が信仰の対象化となっていくとも言われている[55]。こうした仏教を背景にした政治思想と、王建の銅像よりみられる釈迦信仰、或いは転輪聖王思想ともいえる太祖の神格化は、訓要十条の第一条にあるような、仏教の力を借りて国を守るべきとの王建の誓願が貫いていた証左と言える。それは、奉恩寺の宗派的な均等政策により生まれ、多様な人物から受けた諮問より生まれた発想であろう。

二．地方政治拠点としての開泰寺

１．創建理由

後三国の統一事業が完遂した後に最初に創建されたのが開泰寺である。開泰寺は朝鮮時代には廃墟となり、現代に入って 6 回の発掘が報告されている[56]。開泰寺の創建理由は王建自身が書いた「華厳法会疏」（以下、「疏」と略称）にあるように、後三国の統一を可能にした仏と神霊への報恩のためであった。これは宗教的理由であるが、この地域の地政学的重要性も創建理由となる[57]。この開泰寺が位置している連山は、黄山と呼ばれた地域である[58]。この地域は交通の中心地だった上に、新羅と百済の最後の激戦地であって、高麗が後百済の投降を得て統一を完遂した地でもあった。その意味だけでもその立地の重要性は充分に納得できる。

54 최봉준，「高麗顕宗～定宗代王室の真影中心の祖先崇拝とその意味」，『奎章閣』56，2020，pp. 11～12.

55 菊竹淳一，「高麗時代裸形男子倚像」，『デアルテ』21，九州芸術学会誌，2005，67～84.

56 이호경，「開泰寺の調査成果と現況」，忠清南道歴史文化研究院，『開泰寺の現況と課題』，2016，pp. 11～29.

57 이현숙，「高麗王室寺刹開泰寺と連山」，忠清南道歴史文化研究院，『開泰寺の現況と課題』，2016，pp. 33～50. この論稿では、連山の交通、遺跡、記録などを通じて、この地域の重要性について説明している。；정성권，「開泰寺三尊仏立像再考」，『白山学報』92，2012，pp. 222～223.

58 이현숙，前掲論文，2016，pp. 33～50.

This deification can be called a belief in Shaka, but some say that Wang Geon's bronze statue shows the characteristics of a Wheel-Turning Holy King[54].

It is also understood to represent Maitreya Buddha, and it is said that this is how Wang Geon became an object of worship[55].

The political ideology with a Buddhist background and the deification of Taejo, which can be seen in Wang Geon's bronze statue as a belief in Shaka or a Wheel-Turning Holy King ideology, are evidence that Wang Geon's vow to protect the country with the help of Buddhism, as stated in the first of the Ten Articles of the Hunyo, was consistent.

This idea was born out of Bongeunsa Temple's policy of equality across sects, and was born out of the consultations he received from a variety of people.

2. Gaetaesa Temple as a local political base

1. Reasons for its establishment

Gaetaesa Temple was the first temple to be established after the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms was completed. Gaetaesa Temple was abandoned during the Joseon period, and six excavations have been reported in modern times[56]. The reason for its establishment, as stated in the "Hwaeom Beophoe Commentary" (hereafter abbreviated as "Commentary") written by Wang Geon himself, was to show gratitude to the Buddha and the spirits who made the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms possible. This is a religious reason, but the geopolitical importance of this region was also a reason for its establishment[57]. The mountain range where Gaetaesa Temple is located is an area called Hwangsan[58]. This region was not only a transportation hub, but also the site of the last fierce battle between Silla and Baekje, and the place where Goryeo obtained the surrender of Later Baekje and completed unification. In that sense alone, the importance of the location is fully understandable.

その上に、他に創建の理由がある。王建は後三国統一戦争において重要な要害となる地域に行っては、その地域に高僧を住することを請うて民心を高麗に傾けるようにし、戦争に有利に持っていくことを図った。王建とかかわりが深かったのは主に禅僧だったが、その一環として華厳宗海印寺の希朗も重要な支援者で 944 年までは海印寺にいたとみられる[59]。開泰寺に最初から二人を住させたのは、二人が寺の創建にかかわた海印寺との関係も想定できるが[60]、二人に地域の人を高麗に向けて糾合せしめる期待が高かったからあろう。即ち、位置的には都と地方をつなぐ交通の中心地であるので、まさにそこに寺を創建し仏心を通して後百済地域の民心を糾合するに容易だったと思われる。これは宗教的かつ地政学的理由によるものである。

開泰寺の本尊は＜写真６＞のような石造三尊像であるが、これによっても王建の宗教的かつ政治的立場を想像することもできる。石造三尊像は華厳宗の道場でよくみられる毘盧遮那仏の智券印ではなく施無畏印である[61]。石造仏の表情からは高麗の力を表現し豪族を抑えながらも、施無畏印は高麗の包容力を示すともいえる。そもそも地方豪族の権力に対して、政治的メッセージを強化する必要もあれば、仏教の包容力によって包み込む必要もあったから、石造三尊像が立てられたと考えられる。要するに開泰寺は地方の政治的重要拠点でった。なお、創建当時ではないが、後に開泰寺には太祖の真影が設置されていたので地方の真殿寺院の役割を担っていた。統一戦争の有縁の寺に太祖真影は多数あるが、開泰寺は、地方の寺院としてはまれに護国のための願文、神託、図讖の寺に役割を拡張しているし、銅像もあったようである[62]。地方の真殿寺院の中でもっとも重要だったと考えられる[63]。

以上のように開泰寺の創建には、確かに一つの理由ではなく、宗教の基盤の上、政治、地理、地域民心などの統一を図るための多様な理由があった。それらを実現させるため王建自身の仏教信仰が開泰寺の創建のもっとも大きい理由であったと考えられる。以下、開泰寺の創建と関わる仏教思想について詳しく検討する。

[59] 최원식，「新羅下代の海印寺と華厳宗」,『韓国史研究』49，1985，pp. 1〜25.
[60] 崔聖恩，「開泰寺石造三尊仏立像の研究」,『美術研究』385，pp. 171〜173では美術様式の面での影響を述べている。そのうえ、海印寺の創建に順次二人の僧侶がかかわったことも影響していると考えられる。
[61] 崔聖恩，前掲論文，　pp. 170〜171. その当時は毘盧遮那仏の手印に施無畏印像が結構あったとする。
[62] 開泰寺，前掲書，2022，pp. 84〜90.
[63] 菊竹淳一，前掲論文，2005，67〜84. ；開泰寺，前掲書，2022，pp. 98〜100.

In addition, there are other reasons for its establishment. Wang Geon visited important areas during the war to unify the Later Three Kingdoms, and invited high priests to reside there to turn the hearts of the people towards Goryeo, thus gaining an advantage in the war. Wang Geon was closely associated with Zen priests, and as part of this, Huirang of the Hwaeom sect's Haeinsa Temple was also an important supporter and is thought to have been at the temple until 944[59]. The reason why the two priests were allowed to reside at Gaetaesa temple from the beginning could be due to their connection with Haeinsa Temple[60], where they were involved in the founding of the temple, but it was also likely because there was a high expectation that the two priests would rally the local people towards Goryeo. In other words, since it was located at the transportation hub connecting the capital and the provinces, it would have been easy to establish a temple there and rally the hearts of the people of the Later Baekje region through the Buddhist spirit. This was for religious and geopolitical reasons.

The principal image of Gaetaesa Temple is a stone triad as shown in Photo 6 (; Three standing stone Buddhist statues of Gaetaesa Temple), which also allows us to imagine Wang Geon's religious and political stance. The stone triad is not the wisdom seal of Vairocana Buddha, which is often seen in the training halls of the Hwaeom sect, but the fearless seal[61]. The facial expression of the stone Buddha expresses the power of Goryeo and suppresses the powerful clans, while the fearless seal can be said to show the tolerance of Goryeo. It is thought that the stone triad was erected because it was necessary to strengthen the political message against the power of the local powerful clans, and to embrace them with the tolerance of Buddhism. In short, Gaetaesa Temple was an important political base in the region. Although not at the time of its founding, Gaetaesa Temple later had a portrait of King Taejo installed, so it played the role of a local temple. There are many portraits of King Taejo at temples related to the Unification War, but Gaetaesa Temple is rare for a local temple in that it expanded its role to a temple for prayers, oracles, and divination for the protection of the country, and it seems to have had a bronze statue[62]. It is thought to have been the most important of the local main temples[63].

As mentioned above, there was certainly no single reason for the founding of Gaetaesa Temple, but rather a variety of reasons for unifying the area on a religious basis as well as political, geographical and local public sentiment. Wang Geon's own Buddhist faith, which was a necessary step in realizing these goals, is thought to have been the biggest reason for the founding of Gaetaesa Temple. Below, we will take a closer look at the Buddhist ideas surrounding the founding of Gaetaesa Temple.

＜写真６＞開泰寺三尊仏立像



２．寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

既に述べたように開泰寺の創建には仏教及び民間の山霊信仰などが関わるが[64]、ここでは「華厳法会疏」（以下「疏」と略称）を通じて仏教思想に限定して検討したい。「疏」の全文は崔瀣（최해，1287～1340）の『東人之文四六』に載っている。この「疏」については既に崇仏君主として回向の性格と帯びているし、発願の内容からは仏教的経世観が現わしているとされている[65]。つまり、後三国統一の偉業を仏の恩恵に回しながら、仏教的に良い国を築き上げたいとの発願が書かれた「疏」であるという意味だろう。そして、「疏」の内容を四つに段分けして説明している[66]。但し、この研究には「疏」に現わされている仏教思想については詳しく書いていない。本節では、仏教思想が分かる文章を抜粋してその意味について考えてみる。

まず、「疏」では開泰寺の初代住職として華厳僧二人が務めることがわかるが、その海印寺には太祖の福田といわれる希朗のがいて、「疏」が書かれた 940 年まで影響力を及ぼしていた可能性も残っている[67]。こうした推測を認めると、海印寺が順応と利貞という二人によって創立されたことと同様に[68]、開泰寺に二人を住職させたことが理解できる。とすれば、王建の「疏」の内容にも海印寺の僧侶が影響を及ぼしたことも充分に考えられる。今回はその蓋然性を認めるなら、「疏」の中で、当時のどんな仏教思想と関連付けられるか検討したい。

「疏」では「十方の三世一切諸佛· 諸尊菩薩· 羅漢聖衆· 梵釈四王· 日月星辰· 天竜八部, 及び岳鎮海瀆· 名山大川· 天地一切霊祇等に歸依するので、照知し僉（ことごと）く印可を垂れることを普く請う」とするが、この願う対象に「印可」を求めている。ここで「印可」とは「証明」

64 김갑동，「開泰寺の特徴と性格」，忠清南道歷史文化研究院，『開泰寺の現況と課題』，2016，pp. 53～69.
65 梁銀容，「高麗太祖親製「開泰寺の華嚴法會疏」の研究」，『韓國佛教文化思想史 ： 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢』，伽山佛教文化研究院，1992，p. 817.
66 同上，p. 817. ①撰述緣起　②統韓経緯　③創寺設会　④発願回向
67 崔聖恩，前掲論文，参照.
68 崔致遠「新羅迦耶山海印寺善安住院壁記」

2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

As mentioned above, the founding of Gaetaesa Temple was related to Buddhism and the folk belief in mountain spirits[64], but here I would like to focus on Buddhist thought through the " Hwaeom Beophoe Commentary " (hereafter abbreviated as "Commentary"). The full text of the "Commentary" is found in "Donjinzhimunsorul" (East Inhabitants' Wen Sorul) by Choi Hae (1287-1340). This "Commentary" already has the character of a dedication as a Buddhist revered monarch, and the content of the vow is said to express a Buddhist view of the world[65]. In other words, this is a "Commentary" that expresses a wish to build a good country from a Buddhist perspective while turning the great achievement of unifying the Later Three Kingdoms into the blessings of Buddha. The contents of the "Commentary" are explained in four sections[66]. However, this study does not go into detail about the Buddhist thought expressed in the "Commentary". In this section, we will select passages that reveal Buddhist thought and consider their meaning.

Firstly, we learn in the "Commentary" that two Huayan monks served as the first chief priests of Gaetaesa Temple, and it is possible that at Haeinsa Temple there was a man named Huirang, also known as Taejo's fortune fields, who continued to exert influence up until 940, when the "Commentary" was written[67]. If we accept this speculation, it makes sense that, just as Haeinsa Temple was founded by Suneung and Ijeong[68], they would have appointed these two as chief priests at Gaetaesa Temple. If this is the case, it is entirely conceivable that the monks of Haeinsa Temple also influenced the content of Wang Geon's "Commentary." If we accept this possibility, we would like to consider what Buddhist thought of the time can be linked to the "Commentary" here.

In the commentary, it is written that "I take refuge in all the Buddhas of the three eras in the ten directions, all the Bodhisattvas, the Arhat saints, the four kings of Brahma and Shakyamuni, the sun, the moon, the stars, the eight heavenly dragons, as well as the mountains, the seas, the great mountains, the great rivers, and all the spirits of heaven and earth, and so, they are asking for "approval" from the object of their prayer.

と同様の意味である。慧思の『立誓願門』には「諸仏世尊が同く証知し、梵釈四王は証明となり。日月参辰及び星宿、 金剛大士及び神仙、五嶽四海及び名山、 諸大聖王もまた証明となり。願わくは、慈悲以て我を擁護し、この誓願が速く得成せるように）(CBETA, T46, 792a)という発願文が参照されたとしてもおかしくないが、「証明」を禅の用語である「印可」に変えている。

「伏して思うに、真如は寥廓であるので、達者でないとその源を究することできず、至道は希微であるので、凡夫においてその際めを窮し難い」とあるが、 この中で、慧日と慈雲の対句は仏教文章でよく使っている。真如寥廓と至道稀微の対句であるが、それぞれに一致する例は見当たらなく、似ている表現なら検索できる。

法蔵『起信論義記』巻 1「夫真心寥廓。絕言象於筌蹄」(CBETA, T44, 240c)

澄観『華厳経疏』巻 1〈1 世主妙厳品〉「夫真身寥廓，与法界合其体」(CBETA, T35, 505c)

澄観『大華厳経略策』「法性寥廓　緣起難思」(CBETA, T36, 703a)

李通玄『新華厳経論』巻 6「夫智身寥廓，總万像以成軀」(CBETA, T36, 756c)

次の至道稀微については、

『広弘明集』巻 15〈3 仏徳篇〉：「神道希微願言所属」(CBETA, T52, 200a)

唐彦悰『集沙門不応拜俗等事』巻 5〈3 聖朝議拜篇(五-六)〉：「竊聞。道迹希微」(CBETA, T52, 468c)

唐複礼『十門辯惑論』巻 2〈答大子文学権無二釈典稽疑．8 随教抑揚門(中)〉「辯惑曰。真身寂静豈存言說。至理希微本亡性相」(CBETA, T52, 556a)

『旨妄尽還源観』「竊見玄綱浩瀚，妙旨希微」(CBETA, T45, 637a13)などの表現がみえるが、それも法蔵、李通玄、澄観といった華厳宗と関連が深い表現である。

「仮に楮牋を録し告しなくても自然に蓮眼は照知す」の蓮眼とは仏を指すが、元々は『80 華厳経』「紺髪青蓮眼　梵声金色光」(CBETA, T10. 409b) や『40 華厳経』巻 25〈入不思議解脱境界普賢行願品〉「仏開広大青蓮眼」(CBETA, T10, 775b)のように華厳関連の用語である。

「願わくは轅門が住した所を以て鹿野の基を開けて、仏聖の維持にお答え、山霊の賛助に酬えることお許し頂き、特に司局に命じて蓮宮を創造させ」とあるが、鹿野=鹿野伽藍の略字であろう。鹿野伽藍は『西域記』や『慈恩伝』の唐代の紀行文や伝記類に見受けられる。蓮宮は、宋太宗(939-997)の『御製秘蔵詮』巻 1 には『華厳経』から端を発する用語であるとの説明も存するが[69]、西方蓮宮という表現が浄土宗でよく使われ、禅宗でも同じほど

[69] 「言蓮宮者，華嚴經說蓮華藏世界毗盧遮那佛出現，其中名蓮宮也。此乃如來真教耀於蓮宮，永

In this case, the “approval” has the same meaning as "proof." It would not be strange if this was a reference to the vow in Huisi's Gate of Vows, which reads, "All the Buddhas and the World-Honored Ones have all recognized it, and the four kings of Brahma and Shakyamuni are proof. The sun, moon, three stars, and the stars, the great Vajra and the immortals, the five mountains, the four seas, and the famous mountains, and the great sages are also proof. I pray that you will protect me with mercy, so that this vow may be quickly attained." (CBETA,T46,792a) However, he has changed "proof" to the Zen term "yinke."
"In my humble opinion, since the true nature is a hidden place, it is impossible to pursue its source unless one is adept, and since the path to attaining it is rare, it is difficult for ordinary people to grasp its limits." Among these, the couplet of the true nature is a hidden place and the path to attaining it is rare, but there are no examples that match each other, and similar expressions can be searched for.

Fajang “Gisinruniji” Volume 1, “The true heart of a person is very clear. The true heart is very clear, and there is nothing that can be said about it” (CBETA, T44, 240c).
Chenggwan “Huayanjingshu”, Volume 1, “The True Body of the World” (CBETA,T35,505c)
Lee Tungshan “New Huayanjinglun” Vol. 6, "Fuji body's wealth, all images are created” (CBETA, T36,756c)
For the next rare thing about the supreme path, see Gwanghongmingji, Vol. 15, 3. Buddhist Virtue Edition: " Mystical Tao is rare" (CBETA, T52, 200a)
But these are also expressions closely related to the Huayan school, such as Fajang, Lee Tungshan, and Chenggwan. The lotus eyes refers to the Buddha, but originally it was a term related to the Avatamsaka Sutra, such as "The blue hair, green lotus eyes, the golden sound of Sanskrit light" (CBETA,T10.409b) in the 80th Avatamsaka Sutra and "The Buddha opens his vast green lotus eyes" (CBETA,T10,775b) in the 40th Avatamsaka Sutra, Volume 25 (The Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra, the Chapter on Entering the Wonderful Realm of Liberation). The Lotus Palace is a term that originated from the Avatamsaka Sutra[69], but the expression Western Lotus Palace is often used in the Pure Land sect, and is used equally in the Zen sect.

使われる。

「それで、有司に命じて、毎年、冬と夏に敬んで長講法会を置き、それぞれ 21 日を例となすようにして、上は諸仏聖賢の護持に答え、次に土地神祇の出賛に資することにしたい。」とある。諸仏聖賢の例は多いが、土地神祇の例は宗密の『円覚経道場修証儀』巻 2 にしか見えないのは注目に値する[70]。

「伏して生生世世、般若の慈航に終に攀り、子子孫孫、永く法門の檀越になりたいことを願います。」とある。この中、「般若之慈航」という表現が延寿(904-975)の『万善同帰集』と一致する。もし、延寿が若い時に著されたとすれば、その文献が高麗に入ってる可能性は残る。960 年には高麗から延寿に留学僧を送ったから、彼の文献もしくは関連伝承がすでに入ったかもしれない。よって、年代からやや厳しいが、無視できない。

こうして「疏」の文章を仏教思想と関連付けてみると、華厳と禅の関係が浮き彫りになる。その中で、法蔵、澄観、宗密、延寿といった中国の新しい華厳宗の流れを取り入れたようにも解釈できる。禅の影響も念頭に入れる必要があるだろう。海印寺がそもそも牛頭宗とのかかわりがあるからこそ[71]、こうした「疏」の文章になったかもしれない。

そして、王建が願うことをみると、「子子孫孫　永法門之檀越」「宮院康和」「禎祥雨集於一邦」など、後に王建の神格化や転輪聖王思想につながる表現も見受けられる。それで、光宗から本格的に太祖を仲介して高麗を永く繁盛させる願望を企画したのが奉恩寺と開泰寺といった真殿寺院である。

Ⅳ.　結語

以上、百済後期、高麗初期における政治拠点としての成立寺院とその背後に存する仏教思想について検討した。百済が滅びた場所と高麗が最終的に勝利した場所がほぼ一致する点もあり、それぞれ未来を見据えて寺院を創立したことも似ている。

百済の陵寺、王興寺、弥勒寺は骨族意識による建てられた寺である。王興寺と弥勒寺は単純に中央と地方の宗教拠点ではなく、中央の王興寺から地方益山の帝釈寺を介在して弥勒寺まで弥勒＝王興という理想を実現するため、舎利、帝釈天、転輪聖王、そして仏教の力を借りて千年或いは万年を見据えて実現させようとした企画の勅願寺院である。

高麗の真殿寺院である奉恩寺と開泰寺も仏の力や土俗の神の保護を受けて、仏教を隆盛

於塵埏也」(CBETA, K35, 824a)

[70] 〈礼懺法八門〉「此處土地神祇。僧伽藍內。護正法者」(CBETA, R128, 735b)

[71] 海印寺と牛頭宗との関係についてはいろいろ説がある。감심흠「牛宗朝半史考辨」,『禪學』52, 2019, pp. 32～56.

"Therefore, I have instructed the officials to hold long lectures in winter and summer every year, usually on the 21st of each month, to respond to the support of the Buddhas and sages, and to contribute to the donation of the local deities." There are many examples of Buddhas and sages, but it is noteworthy that the only example of a local deity appears in Volume 2 of the The God of Earth of The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment and Realization Ceremony by Jongmi[70].

"I humbly hope that in all my life, I will finally reach the merciful voyage of wisdom, and that my descendants will continue to be followers of the teachings for many years to come." The expression "merciful voyage of wisdom" matches that of Yanshou (904-975) in his Wanshantongguiji. If Yeonsu wrote the work when he was young, there is still a possibility that the document was in Goryeo. In 960, Goryeo sent a monk to study, so his documents or related traditions may have already been in the country. Therefore, although the date makes it a little difficult to say, it cannot be ignored. When we relate the text of the commentary to Buddhist thought in this way, the relationship between Huayan and Zen becomes clear. It can also be interpreted as incorporating the new Chinese Huayan school of thought, such as Fajang, Chenggwan, Zongmi and Yanshou. The influence of Zen must also be considered. The commentary may have been written because Haeinsa Temple had ties to the Udu sect in the first place[71].

And when we look at Wang Geon's wishes, we can see expressions that later led to the deification of Wang Geon and the idea of a Wheel-Turning Holy King, such as "May my descendants continue to serve the temple of eternal law," "May the palace be prosperous," and "May the righteous rains of the nation be gathered together." Thus, it was Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple, the true hall temples that planned the wish of King Gwangjong to use King Taejo as an intermediary to ensure the long-lasting prosperity of Goryeo.

Ⅳ. Conclusion

Above, we have examined the temples that were established as political bases in the late Baekje and early Goryeo periods and the Buddhist thought behind them. The place where Baekje was destroyed and the place where Goryeo finally won are almost the same, and they are also similar in that they founded temples with the future in mind.

Baekje's Neungsa, Wangheungsa, and Mireuksa are temples built with a bone tribe consciousness. Wangheungsa and Mireuksa are not simply religious bases between the center and the region, but are imperially-petitioned temples that were planned to realize the ideal of Mireuk (Maitreya) = Wangheung, with the help of Sarira, Jeseokcheon, Wheel-Turning Holy King, and Buddhism, from the central Wangheungsa to the local Jeseoksa in Iksan and then to Mireuksa, with a view to a thousand or ten thousand years.

させると共に、高麗の太祖を釈迦や転輪聖王のように神格化することによって、千年万年の未来まで高麗をつなげようとした。特に開泰寺における石造仏像はものとしてその勢いを象徴する。

もう少し具体的に言えば、百済と高麗の政治拠点における寺院では信仰心（舎利信仰、弥勒信仰、釈迦信仰）を通して権力と民心を結束させたり、祖先崇拝（願刹）乃至祖先の神格化（2 月 15 日、銅像）を通して、それに伴う儀礼（供養品、王の寺への幸次など）を通して、寺院創建の際に建てられた念願が長く（長寿の発願）継承させる希望もあった。為政者である王、王族、貴族たちには、国を千年も万年も隆盛させるための遠大な企画のもと、仏教を含む神々の力に頼って実現させようとしたとみられる。

その企画の上、それを継承するため、釈迦信仰、転輪聖王思想、弥勒思想、華厳思想などが互いに遮ることなく融和する。そうした思想は、百済の場合に主に留学から戻った僧侶たちが諮問に応じて提案したと思われる。高麗の場合には、奉恩寺では宗派協同策を講じ、開泰寺は、海印寺とも関連があるし、澄観、宗密、延寿といった禅を受け入れた新しい華厳思想との関連が深いと考えられる。

Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple, the main temples of Goryeo, also received the power of Buddha and the protection of local gods to promote Buddhism, and by deifying Goryeo's founder like Shakyamuni or Wheel-Turning Holy King, they tried to connect Goryeo to the future for one thousand or ten thousand years. In particular, the stone Buddha statue at Gaetaesa Temple symbolizes this momentum.

More specifically, temples in the political centers of Baekje and Goryeo united power and the hearts of the people through faith (belief in relics, Maitreya faith, Shakyamuni faith), and through ancestor worship (voting) or deification of ancestors (February 15, bronze statues) and the accompanying rituals (offerings, royal visits to the temple, etc.), there was also hope that the wishes made at the time of the temple's founding would be passed down for a long time (a wish for longevity). It seems that the rulers, the kings, the royal family, and the nobles, had ambitious plans to have their countries prosper for one thousand or ten thousand years, and tried to realize these plans by relying on the power of gods, including Buddhism.

In order to plan and carry on this tradition, beliefs in Buddha, the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, the idea of Maitreya, the idea of the Huayan thought, and other ideas were integrated without them interfering with each other. In the case of Baekje, such ideas were probably proposed in response to consultations by monks who had returned from studying abroad. In the case of Goryeo, Bongeunsa Temple implemented a policy of cooperation between sects, and Gaetaesa Temple, which is also related to Haeinsa Temple, is thought to have had a strong connection with the new Avatamsaka sect that embraced Zen, such as Chenggwan, Zongmi and Yanshou.

<notes>

1 As Kim Su tae, "Buddhism of King pop era in the Baekje Dynasty," Prehistory and Ancient Times 15, p.8, says, the Bone tribe consciousness is exclusive. Even though it is based on Buddhism, it is thought that it did not abandon its exclusivity. For reference, the name of Prince Junda of King Muryeong appears in the Nihonshoki as a Bone tribe ruler of Baekje.

2 "Samguk Sagi" "First Year of King Seong"

3 Mayuko Kawakami, "The Call for the Turning of the Wheel of Sacred King in the Ayuwang Sutra' by Emperor Wu of Liang and the Sacred King of Baekje," Wooden Tablets and Characters 24, 2020, p.124, proposes that he be considered a Confucian saint. However, there is an example of King Beopheung of Silla, whose period of activity overlaps with the Sacred King of Baekje, being called King Seong Beopheung the Great and King Seong in a Buddhist context, and the next King Jinheung certainly aimed to be a Sacred King of the Wheel of Sacred King, so although the Sacred King of Baekje did not call himself a Sacred King, he may have had a Buddhist saintly king in mind. Please refer to Kim Yeong mi, "The Ideal Image of a Silla Person - Focusing on the View of a Saint," Korean Thought History 23, 2004, pp. 223-251, and Choi Seon ja, "Study of the Silla Turning of the Wheel of Sacred King - Focusing on the Reign of King Jinheung," Doctoral Dissertation, Geonguk University, 2021.

4 Shin Gwang seop, "Study of Neungsa Temple in the Sabi Period of Baekje," Doctoral dissertation, Chuo University, 2006, pp. 95-96.

5 Kazuaki Ohashi, "Regarding the Placement of Relics in Baekje Temples in the Latter Half of the 6th Century," Bulletin of the Graduate School of Letters, Waseda University, Volume 3, 2010, pp. 109-126, states that while it is difficult to determine whether there are any discrepancies with historical records, the Chinese method of placing relics is evaluated as the product of an era when the era of swallowing relics had ended and when Baekje funeral customs were being incorporated.

6 Yasutami Suzuki, "Founding of Baekje's Wangheungsa Temple and Asukadera Temple," in "Ancient Japan's History of Exchange with East Asia," Bensei Publishing, 2016, pp. 41-71, compares offerings from China, Baekje, and Japan.

7 Tokio Shinkawa, "Relics and Relic Inscriptions on the Ancient Korean Peninsula," in "Buddhism and Royalty in Ancient East Asia - From Wangheungsa Temple to Asukadera Temple," Bensei Publishing, 2010, pp. 53-58, points out the strong influence of South text "Nirvana Sutra" and "Genealogy of Śākyamuni" but expresses the view that there is no evidence that this day was continuously taken into consideration, and that it stands out in favor of Wangheungsa Temple. Other studies also focus on the Nirvana Day.

8 Yutaka Hori introduces Shunmyo Tanaka's theory that Wangheungsa Temple was the rear garden of the royal palace, but while he does not criticize it, he says there is room for further investigation, and adds that Wangheungsa Temple was built for the memorial service and should not be compared with temples outside the royal palaces of China. Yutaka Hori, "Comparative Study of Buddhist Facilities in East Asian Royal Palaces - Focusing on the Southern Dynasties, Baekje, and Wa," Royal Palaces, Capitals, and Buddhism in East Asia, Benseisha, 2023, pp.177-178.

9 Joo Gyeong mi, "Sari Mansion Sculptures Excavated from the Wangheungsa Temple Site in Baekje and 6th Century East Asian Buddhist Culture," Baekje Studies 67, 2018, pp.51-86.

10 Joo Gyeong mi, ibid., pp.74-77. However, her does not mention the relationship between the increase in relics and the Wheel-Turning Holy King.

11 “Great General Nirvana”, Volume 2 (CBETA, T1, 199c1)

12 "Great General Nirvana" Volume 2 (CBETA, T1,198c9)

13 The Nirvana Sutra, Volume 30, (CBETA, T12, 806a6); Volume 2 (CBETA, T1, 200a17)

14 "Mitreya's Shangseng Sutra" (CBETA, T14, 419c)

15 Gi "Gwan Mire Shangseng Tuṣita Heaven zan" Volume 2 (CBETA, T38,292b)

16 Gyeongheung "Sam Mireuk Gyeongso" (Simplified Record of Maitreya Shangsheng Journal) (CBETA, T38,317a))

17 Jōkai Hiraoka "Research on the History of the Development of Maitreya Pure Land Thought in Japan," Daizō Shuppan, 1977, pp. 34-37. Maitreya statues from the Northern Wei Dynasty are said to be often depicted as bodhisattvas reborn in Tushita Heaven, based on Confucian ideas of filial piety such as "dead son" and "seven lifetimes of parents." The Maitreya faith of Goguryeo, which was heavily influenced by the Northern Wei Dynasty, also shows the same tendency. Hinako Nishimatsu, "Research on the History of Buddhist Statues in the Northern Wei Dynasty," Brüschke, 2005, pp. 247-253. See also Kim Yong hwang, "Maitreya Buddha Faith and Buddhist Statues: Focusing on Ancient Korean Maitreya Faith," Journal of the Buddhist Culture Society 16, 2008, pp. 2-5.

18 "Samguk Yusa" Volume 3 "The temple is also called Mireuksa" (CBETA, T49, 988b)

19 Kil Gi tae "Research on Buddhist Faith in the Sabi Period of Baekje", Seokyeong Munhwasa, 2006, pp. 133-137, seems to understand this to mean that the temple was established by royal authority.

20 “Genealogy of Śākyamuni” (CBETA, T50, 82c3)

21 “Zhengfa hua jing” (CBETA T9, 109b25)

22 "Samguk Yusa" Volume 3 (CBETA T49,995a6); King Jinji (reigned: 576-579)

23 Hinako Ishimatsu, "Research on the History of Buddhist Statues in the Northern Wei Dynasty," Seiunsha, 2005, pp. 245-247, reports on the creation of a statue of the Three Worlds Buddha in 551, which is thought to be the cultural foundation of the Lotus Sutra, and a Maitreya statue in 562 with Avalokitesvara and Mahasthama-prapta as attendants. In addition, Kazune Uchimoto "Basic Research on the Early Forms of Maitreya Faith - Focusing on the So-Called 'Faith on rebirth to the pure land ", 2018, Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate School of Letters, Ryūkoku University, pp. 133-136, discusses the relationship between the Lotus Sutra and the Maitreya statue.

24 “The Sutra of the Lotus Sutra, Volume 7 (28):” (CBETA, T09,61c10)

25 “Samguk Yusa Volume 2, “The name of the temple is Mireuk Temple (Wangheungsa Temple in the National History).” （CBETA, T49,979c）」

26 Tokio Shinkawa "Sari and relic inscriptions in the ancient Korean peninsula," 4. The significance of Baekje's "Jeseokseongsa Temple," Ancient East Asian Buddhism and Monarchy: From Wangheungsa Temple to Asukadera Temple, Bensei Publishing, 2010, pp. 63-69.

27 Jo Gyeong cheol "Construction of the sacred capital during the reign of King Mu of Baekje and the founding of Maitreya Temple and Jeseoksa Temple," Baekje Culture 39, Gongju Baekje Culture Research Institute, 2008, pp. 118-122.

28 Choi Yeon sik "Development and characteristics of Maitreya thought in the late Baekje period," Korean Intellectual History 37, 2011, pp. 22.

29 Tokio Shinkawa, op. cit., 2010, pp. 63-67.

30 Yusuke Mukai "Research on Early Chinese Pagodas", Rinten Shoten, 2020, pp.67-81.

31 Jo Gyeong cheol, op. cit., 2008, pp.122.

32 Masayuki Sema "The Record of the Enshrinement of the Golden Relics of the Mireuksa Temple as Seen from the Viewpoint of Written Expressions: Focusing on Authorities," in Tokio Shinkawa (ed.), The Eastward Migration of Buddhist Civilization, 2013, pp. 129-152.

33 There have been many studies in Korea on the founding of Mireuksa Temple and its ideological background. Please refer to Park Hyeon sook, "Issues and Problem in the Study of the Record of the Enshrinement of the Golden Relics of Mireuksa Temple Excavated from the Site of Mireuksa Temple in Iksan: Focusing on the History of Documents," Studies of Ancient Korean History 106, 2022, pp.

32-36. There, while assertions such as Lotus Sutra thought, Maitreya faith, and Shaka Buddha faith are presented, there are many positive opinions regarding the realization of the ideal nation of Maitreya Buddha.

34 The whole text is omitted. Photo 5 shows one side of the page.

35 Yeon Min su "The Status of the Sadaek Clan in the Sabi Period and the Ancient Clan after its Fall," Korean Studies 44-1, pp.215-252, along with Masayuki Sema's essay.

36 Masayuki Sema, op. cit., pp.151-152.

37 The prevalence of Maitreya faith in Baekje at that time can also be seen from the sudden rise of Maitreya faith in Japan after Baekje was destroyed, influenced by Baekje refugees who settled in Omi. Masataka Nakai, Ancient Buddhism in Korea and Japan, Toho Shuppan, 1994, pp.36-40.0

38 The first rule, "The great task of our nation is to build a Zen temple because it contributes to the protection of the Buddhas."

39 Heo Heung sik, History of Goryeo Buddhism I. The Buddhist Foundation of Goryeo Society, 1986, p.60.

40 Ibid., p.84.

41 Choi Bong jun, "Establishment of Ancestor Worship Rites and Their Meanings," Gyujanggak 56, 2020, p.8

42 Yuka Toyoshima, "Ancestor Worship and Buddhism・Confucianism in the Goryeo Royal Family," Royal Palaces, Capitals, and Buddhism in East Asia, Benseisya, 2023, p.343.

43 Han Gi mun "Foundation of Bongeunsa Temple in Gaegyeong and Taejo True Hall in the Goryeo Period," Korean Thought History 33, 2008, pp.210-212, describes how difficult it is to determine the location of Bongeunsa Temple.

44 However, it is believed that the worship of Taejo at Bongeunsa Temple actually began during the reign of King Taejo (1031-1034). (Han Gi mun, op. cit., 2008, p. 210.)

45 Choi Bong jun, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

46 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 69.

47 Park Yun jin "Military and political characteristics of temples in the Gaegyeong area during the Goryeo Dynasty," Journal of Korean History, 3-4, 1998, pp. 78-120.; Woo Seong dong, "Gaegyeong temples as a device for state power to control the city," Architectural Institute of Japan, Planning Papers, 2004, pp. 167-172. This political role of temples during the Goryeo Dynasty was not limited to Bongeunsa Temple, but could be said to be the character of temples in Gaegyeong, that is, the capital.

48 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 71.

49 Han Gi mun, "Foundation of Bongeunsa Temple in Gaegyeong and True Hall Temples during the Goryeo Dynasty," Journal of Korean Intellectual History, 33, 2008, pp. 215-

50 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 90.

51 Ibid., p.88.

52 Kim Du jin "Wang Geon's Unification of Buddhist Monks and Its Intentions," Collection of Korean Studies 4, Gukmin University, 1981, pp.127-154.

53 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, pp. 299-300.

54 Choi Bong jun "The True Portrait-Centered Ancestor Worship of the Royal Family of Goryeo Hyeonjong to Jeongjong and Its Meaning," Gyujanggak 56, 2020, pp. 11-12.

55 Junichi Kikutake, "A Nude Male Sitting Statue from the Goryeo Period," De Arte 21, Kyushu Art Association Journal, 2005, pp. 67-84.

56 Lee Ho gyeong "Survey Results and Current Status of Gaetaesa Temple," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa Temple, 2016, pp. 11-

29.

57 Lee Hyeon suk " Goryeo Royal Temple Gaetaesa and Yeonsan," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa, 2016, pp.33-50. This paper explains the importance of this region through the transportation, ruins, and records of the mountain ranges; Jeong Seong gwon, "Rethinking the 57 Gaetaesa Triad Standing Buddha," Baeksan Hakbo 92, 2012, pp.222-223.

58 Lee Hyeon suk, op. cit., 2016, pp.33-50.

59 Choi Won sik, "Haeinsa Temple and the Hwaeom School in the Lower Silla Period," Korean History Research 49, 1985, pp.1-25.

60 Choi Seong eun, "Study of the Stone Standing Buddha Triad at Gaetaesa Temple," Art Research 385, pp.171-173, discusses the influence of artistic style. In addition, it is thought that the involvement of two monks in the founding of Haeinsa Temple in succession also had an influence.

61 Choi Seong eun, op. cit., pp.170-171. He claims that at that time there were quite a number of statues of the Abhaya mudra of Vairocana Buddha.

62 Gaetaesa, op. cit., 2022, pp.84-90.

63 Junichi Kikutake, op. cit., 2005, 67-84.; Gaetaesa, op. cit., 2022, pp.98-100.

64 Kim Gap dong, "Characteristics and Characteristics of Gaetaesa Temple," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa Temple, 2016, pp.53-69.

65 Yang Eun yong, "Study of the 'Hwaeom Beophoe Commentary of Gaetaesa Temple' written by King Taejo of Goryeo," History of Korean Buddhist Culture and Thought: Gasan Lee Ji gwan Professor Hwagap Memorial Series, Gasan Buddhist Culture Research Institute, 1992, p.817.

66 Ibid., p.817. ①Commentary on the origins of the unification of Korea ②The process of unifying Korea ③The temple founding committee ④Aspirations and dedication

67 Choi Seong eun, see the above article.

68 Choi Chi won "Wall inscriptions of Seonanjuwon Temple, Haeinsa Temple, Gayasan, Silla"

69 “The Lotus Palace refers to the Lotus Treasury World where Vairocana Buddha appeared, as mentioned in the Avatamsaka Sutra. This is the true teaching of the Tathagata shining in the Lotus Palace, forever in the dust and earth.” (CBETA, K35,824a)

70 <Yecheonbeoppalmun> ”Here the land is sacred. Inside the Buddhist temple. Protector of the Dharma” (CBETA, R128, 735b)

71 There are various theories regarding the relationship between Haeinsa Temple and the Udu sect. Gam Sim heum "A review of the history of the Ujong Dynasty", Seon Hak 52, 2019, pp. 32-56.

II　Appendix

II　資　料

開催概要

1　名称

国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」

2　目　的

12 世紀に奥州藤原氏が拠点とした平泉は、都市的な特徴を有するとともに、仏教思想が深く関わって造営され、現世に仏国土（浄土）を表したとされたことから、世界遺産一覧表にも記載されている。

本シンポジウムでは、都市論と同様に重要な視点でありながら、これまで検討される機会が少なかった政治・行政拠点としての平泉の特質について、東アジアのさまざまな事例をとおして、明らかにしようとするものである。

3　主　催

岩手大学、岩手大学平泉文化研究センター、岩手県、岩手県教育委員会

4　期　日

令和６年（2024）７月６日（土）

5　会　場

岩手大学北桐ホール

6　日程

10：00　開会行事

10：10　「政治拠点としての平泉の様相」　櫻井友梓　（岩手県教育委員会）

11：00　「平泉以前の地方政治拠点　古代城柵から有力者居館へ」

古川一明　（富谷市教育委員会）

11：50　昼食休憩

13：10　「平安京周辺の政治拠点－白河・鳥羽殿・法住寺殿・宇治－」

杉本 宏　（京都芸術大学）

14：00　「中国の政治拠点：遼上京、遼慶州、北宋開封、南宋杭州」

劉 海宇　（山東大学）

14：50　「政治拠点における寺院成立とその仏教思想

－百済後期と高麗初期の例－」

金 天鶴　（東国大学）

15：40　小休憩

16：00　シンポジウム　進行：佐藤嘉広（岩手大学）

17：00　閉会行事

International Symposium

Comparative Analysis between Hiraizumi and Other Political Centers in East Asia

1. Objectives

Urban characterized “Hiraizumi” is inscribed on the World Heritage List because it was built with deep involvement in Buddhist thought and is considered to represent the Buddhist Pure Land on this earth.

This symposium aims to clarify the characteristics of Hiraizumi as a political and administrative center, a viewpoint as important as urbanism, but one that has not been given much opportunity to be examined until now, through various examples from East Asia.

2. Organizers

Iwate University, Iwate University Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center, Iwate Prefecture and Iwate Prefectural Board of Education

3. Date

Saturday, July 6, 2024

4. Venue

Hokuto Hall, Iwate University

5. Schedule

10:00 Opening ceremony

10:10 Characteristics of Hiraizumi as a Political Base

Sakurai Tomoharu (Iwate Prefectural Board of Education)

11:00 Local political bases before Hiraizumi: from fortresses in Tohoku regeon to residences of powered people

Furukawa Kazuaki　(Tomiya City Board of Education)

11:50 Lunch break

13:10 Political bases around Heian-kyo: Shirakawa, Toba-dono, Hojuji-dono and Uji

Sugimoto Hiroshi　(Kyoto University of Arts)

14:00 Chinese political bases: Liao Shangjing, Liao Qingzhou, Northern Song Kaifeng and Southern Song Hangzhou

Liu Haiyu　(Shandong University)

14:50 Establishment of temples in political centers and their Buddhist thought - Examples from late Baekje and early Goryeo　Kim Cheonhak　(Dongguk University)

15:40 Short break

16:00 Symposium

chair: Sato Yoshihiro　(Iwate University)

17:00 Closing ceremony

講師・パネリスト略歴



佐藤　嘉広　Sato, Yoshihiro
1961 年生まれ
専門：日本考古学　Japanese Archaeology
職歴等：岩手県世界遺産課長等を経て、2022 年から岩手大学平泉文化研究センター客員教授　Iwate University
主要論文等：「仏都平泉の造営と構造」(2021)、「政治拠点としての平泉―金色堂をめぐるひとつの理解」(2024) など



櫻井　友梓　Sakurai, Tomoharu
1980 年生まれ
専門：考古学　Archaeology
職歴：岩手県教育委員会　Iwate Prefectural Board of Education



古川　一明　Furukawa, Kazuaki
1958 年生まれ
専門：日本考古学　Japanese Archaeology
職歴等：東北歴史博物館学芸部長、宮城県多賀城跡調査研究所所長等を経て、2024 年から宮城県富谷市民俗ギャラリー技術主幹
Tomiya City Board of Education
主要論文等：「11・12 世紀の陸奥国府」(2011)
「政治拠点としての多賀国府」(2024) など



杉本 宏
1956 年生まれ
専門：日本考古学、文化遺産学
職歴等：宇治市役所等を経て、京都芸術大学教授。現在は京都芸術大学客員教授。
Kyoto University of Arts
主要論文等：「宇治遺跡群」(2006) など



劉 海宇　Liu Haiyu
1970 年生まれ
専門：中国考古学　Chinese　Archaeology
職歴等：岩手大学平泉文化研究センター教授等を経て、2023 年から山東大学文化遺産研究院教授
Professor of Shandong University
主要論文等：「北宋の都城開封における宗教的空間」(2022)
「仏教の視点から見た唐代洛陽城宮城の空間構造―則天武后期を　中心として―」(2021) など



金 天鶴　Kim Cheon hak
1962 年生まれ
専門：東アジア華厳学　East Asian Kegon Studies
職歴等：姫路獨協大学助教授・金剛大学仏教文化研究所長を経て、2014 年から東国大学仏教文化研究院及び韓国仏教人文学科教授
Professor of Dongguk University
主要論文等：「起信論別記　研究・校訂・影印」(共著) (2024)
「義相華厳の再照明と残りの問題」(2023) など



◆開会行事

（総合司会：會澤純雄）

定刻となりましたので、始めさせていただきます。

私は岩手大学平泉文化研究センター副センター長會澤と申します。

ただいまから、国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」を開催いたします。

開会にあたりまして、主催者を代表して岩手大学の水野副学長よりご挨拶申し上げます。

・主催者開会あいさつ

（主催者：水野雅裕）

本日、本学で国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」を開催するにあたり、主催者を代表して岩手大学副学長の水野がごあいさつ申し上げます。

岩手大学と岩手県は、2020年度からふたつのテーマで共同研究を進めてきましたが、５年目にあたる今年度、研究成果をまとめることとしております。その研究テーマのひとつが政治拠点に関する平泉との比較研究で、本日のシンポジウムと直接関連しているものです。

2011年に世界遺産に登録された平泉は、12世紀に、奥州藤原氏が仏教の理想世界を造形した場所であったと同時に、都市的な場所であったと考えられてきました。40年以上にわたって継続的に行われてきている発掘調査の成果によって、平泉の都市像が語られてきました。

一方で、奥州藤原氏は、100年間に及ぶ独自の地域支配を進めていました。それは中尊寺や毛越寺に代表されるように、きわめて仏教色が強く、また、独立性の高いものであったと考えられています。その支配の拠点となった平泉を、東アジアの視点でどのように考えるのかが、本日のシンポジウムの主題です。

このシンポジウムの趣旨にご賛同いただいた５人のパネリストのみなさまに深く感謝申し上げます。中国山東大学の劉海宇先生、韓国東国(とうごく)大学のキム・チョンハク先生には、お忙しいなか、遠路この盛岡までお越しいただきました。また、平泉とその周辺について深い研究をされてこられた京都芸術大学の杉本(すぎもと)宏(ひろし)先生、元多賀城跡調査研究所の古川(ふるかわ)一明(かずあき)先生、そして、本学と共同研究を進めている岩手県教育委員会の櫻井(さくらい)友(とも)梓(はる)先生には、最新の研究成果をお話しいただけることと期待しております。

本日のシンポジウムは、劉先生、キム先生とも日本語が堪能ですので、日本語による国際シンポジウムの開催に御協力いただくことができました。改めて、この点につきましても感謝申し上げる次第です。

最後に、このシンポジウムが、本日御参加いただいているすべてのみなさまに有意義な学術的貢献ができることを期待して、開会にあたっての挨拶とさせていただきます。

本日はどうぞよろしくお願い申し上げます。

◆事務連絡

（會澤）

ありがとうございました。以上をもちまして開会行事を終わります。

続いて本日の日程と連絡について、岩手県の高橋様のほうからお願いいたします。

（高橋祐）

おはようございます。

それでは、本日のシンポジウムについて４点確認させていただきます。

本日の国際シンポジウムは日本語で行いますが、後日シンポジウムの報告書を和文と英文により作成します。

報告書は、印刷媒体のほかpdfによりオンライン公開する予定です。

次に、本日の日程についてご説明します。本日は５名の報告を予定しております。持ち時間は各50分ですが、発表時間40分、その後の10分間をパネリスト間の事実確認や質問にあてたいと考えております。

昼食休憩は11時55分から1時10分まで。１時10分から午後の部を始めたいと思っております。すべての報告が終了する15時40分から20分間休憩し、16時から1時間程度討論を実施します。閉会行事を含め、17時10分にはすべてを終了する予定としていますが、多少時間が前後する場合もありますのであらかじめご了承ください。

会場にご参加いただいている方からの質問についてですが、各報告者への質問がある場合には、質問票にご記入の上、受付脇の質問箱に入れていただきますようお願いします。質問票は１枚お配りしておりますが、質問箱のとなりに予備が置いてありますので、合わせてご利用ください。16時からの討論において質問の内容を紹介

◆Opening Ceremony

(Moderator: Sumio Aisawa)

It is time to begin.

My name is Aisawa, Vice Director of the Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center at Iwate University.

We are now holding the international symposium "Comparative Analysis between Hiraizumi and Other Political Centers in East Asia".

Today, Vice President Mizuno of Iwate University will give a speech on behalf of the organizers of the symposium "Hiraizumi".

・Opening speech by the organizer

(Organizer: Mizuno Masahiro)

Today, Iwate University Vice President Mizuno will give a speech on behalf of the organizers of the international symposium " Comparative Analysis between Hiraizumi and Other Political Centers in East Asia ".

Since 2020, Iwate University and Iwate Prefecture have been conducting joint research on two themes, and this year, the fifth year, we are summarizing the results of our research. One of these research themes is a comparative study of Hiraizumi and its political centers, which is directly related to today's symposium.

Inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2011, Hiraizumi has been thought of as a place where the Oshu Fujiwara clan created an ideal Buddhist world in the 12th century, and also as an urban area. The image of Hiraizumi as an urban area has been revealed through the results of excavation surveys that have been carried out continuously for over 40 years.

Meanwhile, the Oshu Fujiwara clan continued to rule the region on their own for 100 years. As represented by Chusonji and Motsuji temples, it is thought that this rule was strongly influenced by Buddhism and highly independent from the central government. The subject of today's symposium is how to view Hiraizumi, the base of this rule, from an East Asian perspective.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the five panelists who agreed with the purpose of this symposium. Professor Liu Haiyu of Shandong University in China and Professor Kim Cheon Hak of Dongguk University in Korea took the time to come all the way to Morioka in spite of their busy schedules. We are also looking forward to hearing about the latest research results from Professor Hiroshi Sugimoto of Kyoto University of Arts, who has conducted in-depth research on Hiraizumi and its surrounding areas, Professor Kazuaki Furukawa of the Former Taga Castle Ruins Research Institute, and Professor Tomoharu Sakurai of the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education, with whom we are conducting joint research with our university.

Both Professor Liu and Professor Kim are fluent in Japanese, so they have kindly cooperated in holding today's symposium in Japanese. We would like to express our gratitude for this again.

Finally, I would like to conclude my opening remarks by expressing my hope that this symposium will make a meaningful academic contribution to all of you participating today.

Thank you for your time today.

◆Administrative Notice

(Aisawa)

Thank you very much. This concludes the opening ceremony.

Next, I would like to ask Mr. Takahashi from Iwate Prefecture to explain today's schedule and announcements.

(Yu Takahashi)

Good morning.

Now, I would like to confirm four points about today's symposium.

Today's international symposium will be held in Japanese, but a report of the symposium will be prepared in both Japanese and English at a later date. The report will be published online in PDF format as well as in print media.

Next, I would like to explain today's schedule. Today, five presentations are scheduled. Each presentation will be 50 minutes, but we would like to use 40 minutes for the presentation and the following 10 minutes for fact-checking and questions between panelists.

The lunch break will be from 11:55 a.m. to 1:10 p.m. We would like to start the afternoon session from 1:10. We will take a 20-minute break from 3:40 p.m. when all the presentations are finished, and then hold a discussion for about an hour from 4:00 p.m. We plan to finish everything, including the closing ceremony, by 5:10 p.m., but please understand that this time may vary slightly.

し、報告者からご回答いただきたいと考えております。最終の報告が終了したあと、5分程度で質問受け付けを締め切らせていただきたいと思っております。また時間の都合上、すべての質問にお答えできない場合がありますので、予めご了承ください。
なお、こちらのホールにつきましては飲食禁止ですので、そのことはご了承ください。昼食をとられる場合は、ホールを出て右側にE26講義室がございますので、そちらをご利用いただければと思います。以上です。

（會澤）
高橋様ありがとうございました。
それでは、シンポジウムに移ります。
以後、シンポジウムの司会進行は、本学平泉文化研究センターの佐藤嘉広が行います。

◆シンポジウム―趣旨説明、報告
・趣旨説明
（司会進行：佐藤嘉広）
おはようございます。岩手大学平泉文化研究センターの客員を務めております佐藤です、どうぞよろしくお願いいたします。
パネリストの皆様からご報告いただく前に、このシンポジウムの趣旨説明を少しさせていただきたいと思います。お手元の資料の1ページをお開きいただければと思います。
11世紀の末から12世紀の末までのほぼ100年、仏教文化圏の東端に政治・行政拠点として形成された平泉については、すでに1940年代には都市への言及がなされておりました。これは本学にお勤めでありました森嘉兵衛先生、その後、板橋源先生によってこうした議論が行われていたところでございます。一方で、1990年以降につきましては、平泉周辺で大規模な発掘調査が行われるようになり、平泉が都市、中世都市の先駆けであるというような評価が一般的になってきたようにも見えます。そのような中で2011年に平泉が世界遺産一覧表に記載、世界遺産登録されたわけですが、その価値につきましては、仏教的理想空間としての仏国土・浄土、がとりあげられておりまして、平泉の仏教的な理想空間の造営に仏教が関与したということが強調されたわけですけれども、中世都市の先駆け云々や政治拠点については、推薦書等においては、あまり深く議論されなかったところでございます。
その後、岩手県におきましては柳之御所遺跡などを含め、平泉の拠点造営を議論するために、国内外の諸分野の研究者・専門家による研究集会を５年継続しております。2012年から2017年まで、５年継続して開催されております。そして、その報告書も2018年に刊行されているところです。その報告書及び、その年度、年度で作成されました資料集につきましては、非常に有益なものでございまして、今後、平泉を多面的に研究していく上で充分に参考にしていただけるのではないかというふうに思っております。
こうした蓄積があったわけですけれども、なお、平泉研究で欠落している部分があるのではないかと考えました。それが政治拠点としての平泉で、今までは都市、あるいは都市造営として論じられておりましたが、政治拠点としてみた場合は、またそれとは異なった観点になるのではないかというふうに考えたところでございます。
政治拠点平泉におきましては、為政者奥州藤原氏が他の権力から一定程度独立した権限を持って、中央あるいは陸奥国府から一定程度独立した権限を持って支配領域の土地と民を掌握して税を負担させ、それを基盤として様々な事業を行って、それらが遂行できる組織と能力を有していたのではないかと思っております。
それらは合理的規律によって統制されていて、強制力が伴ったものであっただろうと。さらには軍事組織も保持し、指揮していたと考えます。
こうした機能は、政治拠点たるにふさわしい為政者の権力と財力を示す荘厳装置や為政者の支配を正当化する象徴事物と共に、行為の場である平泉の形に反映されたというふうに考えていることでございます。
このシンポジウムでは、平泉を前後する時期の東アジア各地域における政治拠点の事例を通じまして、政治拠点として平泉を理解していければと考えております。政治拠点に通有の荘厳装置、あるいは象徴事物のあり方に加えまして、為政者の墓あるいは廟と拠点との物理的関係などについて議論し、それらの宗教的、思想的背景とともに比較検討を行って、東アジアにおける新たな平泉像の結晶につなげたいというふうに考えていることでございます。
趣旨説明につきましては以上でございます。

As for questions from those attending the venue, if you have any questions for the presenters, please fill out the question sheet and place it in the question box next to the reception desk. One question sheet will be distributed, but there will be spares next to the question box, so please use them as well. We would like to introduce the questions during the discussion starting at 4:00 p.m. and have the presenters respond. After the final presentation, we would like to close the reception of questions in about 5 minutes. Also, please note that we may not be able to answer all questions due to time constraints.
Please note that eating and drinking are prohibited in this hall. If you would like to have lunch, please leave the hall and use Lecture Room E26 on the right side of this hall. That's all.

(Aisawa)
Thank you, Mr. Takahashi.
Now, let's move on to the symposium.
From now on, the symposium will be moderated by Yoshihiro Sato of our university's Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center.

◆Symposium - Explanation of event purpose

・Explanation of event purpose
(Moderator: Yoshihiro Sato)
Good morning. I am Sato, a visiting professor from the Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center, Iwate University. Thank you for your time.
Before the panelists' report, I would like to briefly explain the purpose of this symposium. Please turn to page 1 of the handout in front of you.
For almost 100 years, from the end of the 11th century to the end of the 12th century, Hiraizumi was formed as a political and administrative center on the eastern edge of the Buddhist cultural sphere. As early as the 1940s, there were already references to it being a city. This was discussed by Professor Kahei Mori, who worked at our university, and later by Professor Gen Itabashi. On the other hand, since the 1990's, large-scale excavations have been carried out around Hiraizumi, and it seems that the evaluation that Hiraizumi was a city, a pioneer of medieval cities, has become common. In this context, Hiraizumi was nominated to be on the World Heritage List and inscribed on the List in 2011. Its value was highlighted as a Buddhist ideal world, a Pure Land, and the involvement of Buddhism in the creation of Hiraizumi's Buddhist ideal world was emphasized. However, the nomination dossier did not discuss the pioneering medieval city or its political center in depth.
After that, Iwate Prefecture has been holding research meetings for five years from 2012 to 2017, including the Yanaginogosho site, with researchers and experts from various fields from Japan and abroad discussing the creation of Hiraizumi's base. A report was published in 2018. The reports and the materials compiled each year are very useful, and I believe they will be of great use in the future when studying Hiraizumi from multiple angles.
Despite this accumulation of information, I thought that there were still some areas missing in Hiraizumi research. Hiraizumi has been discussed up until now as a city or urban construction, but I think that if we look at it as a political center, we will have a different perspective.
In the political center of Hiraizumi, the rulers of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan had a certain degree of independent authority from other powers, such as the central government or the Mutsu Kokufu. They controlled the land and people in their territory, imposing taxes on them, and carried out various projects based on that, and had the organization and ability to carry them out.
These were controlled by rational discipline and would have been obligated to do that. Furthermore, I think they maintained and commanded a military organization.
I think that these functions, along with the magnificent facilities that showed the power and financial strength of the ruler appropriate for a political center and the symbolic objects that justified the ruler's governing, were reflected in the form of Hiraizumi as a political and administrative base.
In this symposium, I would like to understand Hiraizumi as a political center through examples of political centers in various parts of East Asia around the time of Hiraizumi. In addition to the solemn installations and symbolic objects that are common to political centers, we would like to discuss the physical relationship between the base and the tombs or mausoleums of rulers, and conduct a comparative study of these issues along with their religious and ideological backgrounds, with the aim of crystallizing a new image of Hiraizumi in East Asia.
This concludes my explanation of the purpose of the event.

◆報告１

（佐藤）

それでは、報告に移らせていただきたいと思います。最初に政治拠点としての平泉の様相を、岩手県教育委員会の櫻井友梓さんからお願いしたいと思います。どうぞよろしくお願いいたします。

（パネリスト：櫻井友梓）

はじめに

おはようございます。岩手県教育委員会の櫻井と申します。私のほうからは、政治拠点としての平泉の様相について、お話をさせていただければと思います。

今回の発表ですが、先ほど趣旨説明の方でもありましたとおり、政治拠点としての平泉という形で、特に、為政者、支配の領域、支配の拠点の範囲、そのほか権力と財力を象徴する構築物はどういったものか、支配の正当性を示すようなものがあるのか、そういったものに注目しながらまとめていければと思っています。

まず最初に、平泉の現地の様子をまとめた後、そのあと、政治拠点の平泉、上のほうに書いてある属性に注目しながらまとめていければと思っています。

すでにご存知の方が多いのかなと思いますけれども、現在の平泉町の中心部をまとめてまいります。平泉町は岩手県の南部に位置しておりますけれども、北上川がこのように南北に流れ、その脇に平泉の中心域が発展したという形になっています。特に、今回も触れていきます柳之御所遺跡は、北上川の川沿いに位置するということが特徴なのかなと思っています。後ほど触れますように、平泉町があって、その周辺にも同時期の遺跡が分布していくわけですけれども、12世紀の奥州藤原氏の遺跡がもっとも分布するというのは、現在の平泉町の中心部その周辺部に大きく集中してくる形になります。そういったところもありますので、その内部の、中心部のところの様相をまとめていきたいと思っています。

時期区分

最初に時期区分ですけれども、奥州藤原氏は12世紀の100年間にわたって繁栄してくるわけですが、100年間のどの時期に焦点をあてるかところもあるのですが、基本的にはこの12世紀100年間に平泉というところに奥州藤原氏がいるということです。一方で、遺構、考古学的情報とか、あるいは文献的な研究の方から、時期区分が行われてきたところですけれども、遺物、あるいは遺構からみた場合に、12世紀の前半、12世紀のなかごろ、12世紀の後半の３つにわけることが可能なのかなと思っています。これは、土器の研究からも行われてきているし、遺構の方からも検討されてきているのかなと思います。スライでは当主を、参考までに書いているんですけれども、当然、これに完全に対応するわけではなくて、それぞれ重なったりとかありますが、12世紀前半に初代清衡、12世紀中ごろに２代目の基衡で、12世紀後半に３代目の秀衡となっています。この後もこの時期の中でご説明していければと思っています。

まず、居館である柳之御所遺跡の内容について触れておきたいと思います。柳之御所遺跡自体がたくさん研究されてきているというところもあるんですけれども、今回のテーマである政治拠点というふうに考えた場合には、こちらの柳之御所遺跡がまさに拠点となる施設だろうというところがありますので、概要に触れておきたいと思います。

柳之御所遺跡、平泉町の中心部に所在しておりまして、川沿いに立地するという形になっています。遺跡の、大きく堀で囲まれている範囲、そこを堀内部地区と呼んでいますが、その範囲が居館として機能していたと考えています。その中に建物であったり、池であったりという遺構が見つかっているという形です。遺構のほうで、柳之御所遺跡を３時期に分けられるのではないかと考えています。12世紀の前半、この時期に堀で囲まれている範囲に大きな建物が見つかってくる時期かなと捉えています。12世紀の中ごろに、堀で囲まれる範囲はそのままあるんですが、建物に分布が広がったり、池が見つかったりする時期になってきます。12世紀の後半に、さらに堀があって、建物が多く見つかっています。詳細については、あとで触れておきたいと思っていますが、特に言っておきたいところは、12世紀を通じてあまり変わらない要素と、だんだん変化している要素と、それぞれあるのかなと考えています。変わらないところとして、平泉の中でも12世紀を通じてこの遺跡が中心として機能していたというところは変わらないのかなと思います。もうひとつは、堀によって区画されているというところが維持されている。これは堀という区画自体が維持されているし、その範囲もおおむね維持されているのかなと考えています。もうひとつ、今内部施設のほうはどんどん変化して行くというところで、建物跡の規模であったり、分布範囲、あるいは建物自体は、少しずつ変化して行くあるいは大きく変わっていくところとなっていて変化するところとなっています。遺跡には、変わらない要素と変わる要素とそれぞれがあるのかなと考えています。これは、この後の内容にかかわってくることかなというふうに思っています。

◆Report 1

(Sato)

Now, let's move on to the reports. First, I would like to ask Mr. Tomoharu Sakurai from the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education to talk about characteristics of Hiraizumi as a political center. Thank you very much.

(Panelist: Tomoharu Sakurai)

Introduction

Good morning. I am Sakurai from the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education. I would like to talk about characteristics of Hiraizumi as a political center.

As was explained in the purpose of this presentation earlier, I would like to summarize Hiraizumi as a political center, focusing on things such as rulers, the domain of control, the scope of the base of control, and other structures that symbolize power and wealth, and whether there are any things that show the legitimacy of control.

First, I would like to summarize the local situation in Hiraizumi, and then Hiraizumi as a political center, focusing on the attributes written in the hand out.

I think many of you already know this, but I will summarize the current center of Hiraizumi Town. Hiraizumi Town is located in the southern part of Iwate Prefecture, and the Kitakamigawa River flows north to south, and the central area of Hiraizumi developed along the river. In particular, I think that the Yanaginogosho site, which I will also mention this time, is characterized by being located along the Kitakamigawa River. As I will mention later, there is Hiraizumi Town, and ruins from the same period are distributed around it, but the ruins of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan from the 12th century are mostly concentrated in the current center of Hiraizumi Town and its surrounding areas. Because of this, I would like to summarize the state of the central area within it.

Period division

First, regarding the period division, the Ōshū Fujiwara clan prospered for 100 years in the 12th century, and although it depends on which period of the 100 years is being focused on, basically, the Ōshū Fujiwara clan was in Hiraizumi for these 100 years in the 12th century. On the other hand, the period has been divided based on archaeological and historical research, but I think that it is possible to divide it into three periods: the early stage of the 12th century, the middle of the 12th century, and the late stage of the 12th century, based on remains and artifacts. This has been done from pottery research and from structural remains. The heads of the family are written here for reference, but of course they do not correspond completely and there are some overlaps, but the first head Kiyohira was in the first quarter of the 12th century, the second head Motohira in the middle of the 12th century, and the third head Hidehira in the third and fourth quarter of the 12th century. I would like to continue to explain within this period. First, let me touch on what was in the Yanaginogosho site, which were the residence and government office. There has been a lot of research on the Yanaginogosho site itself, but if we consider it as a political base, which is the theme of this article, the Yanaginogosho site would be the very base facility, so I would like to give an overview.

The Yanaginogosho site is located in the center of Hiraizumi, along the river. The area of the site surrounded by a large moat is called the moat interior area, and it is believed that this area functioned as a residence and government office. Remains of buildings and ponds have been found within it. Based on these remains, I think that the Yanaginogosho site can be divided into three periods. In the first stage of the 12th century, I think that this is the period when large buildings were found in the area surrounded by the moat. In the middle of the 12th century, the area surrounded by the moat remains, but the distribution of building spreads and a pond are found. In the third and fourth quarter of the 12th century, an additional moat was built and many buildings were found. I will go into the details later, but what I would like to say in particular is that there are elements that did not change much throughout the 12th century, and elements that gradually changed. As for what had not changed, I think that this site functioned as the center of Hiraizumi throughout the 12th century. Another thing is that the division by the moat had been maintained. This means that its area had also been mostly maintained. Another thing is that the internal facilities were constantly changing, and the scale of the building remains, the distribution range, and the buildings themselves were changing little by little, or changing greatly. I think that there are both elements in the site that did not change and elements that changed. This will be related to the content later.

Hiraizumi in each period

First quarter of the 12th century

So, I would like to summarize the phase of Hiraizumi in each period.

The Ōshū Fujiwara clan came to Hiraizumi in the first quarter of the 12th century. It is written in

各時期の平泉
12世紀前半
それでは、各時期の平泉の様相を時期ごとにまとめていきたいと思います。
奥州藤原氏は12世紀の前半、平泉のほうにやってくる、文献史料に拠点を移すと記載されていますし、それは考古資料からも言えると思っています。しかし、これ以前、11世紀代のこの範囲というのは明確ではないというところがあります。現在、平泉町中心部あるいは周辺で発掘調査が行われていて、12世紀をさかのぼる11世紀代の遺構・遺物も確認されているところがあるのですが、12世紀以降と比べるとその量は限定的で、その内容的にもよくわからないというところが多いのかなと思います。そういったところもありますので、12世紀の、奥州藤原氏が移ってから、平泉が拠点となっていくのかなと考えています。
12世紀の初頭ごろに江刺豊田館から奥州藤原氏が平泉に居館を移したと記され、その段階で、中尊寺が建立されていきます。今年金色堂が建立から900年になっていますけれども、そういったものがあった。初代の清衡自体は1130年ごろには亡くなっていて、そのあと２代の基衡が、家督争いもあるんですけれども、当主になっている。これが、12世紀前半代の様相かと思います。のちほど杉本先生から発表がありますけれども、京都のほうでは白河院政期の段階という形になっています。
まず、柳之御所遺跡、居館の範囲・内容について、詳細について触れておきたいと思います。先ほど、柳之御所遺跡、堀に囲まれている範囲と紹介いたしましたけれども、こちらが堀になっています。その中で12世紀前半代に大型の建物跡がいくつかあり、塀に区画される範囲が想定できたりとか、このような形になっています。この段階でもある程度の機能が行われていたと考えることができます。12世紀前半の中でもある程度時期区分が可能と考えていますが、こういった状況で、最初に遺跡のところに堀が作られて建物が見つかっている。それが12世紀前半の中の少し下った段階で堀があって、あるいは大型の建物、塀という区画施設が見つかっていると考えています。のちほどこの段階以降の遺構分布図をお示ししますすが、この段階では、遺構分布があんまり集中してない、疎な段階と思っていることと、遺構の範囲自体もやや限定的なのかなと考えています。
12世紀前半で特に大きなものとして、中尊寺の建立があると思います。12世紀前半、柳之御所遺跡では遺構・遺物が見つかっているんですが、平泉の中でもそれ以外の地区では、この段階の遺構・遺物はあまり見つかっていないのですけれども、特に中尊寺の方では、当該時期の遺物というのがある程度まとまってくることになっています。金色堂が造られたり、そういったことがこの段階で行われているところです。吾妻鏡の方にも、初代の清衡が造営したというところが、史料に記載されているということになっています。この状況っていうのは、考古学あるいは文献史学でのほうからも同意できるるかなとに思っています。
もうひとつ、柳之御所遺跡、居館の範囲と中尊寺とを結ぶ道路跡が見つかっているということがあります。柳之御所遺跡から北西の方向に、中尊寺が所在する関山丘陵があり、この金色堂方向に向かう道路跡が見つかっています。この道路跡自体もこれ以降もずっと維持されていきますが、遺構変遷理解からは12世紀前半に既に機能していた可能性があると考えています。
12世紀前半の平泉の様相をまとめてみますと、柳之御所遺跡の範囲が居館として機能する。もう一つ、中尊寺において金色堂があったり、いろいろな建物が作られてくるというところがあります。その間を結ぶ道路跡が見つかってくるということになっています。また、今平泉文化遺産センターがある所に花立廃寺跡があり、その周辺にも遺構・遺物が確認されているので、そちらの方も機能していたと考えています。
図で示すように、12世紀前半の平泉が、居館等が作られていく時期ではありますすけれども、まだ面的に開発が進んでいるという段階ではなくて、点的な範囲がいくつか広まると思われます。この点は既に多くの研究者によって指摘されているところですけれども、近年の調査によっても覆っていないと考えています。ただし、この段階で既に中尊寺と居館の関係性というのが見えるというところが重要なのかなというふうに思います。
12世紀中ごろ
次に、12世紀の中頃に移ります。12世紀の中頃の表ですが、先ほどに比べると、あまり文献資料が多くないということもあって、余白が多いですが、基衡が当主になって、その後しばらくしてからの段階かなと考えているところです。その後、基衡が当主になったあと、藤原基成が陸奥守になり、基衡の権力がそういったところと結びついて強化されていくという理解がなされています。1160年ごろには基衡が亡くなり、３代秀衡に移っていく段階です。この段階が平泉として、全盛期となるかと思います。
柳之御所遺跡の遺構変遷に入っていきますが、先ほどと比べると、この段階の遺構がたくさん見つかってくるというのがあります。特に、中心域に池が作られる段階で、池とともに塀に囲まれた範囲に大きな建物が分布しているというところが特徴的と思います。また、中心域の周辺や遺跡縁辺にも遺構が見つかっています。様

historical documents that they moved their base, and that can also be said judging from archaeological materials. However, the area of the 11th century before this is unclear. Currently, excavations are being conducted in the center of Hiraizumi or in the surrounding area, and some remains and artifacts from the 11th century, before the 12th century, have been confirmed. But compared to the 12th century and after, the amount is limited. Since there are many things that are not well understood. I think that Hiraizumi became the base after the Ōshū Fujiwara clan moved there in the 12th century.
It is written that the Ōshū Fujiwara clan moved their residence from the Esashi Toyoda no Tachi to Hiraizumi around the beginning of the 12th century, and at that stage, Chūson-ji Temple was built. It is now 900 years since the construction of Konjikidō, but there was such a thing. The first head of the family, Kiyohira, died around 1130, and the second head, Motohira, became the head of the family after some succession disputes. I think this was the situation in the first quarter of the 12th century. As Professor Sugimoto will state in his presentation later, this is the stage of the Shirakawa Insei period in Kyoto.
First, I would like to touch on the details of the Yanaginogosho site and the scope and contents of the residence and office. I mentioned earlier that the Yanaginogosho site was surrounded by a moat. Within this, there are several remains of large buildings from the first quarter of the 12th century, and the area divided into fences can be imagined. It can be considered that some function was being carried out at this stage. I think that it is possible to divide the period to some extent within the first quarter of the 12th century, and in this situation, a moat was first made at the site and buildings were founded. A little later in the first quarter of the 12th century, a moat was founded, and large buildings and divided facilities such as fences were founded. I will show you a map of the distribution of remains from this stage onwards later, but I think that at this stage the distribution of remains is sparse, not very concentrated, and the range of the remains itself is somewhat limited.
The construction of Chūson-ji Temple is particularly significant in the first quarter of the 12th century. Remains and artifacts have been found at the Yanaginogosho site in the first quarter of the 12th century, but not many remains and artifacts from this stage have been found in other areas of Hiraizumi. However, at Chūson-ji Temple, artifacts from this period have been gathered to a certain extent. Konjikidō was built and other such things were done at this stage. The historical document Azuma Kagami said that it was also built by the first lord, Kiyohira. I think this corresponds with what is shown in archaeology and historical materials.
Another thing is that the remains of a road connecting the Yanaginogosho site, the residence area and Chūson-ji Temple have been found. Northwest of the Yanaginogosho site is the Kanzan Hills, where Chūson-ji Temple is located, and the remains of a road heading towards Konjikidō have been found. The remains of this road itself have been maintained ever since, but based on our understanding of the changes in the remains, we believe that it may have already been in operation in the first quarter of the 12th century.
If we summarize the appearance of Hiraizumi in the first quarter of the 12th century, the area of the Yanaginogosho site served as a residence and government office. Another thing is that Chūson-ji Temple had Konjikidō and various other buildings built there. The remains of a road connecting these two have been found. In addition, the ruins of Hanadate Temple were located where the Hiraizumi Cultural Heritage Center is now located, and remains and artifacts have been confirmed in the surrounding area. So it is believed that this temple was also in operation.
As shown in the figure, Hiraizumi in the first quarter of the 12th century was a time when residences and other buildings were being built, but it was not yet at a stage where development was progressing on a large scale, and several scattered areas are thought to have spread. This has already been pointed out by many researchers, but we believe that it has not been disproved by recent surveys. However, I think what is important is that the relationship between Chūson-ji Temple and the residence and office is already visible at this stage.
Mid-12th century
Next, we move on to the mid-12th century. This table for the mid-12th century has a lot of blank space because there are not many written documents for this period compared to the previous one. I think it is the stage after Motohira became head of the family for a while. After Motohira became head of the family, Fujiwara no Motonari became the governor of Mutsu, and it is understood that Motohira's power was strengthened by linking with him. Motohira died around 1160, and this is the stage where the third leader, Hidehira, was handed the leadership. I think this stage was the heyday of Hiraizumi.
Now we move on to the transition of the remains at the Yanaginogosho site, and compared to the previous one, many remains from this stage have been found. In particular, I think it is characteristic that at the stage when the pond was made in the central area, large buildings were distributed in the area surrounded by a fence along with the pond. Remains have also been found around the central area and on the edge of the site. To summarize the situation, I think the area surrounded by the moat has

相をまとめますと、先ほどの12世紀前半と範囲自体は堀で囲まれる範囲は変わっていないと思いますが、池があったり建物があったり、建物の分布が非常に密になってきます。四面庇建物ができたり、規格性の高い建物ができたり、また、よく言われるところですけれども、かわらけ類がたくさん出てくるというところがありますので、遺跡自体が非常に、前半代に比べて拡充している段階なのかなというふうに思っています。一方で12世紀前半から堀、区画が維持されたり、その範囲自体は変わってないところもありますので、継続するところまた変わっていくところと広がっていくところと両方の側面があると考えています。
その他の施設を見ていきますと、この段階で毛越寺が造営されるというところが大きいのかなと思います。毛越寺自体は２代基衡が造営して３代秀衡の段階で完成したという理解かなと思いますけれども、この段階で造営されています。
また、毛越寺に隣接して観自在王院が作られている。また、先ほどの中尊寺でも、当然ながらこの段階でも機能が維持されていると考えられている。
まとめますと、居館があって、中尊寺はそのまま維持されたのですけれども、そのほかに毛越寺、観自在王院が造営されます。もう一つ大きな変化として、東西に延びる道路跡が見つかっているということがあります。考古資料などから具体的な造営の時期を示すことはなかなか難しいですけれども、12世紀の前半には、道路が作られていくことは大きい変化かなと考えています。基衡の段階で、先ほどの12世紀全は居館と寺院とで点的な開発だったかなと思われたわけですけれども、それがある程度面的な広がりを持ってくるのがこの段階と考えています。居館の整備と併せて、寺院や大路の造営がありますので、この段階で居館の規模も拡充するし、平泉自体も充実してくるのかと考えています。ただ、居館、柳之御所遺跡と、寺院が作られる、毛越寺・観自在王院がちょっと離れてくれるところは注目すべきかと考えます。中尊寺とも離れているので、この段階で居館と寺院が若干距離をもって位置するのかと思いますが、そういった状況があります。この理由や意義は明確にはなっていないと思われます。一方で、居館となる柳之御所遺跡の建物群がこの段階で南北正方位で作られていくように変化し、東西大路も正方位に位置していますので、そういった軸方向の共通性といったところは注目すべきものと思います。

12世紀後半

12世紀後半代を見ていきたいと思います。
12世紀後半代、1160年ごろに秀衡が当主になって、後白河院政期になっていくわけですけれども、1189年に奥州藤原氏が奥州合戦の中で滅ぼされていくこととなります。特に秀衡期の方は、従来知られている範囲かなと思いますけれども、 源平の争いがあって、それらを背景に秀衡が鎮守府将軍となって、あるいは陸奥守になったりという形で、正式な官位が付随してくるというところがあります。そのあと、秀衡が亡くなり、奥州藤原氏も滅びていくという段階です。
柳之御所遺跡から確認していきます。柳之御所遺跡自体も、遺構配置としても、12世紀の中葉から充実してくる範囲というのがそのままより充実してくる範囲、というような形かなと思っています。大きめの建物群が複数見つかってくる範囲があり、また、塀による区画がいくつか見えてくるというところになっています。また、遺物についてもこの段階の遺物がたくさん多く見つかってくる状況です。遺構図を見ますと、堀による区画自体は維持されますが、この段階を前後してメインの機能を持つものが、内側の堀の大きな堀となってくるところが大きな変化と思います。現在、現地の遺跡公園の方で整備している堀はこの段階の堀になります。池があって、建物群が一緒に造られている。12世紀の中葉の中で、すでに、堀に囲まれている範囲に遺構分布が広がりますが、この段階で範囲が広がりそれぞれの遺構も密になり、充実してくる範囲かなと思っています。特に注目できるかなと思っていますのは、塀による区画というのが、複数見つかってくる、顕著になるのがこの段階かなと思っております。区画される範囲というのが複数あると考えています。
この段階、12世紀の後半で注目されるものとして、無量光院の造営があります。無量光院跡自体が、奥州藤原氏秀衡の最後の段階に近いところで作られるわけですけれども、居館、柳之御所に近接するところに無量光院が作られるところがあります。まとめますと、居館があってその隣に無量光院跡が作られます。もう一つ、道路というのが維持されるし、その前段階よりも道路が拡幅されて、より施設の範囲が広がったりするところがあるのかなと考えています。中尊寺あるいは毛越寺は、つくられたそのままの機能が維持されている、あるいは、毛越寺のように拡張されるという状況がある段階です。また、この段階より、少し古い可能性が高いのかもしれないですけれども、金鶏山が、無量光院の背景に位置し、象徴としての金鶏山がより顕著になる段階かな、と考えております。おそらく12世紀の中ごろには経塚なども造営され、何らかの象徴的な範囲ではあったわ

not changed since the first quarter of the 12th century, but there are a pond and buildings, and the distribution of buildings has become very dense. Four-sided eave buildings and highly standardized buildings had been built, and as is often said, there are many tiles, so I think the site itself is in a stage of expansion compared to the first quarter of the century. On the other hand, the moats and divisions have been maintained since the first quarter of the 12th century, and the area itself has not changed, so there are aspects of continuity, change, and expansion.
Looking at other facilities, the construction of Mōtsū-ji Temple at this stage is a big factor. It is understood that Mōtsū-ji Temple itself was built by the second lord, Motohira, and completed by the third lord, Hidehira, but it was built at this stage.
In addition, Kanjizaiō-in Temple was built adjacent to Mōtsū-ji Temple. Also, it is thought that Chūson-ji Temple, which I mentioned earlier, was still functioning at this stage.
In summary, there was a residence, and Chūson-ji Temple was maintained as it was, but Mōtsū-ji Temple and Kanjizaiō-in Temple were also built. Another big change is that the remains of a road running from east to west have been found. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact construction period from archaeological materials, but I think that the construction of roads in the first half of the 12th century was a big change. At the Motohira stage, the entire 12th century was thought to have been developed in a spot-like manner with residences and temples, but at this stage it became more an areal spread. Along with the development of the residence, temples and roads were built, so at this stage the scale of the residence expanded and Hiraizumi itself became more developed. However, it is worth noting that the residence, Yanaginogosho site, and the temples, Mōtsū-ji Temple and Kanjizaiō-in Temple, were built a little apart. They are also far from Chūson-ji Temple, so at this stage the residence and temple were located at a slight distance, but that is the situation. The reason and significance of this is not clear. On the other hand, the buildings at the Yanaginogosho site, which were to become the residence, were altered at this stage to be constructed in a square north-south direction, and the east-west main street is also aligned in a square direction. It is worth noting that there are similarities in the axial directions.

Late 12th century

Let's look at the late 12th century.
In the late 12th century, Hidehira became head of the family around 1160, and the Goshirakawa Insei period began, but in 1189 the Ōshū Fujiwara clan was destroyed in the Ōshū War. I think that the Hidehira period in particular is what is known so far, but there was also the Genpei War, and Hidehira was given official ranks as Chinjufu Shogun and then Mutsu no Kami against the backdrop of that conflict. After that, Hidehira died, and the Ōshū Fujiwara clan was destroyed.
We will start by checking the Yanaginogosho site. The Yanaginogosho site itself, in terms of the layout of the remains, is an area that has become more complete since the mid-12th century, and I think that it will continue to become even more complete. There are areas where several large groups of buildings have been found, and several partitions made of fences are visible. In addition, many relics from this stage have been found. Looking at the map of the remains, the moat divisions themselves are maintained, but I think the big change is that around this stage, the main function becomes the larger inner moat. The moat currently being shown by the local ruins park is at this stage. There is a pond, and a group of buildings are built together. In the middle of the 12th century, the distribution of remains has already spread to the area surrounded by the moat, but at this stage, the area spreads and the remains become denser and more complete. What I think is particularly noteworthy is that multiple partitions by fences are found and become more noticeable at this stage. I think there are multiple areas that are divided.
At this stage, in the second half of the 12th century, one thing to note is the construction of Muryōkō-in Temple. The ruins of Muryōkō-in Temple itself were built near the final stage of Hidehira Fujiwara's Ōshū clan, and Muryōkō-in Temple was built near the residence, Yanaginogosho. In summary, there was a residence, and the ruins of Muryōkō-in Temple were built next to it. Another thing is that roads would be maintained, and I think that in certain stages the road would be wider than in the previous stage, and the scope of the facilities would be expanded. Chūson-ji and Mōtsū-ji are at a stage where the functions they were originally built were maintained, or, as in the case of Mōtsū-ji, were being expanded. Also, although it is highly likely that this stage is a little older than this, Mt. Kinkeisan was located in the background of Muryōkō-in, and I think this is the stage where Mt. Kinkeisan became more significant as a symbol. Probably in the mid-12th century, sutra mounds and other structures were built, and they were in some kind of symbolic area, but I think that Hiraizumi as a base would be concentrated in a place where there is a residence, a temple, and a mountain.

Hiraizumi as a political and administrative center

Base of rule

We have looked back on Hiraizumi over the last 100 years in the 12th century at a rapid pace, but I

けですけれども、それが居館があって、寺院があって、さらに山があって、というところに拠点としての平泉が収斂されていくのかなと思っています。
拠点としての平泉
支配の拠点
12世紀の100年間の平泉を、速足で振り返ってきたところですけれども、それがどういうふうに政治拠点として理解できるのか、というところをまとめていきたいと思います。
今回は趣旨説明の方でお話しましたように、いくつかの属性に着目してまとめることになります。ひとつは、為政者、支配した氏族がどういったものだったか・ところです。もう一つは領域、エリアですね。奥州藤原氏の支配の領域がどういったものであったか、もう一つは支配の拠点の範囲がどういったふうになるのか、というところでまとめていきたいと思います。
そして、施設ですね。速足でそれぞれの施設の概要に触れてきましたけれども、その施設がどういったものを背景として理解できるのか、権力とか財力とかというものを表象するのはどういったものなのか、政治拠点という形ですので、その政治の支配の正当性といったものを示すようなものがあるのかないのか、そういったところ。最後に、施設間の関係ですね。特に、これまでの先行研究でも触れられているんですけれども、平泉の場合についていえば、居所と墓所、政治の場所。住んでいる場所と墓のところがどういった関係があるのか、まとめていきたいと思います。
まず、支配の氏族についてお話しします。最本的には奥州藤原氏が平泉を支配して、政治をする。清衡・基衡・秀衡と３代あります。氏族としてはその前段階で藤原経清から始まってくる、と考えた方がよいかと思います。経清自体は、亘理、宮城県南部との関係が指摘されていると思いますけれども、詳細な時期にはいくつかのせつがありますが京都との関係をもった氏族と考えられているのかなと思います。そういった支配氏族、奥州藤原氏が清衡の段階である程度広い範囲に支配を持った、というふうに考えています。清衡・基衡・秀衡と当主が続いて行って、４代泰衡まで続いて行く。一方で関連する氏族として実際に血縁でつながりのある、樋爪氏など、そういった氏族がいくつかあるということです。また、直接的な関係ではないのかもしれませんけれども、佐藤氏や田川氏などが連携をもつ氏族として知られているというところかなと思います。
次に支配領域に移りたいと思います。奥州藤原氏の支配領域は、資料からはなかなか難しいところもあって、基本的には東北地方全体というのが一般的な認識なのかなというふうに思いますけれども、その中でかなり濃淡が存在していたかなと思います。文献史料の記載として、最後平泉館が燃えてしまった段階で、奥州羽州省庁田文が焼亡してしまうという記載がありますので、ある程度東北地方全体に影響をもっていた。あるいは奥州地下管領というものが記載がありますので、そういったところから、東北地方全体をある程度支配領域として想定されていたかなと思います。
一方、その領域として考えた場合には、先ほどの樋爪氏のように関連する氏族であったりというところもありますので、ある程度直接的な支配が行われたところと、それぞれの氏族が支配していたところ、どのような支配が実際に行われていたのか、地域支配の実際というところでは、ちょっと議論が分かれるのかなと思います。また、奥州合戦の際の動員も、陸奥国府周辺ではああまり戦力としての動員ができていないこと、また、奥州藤原氏が滅亡した後に大河兼任の乱などもあり奥州合戦に参加していないなかで勢力が維持されていたなど、必ずしも東北地方全体一円が支配領域だったかというのは難しいのではないかと思います。そのほか、荘園などもありますので、奥州藤原氏の具体的な支配というのは検討課題とされることかと思います。関連するようなものとして山形の田河氏の関連施設。奥州合戦の際にも国見山に防塁がつくられたということもありますので、そういったところも支配の領域の一つの目安となってくるのかなと思います。もうちょっと各地域での検討が必要な部分かと思います。
次に、支配の拠点の領域のほうを見ていきたいと思います。平泉の中でも、拠点域、周辺域、さらにその外側と分けることができると思います。最初のところでもありましたけれども、考古資料として遺構・遺物の分布からも現在の平泉町中心部が当時においても拠点的な範囲ということができるのかなと思います。一方で、さきほどの集中した範囲はこの範囲となっていまして、現在、北上川が流れていて、北側を衣川、南側を太田川、この範囲が平泉の中心部のところかなと思いますけれども、その外側のところ、衣川の北側にも、接待館遺跡とか、時代は遡りますけれども長者ヶ原廃寺であったりとか、南側のほうにも、太田川の南側の祇園に鎮守社があったりとか、あるいは12世紀の建物群が散在するところがありますので、そういった範囲が一つ設定できるのかなと思います。さらに外側のほうに行きますと、奥州市の白鳥館遺跡が平泉から５キロほどのところにあるという形で、いくつかのエリアに分けられるのかなと思います。

would like to summarize how it can be understood as a political center.
As I mentioned in the purpose explanation, this time I will focus on several attributes to summarize. One is what kind of rulers and ruling clans they were. The other is the territory, the area. I would like to summarize what the territory of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan was, and what the scope of the ruling base was.
And then there are the facilities. I have briefly touched on the overview of each facility, but what kind of background can we understand the facilities as, and how do they represent power and financial strength? And since they are political bases, is there anything that shows the legitimacy of the political rule? Finally, there is the relationship between the facilities. In particular, as has been mentioned in previous research, in the case of Hiraizumi, it is the residence, the tomb, and the political location. I would like to summarize the relationship between the place of residence and the place of tombs.
First, I will talk about the ruling clan. The Ōshū Fujiwara clan essentially ruled Hiraizumi and conducted politics. There were three generations: Kiyohira, Motohira, and Hidehira. I think it is better to think of the clan as beginning with Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo at the previous stage. Tsunekiyo himself has been pointed out to have had ties to Watari and southern Miyagi Prefecture, but I think he is considered to have been a clan with ties to Kyoto, although there are several stories about the exact time period. I think that the ruling clan, the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, had control over a fairly wide area at the Kiyohira stage. The heads of the family continued as Kiyohira, Motohira, and Hidehira, and continued until the fourth generation, Yasuhira. On the other hand, there are several clans related to the clan, such as the Hizume clan, which are actually related by blood. Also, although they may not have been directly related, I think that the Sato clan and the Tagawa clan are known as clans that have connections with each other.
Next, I would like to move on to the area of control. It is difficult to say from the documents what the Ōshū Fujiwara clan's territory was, and I think it is generally recognized that it was basically the entire Tohoku region, but I think there was a lot of variation within that. In the records, it is written that when the Hiraizumi mansion finally burned down, and the land people's account of the Ōshū and Ushū, were also burned down, so they had some influence over the entire Tohoku region. Also, there is a record of an Ōshū governor, jige-kanrei, so from that, I think it was assumed that they had some control over the entire Tohoku region.
On the other hand, when we consider the territory, there are some related clans such as the Hizume clan mentioned earlier, so I think there is a bit of debate about the actual regional control, such as where there was a certain degree of direct control and where each clan controlled, and what kind of control was actually carried out. Also, with regard to mobilization during the Ōshū War, there was not much mobilization as a fighting force around the Mutsu provincial capital, and after the Ōshū Fujiwara clan was destroyed, there was the Ōkawa Kanetō Rebellion and so on, but they did not participate in the Ōshū War, but their power was maintained, so it is difficult to say that the entire Tohoku region was necessarily their territory. In addition, there were manors, so the specific control of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan is a topic for consideration. As something related, there are related facilities of the Tagawa clan of Yamagata. During the Ōshū War, a defensive wall was built on Mt. Kunimiyama, so I think that such places can also be a guide to the territory of control. I think that each region needs to be examined a little more.
Next, I would like to look at the territory of the base of control. I think that Hiraizumi can be divided into the base area, the surrounding area, and the outside area. As mentioned at the beginning, the distribution of remains and artifacts as archaeological material suggests that the current center of Hiraizumi could be said to have been a base area at that time. On the other hand, the area I mentioned earlier is concentrated in this area, and currently, the Kitakamigawa River flows through it, with the Koromogawa River to the north and the Ōtagawa River to the south; I think this area is the center of Hiraizumi, but outside of that, on the north side of the Koromogawa River, there are the Settaitate site, and, going back in time, the Chōjagahara Temple ruins, and on the south side, there is a guardian shrine in Gion on the south side of the Ōtagawa River, and there are also scattered buildings from the 12th century, so I think that such an area can be set. Going further out, the Shiratoritate site in Ōshū City is about 5 kilometers from Hiraizumi, so I think that it can be divided into several areas. To the southwest of Hiraizumi is Takkoku-no-Iwaya, and to the north is Shiratoritate, and ruins and remains from the same period have been discovered.
To sum up, first of all, there is the base area of Hiraizumi within the entire Tohoku region. The other is the area around the Okurokugun district. Furthermore, there is Mutsu and Dewa, and there seems to have been a difference in the intensity of related research there.
For convenience, I have divided Hiraizumi into areas, but the base area is area A, which is the area with particularly many remains and artifacts, and then the area including the Koromogawa district north of the Koromogawa River and the Gion district in the southern part of Hiraizumi Town. It seems

平泉の南西側に達谷窟があったり、北のほうは白鳥館があったり、同時期の遺跡・遺構が見つかったりしています。
まとめますと、まずひとつは東北地方全体の中で平泉の拠点域があるということですね。もう一つは奥六郡周辺がある程度、こういう範囲かな。さらに陸奥・出羽、そこについては、関連研究に濃淡があったのかな、というところです。
平泉のなかでも、便宜的に分けていますけれども、拠点の範囲はAの範囲、ここは特に遺構・遺物が多い範囲、次に衣川の北側衣河地区や平泉町の南部の祇園地区などを入れたところが一つの範囲。さらに広い範囲として、白鳥館遺跡などまで入れた範囲、とわけることができそうです。考古資料の分布もそのまま薄くなっていくということです。大きさとしてはおおむね河川の範囲として限られる、半径１キロ程度の範囲、衣川周辺まで含めてくると3.5キロ程度。より広い範囲ですね、周辺部まで含めてくると半径５キロ程度の範囲というのかなと思われます。さらにもう少し外側まで、奥州藤原氏の時期の遺物が散発的に見つかってくるかなと思っていて、もう一つ分けられるかなと言うふうに思っています。
権力と財力表象
次に権力と財力の表象とはについて移りたいと思います。まず、権力・財力があるのか、あるいはどういったものなかというのも課題としてはありますけれども、ひとつは居館というのが重要なのかなと思っています。これは政治支配の拠点施設でもありますので、先ほどの領域の話とちょっと重なる部分がありますけれども、居館として柳之御所遺跡があるということです。その居館があって、そこで支配しているという形ですので、権力・財力あるいは正当性を示すという施設にあたるかなと考えています。居館の表象として、まず一つは、遺跡を囲む堀というのが重要な意味をもってくるのかなと考えています。遺跡の堀内部ですけれども、大規模な堀跡で囲まれている範囲があります。その堀による施設、周囲からの区画というのは、権力、あるいは財力を示してくるでしょうし、また先ほどから述べているように、居館の範囲というのが大きく変わってこないこと、支配の施設である居館の位置がずれてこないというところもありますので、そういったところは氏族あるいは支配の正当性につながってくるのではないかなと考えています。
次に池にふれておきます。こちらについては正当性というよりは権力と財力ということになってくるかなと思いますけれども、中心域に池が見つかってくるということですね。この後で触れますが、浄土庭園が造られるというのは、権力と財力を示すわけですけれども、そういった中でこういった居館の池の位置づけが可能なのかどうか、浄土庭園を権力と財力として、位置づけが可能なのかについては、議論が求められるところかなと思っています。
もうひとつは、大型の建物が所在しているというところです。池のほうを向いていますけれども、こういった建物が見つかってくるという、これらが堀内部において権力と財力をあるいは正当性に繋がってくるかなと思っています。
もう一つは、柳之御所の堀内部の中で倉と思われる遺構も見つかっていることも注目できるかなと思います。性格はわからないところもありますけれども、こういう竪穴遺構も見つかっている。
こういったように、居館、拠点施設自体が、政治拠点を考えるうえで重要なのですけれども、実際にどういった整備が行われていたのかなかなか難しいところはあるんですが、この居館自体、が奥州藤原氏の支配の中で重要だったのかなと思っています。
次に、やはり寺院と浄土庭園ですね。こちらについては権力あるいは財力を示すものとして、異論がないところかと思います。特に、12世紀の前半藤原清衡が中尊寺、基衡の段階で毛越寺、観自在王院を、３代の段階で無量光院を造るという形で、それぞれの当主の各時期で寺院と浄土庭園を造営されているところもあります。それぞれの代によってつくられているところですので、内外に権力と財力を示すというのが重要だったと評価できると思っています。また、浄土庭園を作ること自体が重要だと思うんですけれども、そこで行われている宗教儀礼とかですね。そういった儀式儀礼を行うことは支配の正当性につながってくるのではないかなと思っています。
もう一つは倉ですね。平泉中心部、毛越寺の前に大路ができるわけですけれども、大路の南側に倉町が作られるというところが言われています。こちらの２棟の大型の建物が、倉です。倉が並んで立っていて、権力あるいは財力というものにつながってくるのかな、と思います。特に、毛越寺の南側ということもありますので、外部から平泉を訪れるなどの場合には平泉に入ってくる段階でこういった倉が見えてくれば、奥州藤原氏の支配を視覚的に示す装置となったのかと思います。
支配の正当性

that we can divide it into a wider area, including the Shiratoritate site. The distribution of archaeological materials also becomes thinner. In terms of size, it is generally limited to the area of the river, about a radius of 1 km, and about 3.5 km if you include the area around the Koromogawa River. It is a wider area, about a radius of 5 km if you include the surrounding area. I think that artifacts from the period of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan will be found sporadically a little further out, so I think it can be divided into another area.

Representation of power and wealth
Next, I would like to move on to the representation of power and wealth. First of all, there is the issue of whether there was power or wealth, and what it was, but the residence is one thing that was important. This was also a base facility for political control, so there is some overlap with the previous discussion about territory, but the Yanaginogosho site was there as a residence. Since there was a residence and they ruled from there, I think it is a facility that shows power, wealth, or legitimacy. As a representation of the residence, first of all, I think the moat surrounding the remains has an important meaning. Inside the moat of the remains, there is an area surrounded by a large moat. The facility created by the moat and the division from the surrounding area will show power or wealth, and as I have said before, the range of the residence does not change much, and the location of the residence, which is a tool of control, does not shift, so I think that such things are connected to the clan or the legitimacy of control.
Next, I will touch on the pond. I think this is more about power and wealth than legitimacy, but the pond was found in the central area. As I will touch on later, the creation of a pure land garden indicates power and wealth, but I think there is room for discussion as to whether it is possible to position a pond in a residence like this, and whether it is possible to position a pure land garden as power and wealth.
The other thing is that a large building is located there. It faces the pond, and I think that the discovery of buildings like this connects to power and wealth, or legitimacy, within the moat.
Another thing to note is that remains that appear to be a storehouse have been found within the moat of Yanaginogosho. Although some of its nature is unknown, pit remains like this have also been found. In this way, residences and base facilities themselves are important when considering political bases, and it is difficult to say what kind of construction was actually carried out, but I think this residence itself was important in the rule of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan.
Next, there are temples and pure land gardens. I think there is no disagreement that these are indicators of power or wealth. In particular, in the first quarter of the 12th century, Fujiwara no Kiyohira built Chūson-ji, Mōtsū-ji and Kanjizaiō-in during Motohira's time, and Muryōkō-in during the third generation, so temples and pure land gardens were built during each period of the head of the family. Since they were built by each head, I think it can be said that they were important for demonstrating power and wealth both domestically and internationally. I also think that the creation of pure land gardens is important in and of itself, but the religious ceremonies held there are also important. I think that holding such ceremonies is connected to the legitimacy of rule.
Another thing is storehouses. In the center of Hiraizumi, a main road was built in front of Mōtsū-ji Temple, and it is said that storehouses was built on the south side of the road. These two large buildings were storehouses. I think that storehouses standing side by side are connected to power or wealth. In particular, since it is located south of Mōtsū-ji Temple, if visitors from outside were to see these storehouses as they entered Hiraizumi, I think they would have served as a visual indicator of the rule of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan.

Legitimacy of rule
The above are examples of power and wealth, but I would like to discuss legitimacy next. I think it is difficult to clearly show what legitimacy of rule is shown from the archaeological and historical documents that remain, but I would like to summarize a few possible points.
One is Chūson-ji Temple. As you can see in the resume, there are many detailed descriptions of Chūson-ji Temple. Among them, I think that the fact that the "two-story pagoda" was built is already attracting the attention of many researchers. The location is quite difficult, but I think that many opinions say that it was built at a high altitude in the current hills of Kanzan. I think that it has already been pointed out that Kanzan was located in a position that could be seen directly from the Chōjagahara Temple ruins in Ōshū City, dating back to a period before Hiraizumi. Taking these points into consideration, I think that the location of Chūson-ji Temple and the temple were quite important in showing legitimacy.
The other thing I think is important is Konjikidō of Chūson-ji Temple. As the site where the bodies of three generations of leaders were enshrined, I believe it is connected to legitimacy. There is also a relationship between the site and the residence, so I think it is important.
The other is Mt. Kinkeisan. This is quite difficult to evaluate, but I think that a mountain located in the center of the base may have had symbolic value. I think there is some debate as to whether this

以上が権力と財力を示すようなものですが、次に正当性に移っていきたいと思います。なかなか支配の正当性が何で示されるかというのは、残された考古資料、文献史料から明示することは難しいところかなと思うんですけれども、いくつか考えられるところをまとめたいと思います。
ひとつは、中尊寺です。レジュメにも載せておりますけれども、そちらの方で中尊寺についていろいろと細かい記載しています。その中で既に多くの研究者に注目されているところとしては、「一基の塔」がつくられたというのがあるかなと思います。場所の方がなかなか難しいところですが現在の関山の丘陵の中でも標高の高いところに造られた意見が多いかと思います。平泉より遡る時期、奥州市の長者ヶ原廃寺からまっすぐに見える位置に関山があるということは、すでに指摘されているところかと思います。こういった点も踏まえると、中尊寺という場所と寺院が正当性を示すにはかなり重要だったのかなと思っています。
もうひとつは、中尊寺金色堂がやはり重要だと思います。３代の遺体自体が、累代の遺体が葬られた墓所として、それはやはり正当性とつながってくるのかなと思います。そこと居館との関係というのもありますので、重要なのではないかと思っております。
もう一つは金鶏山です。なかなかこれは評価が難しいところですが、拠点の中央部に位置する一つの山が象徴性としてはあったかなと思います。これが正当性に繋がっていたかというのは議論があるところかなと思いますけれども、あえて触れておきます。基本的には同時代の資料には記載がありませんので、どういう位置づけだったのかわからないのですけれども、ひとつは、柳之御所、無量光院からまっすぐのところに金鶏山山頂がある。それから柳之御所の池跡ですけれども、まっすぐのところに金鶏山が見えてくる、そういったところもありますので、12世紀の後半段階には、象徴性があり、正当性との関連をもつ可能性が高いのかなと思います。一方で毛越寺と観自在王院の道路のまっすぐに見えて来るというところもありますので、この段階、12世紀中葉の段階でも、何らかの意味を持っていた可能性が高いと思います。それを裏付けるものとしては経塚が、継続的に12世紀の中頃からで作られていくということもありますので、金鶏山、12世紀の中ごろにはある程度意味を持ってきたのではないかと考えています。
もうひとつは、正当性とつながるものと整理してよいかは難しいですが、総社、鎮守というのも注目できるのかなと思っています。鎮守は、平泉全体の鎮守とそれぞれの寺院の鎮守と出てくるので、なかなか現地比定が分かれているところですけど、無量光院の南側の白山社はある程度共通した見解になっているのかなと思います。もう一つは平泉の南側のところに祇園社があります。そういったところはある程度は共通見解かなと思っております。もう一つ、これは議論が分かれますけれども、衣川の北側にもこのようなところがあります。鎮守自体は土塁の時期も、あり、文献史の分析からは勧請の時期などもいくつか見解が分かれてくるところなので、なかなか難しいんですけれども、陸奥の国府との関係でみてくるというのもある程度必要なのかなと思っています。現在も多賀城の横に、時期はずれてきますが、総社が位置しています。なお、白山社では12世紀の中ごろにさかのぼるような遺物もみつかっておりますので、この辺の時期、現地の比定は今後の議論が必要なのかなと思っています。
さて鎮守の位置のうち白山社ですが、居館があって、12世紀の後半段階には無量光院があって、柳之御所遺跡堀外部にいくつかの建物が見つかっていますけれども、その南側に白山社。このエリアがどの段階でつくられたかというのがありますけれども、12世紀の後半段階にはあって、12世紀の中頃、無量光院の発掘調査も進んでいるところでありますので、だんだんそういった居館の周囲の整備時期や様相といったところも明らかになってくるだろうと思います。
次に大路についても触れておきたいなと思います。東西大路の造営が、12世紀の中頃基衡段階には東西大路がつくられていたところがあります。大路自体は、道路がつくられたということですけれども、すでに吉田歓さんなどが指摘されていますように、日本の都市のなかでこうした基軸道路、軸線道路が重要だということは、指摘されているところかと思います。平泉について言いますと、毛越寺の正面から東西に造られている。これが東西大路として重要で街区の基幹になります。20m幅の道路が造営されて、一部拡幅されたのかと思いますけれども、見つかっている。これが支配の正当性なのか、という部分はあるんですけれども、造営あるいは維持していくことは権力の明示として重要なのかなと思います。古代では、多賀城では南北大路が作られてくる、平城宮なんかでも朱雀大路が重要だったりということもあります。そういったところで考えてくると大路の造営というのは目にも見える視認性があり、域内の整備として重要となっています。また、実際にこういったところで、大路として広場が造営され、そこで多くの法会なども行われていると考えられています。こういった儀礼等の主宰というのはやはり支配の正当性を示すところと思っています。

was connected to legitimacy, but I would like to mention it anyway. Basically, there is no mention of it in contemporary documents, so we do not know what its position was, but one thing is that the peak of Mt. Kinkeisan is located straight ahead from Yanaginogosho and Muryōkō-in. Then, from the remains of the pond at Yanaginogosho, Mt. Kinkeisan can be seen straight ahead, so I think that in the latter half of the 12th century, it was symbolic and highly likely to be related to legitimacy. On the other hand, it is also directly visible from the road between Mōtsū-ji Temple and Kanjizaiō-in Temple, so it is highly likely that it had some kind of meaning even during the mid-12th century. This is supported by the fact that sutra mounds were continuously built from the mid-12th century onwards, so we believe that Mt. Kinkeisan must have had some significance in the mid-12th century.
It is also difficult to categorize it as something that is connected to legitimacy, but the main shrine and the guardian deity are also worth paying attention to. These guardian deities are the guardian deities of Hiraizumi as a whole and the guardian deities of each temple, so the local identification is quite divided, but I think that Hakusansha, located to the south of Muryōkō-in, is a common view to a certain extent. Another is Gion-sha, located to the south of Hiraizumi. I think that there is a common view to a certain extent on such places. Another, although this is subject to debate, is a place like this on the north side of Koromogawa River. The guardian deities themselves date back to the time of the earthworks, and there are several different views on the time of the enshrinement based on the analysis of historical documents, so it is quite difficult, but I think that it is necessary to some extent to look at it in relation to the provincial capital of Mutsu. At that time, the main shrine is located next to the Taga-jō provincial government, although it is a little later. In addition, relics dating back to the mid-12th century have been found at Hakusansha, so I think that the identification of the local site around this period will require further discussion. Now, regarding the location of the guardian deity, there was a residence of ruler, Hakusansha, and in the latter half of the 12th century there was Muryōkō-in Temple. Several buildings have been found outside the moat at the Yanaginogosho site, and to the south of these is Hakusansha Temple. There is a question of when this area was built, but it was in the latter half of the 12th century, and excavations of Muryōkō-in Temple are currently underway, so the time and state of the development of the area around the residence will gradually become clear.
Next, I would like to touch on the main roads. The construction of the east-west main road was in the mid-12th century, during the Motohira period. The main road itself was a road, but as Kan Yoshida and others have already pointed out, such core roads and axial roads are important in Japanese cities. In Hiraizumi, it was built east-west from the front of Mōtsū-ji Temple. This was an important east-west main road and was the backbone of the block. A 20m-wide road was constructed, and part of it was widened, but it was found. It is unclear whether this is a sign of legitimacy of rule, but I think that constructing and maintaining it is important as a manifestation of power. In ancient times, a north-south avenue was constructed at Taga-jō, and the Suzaku-ōji street was also important at Heijō-kyō. When you think about it in this way, the construction of avenues is visible and important as part of the development of the area. It is also believed that in these places, plazas were constructed as avenues, and many Buddhist ceremonies were held there. I think that presiding over such ceremonies shows the legitimacy of rule.
In addition, the existence of many relics, the holding of Buddhist ceremonies by each successive head of the family, and the holding of annual events are also signs of legitimacy. It is difficult to do this with archaeological materials, but these aspects can be evaluated from written historical materials.

Tombs and Residences

Finally, I would like to talk about graves and residences. The importance of Konjikidō in Hiraizumi has already been pointed out, so I will start a new section here, but Konjikidō was built in the first quarter of the 12th century, and Yanaginogosho was already in operation then. In particular, the Azuma Kagami states that a mansion was facing the square of Konjikidō. I wonder if the layout was designed with Konjikidō and the mausoleum in mind. I think that Konjikidō is particularly important because it served as the tomb site for three generations of leaders, from the first lord Kiyohira to Motohira and Hidehira. And although Konjikidō of Chūson-ji Temple is about two kilometers away from Yanaginogosho, it is written that it was built directly in front of it, so I think that there was a very strong relationship between them. In addition, the remains of a road connecting Chūson-ji Temple and the residence have been discovered, so I think that in this respect the actual remains of such a relationship have become clear. There are probably several similar examples of tombs and residences, but in Kamakura for example, there is the Imperial Palace, and behind it is the tomb of Yoritomo, which has attracted attention. I think these can be seen in this way, so they are interested in that respect as the residence and the tomb of the head of the family. Also, as Professor Yasuo Takahashi has already pointed out, as time goes on and regions change, I don't think there is much of a direct relationship, but in the Ryukyus there is Shuri-jō, and next to it there is a tomb called Tamaudun, which is the tomb of successive generations of lords. I think that this relationship between the residences and tombs of

そのほか、正当性を示すものとしてたくさんの遺物があったり、累代のそれぞれの当主が仏事をやったりと、あるいは年中行事が行われたり、なども正当性を示すものと思っています。考古資料ではなかなか難しいところもありますが、文献史料からはこういった部分も評価できるかと思います。

墓所と居所

最後に墓所と居所のところに入りたいと思います。これは平泉で金色堂が重要だというところがすでに指摘されているところですので、あえて項を一つ起こす形になるとは思いますけれども、12世紀の前半に金色堂が造られて、12世紀の前半にすでに柳之御所が機能していたわけですけれども、そのなかで『吾妻鏡』においては金色堂の正方に館があると、いうことがあえて記載されているということになります。金色堂、廟を意識した配置ということはあるのかなというふうに思います。特に金色堂のほうは、初代清衡から基衡、秀衡と３代、累代の墓所として機能したところが重要なのかなと思います。そして、柳之御所から中尊寺金色堂が、２キロくらいと距離はあるんですけれども、正面に建っているという記載ですので、非常に強い関係性を持って理解されていたといえると思います。また、中尊寺と居館の間をつなぐ道路跡というのが見つかってきていますので、そういった点でそのような関係性が実際の遺構かたも明確になっているのかなと思います。墓所と居所ではいくつか類例等があるかと思いますけれども、例えば鎌倉の中ですと、御所があって、その後ろに頼朝の墓がある、というのは注目されているところです。これらはこういうふうに見られるかと思いますので、ちょっとその辺では居館と当主の墓として面白いところである。。

また、すでに高橋康夫先生が指摘されているように、時代も下ってくる、地域も変わってくるので、あまり何か直接的な関係があるというものではないと思いますけれども、琉球では首里城があって、その脇に累代の玉陵という墓がある、というところもあるのかなと思います。こういった支配氏族の居館と墓所の関係性は、奥州藤原氏の特徴を考える上で注目できるように思います。

まとめ

最後まとめとして、政治拠点としての平泉の特徴を見ていきたいと思います。12世紀の前半から後半まで、平泉が奥州藤原氏の地域支配の拠点として機能を継続しています。12世紀の前半には居館と寺院があって、ある程度線的な施設の配置と考えています。寺院があって居館があって、点的に機能するというのが特徴かなと思います。一方で、12世紀のなかごろから、施設単位で道路でつながっていくようになります。そして、12世紀後半になると、それがさらに面的に理解される、というところがわかります。

平泉の様相をまとめますと、拠点施設としては柳之御所遺跡が継続している。大路としては同様に東西の大路が作られている。一方で廟堂としては政治拠点との関連性をもって累代のものが作られている。領域としていいますと、まず拠点の範囲が形成されていくわけですけれども、これが線的なものから面的なものへ広がる、今回の議論に引きつけて言うと、ある程度の地域の支配的な拠点だったものが、拡大充実して政治拠点になっていくのかなと理解したところです。明瞭に線でもってあるいは面として政治拠点となっていくのが中葉以降となっていますけれども、一つのモデルとして、拠点の発展モデルとしてみることができるのではないかと思っています。

また、一部屋敷地ということもありますので、そういった状況がまだ必ずしも明確ではない位置の調査が進み明確になっていけばと思っています。

図のほうに、こんな形で居館があって、面的に広がってくる範囲というのが、12世紀後半になります。

一方で平泉がどの程度政治拠点として見られるかというのは議論が必要かと思うんですが、柳之御所遺跡での政治的な営みが把握できる段階には少なくとも政治拠点としてもいいのかなと思います。

課題として、奥州藤原氏が行った政治というのは、実際どういったものだったのか、なかなか見えてこないところもありますので、ほかのエリア、東北地方のほかでどうだったのかということを含めて、総合的に評価する必要があるかなと思います。

その実態はどうだったのかなっていうのはもう一つ検討を要するなというふうに思っています。

もう一つは、平泉自体の実態ですね。今回、居館と寺院と道路というところに大きく注目しているわけですけれども、それらの中身はどうだったのかというのは、やはり依然として課題が残っているのかなと思います。つまり、平泉への集住がどの程度行われていたのか、ということです。屋敷地としてどの程度造られていたのか、もう少し課題なのかなと考えます。現状である程度屋敷地が想定できるところに印を付けたわけですけれども、限られてくるっていうところもありますので、そういった中で見ると、寺院の面積というのはやはり大きいなあというところがありますので平泉の実態、政治支配とも絡んでくるんですが、そういったところが関連してくるというところが重要かと思います。

ruling clans is noteworthy when considering the characteristics of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan.

Summary

Finally, let's look at the characteristics of Hiraizumi as a political base. From the first half to the second half of the 12th century, Hiraizumi continued to function as a base for the Ōshū Fujiwara clan's regional rule. In the first half of the 12th century, there were residences and temples, and the facilities were arranged in a linear manner to a certain extent. I think that the characteristic is that there were temples and residences, and they functioned as points. On the other hand, from the middle of the 12th century, roads began to connect the facilities on a facility-by-facility basis. Then, in the second half of the 12th century, we can see that this was understood as a more planar one.

To summarize the appearance of Hiraizumi, the Yanaginogosho site continues to serve as a base facility. As for the main roads, similar east-west main roads have been built. On the other hand, as for the shrines, they have been built for successive generations in relation to the political base. In terms of territory, the range of the base is first formed, and this expands from a linear one to a planar one. In relation to the discussion today, I understand that what was a ruling base for a certain area expanded and became a political base. It became a political base clearly with a line or an area from the middle of the 12th century onwards, and I think it can be seen as a model for the development of a base.

Also, since there were parts of residences, I hope that the situation will become clearer as the area is investigated further.

In the diagram, there is a residence like this, and the area that spreads out in an area is in the second half of the 12th century.

On the other hand, I think that the extent to which Hiraizumi can be seen as a political center is something that needs to be discussed, but at the stage where we can understand the political activities at the Yanaginogosho site, I think it would be appropriate to at least consider it as a political base.

One issue is what kind of politics the Ōshū Fujiwara clan actually conducted, and that is difficult to see in some ways, so I think we need to make a comprehensive evaluation outside of the Tohoku region, including what it was like in other areas.

I think we need to further consider what the actual situation was like.

Another point to consider is the actual situation of Hiraizumi itself. This time, we have focused on residences, temples, and roads, but I think there are still issues to be addressed regarding what those were for. In other words, to what extent did people live in Hiraizumi? I think there is a further issue of how much was built as residential land. Currently, we have marked areas where we can imagine residential land, but there are some limitations, so when you look at it in that context, the area of the temples is still large, and it is related to the actual situation of Hiraizumi and political control, and I think it is important that such things are related.

When evaluating Hiraizumi, there has been discussion about what to compare it to, but for convenience, Hiraizumi, the Yanaginogosho site, the main roads, and shrines are close to the outskirts of Kyoto in the late 12th century, but what kind of place was it? It could have been a base for regional control, or a small area, but I think there are several levels, so I think it is important to compare it with such things.

This is a summary of the phase of Hiraizumi's residences and government office, but they were in operation from the first half of the 12th century and flourished in the middle and latter half of the century. I believe that as research progresses, the relationship between these places and the residences and temples is becoming clearer, so I would like to discuss what characteristics of Hiraizumi can be understood from the presentations of other areas to come. This is all from me.

(Sato)

Thank you very much, Mr. Sakurai. We are running out of time, but as today's theme is Hiraizumi, I would like to take questions. Now, I would like to ask the four panelists for questions.

(Panelist: Hiroshi Sugimoto)

Thank you very much for your presentation. I may be able to ask this during the discussion, but I would like to know what you think about the evaluation of the Chūson-ji Sutra Repository. Toba-dono, Shirakawa, Uji, and Hōjuji-dono around Kyoto each have their own Sutra Repository and Treasure House. For example, the Byōdō-in Sutra Repository contains a huge number of Sutras, as well as a vermilion ceremonial plate, which is the symbol of the head of the Fujiwara clan, and treasures from the past, making it a sutra repository and a treasure house, but the head of the clan manages the key to it. I think this sutra repository is a symbolic building that shows the legitimacy of the Fujiwara regents. In the case of Chūson-ji., I believe it was Kiyohira, the first head of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, and Hidehira, the third head, who actively copied the Sutras and built the sutra repository. I would like you to tell me a little bit about how you evaluate such things.

(Sakurai)

平泉を評価することは、何を比較対象とするかということは議論が行われてきたんですけれども、便宜的には、平泉、柳之御所遺跡と大路や廟など12世紀後半段階には京都近郊に近いのかなと思いますが、それがどういったものだったのか、ひとつの地域支配の拠点、小さい地域というのもありうるかと思うんですけれども、いくつかのレベル感があるかと思いますので、そういったものと対比させていくことが重要かなと思います。平泉の居館の様相として今回まとめたところではありますけれども、12世紀の前半から機能して、中葉、後半に充実している、そういったところと、居館・寺との関係が今調査も進展して明確になってきているのかなと思いますので、そのほかの地域、この後ご発表いただく中で、どういった平泉の特徴が理解できるのかな、というところを議論していただければと考えております。私からの発表は以上です。

（佐藤）
櫻井さんありがとうございました。少し時間が押しておりますが、本日のテーマが平泉ですので、質問をお受けしたいと思います。それでは４名のパネリストの皆様からご質問をお願いしたいと思います。

（パネリスト：杉本宏）
どうも発表ありがとうございました。討論の時でお聞きすればよいのかもしれませんけど、教えていただきたいのが、中尊寺一切経蔵の評価をどう考えておられるのか、ということです。というのは、京都周辺の鳥羽殿、白河、宇治、法住寺殿にはそれぞれ一切経蔵や宝蔵があって、例えば平等院一切経蔵ですと、膨大な一切経とともに藤原氏長者のシンボルの朱器台盤や累代の宝物も入っていて経蔵であり宝蔵なのですが、その鍵を長者が管理します。藤原摂関家である彼らの正当性を示す象徴的な建物として、この経蔵はあるかと思います。中尊寺の場合も、奥州藤原氏初代清衡と３代秀衡だったかと思いますが、積極的に一切経の書写を行って経蔵を造っているわけです。そういうものをどのように評価するのか、そこを少し教えていただければと思います。

（櫻井）
ありがとうございます。経典の方ですね、それぞれの代で、それぞれいろいろな仏事が行われたということで、さらっと流してしまったところはちょっと私の方もなかなか評価が難しいな、と思ってできてないところです。経蔵自体は作られていまして、その中での経典の、そしてそれぞれの代で、いろいろな法会が行われたということが重要なのかなと思うので、そこは、中尊寺の諸堂の方に今回は特に絞られているところがありますけれども、経蔵あるいはその経蔵で行われている法会、お寺で行われている寺院の法会、そういったことっていうのは、３代の支配の正当性と密接に関係してくるのかなと思いますので、経蔵もまた重要なのかと思っているところです。その意味とかはなかなか本当難しいところがあるので、宗教儀礼の評価は難しいなと思っているところですが、もう少し検討されるべき点かなと思っています。

（佐藤）
杉本先生、まずこのぐらいでよろしいですか。あまり議論してしまうと、4時からの討論になってしまいますので。その他にパネリストのみなさまからここで確認しておきたいことがありましたらお願いしたいと思います。

（パネリスト：金天鶴）
どうもありがとうございます。キムチョンハクともうします。場所を見ました場合、風水との関連の跡、記録とか残 っているのでしょうか。佐藤嘉広先生も御存じのように、百済と似ているというので、そういう所があるかと思ってお聞きしました。

（櫻井）
風水との関係は、いくつか指摘をされているところなんですけれども、なかなか明確な構想や実際の施設配置としては評価が難しいのかなと思っていて、課題として、以前からやはり複数の研究者により指摘されているところではあるので、重要な点だと思うんですけれども、まだ明確な点が示せないかなと思います。

（佐藤）
ありがとうございました。それでは櫻井さんの報告はこれで終わらせていただきたいと思います。どうもありがとうございました。

◆報告２

Thank you. As for the scriptures, you just said that various Buddhist ceremonies were held in each generation, which I think is difficult for me to evaluate and I haven't been able to do. The sutra repository itself was created, and I think it is important that the scriptures in it and various ceremonies were held in each generation, so this time we have focused on the various halls of Chūson-ji Temple, but the sutra repository or the ceremonies held in the sutra repository, the ceremonies held at temples, such things are closely related to the legitimacy of the rule of the three generations, so I think the sutra repository is also important. It is difficult to understand the meaning, so it is difficult to evaluate religious rituals, but it is an issue that should be considered a little more.

(Sato)
Professor Sugimoto, is this enough for now? If we continue to debate too much, the discussion will start at 4 o'clock. If there is anything else that the panelists would like to confirm, I would like to ask them.

(Panelist: Kim Cheon hak)
Thank you very much. My name is Kim Cheon hak. Looking at the site, are there any traces or records of a connection to Feng Shui? As Professor Yoshihiro Sato knows, it is said to be similar to Baekje, so I asked if there are any such places.

(Sakurai)
There have been some points made about the relationship with Feng Shui, but I think it is difficult to evaluate it in terms of a clear concept or actual facility layout. It has been pointed out by several researchers as an issue for a long time, so I think it is an important point, but a clear point has not yet been given.

(Sato)
Thank you very much. Now, I would like to end Mr. Sakurai's report here. Thank you very much.

◆Report 2

(Sato)
Next, I would like to move on to the second report. This report will be titled " Local political bases before Hiraizumi: from ancient fortified government offices to the residences of powerful people" and will be delivered by Professor Kazuaki Furukawa, former director of the Taga-jō ruins Research Institute. Thank you very much.

(Panelist: Kazuaki Furukawa)
My name is Furukawa and I am from Miyagi Prefecture, which is next to Iwate Prefecture. Today, I was given the topic of local political bases before Hiraizumi, and initially, Professor Sato told me about the Taga Kokufu and the Ootoriiyama site in Dewa. But I ended up overdoing it and will be talking about not only the Taga Kokufu and Ootoriiyama, but also the government offices and residences of influential people from the previous era that led to Hiraizumi, and what are said to be the residences of influential people. Due to lack of time, I hope you understand that I don't think I will be able to go into the details of each site.
First, in terms of political bases before Hiraizumi, there are the Taga-jō ruins, which was the Mutsu Kokufu. It is almost certain in ancient history that the Isawa-jō ruins, where the naval base was located, the ruins of Dewa Kokufu and Akita-jō on the Dewa side, and the Hotta no Saku ruins, which is thought to be Ogachi-jō in the inland Yokote Basin, were formed as ancient political bases in the Tohoku region. The functions of these sites weakened in the latter half of the 10th century, and instead the Tonomi no Saku ruins near Isawa-jō, and the Ootoriiyama site appeared as the successors of the Hotta no Saku ruins in the Yokote Basin. These two are considered to be the comprehensive ruins of the bases of the Abe clan on the Mutsu side and the Kiyohara clan on the Dewa side, respectively. Hiraizumi was further positioned as a successor to these, but today I would like to give an overview of these seven sites that existed before Hiraizumi.
Please look at Table 1 on page 14 of the symposium proceedings in front of you. If we make a table showing the dates of existence of the seven sites I just mentioned, first, on the Dewa side, the Akita-jō ruins were in operation from 733 to the late 10th century, the Hotta no Saku ruins from 801 to the late 10th century, and the Kinowa no Saku ruins from around the early 9th century to around the early 11th century. On the Mutsu side, the Isawa-jō ruins were in operation from 802 to around the late 10th century. It is believed that the Mutsu Kokufu Taga-jō were in operation from 724 until around the early 12th century. In this way, the dates of existence of these ruins called the Josaku government office

（佐藤）
続きまして、二番目の報告に移らせていただきたいと思います。平泉以前の地方政治拠点古代城柵から有力者居館と題しまして元多賀城跡調査研究所長の古川一明先生にご報告いただきたいと思います。どうぞよろしくお願いいたします。

（パネリスト：古川一明）
岩手県の隣の宮城県から来ました古川と申します。本日は平泉以前の地方政治拠点ということでお題を頂きまして、当初、佐藤先生の方からは、多賀国府と出羽の大鳥井山遺跡、ということで承ったのですが、風呂敷を広げ過ぎまして、多賀国府と大鳥井山だけではなくて、平泉に繋がる前代の城柵、それから有力者居館と言われるものについて、範囲を広げてお話をさせていただきます。時間がありませんので、個別の遺跡の詳しいお話までは立ち入れないかと思いますけれども、ご了承いただければと思います。
まず、平泉以前の政治拠点ということで申しますと、陸奥国府としての多賀城跡がございます。それから鎮守府が置かれました胆沢城跡、出羽側の出羽国府城輪柵跡と秋田城跡、そして内陸横手盆地の雄勝城と考えられています払田柵跡、こういった城柵群が、東北地方の古代の政治拠点として形作られた、ということが古代史のほうではほぼ確定されています。これら城柵群が10世紀後半ぐらいに機能が弱体化し、代わって胆沢城の近くに鳥海柵跡、それから横手盆地の払田柵跡の後継として大鳥井山遺跡が出現します。この二つがそれぞれ陸奥側の安倍氏、出羽側の清原氏の拠点の総括的な遺跡として考えられているところでございます。平泉はさらにこれらの後継として位置していくわけですけれども、今日はこれら平泉以前の七つの遺跡について概略をお話しさせていただきたいと思います。
お手元のシンポジウム予稿集14ページ表１をご覧いただきたいと思います。今お話しました、七つの遺跡の存続年代を表にしてみますと、まず出羽側では、秋田城跡が733年から10世紀後半代まで、払田柵跡が801年から10世紀後半まで、城輪柵跡は9世紀前半ぐらいから11世紀前半くらいまで機能していた。陸奥側では、胆沢城跡が802年から10世紀後半くらいまで。陸奥国府多賀城跡は、724年から最終的には12世紀前半くらいまでは機能していたと考えております。このように、これらの城柵官衙遺跡といわれる遺跡群の存続年代は、出羽国府城輪柵跡、陸奥国府多賀城跡を除いては10世紀後半代で、その機能がほぼ止まってしまいます。その後継として出羽側で出てくるのが横手盆地の大鳥井山遺跡、陸奥側では岩手の金ヶ崎町の鳥海柵跡で、11世紀代に四面庇付建物が出現し有力者居館が成立したと考えられております。その後、大鳥井山遺跡、鳥海柵跡等の有力者居宅が約１世紀の間政治的な拠点として機能していたと考えられます。その後、前九年、後三年合戦を経て柳之御所遺跡、平泉館が政治拠点として姿を現してくる、というのが東北地方の政治拠点の変遷ということで、三段階でとらえられるのではないか、というのが、この表を示した意図になります。
そういった流れの中で、本日は、まず、陸奥国府多賀城についての変遷の話をさせていただきまして、その次に陸奥側の胆沢城跡から鳥海柵跡への変遷、次に出羽側の秋田城跡、払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡への変遷ということで、三段階に分けて政治拠点の変化をお話しさせていただきたいと思います。
さて、最初に陸奥国府多賀城について、発表要旨として事務局から指定された項目順に話を進めます。まず為政者ということですけれども、任期が４年から６年の、中央から派遣された陸奥守という派遣官が国司のトップになっています。この陸奥守は、按察使とか、征討将軍、鎮守府将軍を兼ねることもありました。ですので、陸奥国一国の守というだけではなくて、出羽国を含めた、より北方の蝦夷社会へも影響を及ぼす為政者であったということができます。
次に支配領域ということですけれども、陸奥国は令制国の大国にあたりまして、国内でも最大規模の領域を持っていました。このうち国府多賀城をはさんで南半分、現在の福島県から宮城県にかけては郡制が施行されましたので、その郡制にならった支配が行われていましたが、多賀城以北については郡制の施行が遅れまして、さらには胆沢城に置かれた鎮守府による支配ということで、大きく見ると陸奥南半と北半で支配の方式が異なっていたのが、陸奥国、多賀城の支配領域の特徴になると思います。
実際の多賀城、多賀国府の政治拠点の範囲ですけれども。丘陵上のおよそ１㎞四方を築地塀で囲った城域がございまして、中心に一辺100m近くの政庁があって、その周辺に実務官衙群が配置されています。これが多賀城の政治拠点の中枢ということになると思います。さらにその周囲およそ6Kmの範囲に、城下の方格地割の街区を含む陸奥国府の中核となる領域がありまして、その中に、国衙在庁の館跡等も配置されていたと考えられます。このおよそ６㎞四方の範囲が政治拠点の範囲として意識され、中世になって府中と言われる領域がこの範囲になってくると思います。

ruins, except for the Dewa Kokufu Kinowa no Saku ruins and the Mutsu Kokufu Taga-jō ruins, are in the late 10th century, when their functions almost ceased. Its successors on the Dewa side are the Ootoriiyama site in the Yokote Basin, and on the Mutsu side are the Tonomi no Saku ruins in Kanegasaki Town, Iwate. It is believed that in the 11th century, buildings with eaves on all four sides appeared and became residences of influential people. After that, it is believed that the residences of influential people such as the Ootoriiyama site and the Tonomi no Saku ruins functioned as political bases for about a century. Then, after the Zenkunen and Gosannen wars, the Yanaginogosho site as Hiraizumi no Tachi appeared as a political base. My intention in presenting this table is to show that the transition of political bases in the Tohoku region can be seen in three stages.
In this context, today I would like to first talk about the transition of Taga-jō, the Mutsu provincial capital, followed by the transition from the Isawa-jō ruins to the Tonomi no Saku ruins on the Mutsu side, and then the transition from the Akita-jō ruins and the Hotta no Saku ruins to the Ootoriiyama site on the Dewa side.
First, I will talk about Taga-jō, the capital of Mutsu Province, in the order of items specified by the secretariat as the presentation summary. First, regarding the ruler, the top Kokushi was an official dispatched from the central government, called Mutsu no Kami, whose term of office was four to six years. This Mutsu no Kami sometimes served as an inspector, a general of the expedition, and a general of the naval base. Therefore, it can be said that he was not only the governor of Mutsu Province, but also a ruler who had influence on Emishi society further north, including Dewa Province.
Next, regarding the territory, Mutsu Province was a large province under the Ritsuryo system, and had the largest territory in Japan. The southern half of the province, including the provincial capital Taga-jō, stretching from present-day Fukushima Prefecture to Miyagi Prefecture, was governed according to the county system, but the implementation of the county system was delayed for the area north of Taga-jō, and the area was governed by the naval base established in Isawa-jō. Broadly speaking, the southern and northern halves of Mutsu were governed differently, which is a characteristic of the territory of Mutsu Province and Taga-jō.
This is the actual area of Taga-jō, the political base of Taga Kokufu. There is a base area on a hill, about 1 km square, surrounded by a tsuiji wall, with a government office measuring nearly 100 m on each side in the center, and a group of government offices located around it. I think this is the core of the political base of Taga-jō. Furthermore, within a radius of about 6 km, there was the core area of the Mutsu Kokufu, including the square land division of the castle town, and it is believed that the remains of the provincial government office were located within it. This area of about 6 km square was considered the political base, and in the Middle Ages, the area known as Fuchu became this area.
(Figure 1; Grid pattern division for town planning around Taga-jo) shows the overall picture of the ancient square land division formed on the alluvial land south of Taga-jō. About two years ago, a rice paddy re-zoning project was carried out in this area, and as a result of an excavation survey by the Taga-jō City Board of Education related to this project, the detailed configuration of the ancient road network was almost confirmed. In this way, the ancient blocks under Taga-jō have been almost accurately revealed. Looking at the roads that are the axis of the square land division of the blocks, there is the Taga-jō ruins, and from there a north-south avenue extends outside the base. An east-west avenue crosses it diagonally. These were 18 m wide in the Nara period and 23 m wide in the Heian period. With this main road as its central axis, castle town blocks were formed from the Heian period onwards using square land divisions.
So, what factors led to the formation of these castle town blocks? Let's consider the background to this. When these castle town blocks began to form between the 8th and early 9th centuries, a situation arose in which military supplies and large numbers of army soldiers were gathering in Taga-jō town from all over the country in the name of subjugating the Emishi and conquering the Emishi. It is thought that the castle town blocks were formed in response to this situation.
Next, I would like to consider the background of the expansion of this block in the latter half of the 9th century. First, in the area where excavations were conducted in front of Rikuzen-Sanno Station on the Tohoku Main Line, the remains of a Kokushi's mansion from the 10th century were found. This is a section that has been confirmed to have been the residence of a Mutsu no Kami based on artifacts excavated from a well, and the section occupies an area of about 110m (one cho) square. In contrast, in the area excavated in connection with the Sanriku Road, a group of remains thought to be the remains of a mansion equivalent to that of a Kokushi were discovered in 55m (a half cho) section that divides the southern half of the 110m square section facing the East-West Main Street. Furthermore, in connection with the same expressway, a section that is thought to be related to a Kokushi or house steward, which occupies about 27m (1/4 cho), and includes a water-sprung garden, has been investigated. Furthermore, diagonally across the road from the Kokushi's mansion, a section about 18m (1/6 cho) in size was found that may have been the residential area of an official class related to a

（図１）が多賀城の南方の城下の沖積地に形成された古代の方格地割の全体像です。二年ほど前、この地域の水田の区画整理事業が行われまして、それに関わる多賀城市教育委員会の発掘調査の結果、古代の道路網の詳細な構成がほぼ確定しました。こういった形で古代の多賀城下の街区がほぼ正確に復元されました。街区の方格地割の基軸となる道路をみますと、ここに多賀城跡があり、そこから城外に南北大路が延びております。それに斜めに交差する形で東西大路があります。これらは、奈良時代は18m幅、平安時代には23mの幅になります。この基幹道路を中軸にして、平安時代以降方格地割による城下街区が形成されました。

では、こうした城下街区はどのような要因で形成されたのか、その背景について考えてみたいのですけれども、この城下街区が形成され始めた8世紀代から9世紀代前半には、征夷、蝦夷討伐の名のもとに、全国から多賀城下に軍事物資とか、軍団兵士が多数集まってくるという状況が生じました。城下街区が形成されたのは、こうした事態に対応するためだったと考えられております。

次に、この街区が９世紀後半に拡大した背景について考えてみたいと思います。先ず、この東北本線の陸前山王駅前で発掘調査が行われた部分では、10世紀代の国司の館跡が見つかっております。これは井戸から出土した遺物によって、陸奥守の居館であったことがほぼ確定している区画ですけれども、その区画は一町四方という大きさを占めております。それに対して三陸道路に関わって発掘調査された部分では、東西大路に面して一町四方の南半部を区切った半町の区画の中に、国司相当の館跡と考えられる遺構群が発見されました。さらに同じくこの高速道路の関係で、遣水庭園を伴った、ほぼ1/4町を占める国司もしくは家司に関係するのではないかとみられる区画が調査されております。さらにこの国守の館の道路を挟んで斜め向かいの部分には、国の書生に係る官人クラスの居住区ではないかという、1/6町ぐらいの広さの区画が見つかっています。このように区画を小割りにして、住人の位階に対応するような形で土地が班給されている可能性がある区画が複数見つかってきております。９世紀後半以降の城下街区の拡大というのは、官人層、住人の増加によって９世紀後半以降、10世紀にかけて整備拡充されていった結果ではないかと考えられます。こうした街区の形成・拡大は、政治拠点としての多賀城の一側面を示しているのではないでしょうか。実際の住人の想定ですけれども、特に国の書生クラスの人間や、郡司層の子弟が国府に参集し、土地を与えられ、官人として登用されて行く手だてを得るということで、城下街区はその機会を得るための場所でもあったと考えられます。そうした動機を抱いて、陸奥国内の郡司層の子弟の多くが、政治拠点に集住してきている。その結果が、こうした城下街区の形成につながっているのではないかと考えられます。

その後、この城下街区は10世紀末には消滅します。このタイミングは、東北地方の古代城柵群が姿を消して行く時期と軌を一にしているとみることができます。ほぼ同じ時期に姿を消して行くとからみると、この時期の郡司層の権力に対する関わり方の変化が城柵や国府下街区の衰退に反映されているのではないかと考えられるわけです。

次に、多賀城の権力を表徴する構造物ということで見ていきたいと思います。いろいろあると思うんですけれども、最も象徴的なものとしては多賀城廃寺と呼ばれる付属寺院をはじめとする瓦葺の建物群が象徴的な建物としてあげられるのではないかと思います。もう一つは、先ほどご覧いただいた城下街区の基軸になっている南北大路の起点としての多賀城政庁から南に延びる政庁南大路ですね。多賀城の正面観を象徴する構造物ではないかと考えられます。

さらに、多賀城の支配の正当性を象徴する事物ということでみていきますと、まず時の支配ですね、地方政治拠点が代行するという形で時の流れを計る漏刻、あるいは具注暦、これらは式部省管轄です。こういったものが陸奥国府、出羽国府に配備されて地方政府の拠点支配の象徴的な事物として挙げられるのではないかと思います。具注暦は漆紙文書という具体的な出土遺物がありますし、漏刻につきましても、多賀城の城前官衙地区で漏刻ではないかと考えられる建物跡が見つかっています。ほかに文字資料あるいは陶磁器や金泥が付着した硯のような威信財的な出土遺物が、支配の正当性を象徴する事物としてあげられるのではないかと考えております。

最後に、多賀城の為政者の居所・墓所・廟ということですけれども、基本的に陸奥守は派遣官で任期がありますので、任期を終えると都に戻りますので、任地には自宅ですとかお墓はない、ということになります。居所、住む場所は、先ほどもお示ししましたように、城下に土地の班給を受けて、そこに建てられた公館、もしくは官舎に居住していたのではないかと考えております。墓所、廟ではありませんが、陸奥守としての権力を継承する場所として総社、陸奥総社があります。陸奥国の式内社は百座ございますけれども、その総社として多賀城の東門を出たすぐのところに現在の陸奥奏社が鎮座しています。この総社が国守の着任儀礼の場になっていたと考えられます。墓所、廟ではありませんが、権力の継承儀礼を行う場所として非常に重要な場所だっ

provincial scribe. In this way, several sections have been found that may have been divided into smaller sections and the land was allocated in accordance with the rank of the residents. The expansion of the castle town district from the second half of the 9th century onwards is thought to be the result of the expansion and development of the castle town district from the second half of the 9th century to the 10th century due to the increase in the number of government officials and residents. The formation and expansion of these districts shows one aspect of Taga-jō as a political base. Assuming that the actual residents were people of the provincial scribe class and the sons of the district governors gathered at the provincial capital to be given land and to obtain the means to be appointed as government officials, the castle town district was thought to be a place to obtain such opportunities. With such motivations, many of the sons of the district governors in Mutsu Province gathered in political bases. It is thought that this resulted in the formation of these castle town districts.

The castle town district then disappeared at the end of the 10th century. This timing can be seen as the same as the disappearance of the ancient castle fortifications in the Tohoku region. Considering that they disappeared at almost the same time, it is thought that the decline of the castle fortifications and the district governors reflects the change in the way the district governors related to power during this period.

Next, I would like to look at structures that represent the power of Taga-jō. There are many, but I think the most symbolic are the group of tiled buildings, including the attached temple known as Taga-jō Temple Ruins. Another is the Government Office South Street, which runs south from the Taga-jō Government Office, the starting point of the north-south street that forms the axis of the castle town block that you saw earlier. I think it is a structure that symbolizes the front view of Taga-jō.

Furthermore, looking at things that symbolize the legitimacy of the rule of Taga-jō, first of all, there is the control of time. The water clock, which measures the flow of time by proxy, and the Guchu calendar, which are under the jurisdiction of the Shikibusho. I think that these things were deployed in the Mutsu Kokufu and Dewa Kokufu and can be cited as symbolic things that show the control of the local government bases. There is a specific excavated relic of the Guchu calendar, a lacquered paper document, and as for the water clock, the remains of a building that is thought to be a water clock have been found in the castle front government office area of Taga-jō. I think that other excavated relics such as written documents, ceramics, and inkstones with gold dust on them, which are prestige items, can also be cited as things that symbolize the legitimacy of rule.

Finally, as for the residence, tomb, and mausoleum of the rulers of Taga-jō, Mutsu no Kami was basically a dispatched official with a term of office. When his mission at the office ended, he returned to the capital, so he did not have a home or tomb in his post. As for his residence, as I have already shown, I believe that he received land in the castle town and lived in a government mansion or official residence built there. It is not a grave or mausoleum, but there is the integrated shrine, Mutsu Sōja, as a place to inherit power as the governor of Mutsu. There are 100 Shikinaisha shrines in Mutsu Province, and the current Mutsu Sōja is located just outside the east gate of Taga-jō as the integrated shrine. It is believed that this integrated shrine was the place where the inauguration ceremony for the governor of the province was held. It is not a tomb or mausoleum, but I believe that it was very important as a place to hold the inauguration ceremony for the governor of the province. Earlier, Sakurai's presentation on Hiraizumi mentioned the topic of the local shrine and the general shrine, and when Fujiwara no Motonari was to assume his post as the governor of Mutsu in Hiraizumi, it is believed that the existence of the integrated shrine to hold the inauguration ceremony was essential. Incidentally, just west of the current Mutsu Sōja is the site where the water tower of Taga-jō City was built, and a preliminary investigation of the site revealed the remains of a post-hole building with a ditch surrounding it. As the remains of a building date back to the latter half of the 9th century or later, it feels a little too old for the example of a national shrine being established, but I think it is an important relic that should be considered as possibly being the remains of a building constructed as the predecessor of a shrine.

Next, I will talk about the transition of political bases in the northern half of Mutsu Province from Isawa-jō to the Tonomi no Saku ruins, and again in the order of rulers and territories. Isawa-jō, like Taga Kokufu, was headed by the commander of the Chinjufu, who was a central dispatch official. Meanwhile, the Tonomi no Saku ruins, the successor to Isawa-jō, is thought to have been the residence of Abe no Yoriyoshi, a member of the Abe clan who was based at the Chinjufu. As I mentioned earlier, the territories controlled by Isawa-jō were the northern half of Mutsu. As the Tonomi no Saku ruins are located right next to the Chinjufu, it is presumed that the power of the rulers of Tonomi no Saku extended to the Okurokugun region by their inheriting the Chinjufu territory, and it is thought that the military and administrative bases known as Abe's 12 forts were cooperating with each other to control the area.

This is a satellite photo of the Kitakamigawa River basin, and if you plot the location of Abe's 12 forts

たのではないかと考えております。先ほど櫻井さんの平泉のご発表で鎮守、総社の話が出ましたけれども、藤原基成が陸奥守として平泉に着任することになった際、着任の儀式を行う総社の存在は必要不可欠であったと考えられます。ちなみに現在の陸奥奏社のすぐ西側に、多賀城市の給水塔が建設された場所があるのですけれども、そこの事前調査で周囲に溝を巡らせた掘立柱建建物跡が見つかっております。９世紀後半代以降の建物跡ということで、全国的な総社の出現事例としてはやや古すぎる感がありますけども、総社の前身として作られた建物跡の可能性を想定すべき重要な遺構ではないかと思います。

次に陸奥国北半部での胆沢城から鳥海柵跡への政治拠点の変遷ということで、同じく為政者、支配領域の順にお話ししていきたいと思います。胆沢城は多賀国府と同様、中央派遣官である鎮守府将軍がそのトップにありました。対して胆沢城の後継施設としての鳥海柵跡は、鎮守府在庁の安倍氏一族、安倍頼義の居所であったと考えられております。胆沢城の支配領域は、先ほど申しましたように陸奥北半でした。鳥海柵跡は鎮守府のすぐそばに位置するので、鳥海柵の為政者の権力も鎮守府領を引き継ぐ形で奥六郡に及んだと推定され、安倍の12柵と呼ばれる軍事・行政拠点的な施設が連携して支配する形であったと考えられます。

これは北上川流域の衛星写真ですけれども、ここに安倍の12柵の位置を落としていきますと、奥六郡の河川の合流点を狙うように12の柵が設置されていることが見て取れます。この中で、調査が進み国史跡となっている鳥海柵跡がその最重要拠点とする見解が金ヶ崎町の浅利さんから示されていて、今回はその見解に従ってお話を進めさせていただきます。ただし黒沢尻柵とか、衣川関周辺なども重要な政治拠点であった可能性がありますので、12柵の中で鳥海柵が卓越していたかという点は、今後検討していかなければいけないと考えております。いずれにしても、古代の郡レベルの領域を連携して支配するための施設として12の柵が配置されていたのが11世紀前半の奥六郡の様相だったのではないかと考えます。

拠点の範囲は、胆沢城跡を中心として、その南の伯済寺遺跡、鳥海柵跡までですね。だいたい600m四方ぐらいの広がりを持った範囲と考えられます。この範囲内で、胆沢城跡から伯済寺遺跡、鳥海柵跡へと政治拠点が移動したのではないかと思います。

権力を象徴する構造物として、胆沢城跡では多賀城と同様瓦葺の建物、鳥海柵跡では為政者の住居と考えられる四面庇付掘立柱建物が想定されると思います。鳥海柵跡は深い沢地形によって鳥海区域、原添下区域、二ノ宮後区域、縦街道南区域という大きく四つのブロックに分かれていますけれども、その中で主な四面庇付建物跡が見つかっているのが、縦街道南区域になります。これが縦街道南区域のSB01といわれる主屋で、母屋が２間×３間の大きさになります。城柵官衙遺跡の正殿は２間×５間ですので、鳥海柵跡の主屋は、それよりも一回り小さい建物とみることができます。そこに両者の権力の大きさの違いが表れていると考えられます。

次に、胆沢城・鳥海柵跡の支配の正当性を象徴する事物をみてみると、胆沢城跡は多賀城跡と同様に具注暦が出土しています。伯済寺遺跡でも、「守」という墨書土器も出土していますので、陸奥守が接待された場所があると考えられております。鳥海柵跡につきましては、宴会に使われたロクロかわらけが出土しております。宴会儀礼が行われていることこそが、支配の正当性を象徴する事物として挙げられるのではないかと思います。これが縦街道SB01周辺から出土したロクロ土師器です。先ほどご覧いただいた多賀城跡の南大路周辺から出土した土器とほぼ同じ時期、11世紀後半代の遺物かと思います。

為政者の居所・墓所についてみますと、胆沢城跡も多賀城跡と同じく鎮守府将軍は派遣官ですので、居所は公館であったとみられます。一方、鳥海柵跡は先ほどの四面庇付建物跡が為政者の住居と思われます。墓所・廟はないのですけれども、鳥海柵跡の原添下区域で双堂式の仏堂とみられる建物跡が発見されています。それから奥六郡の古代末の寺院跡群も、安倍氏に関連する仏教的な施設と考えられます。これらは墓所・廟ではないんですけれども、宗教施設が祖先崇拝の場として利用されたと考えてよいかと思います。奥六郡の古代末の寺院跡の分布を、先ほどご覧いただいた北上川流域の衛星写真に落とし込んでみますと、この赤い点は先ほどの安倍の12柵で、黄色いのが11世紀代の長者ヶ原廃寺をはじめとする古代末の寺院跡です。安倍12柵にほぼ重なるような形で古代末の寺院群が位置しています。

次に出羽国の様相ということで秋田城、払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡への変遷についてみてみたいと思います。秋田城に関しても鎮秋田城国司という中央からの派遣官が古代出羽の為政者です。内陸の払田柵に関しても出羽国府から雄勝城を専門に管理する国司が派遣されていたと考えられます。そして、大鳥井山遺跡の為政者は、それら古代城柵の在庁官人の末裔とみられる清原氏一族と推定されます。支配領域としては、秋田城に関しては秋田、河辺二郡のほかに男鹿半島とか比内とかの郡制が施行されていない地域についても、秋田城の管轄領域とされていたようです。払田柵跡、雄勝城に関しては山北三郡がその支配領域であり、その後継とみら

here, you can see that the 12 forts were installed to target the confluence of the rivers in the Okurokugun region. Among these, Mr. Asari from Kanegasaki Town has expressed the view that the Tonomi no Saku ruins, which has been surveyed and is a national historic site, is the most important base, and I will proceed with my talk based on that view. However, Kurosawajiri Saku and the area around Koromogawa-seki may have also been important political bases, so I think that we need to consider in the future whether Tonomi no Saku was the most prominent of the 12. In any case, I think that the 12 forts were placed as facilities to coordinate and control the ancient county-level territories, which is what the Okurokugun region was like in the first half of the 11th century.

The range of the base was centered on the Isawa-jō ruins, and extended to the Hakusaiji site and the Tonomi no Saku ruins to the south. It is thought to be an area of about 600m square. I think that within this range, the political base moved from the Isawa-jō ruins to the Hakusaiji site and the Tonomi no Saku ruins.

As structures symbolizing power, at the Isawa-jō ruins, there is a tiled building like Taga-jō, and at the Tonomi no Saku ruins, there is a four-sided eaves-mounted post-hole building thought to be the residence of a ruler. The Tonomi no Saku ruins is divided into four major blocks by the deep valley topography: the Tonomi area, the Harasoeshita area, the Ninomiyaushiro area, and the Tatekaidōminami area. Of these, it is in the Tatekaidōminami area that the main remains of a building with eaves on all four sides have been found. This is the main house known as SB01 in the Tatekaidōminami area, and the main building is 2 bays x 3 bays in size. The main hall of the fortified government office ruins is 2 bays x 5 bays, so the main house of the Tonomi no Saku ruins can be seen as a building one size smaller. This is thought to reflect the difference in the power of the two.

Next, looking at the things that symbolize the legitimacy of rule at Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku ruins, a Guchu calendar has been excavated at Isawa-jō ruins, just like at Taga-jō ruins. At the Hakusaiji site, an earthenware vessel with the character "Kami" written in ink has also been excavated, so it is believed that this was a place where Mutsu no Kami was entertained. At Tonomi no Saku ruins, a wheeled clay dish used for banquets has been excavated. I think that the very fact that banquet ceremonies were held is what symbolizes the legitimacy of rule. This is a wheeled Hajiki pottery vessel excavated around SB01 on the Tatekaidō. I think it is an artifact from the late 11th century, roughly the same period as the earthenware vessel excavated around Minami-ōji at the Taga-jō ruins that you saw earlier.

Looking at the residence and tomb of the ruler, at Isawa-jō ruins, just like at Taga-jō ruins, the Chinjufu Shogun was a dispatched official, so it is believed that the residence was a government office. On the other hand, at Tonomi no Saku ruins, the remains of the four-sided eaves building mentioned earlier are thought to have been the residence of the ruler. There are no tombs or mausoleums here, but the remains of a building thought to be a twin-hall Buddhist temple have been discovered in the Harasoeshita area of the Tonomi no Saku ruins. The ruins of late ancient temples in Okurokugun are also thought to be Buddhist facilities related to the Abe clan. Although these are not tombs or mausoleums, it is safe to assume that the religious facilities were used as places for ancestor worship. If we plot the distribution of the ruins of late ancient temples in Okurokugun on the satellite image of the Kitakamigawa River basin shown earlier, the red dots are the aforementioned 12 Abe forts, and the yellow dots are the remains of late ancient temples, including the 11th century Chōjagahara Temple ruins. The location of the late ancient temples is almost overlapped with the 12 Abe forts.

Next, I would like to look at the transition from Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku ruins to the Ootoriiyama site, which are considered to be the Dewa Province. The rulers of Akita-jō in ancient Dewa were officials sent from the central government, known as ChinAkita-jō Kokushi. It is believed that the Kokushi who specialized in managing Ogachi-jō were also sent from the Dewa Kokufu to the inland Hotta no Saku. The rulers of the Ootoriiyama site are presumed to be the Kiyohara clan, who are believed to be descendants of the local officials of these ancient castles. In terms of territory, Akita-jō was under the jurisdiction of Akita and Kawabe counties, as well as areas where the county system was not implemented, such as the Oga Peninsula and Hinai. The Hotta no Saku ruins and Ogachi-jō were under the jurisdiction of the Senboku san gun counties, and it is believed that the Ootoriiyama site, which is considered to be its successors, was included in the territory of Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku ruins.

This is also a satellite image of the relative positions of the ruins that are believed to be the base of the Kiyohara clan in the Omonogawa River basin. It can be seen that the ruins that are assumed to be the residences of the Kiyohara clan or related clans, such as Ootoriiyama site, Numa no Saku, Yoroigasaki-jo, Kanesawa no Saku, Bentenmori site, and Kokuzōoodaitaki site, which are successors to Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku ruins, are located in the Omonogawa River basin by district. It is not possible to say for sure whether Ootoriiyama site is at the top or Numa no Saku and Kanazawa no Saku are at the top, but the details of the Ootoriiyama site, which are a national historic site, are becoming clear as investigations progress. Here, I have listed the Ootoriiyama site as the core ruins of the Kiyohara clan,

れる大鳥井山遺跡は秋田城・払田柵跡の支配領域を糾合する形で支配領域として包括していたのではないかと考えられます。
これも雄物川流域の清原氏の拠点とされる遺跡の位置関係を衛星画像に落としたものです。山北三郡、秋田二郡を中心に秋田城、払田柵跡の後継として大鳥井山遺跡、沼柵、鎧ヶ崎城、金沢柵、弁天森遺跡、虚空蔵大台滝遺跡、といった清原氏もしくはそれに関連した一族の居館と推定される遺跡群が雄物川流域に、郡単位で配置されている様子がみてとれます。これも大鳥井山遺跡がトップにあるのか、あるいは沼柵とか金沢柵とかが上位なのか断定はできないのですけれども、調査が進んで内容が明らかなのが国史跡の大鳥井山遺跡ということです。ここでは、横手市の島田さんの見解に従いまして清原氏の中核となる遺跡として大鳥井山遺跡をあげさせていただきました。
政治拠点の範囲としては、秋田城、払田柵跡はいずれも500mから600m四方の範囲がその政治拠点と考えられております。秋田城と古代末の遺構の存在が推定される勅使館跡の位置関係はこういった形になります。払田柵跡は９世紀代の外柵が消えた後、外郭だけに囲まれた長森地区が城柵施設の中心になりますけれども、これが元慶の乱以降、清原令望らの在庁官人が活躍した場所と考えられます。
次に、これらの後継とみられる大鳥井山遺跡ですけれども、大鳥井山遺跡は北部の小吉山地区と南部の大鳥井山地区の二つのブロックに分かれておりまして、この川沿いに面した細長い丘陵が国史跡の範囲になっております。その東側に台処館跡と呼ばれる、おそらくこれも大鳥井山遺跡と一体の、同時期の遺跡もありますので、これを含めた範囲が清原氏の拠点の領域と考えられております。
権力を象徴する構造物として、秋田城・払田柵跡に関しては瓦葺の建物があげられます。大鳥井山遺跡では四面庇付掘立柱建物跡を挙げておきました。権力を象徴する事物としては秋田城は具注暦、陶磁器があり、払田柵跡については律令祭祀に関わる出土遺物があげられます。大鳥井山遺跡では鳥海柵跡と同じく宴会儀礼に使われたロクロ土師器があります。
居所・墓所・廟については、秋田城、払田柵跡では多賀城跡や胆沢城跡と同じく派遣官のため居所・墓所はございません。なお、払田柵跡真山地区では墓域が発見されていますが、専当官クラスの墓所ではないと思います。大鳥井山遺跡に関しては小吉山西部に火葬墓があったり、大鳥井山に先ほどの鳥海柵と同じような仏堂と見られる建物があったり、金沢柵跡でも隣接する陣館遺跡で仏堂とみられる建物跡が発見されています。これらは墓所・廟ではないんですけれども、同じような宗教施設があるということで鳥海柵跡との類似性が覗えると思います。これが大鳥井山遺跡で仏堂の可能性が指摘されている２間×５間の四面庇付掘立柱建物跡になります。横手盆地が見渡せる丘陵上にあります。
ここまでの陸奥・出羽の政治拠点の変遷をまとめてみると、為政者の変化として、中央派遣官から在庁官人の安倍氏、清原氏を経て、平泉藤原氏へと権力が収斂されていく過程を読み取ることができます。そして特に弘治年間の、藤原基成が平泉に下向するという出来事が非常に大きな政治的転機ではなかったかと思います。支配領域の変化については、郡制施行域支配が安定する時期が藤原基衡のころと考えられておりますので、この時期こそが支配領域に安定がもたらされた時期だと考えられます。
最後に、平泉館と多賀国府との位置関係を考えてまとめにしたいと思います、陸奥国の特産品である金と馬の産地と政治拠点の位置を重ね合わせて見ますと、こういった形で多賀国府は金と馬の産地から離れた地にあって、都へ貢物を出すには不利な位置にあると言えます。これに対して、平泉は金産出地の中央に位置し、第二の平泉とも言われる比爪館跡を介して馬産地をも支配できる位置にあるということで、政治拠点としての利便性は、平泉館が多賀国府を上回っていたと考えられます。その政治拠点の範囲について比較してみますと、多賀城跡、胆沢城跡、秋田城跡、払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡、鳥海柵跡へと地域と時代は異なり変化しますけれど、拠点そのものの面積規模は大きくは変わらなかったことがおのずから見えてくるかと思います。
以上、シンポジウム予稿集の最後の表にまとめてみましたように、多賀城、胆沢城、秋田城、払田柵から鳥海柵、大鳥井山遺跡を経て柳之御所・平泉館へ権力の拠点が移行していく状況をざっとご覧いただいた形になるかと思います。どうもありがとうございました。

（佐藤）
古川先生ありがとうございました。
それではパネリストのみなさまからここで質問をお願いしたいと思います。

（杉本）

following the opinion of Mr. Shimada of Yokote City.
As for the range of the political base, Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku ruins are both thought to be within an area of 500 to 600 meters square. The relative positions of Akita-jō and the remains of the Imperial Embassy, where the existence of remains from the late ancient period is assumed, are shown below. At the Hotta no Saku ruins, after the outer fence from the 9th century disappeared, the Nagamori area, surrounded only by the outer walls, became the core of the base facilities, and it is thought that this was where local government officials such as Kiyohara no Yoshimochi were active after the Gangyō Rebellion.
Next is the Ootoriiyama site, which is thought to be their successor. The Ootoriiyama site is divided into two blocks, the Kokichiyama district in the north and the Ootoriiyama district in the south, and the long, narrow hills facing the river are within the scope of the national historic site. To the east of this is the Daidokorotate site, which are probably from the same period and are part of the Ootoriiyama site, and the area including these is thought to have been the base of the Kiyohara clan.
As structures symbolizing power, at Akita-jō and the remains of the Hotta no Saku ruins, there are tiled buildings. At the Ootoriiyama site, there are remains of a post-hole building with four eaves. As things symbolizing power, at Akita-jō there are Guchu calendar and imported ceramics, and at the Hotta no Saku ruins there are excavated remains related to Ritsuryo rituals. At the Ootoriiyama site, there is wheeled Hajiki pottery used in banquet ceremonies, just like at the Tonomi no Saku ruins.
As for residences, tombs, and mausoleums, at Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku ruins, there are no residences or tombs for the dispatched officials, just like at the Taga-jō and Isawa-jō ruins. Some graves have been discovered in the Shinzan area of the Hotta no Saku ruins, but it is not believed to be the tombs of a dedicated official. At the Ootoriiyama site, there are cremation graves in the west of Kokichiiyama, and at Ootoriiyama there is a building that appears to be a Buddhist hall similar to the Tonomi no Saku mentioned above, and at the remains of a building that appears to be a Buddhist hall at the adjacent Jindate site at the Kanesawa no Saku ruins. Although these are not tombs or mausoleums, the fact that they are similar religious facilities shows a similarity to the Tonomi no Saku ruins. This is the remains of a 2 x 5 bays, post-hole building with eaves on all four sides, which has been suggested to possibly be a Buddhist temple at the Ootoriiyama site. It is located on a hill overlooking the Yokote Basin.
If we summarize the transitions in the political bases of Mutsu and Dewa up to this point, we can see a process of power consolidation, from the central government officials to the Abe clan, the Kiyohara clan, who were local government officials, and then to the Hiraizumi Fujiwara clan. In particular, the event of Fujiwara no Motonari's departure to Hiraizumi during the Kōji era was a major political turning point. As for changes in the territory under control, it is believed that the period when control over the districts under the county system became stable was around the time of Fujiwara no Motohira, so this period was the period when stability was brought to the territory under control.
Finally, I would like to conclude by considering the relative positions of Hiraizumi no Tachi and Taga Kokufu. If we compare the locations of political bases with the production areas of gold and horses, which are specialties of Mutsu Province, we can see that Taga Kokufu was located far from the production areas of gold and horses, and was in a disadvantageous position for sending tributes to the capital. In contrast, Hiraizumi was located in the center of the gold production area and was in a position to control the horse production areas via the ruins of Hizume no Tachi, which is said to be the second Hiraizumi, so it is thought that Hiraizumi no Tachi was more convenient as a political base than Taga Kokufu. If we compare the scope of these political bases, which change over time and region, from the ruins of Taga -jō, Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and the Hotta no Saku ruins to the Ootoriiyama site and Tonomi no Saku, it becomes clear that the area and size of the bases themselves did not change significantly. As summarized in the final table of the symposium proceedings, I hope that you have had a quick look at the transition of the power base from Taga-jō, Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and Hotta no Saku to Tonomi no Saku, Ootoriiyama site, and then Yanaginogosho and Hiraizumi no Tachi. Thank you very much.

(Sato)
Thank you, Professor Furukawa.
Now I would like to ask the panelists to ask questions.

(Sugimoto)
It was very interesting. I think Mr. Furukawa talked mainly about the shift of the base from the ancient fortified government to the residence of the powerful in the history of Hiraizumi. In the process, something became apparent. You explained that these were Buddhist things, and that they were evident in the residence of the powerful. You showed us the remains of a building called a Buddhist hall, so I would like to ask if Buddhist relics or things like that have also been found.

大変面白く聞かせていただきました。古川さんは平泉成立前史の中で、古代城柵から有力者の居館へとその拠点が移っていく、ということを中心にお話しされたと思います。その過程で、顕在化されてくるものがある。それが仏教的なもので、有力者居館の中にこれらが顕在的に現れている、という感じでご説明いただきました。その中で仏堂という建物跡をご提示いただいたわけですが、仏教遺物と言いますか、そういうものも併せて見つかっているのか、お聞きしたいと思います。

（古川）
鳥海柵跡原添下地域の建物跡と大鳥井山遺跡の大鳥井山頂上の建物跡について、仏堂の可能性が指摘されております。横手市教育委員会の島田祐悦さんはこれらの建物跡が仏堂で、平泉のそれらに繋がるという主旨の見解を述べられていたかと思います。私の今回の発表は、その島田さんのお話を紹介させていただいた形になるわけですけれども、それら建物跡の周辺から仏教関連の遺物が出土したとの報告はうかがっていません。仏教に関する遺物は見つかっていないけれども、建物跡の立地と建物構造の面からこれらが仏堂である可能性を指摘されているわけであります。

（佐藤）
よろしいですか。
他パネリストの皆様いかがでしょうか。

（金）
全く素人の観点からのご質問なんですが、先ほど多賀城で総社と付属寺院という言葉が出ましたけれども、その当時、寺院と神社との関係はどのような関係なのか、要するに、派遣された政治拠点の主からみると両方の信仰はどのような形で行われたのかということが一つ疑問で、関連して本地垂迹とはどのような関係なのかをお聞きしたいと思います。

（古川）
すみません。私は本地垂迹に関して正確に答えられる知識を持ってないので、できれば会場にいらっしゃる東北学院大学の佐川先生にお話しいただければと思います。
なお、多賀城の総社と付属寺院多賀城廃寺との関係ということで言えば、多賀城廃寺は多賀城創建当初から機能していたわけですけれども、総社は先ほどご覧いただいたように、遡っても９世紀後半と言うことで、創建の年代に大きな差があると思います。配属される僧の関係と総社は、総社は神祇官になりますので、管轄する部署もまったく違いますので、それはまったく違う位置づけで国府のなかでは扱われたということになるかと思います。

（佐藤）
今佐川先生って言う御指名があったんですが、佐川正敏先生、もし何かありましたらご発言いただいてもよろしいでしょうか。キム先生のご質問に関しまして。

（会場参加：佐川正敏）
お昼も過ぎておりますので、今もう古川さんがお答えになったと思うんですけれども、多賀城廃寺、あるいはその前身のですね、仙台市の郡山Ⅰ期官衙の郡山廃寺という日本列島の当時の北端、あるいは太宰府、それぞれ、流行、国家の中央に準ずるような寺院というものがかなり重要視されているところがひとつお話しがあったわけですけれども、総社については年代的にどうかとか、いろいろ不確定な部分もあるかと思うのですが、考えてみれば、その当時の平城宮の場合でも、現在の三条通の東側の、東山のところに春日大社があるわけですけれども、多賀城の場合に、あの遺構をどういうふうに年代も含めて性格も含めて位置付けていくかというところを、今後詰めていくことが必要なのかなと思います。

（佐藤）
はい。佐川先生、突然ご発言をお願いして大変申し訳ございませんでした。ありがとうございました。
それで他にもご質問あるかと思うんですけど、ちょっと時間もおしていますので、午前の部はここで終わらせていただきたいと思います。
古川先生、どうもありがとうございました。

◆報告３

(Furukawa)
It has been pointed out that the remains of a building in the Harasoshita area of the Tonomi no Saku ruins and the remains of a building on the top of Ootoriiyama site may be Buddhist halls. I think Mr. Yuetsu Shimada of the Yokote City Board of Education expressed the view that these remains of buildings were Buddhist halls and were connected to those in Hiraizumi. My presentation today will be in the form of introducing what Mr. Shimada said, but I have not heard any reports that any Buddhist-related artifacts have been excavated from around the remains of these buildings. Although no Buddhist-related artifacts have been found, it has been pointed out that these may have been Buddhist temples, given the location of the remains and the structure of the buildings.

(Sato)
Is that okay?
How about the other panelists?

(Kim)
This is a question from a completely amateur perspective, but earlier, the words "sōja" and "affiliated temples" were mentioned in Taga-jō. I wonder what the relationship was between temples and shrines at that time, in other words, how both faiths were practiced from the perspective of the head of the political base that was dispatched. In relation to this, I would like to ask about the relationship with Honchi Suijaku.

(Furukawa)
I'm sorry. I don't have the knowledge to answer accurately about Honchi Suijaku, so I would like to ask Professor Sagawa of Tohoku Gakuin University, who is here with us, to explain it if possible.
As for the relationship between Taga-jō's sōja and its affiliated temple, Taga-jō Temple ruins, has been in operation since the Taga-jō was first built, but as you saw earlier, the sōja dates back to the late 9th century, so there is a big difference in the dates of its founding. The relationship between the monks assigned to the shrine and the sōja shrine is completely different, as the sōja shrine is under the jurisdiction of the Shinto Bureau, and so I think that they were treated as completely different positions within the provincial government.

(Sato)
I have just heard that Professor Sagawa was selected, so if you have anything to say, Professor Masatoshi Sagawa, please feel free to make a comment. Regarding Professor Kim's question.

(Audience: Masatoshi Sagawa)
It's past noon, so I think Mr. Furukawa has already answered, but the Taga-jō ruins, or its predecessor, the Kōriyama Temple ruins, the First Government Office of Mutsu provincial area in Sendai City, was at the northern end of the Japanese archipelago at the time, and Dazaifu, were both places where temples were considered to be at the center of the nation, and there were many uncertainties about the age of the sōja. But if you think about it, in the case of Heijō-kyō at that time, there was Kasuga Taisha Shrine in Higashiyama, east of the current Sanjō Street, and in the case of Taga-jō, I think it will be necessary to work out how to position the ruins, including their age and nature.

(Sato)
Yes. Professor Sagawa, I'm very sorry for suddenly asking you to speak. Thank you very much.
I'm sure there are other questions, but we're running out of time, so I'd like to wrap up the morning session here.
Thank you very much, Professor Furukawa.

◆Report 3

(Panelist: Sugimoto)
I would like to report briefly on the political bases around, including Shirakawa, Toba-dono, Hōjūji-dono, Uji, and Rokuhara. It began in the 11th century, but in the 12th century, urban areas began to appear around Heian-kyō. Among them, Shirakawa is located around where the Kyoto City Zoo is now, Hōjūji-dono is located around the Kyoto National Museum, Toba-dono is located a little south of where the Meishin Expressway Kyoto Minami Interchange is now, and Uji is located further south. These are political bases, or urban areas built by the ex-Emperors and Sekkan family. I would like to introduce these and compare them with Hiraizumi at the end of my report.

（パネリスト：杉本）
平安京周辺の政治拠点、白河、鳥羽殿、法住寺殿、宇治、六波羅などもそうですが、これらについて少し報告をさせていただきたいと思います。11世紀から始まりますけれども、12世紀には平安京の周辺に都市的な場ができてきます。そのなかの、現在の京都市動物園があるところ周囲に白河、京都国立博物館の周囲に法住寺殿、少し南の方に行きますと、現在の名神高速道路京都南インターのある周囲に鳥羽殿、さらにその南の宇治、というような場所に、政治拠点と言いますか、上皇たちや摂関家が造営した都市的な場があります。それらをご紹介しつつ、最後に平泉との比較を行うということで、私の報告としたいと思います。
位置的な関係はレジメ32ページ図1を参照ください。また、この報告内容よりもレジメの方が、おそらく詳しいと思いますので、よくわからなかった部分は、レジメを読んでいただいて理解の足しにしていただくとありがたいなと思います。さて、白河、法住寺殿、鳥羽殿、宇治というような順で報告したいと思います。
まず白河から説明をしたいと思います。平安京と鴨川をはさんで東北側の地域が白河と呼ばれた場所です。11世紀から12世紀になりますと、平安京自体も右京が衰退をして、左京側だけに都市機能が保たれます。左京の町並は京極を越えて東の鴨川に向かっても広がってゆきます。例えば藤原道長建立の法成寺とか、紫式部の父の藤原為時邸なども東京極大路より東側に建てられています。白河地区は貴族たちの別荘地でしたが、藤原師実が別荘を白河天皇に献上し、1077年にここに法勝寺が建立されます。これを最初として白河には天皇家によって次々と寺院が建立されてゆきます。この地区のポイントは、平安宮の南の東西大路、すなわち二条大路を東京極大路からさらに東へと延伸する通りを二条大路末と呼んでおりますけれども、この二条大路末を基軸として街区が形成されます。法勝寺は二条大路末の東端に西門を開いています。かなり大きな寺院でして巨大な金堂や八角九重塔を中心とした伽藍です。その後、この白河地区には六勝寺と呼ばれる寺院群が二条大路末沿いに作られていくことになります。法勝寺の後には堀河天皇御願の尊勝寺、鳥羽天皇の最勝寺、鳥羽天皇皇后の待賢門院璋子御願の円勝寺、崇徳天皇の成勝寺、近衛天皇の延勝寺などがそうです。このほかにも千体の観音像を安置した得長寿院や九体阿弥陀堂のある福勝院などをはじめ多くの寺院が建立されます。寺院の造営に遅れて邸宅が作られました。邸宅内に九体阿弥陀堂や塔を備えた蓮華蔵院を持つ白河南殿、保元の乱の戦場となった北殿などがそうです。白河地区の造営はだいたい11世紀末から始まり、12世紀中頃ぐらいまで造営が続いていくことになります。
レジメ33ページ図2が現在の白河地区の地図に当時の町割りと寺院など重ねたものです。現在の岡崎の京都市動物園のところが法勝寺となりますが、実体的な状況がこのように完全にわかっているわけではありません。発掘調査で確認できた遺跡はまだわずかで、記録から想定できる位置をその中に当てはめている、すなわち想定図ということです。そのなかでも、法勝寺と尊勝寺は発掘調査で具体的な堂塔の一部が確認されており、この復元の大きな手掛かりとなっています。
イメージとして白河地区の様子を思い描いていただきたいのですが、平安宮前の二条大路を東に進み、京極を過ぎて二条大路末となり鴨川を渡ってさらに続く二条大路末を進むとやや小高くなった白河地区に入ります。そこは京内のように方形の町割りがされ、二条大路末沿いに立派な金堂やたくさんの塔が立ち並ぶ寺院群の築地塀と門がずっと続いている。そしてその二条大路末の突き当たったところに大きな法勝寺西門が開き、その向こうに巨大な金堂の甍、その南に天を衝く八角九重塔がそびえている、そんな景観が存在することになります。白河地区のポイントは、寺院群が中心であって邸第は少ない点です。その中心的な寺院が法勝寺でした。伽藍配置は中央に池を配置し池中の中島に高さが27丈(81m)もあり、さらに八角形で九重でもあった前代未聞の巨大な塔、池の北には長い翼廊を持つ、長さが50m にも及ぶ巨大な金堂となります。他にも九体阿弥陀堂をはじめ堂宇が立ち並びました。
実は金堂基壇は現在も現地でその跡を見ることができます。京都市動物園の現在の二条通りを挟んだ北に高さが２mを超える高まりが道沿いに続きます。これが法勝寺の金堂基壇の遺跡です。現地でこの遺跡を見ると、法勝寺の壮大さに驚愕を覚えます。このすぐ南側には八角九重塔の基壇が残っていたのですが、戦後に米軍によって削られてしまいました。数年前に京都市の発掘調査によって、八角九重塔の基礎遺構が見つかり話題になりました。
少し白河地区の要素をまとめてみたいですけれども、白河地区は、主に天皇の御願寺、鳥羽院政期になると少し変わりはしますが、基本的には天皇が中心になって、寺院を建立し続けたところである点は注意しておきたいと思います。白河地区も含めた平安京周辺のいくつかの拠点は、そこでもっぱら政治が行われていたるわけではなくて、平安京と一体的にというか、11・12世紀になって中央権力のあり方が変化していった時に、平安京の機能分化として出来上がっていった、そういうようなところになると思いますので、白河地区には特段な政

Please refer to Figure 1 on page 32 of the resume for the locational relationships. Also, I think the resume is probably more detailed than the contents of this report, so if there are any parts that you do not understand, I would appreciate it if you could read the resume and use it to add to your understanding. I would like to report on the areas in this order: Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, Toba-dono, and Uji.
First, I would like to explain about Shirakawa. The area to the northeast of Heian-kyō and the Kamogawa River was called Shirakawa. From the 11th to the 12th century, the Ukyo area of Heian-kyō itself declined, and only the Sakyo side maintained its urban functions. The streets of Sakyo spread eastward beyond Kyogoku toward Kamogawa River. For example, Hōjō-ji Temple, built by Fujiwara no Michinaga, and the residence of Fujiwara no Tametoki, father of Murasaki Shikibu, were built east of Higashikyōgoku-ōji. The Shirakawa area was a villa area for aristocrats, but Fujiwara no Morozane presented his villa to Emperor Shirakawa, and Hosshō-ji Temple was built there in 1077. This was the first of many temples built in Shirakawa by the imperial family. The key point of this area is the east-west street south of Heian-kyō, that is, the street that extends further east from Higashikyōgoku-ōji to Nijō-ōji, which is called Nijō-ōji Sue, and the blocks are formed around this Nijō-ōji Sue. Hosshō-ji Temple has its west gate at the eastern Nijō-ōji Sue. It is a fairly large temple, with a huge main hall and a nine-story octagonal pagoda at its center. Later, a group of temples called Rikushō-ji Temples were built along Nijō-ōji Sue in the Shirakawa area. After Hosshō-ji Temple, Sonshō-ji Temple, which was built by Emperor Horikawa, Saishō-ji Temple, which was built by Emperor Toba, Enshō-ji Temple, which was built by Emperor Toba's Empress Taikenmon-in Tamako, Jōshō-ji Temple, which was built by Emperor Sutoku, Enshō-ji Temple, which was built by Emperor Konoe, and many other temples were built, including Tokuchōju-in Temple, which houses a thousand Kannon statues, and Fukushō-in Temple, which has Kutai Amida Hall. After the construction of the temples, residences were built. These include the Shirakawa Minamidono, which houses Rengezō-in Temple with its Kutai Amida Halls and towers, and the Kitadono, which was the site of a battle during the Hōgen Rebellion. Construction in the Shirakawa area began around the end of the 11th century and continued until the middle of the 12th century.
Figure 2 on page 33 of the resume shows the current map of the Shirakawa district with the current town layout and temples at that time. Hosshō-ji Temple is located where the Kyoto City Zoo in Okazaki is now, but the actual location is not completely known. Only a few remains have been confirmed by excavation, so the location that can be assumed from records has been applied to it, that is, this is an assumed map. Among them, parts of concrete temple buildings of Hosshō-ji and Sonshō-ji Temple have been confirmed by excavation, which is a major clue for the restoration.
I would like you to imagine what the Shirakawa district looks like. Go east along Nijō-ōji in front of Heian-kyō, pass Kyogoku, reach Nijō-ōji Sue, cross the Kamogawa River, and continue along Nijō-ōji Sue, and you will enter the slightly elevated Shirakawa district. There, the town is laid out in a square shape like in Kyoto, and along Nijō-ōji Sue, there are a group of temples with magnificent main halls and many towers, with their earthen walls and gates. And at Nijō-ōji Sue, the large Hosshō-ji Temple's west gate opens, and beyond that, the huge roof tiles of the main hall, and to the south of that, the octagonal nine-story pagoda that reaches the sky, tower. This is the landscape that exists. The point of Shirakawa district is that it is centered on temples, with few residences. The central temple was Hosshō-ji Temple. The layout of the temple complex was a pond in the center, with an island in the middle of the pond with a height of 27 jo (81 m), an unprecedentedly huge octagonal nine-story tower, and to the north of the pond, a huge main hall with a long transept and a length of 50 m. Other buildings were also built, including Kutai Amida Hall.
In fact, the remains of the main hall foundation can still be seen at the site today. A rise over 2 m high continues along the road to the north of Kyoto City Zoo across the current Nijō Stree. These are the remains of the main hall foundation of Hosshō-ji Temple. When you see these ruins on site, you will be astonished by the grandeur of Hosshō-ji Temple. Just south of here was the foundation of a nine-story octagonal pagoda, but it was removed by the US military after the World War Ⅱ. A few years ago, an excavation survey by Kyoto City uncovered the remains of the pagoda's foundation, which became a hot topic of discussion.
I would like to briefly summarize the elements of the Shirakawa district. The Shirakawa district was mainly the imperial temples of the emperors, and although it changed a little during the Toba Insei period, it is important to note that the emperors were central to the construction of these temples in building temples. Several bases around Heian-kyō, including the Shirakawa district, were not exclusively political, but were integrated with Heian-kyō, or rather, were created as a functional division of Heian-kyō when the nature of central power changed in the 11th and 12th centuries, so there are no particular political or administrative facilities in the Shirakawa district. So what is the solemn apparatus of power and wealth in the Shirakawa district? Basically, it is the group of temples, and

治・行政施設というものがありません。では白河地区における権力と財力の荘厳装置とは何かというと、基本的には寺院群ということになり、それぞれ浄土庭園をもっていたようなので、浄土庭園も含まれることになります。邸宅として北殿、南殿がありますが、ここで政治的会議が行われたのではなく、寺院での法会に際して使用されることが多かったようです。また先ほど平泉のご報告でもありましたが、街路は重要で、白河地区の二条大路末という道路自体も、権力を示す舞台として荘厳装置の一部だろうと思っています。

象徴的事物ですけれども、やっぱり法勝寺の八角九重塔。どうして八角で九重なのかは私に分かりませんが、かなり奇抜で威圧的で目を引く建物であったことは間違いありません。それと、二条大路末に面する寺院等の塔の数を数えてみると12基ほど。塔が林立しています。当時、この二条大路末を西から東に向かって歩いていくと、両側に塔が立ち並び正面に巨大な塔が聳える光景があったかと思います。そういう林立する仏塔というのは、いかにも象徴的であると思います。法勝寺の金堂は巨大で、この威圧感もすごかったと思います。ともかくも法勝寺の施設は桁外れに巨大で、白河天皇の権威・権力を端的に象徴していると思います。またここでは国家的な法会が行われていて、特徴にもなるわけです。北京三会の一つ大乗会、それ以外にも大嘗会・御八講など華やかな法会が行われ、象徴性が際立つことになります。法勝寺には一切経蔵がありまして、これは白河の発願による紺紙一切経が収納されています。この経蔵は白河天皇の宗教性を含めた権威を象徴するものの一つだと思います。白河地区には基本的に陵や墓地が営まれた場所ではありません。例外的に鳥羽上皇皇后の高陽院泰子が御願寺の福勝院に埋葬されましたが、当時の記録は批判的に扱っています。このような場所が白河地区ということになります。

次に鳥羽殿を報告します。いわゆる鳥羽離宮のことです。平安京の羅城門から南に朱雀大路の延長となる鳥羽作道があります。作道を南に4㎞ほど下がると鴨川と桂川が合流する場所に至ります。そこに鳥羽殿が造営されます。白河天皇が譲位をして上皇になったときに院御所として造営が始まったのが鳥羽殿ということになります。鳥羽上皇期に最盛期を迎えます。規模は最盛期で東西約1.3㎞、南北１㎞ぐらい、中央に巨大な園池があります。当時の記録では国をあげて池を掘る、と文言のある園池です。その周辺に邸宅と寺院を造営してゆきます。

鳥羽殿の特徴として、陵墓を含んでいることがあります。白河院が鳥羽殿の造営を開始した時点で、彼自身の墓所を鳥羽殿に定めています。現在も白河天皇陵、鳥羽天皇陵、近衛天皇陵がここにあります。鳥羽殿は、院御所としての邸宅施設だけではなくて、最初から墓所を想定している、ということになります。

レジメ34ページ図3が現在の鳥羽殿辺りの地図に当時の配置を重ねたものです。鳥羽殿辺りは名神高速道路京都南インターがあり、開発が進んだ場所で、その結果発掘調査が行われて鳥羽殿の遺跡が明らかとなっています。わりと当時の具体的な様子がわかってきている場所です。現在の鴨川は流路を当時と変えていますが、鳥羽殿は西に桂川、東に鴨川が流れる三角デルタにいっぱいに施設が造られています。街区は平安京から延伸する鳥羽作道に直行して北大路が造られ、そこに門が建てられます。これより南が鳥羽殿敷地です。作道はそのまま南にのび、鳥羽殿の基幹的な街路となります。邸宅群はこの作道の東側に園池を取り囲むように造られてゆきます。白河上皇期では、まず南殿が造営され続いて北殿、そして馬場殿、泉殿となります。鳥羽上皇期になると東殿に成菩提院、北殿に勝光明院、東殿に安楽寿院、田中殿に金剛心院が建てられます。記録には貴族たちが住むために直廬、すなわち宿舎や、鳥羽院の家政機関である倉町があるとされていて、おそらくそれらが作道の西側にあったと考えられます。

次に墓所についてですが、現在、白河天皇陵、鳥羽天皇陵、近衛天皇陵が宮内庁によって管理されています。かつて白河天皇陵周囲の濠跡を京都市埋蔵文化財研究所が発掘調査をしまして、当時の濠の石積護岸の様子や塔に使われていた膨大な瓦が出土しています。現在はありませんが白河天皇陵も鳥羽天皇陵も三重塔であったことが記録からわかります。白河天皇は火葬されてこの塔の下に埋葬されました。鳥羽天皇は土層で埋葬されています。近衛天皇の火葬骨が埋葬されたのは後白河院政期になってからです。現在の近衛天皇陵の多宝塔は豊臣秀頼による再建です。なぜ近衛天皇が後にここに埋葬されたかは、少しばかり複雑な経緯がありまして、詳しくはレジメを参照ください。

鳥羽殿を少しまとめてみます。まず造営者は上皇、すなわち院です。主に白河上皇と鳥羽上皇です。鳥羽殿には政治・行政施設があります。院庁として、院の様々な家政に関わる事務がされていました。注意したいのは、ここで執行されるものは、院の家政に関わることであって、国家的なことはあまり取り扱っていなかったとされています。摂関家もそうですが、院は京内にたくさんの邸宅、すなわち院御所をもっています。白河上皇は除

since each of them seems to have had a Pure Land Garden, pure land gardens are also included. There are residences called Kita-dono and Minami-dono, but it seems that political meetings were not held here, but rather they were often used for Buddhist services at temples. Also, as was reported in the Hiraizumi report earlier, streets are important, and I think that the road at Nijō-ōji Sue in the Shirakawa district itself was part of the solemn equipment as a stage for demonstrating power.

One symbolic object is the octagonal nine-story pagoda of Hosshō-ji Temple. I don't know why it is octagonal and nine stories tall, but there is no doubt that it was a very unusual, intimidating, and eye-catching building. Also, if you count the number of pagodas of temples and other buildings facing Nijō-ōji Sue, there are about 12. There are pagodas standing in a forest. At the time, if you walked from west to east along Nijō-ōji Sue, you would have seen a row of pagodas on both sides and a huge pagoda towering in front of you. I think that such a forest of pagodas is very symbolic. The main hall of Hosshō-ji Temple is huge, and it was very intimidating. In any case, the facilities of Hosshō-ji Temple are extraordinarily large, and it succinctly symbolizes the authority and power of Emperor Shirakawa. Another distinctive feature was that national Buddhist services were also held here. The symbolism of the area is highlighted by the fact that splendid ceremonies such as the Daijo-e, one of the Sankyo-e, the Daijo-e, and the Mihakko, Buddhist service in which the eight volumes of the Lotus Sutra are read,were held there. Hosshō-ji Temple has a sutra repository, which contains the complete set of sutras written on konshi, which was requested by Shirakawa. I think this sutra repository is one of the symbols of Emperor Shirakawa's authority, including his religious nature. The Shirakawa area is generally not a place where tombs or graveyards were built. As an exception, Kayano-in Taishi, the Empress of Emperor Toba, was buried at Fukushō-in Temple, but the records from that time treat her critically. Like this, the place I mentioned above is the Shirakawa area.

Next, I will report on Toba-dono. This is the so-called Toba Imperial Villa. To the south of the Rajōmon Gate in Heian-kyō is Toba no Tsukurimichi, an extension of Suzaku-ōji. If you go down the Tsukurimichi road about 4km south, you will reach the place where Kamogawa River and Katsuragawa River join. Toba-dono was built there. When Emperor Shirakawa abdicated and became an ex-emperor, construction of Toba-dono began as an imperial palace. It reached its peak during the reign of the ex-Emperor Toba. At its peak, it was about 1.3km east to west and 1km north to south, with a huge garden pond in the center. Records from that time state that the pond was dug by the entire nation. Residences and temples were built around it.

A mausoleum is one of the features of Toba-dono. When Emperor Shirakawa began the construction of Toba-dono Tobadono, he decided to make his own burial site in Toba-dono. The tombs of Emperor Shirakawa, Emperor Toba, and Emperor Konoe are still located here today. Toba-dono was not only intended as a residence for the Emperor's Imperial Palace, but was also intended as a tomb from the beginning.

Figure 3 on page 34 of the resume shows the layout of the area at that time superimposed on a map of the area around Toba-dono today. The area around Toba-dono is where the Kyoto Minami Interchange on the Meishin Expressway is located, and development has progressed, resulting in excavations that have revealed the remains of Toba-dono. The area is becoming more and more clear regarding the specifics of the time. The current Kamogawa River has changed course since then, but Toba-dono's facilities were built in a triangular delta with Katsuragawa River to the west and Kamogawa River to the east. The block is built on the Toba-dono site, which runs directly from the Toba no Tsukurimichi that extends from Heian-kyō, and Kita-ōji is built there, with a gate built there. The area south of this is the site of Toba-dono. The street continues south and becomes the main street of Toba-dono. The residences are built on the east side of this road street, surrounding a garden and pond. During the reign of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, the Minamidono Hall was built first, followed by the Kitadono, Babadono, and Izumidono Hall. During the reign of the ex-Emperor Toba, Jōbodai-in was built in the Higashidono, Shōkōmyō-in in the Kitadono, Anrakuju-in in the Higashidono, and Kongōshin-in in the Tanakadono Hall. Records indicate that there were lodgings for the aristocrats, and a storehouse for the ex-Emperor Toba's household administration, and these were probably located on the west side of Tsukurimichi.

Next, regarding the tombs, the tombs of Emperor Shirakawa, Emperor Toba, and Emperor Konoe are currently managed by the Imperial Household Agency. The Kyoto City Archaeological Research Institute once excavated the remains of the moat around Emperor Shirakawa's tomb, unearthing the stone banks of the moat at that time and the huge number of tiles used in the pagodas. Although they no longer exist, records show that both Emperor Shirakawa's and Emperor Toba's tombs were three-story pagodas. Emperor Shirakawa was cremated and buried under this pagoda. Emperor Toba is buried in the soil layer. Emperor Konoe's cremated bones were not buried until the Go-Shirakawa Insei period. The current pagoda at Emperor Konoe's tomb was rebuilt by Toyotomi no Hideyori. There is a somewhat complicated story behind why Emperor Konoe was later buried here, so please refer to the

目や国家的な議定などは京内院御所を用いる。京外と京内とでは、やはり政治的な用い方が違うということだと思います。
鳥羽殿での権力の荘厳装置としては、邸宅とともに建てられた寺院があります。特に勝光明院は、宇治の平等院鳳凰堂を模して、さらに一回り大きく建築したものになります。あの広大な園池もそうだろうと思います。象徴的な事物ですけれども、最初に申し上げたように、墓所が最初から予定されていることがあります。白河上皇も鳥羽上皇も、三重塔を造営して自分の墓所として予定します。この墓塔は鳥羽殿を象徴するものであることになります。もう一つの象徴的事物として勝光明院経蔵もそうみたらいいと思います。ともに摂関家の宗教的ヘゲモニーを乗り越える象徴的施設でしょう。白河地区の法勝寺がやはり摂関家の法成寺を超えるものとして造営されたことに通底します。一切経蔵という施設にも注目したいと思います。ここには一切経だけではなく、さまざまなものが格納されていて、権力者の宝蔵でもありました。白河天皇に伝えられた仏舎利あるいは如意法輪など、院のレガリアとも目される器物も、その中に格納されていました。勝光明院経蔵は大きな象徴的な意味合いを持ったのでしょう。
ちょっと駆け足でしたが、次に法住寺殿を報告します。
白河地区と鳥羽殿は、白河院政期から鳥羽院政期。基本的に11世紀の終わりごろから12世紀の中頃ぐらいまでの間に造営されたものになります。法住寺殿は西暦1156年に保元の乱があって、都の中の権力構造がガラッと変わります。それ以降に後白河上皇によって造営されたものということになります。保元の乱で武士が台頭してくるわけですけれども、その背景の中で後白河上皇の院御所として作られたことになります。なかなか具体的な様子が発掘で確認できていないのですが、皆さんがよくご存じの文化財としては三十三間堂がこの法住寺殿を今に伝えるものになります。
レジメ36ページ図4が現在の法住寺殿辺りの地図に当時の配置を重ねたものです。場所は京都駅の東、東山の麓でして京都国立博物館の辺りから南にかけてとなります。三十三間堂の南は少し地形的に下降しますが、そこに東海道本線が東西に貫いています。範囲としてはだいたい１キロ四方ぐらい。七条大路が京極を超え鴨川を渡り七条大路末として東に延伸されますが、この道を東西の基軸として、少しばかりいびつですが町割りが行われていています。法住寺殿の南部には大きな園池があります。もともと自然の池と思われるものです。この場所は風光明媚なところということで、都では有名でした。それを取り込んでいるわけです。この園池跡は現在学校の敷地になっていて、完全に埋まっていますけれども、ちょうど丘陵が下がった東辺が当時の地形を残しています。この園池の北側に北殿、南殿、蓮華王院三十三間堂があり、園池の西岸に面して鳳凰堂を模したと思われる最勝光院がありました。現在の三十三間堂は、もともと平清盛が法住寺殿の中に造進した蓮華王院が燃え、1266年に再建した千体観音堂ということになります。後で説明しますが、後白河上皇の御陵も法住寺殿の中にあります。
法住寺殿は、後白河上皇一代で作られた大きな施設群であります。後白河院政期は、ほぼ平氏政権と重なっていて、めまぐるしく政治が動いていた時代になります。法住寺殿や京内院御所で院の政治が行われていましたが詳細は良く分かりません。
権力の荘厳装置としては、蓮華王院三十三間堂があり、後白河院上皇の皇后平茂子、すなわち建春門院が平等院鳳凰堂を見て、それを作ったとされる最勝光院があるのでしょう。広大な園池もそうだと言えます。最勝光院と園池を挟んだ東岸には熊野権現を勧請した新熊野神社がありました。
象徴的事物としては、なんといっても後白河上皇の御陵になります。法華堂として作られています。鳥羽殿では塔を御陵としたわけですが、これは特殊なことで、余り事例を見ません。墓堂は一般的には法華堂であると思います。法住寺殿では、先に崩御した建春門院の陵に後白河上皇の墓堂が転用されたため、後白河上皇は新たに法華堂を作り自身の墓所としました。後白河天皇の陵墓は、現在の法住寺の中にあります。法住寺殿の北にある平家の六波羅については、レジメをご参照ください。
次に宇治を報告します。最近は宇治の摂関家施設群を宇治殿と呼んでいます。これは記録のうえで、特定施設を宇治殿と呼んでいたのが、ある段階から宇治の施設全体を宇治殿と呼ぶように変化したことが分かってきたからです。さて、宇治と藤原摂関家とのかかわりは、藤原道長が宇治に別荘を求めたことにはじまります。白河、鳥羽殿、法住寺殿の造営以前から宇治には摂関家の施設が形成されていたことになります。
レジメ37ページ図5が現在の宇治の地図に当時の地形と施設配置を重ねたものです。宇治は平安京から南に15㎞ぐらい。京都駅から快速で１６分で到着という距離感になります。レジメ32ページ図1を見ていただくと分かりますが、地形的には鳥羽殿の南にはかつて巨椋池という広大な湖というか、宇治川・木津川・桂川・鴨川が流れ込む遊水地がありました。今はもう完全に干拓されていますけれども、その東北の岸が伏見城のある伏見。西

resume for details.
Let me summarize Toba Palace a little. First, the builders were the ex-emperors. Mainly the ex-Emperor Shirakawa and the ex-Emperor Toba. Toba-dono contains political and administrative facilities. As an In-no-cho, it handled various household affairs for the Emperor. It is important to note that the affairs carried out here were related to the Emperor's household affairs, and it is said that it did not deal much with national affairs. Like Sekkan family, the Emperor had many residences, or Imperial Palace in the capital. Emperor Shirakawa had over a dozen residences, and Sekkan family had a similar number. Various matters were carried out at residences within the capital. The ex-Emperor Shirakawa used the Imperial Palace in the capital for things like appointment of new emperors and national decisions. I think that political use is different between inside and outside the capital.
As a means of displaying power in Toba-dono, there were temples built alongside the residences. In particular, Shōkōmyō-in Temple was modeled after the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple in Uji, but was built a size larger. I think that the vast garden and pond are also one example.
It is a symbolic thing, but as I said at the beginning, the gravesite was planned from the beginning. Both ex-Emperor Shirakawa and Emperor Toba planned to build a three-story pagoda as their gravesite. This tomb tower symbolizes Tobadono. The Shōkōmyō-in Temple sutras storehouse should also be seen in this way as another symbolic object. Both are symbolic facilities that transcend the religious hegemony of Sekkan family. This is consistent with the fact that Hosshō-ji Temple in the Shirakawa area was also built to surpass Sekkan family's Hōjō-ji Temple. I would also like to draw attention to the facility known as the Issai-kyozo. This facility not only contained the Issaikyo sutras, but also various other items, and was also a treasure house for those in power. Items considered to be the regalia of the temple, such as the Buddha's relics and Nyoi-horin (a Buddhist scroll) that were handed down to Emperor Shirakawa, were also stored there. The Shōkōmyō-in Temple sutra repository likely had great symbolic significance.
I'll be reporting on Hōjūji-dono next, after a bit of a quick run.
The Shirakawa area and Toba-dono date from the Shirakawa Insei period to the Toba Insei period. They were basically built between the end of the 11th century and the middle of the 12th century. Hōjūji-dono was built by the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa after the Hōgen Rebellion in 1156, which drastically changed the power structure in the capital. The Hōgen Rebellion saw the rise of the samurai, and the building was built against this backdrop as the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa's palace. It has not been possible to confirm the specifics through excavations, but the cultural asset that everyone is familiar with is Sanjusangendō, which is a vestige of Hōjūji-dono to this day.
Figure 4 on page 36 of the resume shows the current layout of Hōjūji-dono overlaid on a map of the area. The location is east of Kyoto Station, at the foot of Higashiyama, from around the Kyoto National Museum to the south. The terrain drops a little to the south of Sanjusangendō, but the Tokaido Main Line runs through it from east to west. The area is about 1 kilometer square. Shichijō-ōji crosses Kyogoku, crosses Kamogawa River, and extends east as the end of Shichijō-ōji. The town is laid out, although a little irregularly, with this road as the axis of east-west. There is a large garden pond in the south of Hōjūji-dono. It is thought to have originally been a natural pond. This place was famous in the capital for its scenic beauty. It has been incorporated into the area. The site of the garden pond is now a school site and is completely filled in, but the eastern edge, where the hills have dropped, still retains the topography of the time. To the north of this garden pond are the Kita-dono, Minami-dono, and Rengeō-in Sanjusangendō, and facing the west bank of the garden pond was Saishōkō-in, which is thought to have been modeled after the Phoenix Hall. The current Sanjusangendō is the Thousand Bodhisattva Hall that was rebuilt in 1266 after Rengeō-in Temple, which was originally built by Taira no Kiyomori within Hōjūji-dono, burned down. As I will explain later, the tomb of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa is also located within Hōjūji-dono.
Hōjūji-dono is a large group of facilities built for the reign of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa. The Goshirakawa Insei period roughly overlapped with the Taira clan administration, and was a time of rapid political activity. Insei politics were carried out at Hōjūji-dono and the Imperial Palace in Heian-kyō, but the details are not well known.
As a solemn device of power, there is Rengeō-in Sanjusangendō, and there is probably Saishōkō-in Temple, which is said to have been built by the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa's Empress Taira no Shigeko, also known as Kenshunmon-in, after seeing the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple. The same can be said for the vast garden and pond. On the east bank between Saishōkō-in Temple and the garden and pond, there was Ima-Kumano Shrine, which enshrined Kumano Gongen.
As a symbolic object, it is the tomb of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa. It was built as a Hokke-do. At Tobad-ono, a pagoda was used as the tomb, but this is unusual and not seen very often. I think that the tomb is generally a Hokke-do. At Hōjūji-dono, the tomb of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa was repurposed

の端は石清水八幡宮の辺り。宇治はそれの東南の岸辺にあたります。宇治では現在まで一定数の発掘調査が行われていて、ある程度その内容が分かるようになってきました。平等院が宇治川に面してありますが、ここに道長の宇治別業があり、それをその子頼通が伝領し、西暦1052年に別業を平等院に整備します。平等院が造営されると、その周辺に藤原氏の別業が次々と作られるようになってゆきます。発掘調査をすると、平安後期の庭園跡や邸宅跡や道路跡が見つかり、だいたい東西で２㎞、南北でだいたい800mぐらいの範囲の中に、それらが収まるという事になります。ただ、これら別業の動きが少しばかり複雑でして、道長の時代から白河院政期ぐらいまで、11世紀後半から12世紀の前半期ぐらいまでの間は、宇治には平等院とその周辺にいくつかの別業が点在するというものであったようですが、鳥羽院政が始まった12世紀中頃になると、どうもそれまでの別業が縮小されていって、平等院のすぐ後ろの現在の市街地部分に街区が作られ、ここに別業が集中してくるというような形に変わってきている。平等院の対岸に宇治上神社があります。当時は宇治明神と呼ばれましたが、この社は平等院造営とともに整備されたと考えられます。

今回は墓所が注目されていますので、この宇治を整備した藤原氏北家、藤原摂関家というのもじつは難しいですけど、とりあえず藤原道長の家柄を摂関家ということでいきたいと思います。

藤原北家の墓地は平安京の遷都とほぼ同時に、宇治の北東、伏見の東側の木幡というところに設けられたようです。藤原道長が政権掌握した後、木幡に浄妙寺を建立し、藤原北家一門の霊を安んじてゆくことをしました。浄妙寺建立以降、特に藤原摂関家の人達はそこに葬られていくようになります。藤原道長も頼通も、中宮彰子もここに葬られます。摂関家が全員じゃないですけれど、そこに集中して埋葬される。藤原摂関家の墓域が設定される形になっています。浄妙寺は宇治の北約4.5㎞ですけれども、少し京都寄りのところに藤原氏の墓所が作られるわけです。宇治殿に摂関家関係者の墓地があるのではなく、少し離れた木幡にもともと藤原北家の墓があって、その場所が墓域として整備され、宇治殿との関係も強化されてゆくといえると思います。

宇治殿の要素をまとめて見ると、造営者は藤原道長以降、保元の乱で失脚する藤原忠実まで、藤原氏の長者が代々造営したところが宇治殿になります。その内容も順次拡大しているということになります。

宇治殿には明確な政治・行政施設は見当たりません。藤原摂関家の基本的な邸第は京内邸第で、藤原氏長者が受け継いだ東三条殿とか、道長だったら土御門殿、頼通だったら高陽院というような京内邸第が基本になります。

権力、財力の荘厳措置としては、平等院などの寺院があります。それから浄土庭園があります。あと邸宅群があります。もう一つ、宇治殿には街路整備をしていて、その街路が権力の荘厳化に関して景観的にまた舞台として大きい意味を持つのではと思っています。

象徴的事物としては鳳凰堂があります。これは歴代藤原氏長者の忌日法会がここで行われています。すなわち藤原氏の長者は、この忌日法会に参加する義務的なことがあることになります。象徴的事物として平等院一切経蔵は重要だと思います。この経蔵の中には一切経だけではなくて、藤原氏の長者の地位をシンボライズする朱器礼盤、藤原北家が歴代大切にしてきた器物ですが、それらをはじめ北家の宝物がここに収納されていて、その鍵は藤原氏の長者が持つとされました。藤原氏のトップの権力をシンボライズしたものが平等院一切経蔵ともいえる象徴的事物ということになります。この象徴性を踏まえて鳥羽殿の勝光明院経蔵が作られてゆきます。

墓所について、先ほど言ったように宇治殿にあるわけではなく、離れた木幡に墓域があることになります。

全体をまとめますと、まず平安京周辺の政治拠点の特質なのですが、白河・鳥羽殿・宇治殿とか、法住寺殿は単独で成立しているわけではない、基本は平安京と伴にあるということです。平安京に天皇がいて律令政治が行われている。権力の中枢はそこで、権威の淵源も天皇にあるわけですから、天皇のいる都の機能分化として、それぞれの政治拠点が成立するのだと言うことになります。したがって院とか摂関家の権威・権力が強大化するなかで、その個別の権力の入れ物として、平安京周囲にそれぞれの拠点が立ち上がったと言うことになります。基本的には大体1.5キロ四方以内に収まる程度になります。平安京とは巨比べ物になりません。

あとはどの拠点も仏寺を積極的に造営しているというところがあります。平安京内では寺院が作れないので、平安京内の邸第に持仏堂があったとしても、基本的には寺院はその周辺の拠点に作られていく、ということでした。白河地区は顕密仏教を基本とし、国家的法会が行われていたということですね。地理的な特徴としては、白河地区と法住寺殿は明らかに都の大路の延長線の中で街区形成がされている。したがって、一見独立する拠点に見えるけれど、じつは平安京と連結している。当時の雰囲気では、平安京から白河地区とか法住寺殿は、特段に区別できる景観にはない、鴨川を境とはするものの、平安京の中なのか外なのか理解できないぐらい都市的な景観一体性があったと思います。それが結果として、中世京都、現在の京都の範囲になっていくわ

for the tomb of Kenshunmon-in, who had passed away earlier, so the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa built a new Hokke-do as his own tomb. The ex-Emperor Goshirakawa's tomb is located within the current Hōjū-ji Temple. Please refer to the resume for information about the Heike's Rokuhara, located north of Hōjūji-dono.

Next, I will report on Uji. Recently, the group of facilities of Sekkan family in Uji has been called Uji-dono. This is because it has been discovered that, specific facilities were called Uji-dono in records, but at a certain stage, the name changed to refer to all of the facilities in Uji. Now, the relationship between Uji and Fujiwara Sekkan family began when Fujiwara no Michinaga sought a villa in Uji. The facilities of Sekkan family were formed in Uji before the construction of Shirakawa, Toba-dono, and Hōjūji-dono. Figure 5 on page 37 of the resume shows the current map of Uji with the topography and layout of the facilities at that time superimposed. Uji is about 15 km south of Heian-kyō. It takes 16 minutes by express train from Kyoto Station to get there. As you can see from Figure 1 on page 32 of the resume, topographically, there used to be a vast lake called Oguraike Pond, or a floodplain into which Ujigawa River, Kizugawa River, Katsuragawa River, and Kamogawa River flowed, to the south of Toba-dono,. It has now been completely reclaimed, but the northeastern bank of the lake is Fushimi, where Fushimi-jō is located. The western edge is around Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. Uji is on the southeastern bank of the lake. A certain number of excavations have been carried out in Uji until now, and we have come to understand the contents to a certain extent. Byōdō-in Temple faces Ujigawa River, where Michinaga's Uji annex was located. It was inherited by his son Yorimichi, who reorganized the annex into Byōdō-in Temple in 1052. After Byōdō-in Temple was built, the Fujiwara clan's annex was built one after another in the surrounding area. Excavations have revealed the remains of gardens, residences, and streets from the late Heian period, which are found to be within an area of about 2 km east to west and 800 m north to south. However, the movement of these annexes was a little complicated. From Michinaga's time until the Shirakawa Insei period, from the late 11th century to the early 12th century, it seems that Byōdō-in Temple and several annex temples were scattered around the area. However, by the mid-12th century, when Toba's annex began, the annex temples were reduced in size, and a block was built in the current city area just behind Byōdō-in Temple, and the annex temples began to be concentrated there. On the opposite bank of the river from Byōdō-in Temple is Ujikami Shrine. At the time it was called Uji-Myōjin, but it is believed that this shrine was built at the same time as Byōdō-in Temple.

This time, the focus is on the tombs, so although it's difficult to call it the Fujiwara Hokke, which developed Uji, or Fujiwara Sekkan family, I'd like to refer to Fujiwara no Michinaga's family as Sekkan family for now.

The cemetery for the Fujiwara Hokke was established in a place called Kohata, northeast of Uji and east of Fushimi, at about the same time as the capital was moved to Heian-kyō. After Fujiwara no Michinaga gained control of the government, he built Jōmyō-ji Temple in Kohata to lay to rest the spirits of the Fujiwara Hokke. After Jōmyō-ji Temple was built, members of Fujiwara Sekkan family in particular began to be buried there. Fujiwara no Michinaga, Yorimichi, and Empress Shoshi are all buried here. Not all of Sekkan family were buried there, but they were concentrated there. This is how the burial grounds of Fujiwara Sekkan family were established. Jōmyō-ji Temple is about 4.5 km north of Uji, but the Fujiwara family tombs were built a little closer to Kyoto. Uji-dono does not have a graveyard for people related to Sekkan family, but rather there was originally a graveyard for the Fujiwara Hokke in Kohata, a short distance away, and the site was developed as a cemetery, which strengthened the relationship with Uji-dono.

Looking at the elements of Uji-dono in summary, it was built by successive heads of the Fujiwara families, from Fujiwara no Michinaga to Fujiwara no Tadazane, who was ousted in the Hōgen Rebellion. The contents of the building also expanded gradually.

There are no clear political or administrative facilities in Uji-dono. The basic residences of the Fujiwara regent family were the residences within the capital, such as Higashisanjō-dono, which was inherited by the head of Fujiwara families, Tsuchimikado-dono for Michinaga, and Kayano-in for Yorimichi.

As a measure to display power and financial strength, there are temples such as Byōdō-in. Then there is the Pure Land Garden. There is also a group of residences. Another thing is that Uji-dono has streets, which I think are significant in terms of scenery and as a stage for displaying power.

The Phoenix Hall is a symbolic object. Memorial services for the head of Fujiwara families are held here. In other words, the head of Fujiwara families are obligated to participate in these memorial services. I think Byōdō-in Sutra Repository is important as a symbolic object. Not only the sutras are stored in this sutra repository, but also the vermilion ware altar that symbolizes the position of the head of Fujiwara families, and the treasures of the Fujiwara Hokke clan that have been valued for generations. These and other treasures of the Hokke are stored here, and the key to it is said to be held by the head of Fujiwara families. Byōdō-in Sutra Repository is a symbolic object that symbolizes the

けですけれど、それのプロトタイプはこの時に作られている、とも言えます。鳥羽殿と宇治は、明らかに平安京との間に空間地を挟んでいて、他とは雰囲気が違っていたでしょう。
荘厳装置に関しては、基本的にはいずれも寺院となるのですが、注意しておきたいのが街路です。白河地区の二条大路末、法住寺殿の七条大路末、それから鳥羽殿だと作道、宇治だと大和大路などがそうだと思います。これはどういうことかというと、寺院・邸宅などを景観的にまとめることはありますが、この通りで権力のパフォーマンスが行われる。例えば白河院が法勝寺に参詣する時に華麗な行列を組んで御幸される。おそらく何百人もの人たちが行列を組んで道を進んでゆくわけですよね。鳥羽殿でも宇治殿でも、このような華麗な行列が練り歩くことが記録されています。これはすごいパフォーマンスになっていて、そういうものを見せつける舞台としても街路は整備されていたと思います。
象徴的事物として少し注意したいものが経蔵になります。平等院の一切経蔵、法勝寺経蔵、鳥羽殿の勝光明院経蔵、法住寺殿だと後白河上皇が病草子など絵巻をいっぱい作って、それを収納した。そういうものがあるので、それはやっぱり象徴的事物として考えたらよいだろうと思います。
白河地区に特徴的なのですが、塔がたくさん作られているというのも、象徴的だと思います。平泉には塔のイメージはないのですが、京都では東寺や西寺もそうですが、塔という高層建築はわりあいと作られています。この時期は特に造塔が盛んで、塔が立ち並ぶ姿に当時の人は圧倒されたと思います。鳥羽殿でも墳墓塔である三重塔は、結構視角的にインパクトがあったと思います。
墳墓と拠点の関係では、時系列的にみると、最初は藤原氏の木幡墓所と宇治殿との関係のようなものがありました。これは宇治という場所から少し離れたところに藤原氏の墓所がそもそもあって、そこに浄妙寺を作り墓域として整備する。12世紀の前半になると鳥羽殿のように白河上皇は院御所の中に最初から自分の墓である塔を建てる、という動きになりました。その後の鳥羽上皇にも受け継がれていきます。法住寺殿も同じで、後白河上皇は蓮華王院三十三間堂の真向かいに法華堂をつくって自分の墓所にする、しかし建春門院が崩御してしまったので、自分のために作った墓堂を使い自分はまた作り直して、そこに入ることになります。拠点の中に墳墓をもつ、という伝統は鳥羽殿から続いていくようです。六波羅も似たような感じで、平正盛の墓がある。墳墓と拠点というのが、この時期から一体化するのかなと思います。いわば墳墓がそれぞれの支配の正当性を示した時代ともいえます。平泉の場合もよく似ているということになります。
ただ、先ほど櫻井さんが言われたように、京都の場合は、すべて個人墓であります。一代一墓。平泉金色堂の場合は累代墓。一つのお堂の中に葬られ続けているので、そこは違うなというような感じがします。
時間をオーバーしてしまいました。かなり雑駁になりましたが、平安京周辺の政治拠点の概要をご報告させていただきました。ありがとうございました。

（佐藤）
杉本先生、ありがとうございました。
それでは、パネリストのみなさまから確認事項等、質問等ありましたらお願いしたいと思います。

（古川）
ありがとうございました。一つ伺いたいのですけれども、墓所ということで白河天皇以降、埋葬と墳墓堂いう形であったと思うのですが、平泉藤原氏の場合、埋葬ではなく金色堂内への遺体の安置という形をとっているかと思います。そうした葬法の違いにどのような、意味があるのか教えていただければと思います。

（杉本）
その辺はよくわかりませんけれども、平安京の周辺における葬法で言いますと、白河上皇は火葬されて、その骨が塔の地下に埋葬されたようです。もともとは土葬を求めていたけれども、事情があって火葬にしてほしいということで火葬。地下に葬られた。鳥羽天皇はお亡くなりになられて、即日、塔の地下の石櫃の中に埋葬されるということになっています。基本的には地下に埋葬されているという形ですね。摂関家の墓所の場合は、基本的に火葬です。だから火葬骨を中に入れるという感じになります。基本は地面の下に火葬だろうが土葬だろうが葬られているっていうのがパターンです。ただ、必ずしも地下に埋葬されない例もあります。それを墓と呼んでいいのか霊屋と呼べばよいのか。例えば、藤原行成の義孝は菩提寺の松崎寺のすぐ横に霊屋が作られていて、そこに棺が置かれました。その数十年後に行成は改葬として火葬し散骨します。このような地下に埋

power of the Fujiwara clan's top leader. Shōkōmyō-in Sutra Repository at Toba Palace was created with this symbolism in mind.
As for the tombs, as I said earlier, they are not located in Uji-dono, but are located in the distant Kohata area.
In summary, first of all, the characteristics of the political bases around Heian-kyō are that Shirakawa, Toba-dono, Uji-dono, and Hōjūji-dono were not established independently, but were basically associated with Heian-kyō. The emperor was in Heian-kyō and the government was conducted under the Ritsuryo system. The center of power was there, and the source of authority was the emperor, so each political base was established as a functional differentiation of the capital where the emperor was. Therefore, as the authority and power of Sekkan family grew, each base was established around Heian-kyō as a container for that individual power. Basically, they were within an area of about 1.5 square kilometers. They are not comparable in size to Heian-kyō.
Another thing is that each base actively built Buddhist temples. Temples could not be built within Heian-kyō, so even if there was a Jibutsu-do hall in the residence of the emperor in Heian-kyō, temples were basically built in the bases around it. The Shirakawa area was based on exoteric and esoteric Buddhism, and national Buddhist services were held there. As for its geographical characteristics, the Shirakawa district and Hōjūji-dono are clearly formed as city blocks within the extension of the main street of the capital. Therefore, although at first glance they appear to be independent bases, they are actually connected to Heian-kyō. In terms of the atmosphere at the time, the Shirakawa district and Hōjūji-dono did not have a particularly distinguishable landscape from Heian-kyō, and although Kamogawa River was the border, I think there was such a unified urban landscape that it was difficult to tell whether it was inside or outside Heian-kyō. As a result, although it would have been included in the area of medieval Kyoto and the current Kyoto area, it can be said that the prototype for this was created at this time. Toba-dono and Uji were clearly separated by a space between them and Heian-kyō, and would have had a different atmosphere from the rest of the area.
As for the solemn facilities, basically, all of them are temples, but the streets are something to pay attention to. Nijō-ōji Sue in the Shirakawa area, Shichijō-ōji Sue in Hōjūji-dono, Tsukurimichi in Toba-dono and Yamato-ōji in Uji are some of these streets. What I mean by this is that temples and residences are sometimes arranged in a scenic way, but performances of power are performed on these streets. For example, when Shirakawa-in visits Hosshō-ji Temple, he makes a magnificent procession. There are probably hundreds of people in procession going down the street. It is recorded that such magnificent processions parade through both Toba-dono and. This is a great performance, and I think the streets were developed as a stage to show off such things.
One symbolic thing to pay a little attention to is the sutra repository. The sutra repository at Byōdō-in, the sutra repository at Hosshō-ji, the sutra repository at Shōkōmyō-in Temple in Toba-dono, and at Hōjūji-dono, the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa created many picture scrolls such as Yamai no Soshi (Diseases and Deformities) and stored them there. Since there are such things, it is best to think of them as symbolic things.
The fact that so many pagodas were built is characteristic of the Shirakawa area and it is symbolic. Hiraizumi does not have an image of pagodas, but in Kyoto, such as Tō-ji Temple and Sai-ji Temple, a fair number of high-rise buildings called pagodas were built. Pagoda construction was particularly popular during this period, and people at the time would have been overwhelmed by the sight of rows of pagodas. Even at, the three-story pagoda, which was used as a tomb, had quite a visual impact.
In terms of the relationship between tombs and bases, looking at the chronology, there was initially a relationship like that between the Fujiwara clan's Kohata Graveyard and Uji-dono. The Fujiwara clan's graveyard was originally located a little distance from Uji, and Jōmyō-ji Temple was built there and developed as a burial ground. In the first half of the 12th century, the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, like, made a move to build a pagoda as his own tomb from the very start within the Imperial Palace. This was also inherited by the subsequent Emperor Toba. The same was true for Hōjūji-dono, where the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa built Hokke-do Hall directly opposite Sanjusangendō Hall of Rengeō-in Temple as his own tomb, but when Kenshunmon-in passed away, he used the tomb that had been built for himself and rebuilt it himself, and entered it. The tradition of having a tomb within a base seems to have continued from Toba-dono. Rokuhara has a similar feel, and there is the tomb of Taira no Masamori. I think that tombs and bases became one from this period. It can be said that this was an era when tombs demonstrated the legitimacy of each rule. The case of Hiraizumi is also very similar. However, as Mr. Sakurai said earlier, in the case of Kyoto, all the tombs are individual. One grave per head. In the case of Hiraizumi Konjikidō, the Golden Hall, tombs are for successive generations of leaders They have continued to be buried in one hall, so I feel that this is different.
I've gone over time. This has been a rather rough report, but I have given you an overview of the political bases around Heian-kyō. Thank you very much.

葬せず建物内に安置する例は他にも幾例かあります。ただ、土の中に埋葬されるということが一般的ではありました。

（佐藤）
よろしいでしょうか、ほかいかがでしょうか?
それではないようですので、杉本先生どうもありがとうございました。

◆報告４

（佐藤）
中国の政治拠点：遼上京、遼慶州、北宋開封、南宋杭州と題しまして、山東大学の劉海宇先生お願いします。

（パネリスト：劉海宇）
中国山東大学の劉と申します。今、同時に岩手大学平泉文化研究センターの客員をやっております。私は、この平泉文化研究センターで10年あまりお世話になりましたので、そこで岩手大学と岩手県のこの共同研究に最初から携わっております。これまでの研究としては、例えば、中国の唐宋時代における中心都市の寺院とかに関連した資料を中心に、都市造営と寺院との関係、及び寺院の成立理由とその位置関係を示す資料収集をしたりしていました。他に、例えば2021年に隋唐洛陽城の宮城の空間構造について、仏教的な視点から関連資料を調査整理して考えることも行いました。また、2022年に北宋の都城開封における主要な宗教的空間に焦点を当て、また、当時日本の入宋僧の成尋が礼拝した開封の寺院とかを概観して、日本の北宋仏教文化に対する受容、及び平泉との関連性についても考えてみたこともありました。今年度はこの県と岩手大学の共同研究が最終年度になりますので、そこで与えられたテーマは、この平泉の時代と近い中国の政治拠点、遼の上京、慶州、北宋の開封、南宋の杭州を中心として、その関連資料を整理調査して、また平泉の構造物や象徴物とか、比較の視点から関連資料を整理調査というものでした。今日の内容は主にこの目次となっております。
先ほど「はじめに」という内容をご紹介いたしました。第一章として遼の上京、第二章は遼の慶州、第三章は北宋の開封で、またいくつかの内容を分けてご紹介いたします。第四章は南宋の杭州です。それから「終わりに」となっております。この四つの都市は、特に遼の上京、北宋の開封、南宋の杭州が都城となるところですけれども、遼の慶州は都城ではなく、お墓の慶陵を中心として、いわゆる奉陵邑、皇帝陵の祭りを維持するための町という性格を持つところになります。
それではまず遼の上京についてお話致します。遼という王朝は911年から1125年までですけれども、北方の騎馬民族契丹による征服王朝となります。最初は916年に契丹国という国名のもと、都城として皇都、その後の名前は上京臨潢府に変わったところが、都城として造営されました。最後は、1120年、女真族の金に攻め落とされるまで、200年余り遼の政治拠点、都城として存続していました。特に近年来、この都城の遺跡は中国社会科学院考古研究所と、現地の内蒙古文物考古研究院と共同で発掘調査をしており、現在も継続しています。その発掘調査の成果により、遼の上京の様相は徐々に明らかになりました。最近の発掘調査の成果及び文献記録によって、この上京の概要をまとめていきたいと思います。
まず場所ですが、現在、内モンゴルの巴林左旗林東鎮の東南部に位置しております。ここは北京です。途中に赤峰という大きな町があります。数年前一度行ったことはあるんですけれども、北京から飛行機で赤峰に行って、赤峰から車で行きました。ここが上京の跡があるところです。この山脈は大興安嶺、中国東北部に横断する大きな山脈になります。それからこの遺跡の場所としては、まわりに山があって、盆地のような地形となっています。
この図を拡大すると、ここは現在の巴林左旗地域ですけれども、ここは上京の遺跡で城壁もちゃんと残っており、河が二本ありまして、東側に交差して合流して上京の重要な水源となっています。発掘調査の成果により、最近、董新林先生たちが作った図なんですけれども、こういう形となっています。漢字の日字の形なんですけれども、北側の部分と南側の部分からなっています。北側は皇城となって南側は漢城という名前です。この皇城の平面は不規則な平面となっていますけれども、だいたい城壁一辺の長さは1600㍍から1800㍍になります。城壁の高さは今でも６㍍から９㍍残っています。

(Sato)
Thank you, Professor Sugimoto.
Now, if any of the panelists have any questions or confirmations, I would like to ask them.

(Furukawa)
Thank you very much. I would like to ask one thing. Regarding the graveyard, I think that after Emperor Shirakawa, burial and tombs were used, but in the case of the Fujiwara clan of Hiraizumi, I think that instead of burial, the body was enshrined inside Konjikidō. I would like to know what the significance is of such a difference in funeral methods.

(Sugimoto)
I don't know much about that, but in terms of the funeral method around Heian-kyō, it seems that the ex-Emperor Shirakawa was cremated, and his bones were buried underground in the pagoda. He originally asked to be buried, but due to circumstances he asked to be cremated, so he was cremated. He was buried underground. Emperor Toba passed away and was buried in a stone coffin underground in the pagoda on the same day. Basically, he was buried underground. In the case of the tombs of Sekkan family, they were cremated. So it's like putting the cremated bones inside. The basic pattern is that the body is buried underground, whether it's cremated or buried. However, there are cases where the body is not necessarily buried underground. Should we call it a grave or a mausoleum? For example, Fujiwara no Yukinari's farther Yoshitaka had a mausoleum built right next to his family temple, Matsuzaki-dera, and his coffin was placed there. A few decades later, Yukinari was cremated and his ashes scattered as a reburial. There are several other cases where the bodies are not buried underground like this, but are placed inside buildings. However, it was common for the body to be buried in the ground.

(Sato)
Is that okay? Any other questions?
It seems there are no other questions, so thank you very much, Professor Sugimoto.

◆Report 4

(Sato)
We would like to hear from Professor Liu Haiyu of Shandong University on China's political bases: Liao Shangjing, Liao Qingzhou, Northern Song Kaifeng, and Southern Song Hangzhou.

(Panelist: Liu Haiyu)
My name is Liu from Shandong University in China. I am currently a visiting scholar of Iwate University. I have been working at the Hiraizumi Cultural Research Center of Iwate University for over 10 years, so I have been involved in this joint research project between Iwate University and Iwate Prefecture since the beginning. In my research to date, for example, I have collected materials related to temples in central cities during the Tang and Song periods in China, focusing on the relationship between urban construction and temples, as well as the reasons for the establishment of temples and their location. In addition, for example, in 2021, I also investigated and organized related materials from a Buddhist perspective to consider the spatial structure of the palace of Luoyang Castle in the Sui and Tang dynasties. In 2022, we also focused on the main religious spaces in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty, and looked at the temples in Kaifeng where the Japanese monk Jōjin worshiped at the time, and considered Japan's acceptance of Northern Song Buddhist culture and its relationship with Hiraizumi. This year marks the final year of the joint research between the prefecture and Iwate University, and the theme given to us was to organize and investigate related materials, focusing on the Chinese political centers close to the time of Hiraizumi, such as the Liao capital, Qingzhou, Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty, and Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty, and also to organize and investigate related materials from a comparative perspective, such as structures and symbols in Hiraizumi. Today's content is mainly this table of contents.
I introduced the contents of the "Introduction" earlier. Chapter 1 is Liao's capital, Chapter 2 is Liao's Qingzhou, Chapter 3 is Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty, and we will introduce several contents separately. Chapter 4 is Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty. Then we have "Conclusion". These four cities, particularly Shangjing during the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng during the Northern Song Dynasty, and Hangzhou during the Southern Song Dynasty, were capitals, but Qingzhou during the Liao Dynasty was not a capital, but rather was a so-called honoring town, a town for maintaining festivals for the imperial tombs, centered around the tomb of the emperor, Qingling.

城門は各面に一つずつあったんですけれども、文献記録では、例えば遼史に書いているのは、東は安東門、西は乾徳門、北は拱辰門、南は大順門とあるんですけれども、しかし現在南の方は川に流されて遺跡は破壊されています。
宮城、つまり、皇帝の住んだところは、およそ方形となっています。皇城の中心の東寄りに位置しており、だいたい皇城面積の1/5を占めることになります。この皇城には城門が三つ確認されており、北は城門がないようです。特に東の門は東華門で、一番大きいです。しかし、南の承天門も重要です。それから西は西華門となっています。宮殿は、この東門に向かっている東向きの宮殿が三つ検出されました。特に一番東側の宮殿は一番規模が大きいです。それはおそらく宮城の正殿じゃないかと推測されています。この皇城の中で西と南のところに建築基壇がたくさんありますけれども、官署、邸宅及び孔子廟、仏寺、道観などがあります。それから西北の隅に大きな苑池があります。それから西南部、この苑池の南側に大きなお寺の遺跡で、塔の遺構も確認されています。西と南の門は少し規模が小さく、東の門だけは三本の道を持っており、規模が一番大きな門になっています。宮殿も東向きで、皇城の一番重要な門は東向きの門で、遼史の記録の宮殿がみんな東向きっていう記録と一致する発見となっています。
これは南の部分です。南部の町は漢城、不規則な方形となっています。城壁の保存はそんなによくないです。現在、高さ２ｍから４ｍぐらい残っています。城門は文献記録では東に迎春、南に順陽、それから西に金鳳という三つの門があるんですけれども、しかしまだ発掘調査されてなくて、確認はされていません。文献記録では、遼は渤海を平定してから、宮室を建てたということで、南の漢城は926年の造営と推測されております。
遼の支配領土としては、もちろん遼という征服王朝は徐々に領土を拡大したんですけれども、大同元年947年の支配領域は、この図となっています。特に938年に中原王朝から今北京あたりの幽州・雲州、幽雲16州の地を得たことによって、南に領土を拡大できたわけです。この図でわかるように、上京臨潢府はここにあります。丁度この支配領土の中心あたりに位置しており、儒教の伝統の択中建都、つまり支配の真ん中のところに都を作る思想の影響があったと思われます。
それから皇帝陵については、遼の太宗皇帝は亡くなってから、その皇后の応天皇后は、都城の西南部20数キロ離れているところに陵、つまりお墓を作りました。そこに太宗皇帝に関する陵などあるので、その後に名前は祖山、また祖州っていう街も作られて、太宗皇帝廟とか、それから聖踪殿、石碑なども造営され、その陵墓の保護などの祭祀機能を持つ祖州城が造営されたことになります。また遼の太宗が皇帝を称するときに、例の正殿が開皇殿で、おそらくさっきみた一番規模の大きな宮殿の跡となりまして、宮城の南門承天門でも礼拝を受けたということが推測されます。つまりこれが為政者の正当支配を示す象徴事物のひとつとして、承天門となります。つまり王朝としては、その王権あるいは皇権は天から授かるっていう古代からの思想に因んで、この承天門、天命を受ける門という名前のところも王権の正当性を示す建物の一つと思われます。先ほど申し上げましたこの東向きの宮殿は、開皇殿、おそらくこの一番大きな建物となります。為政者の権力の財力を表象する構造物としては、この開皇殿およびその隣にある他の安徳殿・五鸞殿などとなります。それから、この皇城の中に大きなお寺もあり、太宗皇帝の像を安置した天雄寺もありまして、それは祖廟の性格を持つ施設じゃないかと思います。
それから遼のもう一つの町、慶州について、ご紹介いたします。この遼の慶州は、第六代皇帝、七代皇帝、八代皇帝およびその皇妃たちの陵墓があるところです。その陵墓を保護・祭祀するために、町がつくられて、それは奉陵邑としての町の性格です。場所としては臨潢府の西南85キロのところに位置しております。またここは結構景色がきれいなところですけれども、遼の皇帝の捺鉢、秋の捺鉢の場所として知られています。慶州が作られたのは、1031年です。慶陵の南に慶州を作るという記録があります。場所としては陵墓の東南部15キロのところに、この街は作られました。
上京臨潢府と慶州との位置関係ですが、さっきの図で赤峰がここで、この上京の西南部、85キロのところに慶州があります。皇帝３人の陵があります。合わせて慶陵と呼ばれています。この慶陵及び慶州は、遼の最後まで繁栄を極めました。女真族の金に滅ぼされた後にすっかり廃れて、元明清時代にはもうあまり知られなくなるんです。そこで、この慶州城の所在について清朝の地方史で、『大清一統志』には記録がありました。19世紀終わりあたりに、外国の宣教師たちがこの遺跡を発見して、いろんな踏査とかしていました。その中で、日本人の研究者鳥居龍蔵も踏査したりしていました。彼らの踏査によって、だいたい規模が分かました。方形となっており、この小さい図ですが、一辺１000ｍぐらいあります。ここに赤いマークがあるのは、白塔、大きな塔が今でも建っているところになります。これは、航空写真ですけれども、ここに塔が立っています。いろんな建物の基壇がありました。文献記録では聖宗皇后が八年間ここに住んでいて、そのゆかりの七括宮とか、あと興宗

First, let me talk about the Liao's capital. The Liao Dynasty lasted from 911 to 1125, and was a conquering dynasty by the northern horse-riding tribe, the Khitan. It was first built as the imperial capital under the name of the Khitan Kingdom in 916, and later changed its name to Shangjing Linhuangfu, where it was built as a capital. It continued to exist as the political base and capital of the Liao for over 200 years until it was attacked and captured by the Jin Dynasty of the Nǔzhen in 1120. In particular, in recent years, the ruins of this capital have been excavated in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the local Inner Mongolia Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, and are still ongoing. As a result of the excavation, the state of the Liao's capital has gradually become clear. Based on the results of the recent excavation and documentary records, I would like to summarize the outline of this capital.
First of all, the location is currently located in the southeast of Lindong Town, Balinzuoqi in Inner Mongolia. This is Beijing. There is a big town called Chifeng on the way. I went there once a few years ago, flying from Beijing to Chifeng and then driving from Chifeng. This is where the ruins of Shangjing are. This mountain range is the Greater Xinggan Mountains, a large mountain range that crosses northeastern China. The location of this ruin is surrounded by mountains and has a basin-like topography.
If you enlarge this map, you can see that this is the current Balin Zuoqi area, but this is the ruins of Shangjing, and the city walls remain intact, and there are two rivers that cross on the east side and merge to become an important water source for Shangjing. This map was recently created by Professor Dong Xinlin and others as a result of excavation surveys, and it has the following shape. It is in the shape of the Chinese character for day, and is made up of a northern part and a southern part. The northern part is the imperial city and the southern part is called Hancheng. The plane of this imperial city is irregular, but the length of each side of the city walls is roughly 1600m to 1800m. The height of the city walls remains to this day about 6m and 9m.
There was one city gate on each side, and written records, such as the Liao History, state that there was an Andong Gate in the east, a Qiande Gate in the west, a Gongchen Gate in the north, and a Dashun Gate in the south; however, the southern gate has now been washed away by the river and the ruins have been destroyed.
The palace, that is, the place where the emperor lived, is roughly square. It is located on the east side of the center of the palace and occupies about 1/5 of the palace area. Three gates have been confirmed in this palace, but there seems to be no gate in the north. The eastern gate is Donghuamen, which is the largest. However, the southern Chengtianmen is also important. The western gate is Xihuamen. Three palaces facing east toward the eastern gate have been discovered. The easternmost palace is the largest. It is speculated that it is probably the main hall of the palace. There are many architectural foundations in the west and south of this palace, including government offices, residences, a Confucius temple, a Buddhist temple, and a Taoist temple. There is also a large garden pond in the northwest corner. In the southwest, south of this garden pond, there are ruins of a large temple, and the remains of a pagoda have also been confirmed. The western and southern gates are slightly smaller, and only the eastern gate has three roads and is the largest gate. The palace also faces east, and the most important gate of the imperial palace faces east, which is consistent with the record in the Liao History that all palaces faced east.
This is the southern part. The southern city is Hancheng, an irregular square. The city walls are not well preserved. Currently, about 2 to 4 meters of height remain. According to the records, there are three gates: Yingchun in the east, Shunyang in the south, and Jinfeng in the west, but they have not yet been excavated and confirmed. According to the records, the Liao built palaces after pacifying Bohai, and the southern Hancheng is estimated to have been built in 926.
As for the territory under Liao's control, of course, the Liao conquering dynasty gradually expanded its territory, but the area under its control in 947, the first year of the Datong era, is shown in this diagram. In 938 in particular, they were able to expand their territory to the south by acquiring the land of Youzhou, Yunzhou, and the 16 prefectures of Youyun, which are now around Beijing, from the Central Plains Dynasty. As you can see from this diagram, the Linhuang Prefecture of Shangjing was located here. It was located right in the center of this territory, and it seems that it was influenced by the Confucian tradition of choosing the center as the capital, that is, the idea of building a capital in the center of the territory.
As for the imperial tomb, after Emperor Taizong of the Liao Dynasty died, his empress, Empress Yingtian, built a tomb, or a grave, about 20 kilometers southwest of the capital. Since there are tombs related to Emperor Taizong there, a city called Zushan and Zuzhou was built afterwards, and the Emperor Taizong's mausoleum, the Sacred Disappearance Hall, and stone monuments were built, and Zuzhou Castle was built to protect the tomb and perform other rituals. Also, when Liao's Taizong proclaimed himself emperor, the main hall was the Kaihuang Hall, probably the site of the largest

皇帝が拝謁した大安殿とかはありました。色んなお寺もありました。それから皇帝一族以外に、この慶州の為政者には、慶州玄寧軍節度使が常駐していました。
この白塔は1988年から92年に修復工事を行い、特に天宮から、いろんな仏教関連遺物が出ていました。例えば、これらの法舎利を奉納した塔、規模の非常に小さく、木で作られたものがたくさん出ました。これらの木で作られた塔の中に経巻が入っていました。特にこの中に入れていた経巻のところに「舎利」という文字が書かれたりしています。つまり、これらの経巻そのものは法舎利として、この木製の塔に入れたということがわかります。
皇帝陵の慶陵はどこにあるかと言いますと、この白塔の西北14キロほど離れる山の中にあります。それは1920年代から幾度も盗掘され、いろんな遺物が盗まれました。また日本の学者の鳥居龍蔵とか関野貞たちも数回調査もおこないました。特に日本占領中の1937年に本格的発掘調査をやっていました。この山の中腹に陵は三つあります。東陵・中陵・西陵という名前です。これは当時日本の研究者が作った報告書から取った図になります。彼等の調査によって、この陵墓の形もわかりました。ドームの天井を持っていて、これが慶陵の調査結果のもとに作られた図です。大小七つの部屋があって真ん中に通路があります。
それから北宋の開封についてご紹介します。この開封は、洛陽の東200キロ、隋の煬帝の時に作った大運河の要所として水運に恵まれた都市となります。特に五代十国時代に、開封は、物流の集積の拠点となって、都城となったわけです。北宋時代に、汴河と言う名前の川があって、実は煬帝の時に開削された通済渠のことですが、大運河の一部となっています。特に南の食料とか、運河によって首都開封に集まるのが多いので、その水運の利便性の関係で北宋が開封を首都にしたという理由となります。場所としてはここです。そこで現在、河南省の東部になり、開封はここに位置しています。
北宋の都城としては規模が大きいですけれども、真ん中は宮城で、皇帝の住んだところで、それから内城、外城からなっています。この宮城は周囲およそ2500m、内城の北部に位置しています。内城は、ほぼ正方形になって、唐代の汴州城のもとに修築されたものです。外城としては五代の後周の時に、956年に増築された城壁がありました。周囲およそ30キロあり、方形に近い形となっています。北宋時代にも何回も修復工事をやっていました。内城は唐代の、先ほど申し上げましたように、汴州城をもとに作られました。宮城はその真ん中の北部、北寄りに位置しており、これは洛陽の宮殿を真似て修築されたされたものとなります。開封宮城の中にいろんな宮殿の跡がり、宗教関係の内道場もありました。内道場としては宮中に設けられました宗教施設となります。隋唐時代からありました。北宋時代の内道場は、基本的に唐代の内道場の性格を継続していたわけです。面白いのは、日本のお坊さん成尋の日記で、『参天台五台山記』の中に、神宗皇帝が内道場で行われた式典を詳しく書いていました。つまり、雨ごいの式典です。どういう宮殿でどういう式典をやっていたとか、それを読むと、これらの宮殿を画像で飾るわけです。塑像とかではなく、画像によって飾る、つまりこの式典が終わりましたら画像が撤去されるわけです。この宮殿は別の用途に使われるというような性格の宮殿となっています。あと、北宋開封城内にいろんな寺院と道教の道観があました。その中で結構有名なものとしては、仏寺としては大相国寺です。これが皇帝自ら書かれた金字の大相国寺の額もありまして、また皇帝たちがよくここに行幸したり、ここでいろんな式典をやっていました。また、相国寺は使者とか、地方からのお坊さんたちの宿泊施設にもなっていました。それからもう一つ有名な寺院は太平興国寺。これも皇帝の行幸とか、いろんな式典とか行われるところです。それから、例えば日本から北宋に行ったお坊さん、奝然とか成尋とかもこの興国寺に泊まったりしていました。また啓聖院というお寺がありまして、太宗皇帝の遺像、遺容が安置されたんですけれども、ほか、その後の歴代皇帝の像も安置されました。それから日本と関係あるのは、奝然が日本に持ってきた清涼寺釈迦如来像は、この啓聖禅院の釈迦像の模刻とされています。それから他は開宝寺で、呉越国からもらってきた仏舎利を安置する所とか、歴代皇帝も開宝寺に行っていたとか有名なお寺となります。また天清寺とか、他に顕聖寺、慈孝寺とかもありまして、時間の関係でちょっと省略致します。
道観もたくさんありました。有名なのは太清観です。それから景霊宮とかもあり、この景霊宮は特に皇族の祖廟、太廟の性格をもつ道観となっています。玉清昭応宮もありました。先ほど申しましたように、皇帝の権限は天から授かるという思想があって、それで当時、遼と北宋が戦争して、北宋は負けて檀淵の盟を遼と結んで、賠償金とか、いろんなものを遼に貢献するようになりました。そこで皇帝の権威を強化するために、天から詔を降下したという演出で、この玉清昭応宮で式典を行ったっていうことがありました。つまり、この玉清昭応宮は天とのつながりをもつ重要な施設っていうことです。

palace we saw earlier, and it is assumed that he also received worship at the southern gate of the palace, Chengtianmen. In other words, Chengtianmen became one of the symbols that show the legitimate rule of the ruler. In other words, as a dynasty, the name Chengtianmen, the gate that receives the mandate of heaven, is thought to be one of the buildings that show the legitimacy of the royal authority, based on the ancient idea that the royal authority or imperial power is granted by heaven. The palace facing east that I mentioned earlier is Kaihuang Hall, probably the largest building. The Kaihuang Hall and the other buildings next to it, such as Ande Hall and Wuluan Hall, are structures that represent the financial power of the rulers. There is also a large temple within the palace, including Tianxiong Temple, which houses a statue of Emperor Taizong, and I think that this is a facility that has the characteristics of an ancestral temple.
Next, I would like to introduce another city of the Liao Dynasty, Qingzhou. Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty is where the tombs of the 6th, 7th, and 8th emperors and their queens are located. The city was built to protect and worship the tombs, and it has the character of a tomb town. It is located 85 km southwest of Linhuangfu. This place has a beautiful landscape, and is known as autumnal Napen, a camp for hunting and fishing, where the emperors of the Liao Dynasty made political and judicial decisions. Qingzhou was founded in 1031. There is a record showing that Qingzhou was built south of Qingling. The city was built 15 km southeast of the tombs.
As for the location of Shangjing Linhuangfu and Qingzhou, Chifeng is here in the previous diagram, and Qingzhou is 85 km southwest of Shangjing. There are the tombs of three emperors. Together, they are called Qingling. Qingling and Qingzhou prospered until the end of the Liao Dynasty. After being destroyed by the Jin of the Nǔzhen, it fell into total ruin, and by the time of the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties it was little known. The location of Qingzhou Castle was recorded in the Qing Dynasty's local history, the "Daqing Yitongzhi." Foreign missionaries discovered the ruins around the end of the 19th century and conducted various surveys. Among them was the Japanese researcher Ryuzo Torii. Their surveys gave us a rough idea of the scale. It is a square, and this small map is about 1000m on each side. The red mark here is the white pagoda, where the large pagoda still stands. This is an aerial photograph, and the pagoda stands here. There were foundations for various buildings. According to written records, Empress Shengzong lived here for eight years, and there was the Qikuo Palace, which is associated with her, and the Daan Hall, where Emperor Xingzong had an audience. There were also various temples. In addition to the imperial family, the rulers of Qingzhou were the Qingzhou Xuanningjun Jiedushi, who was always present. This white pagoda was restored from 1988 to 1992, and various Buddhist relics were found, especially from the Tiangong. For example, the pagodas to which these relics were dedicated were very small and made of wood, and many of them were found. These wooden pagodas contained sutras. In particular, the word "relic" was written on the sutras that were placed inside. In other words, we can see that these sutras themselves were placed in this wooden pagoda as relics.
The imperial tomb, Qingling, is located in a mountain about 14 kilometers northwest of this white pagoda. It has been robbed many times since the 1920s, and various relics have been stolen. Japanese scholars Ryuzo Torii and Tei Sekino have also conducted several investigations. In particular, a full-scale excavation survey was conducted in 1937 during the Japanese occupation. There are three tombs on the mountainside. They are called the Eastern Tomb, the Central Tomb, and the Western Tomb. This is a diagram taken from a report prepared by a Japanese researcher at the time. Their investigation also revealed the shape of this tomb. It has a dome ceiling, and this is a diagram based on the results of the investigation of Qingling. There are seven rooms of various sizes, and a corridor in the middle.
Next, I will introduce Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty. Kaifeng is 200 km east of Luoyang, and is a city blessed with water transportation, as it is a key point of the Grand Canal built during the time of Emperor Yang of Sui. Especially during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, Kaifeng became a base for the accumulation of logistics and became a capital city. During the Northern Song Dynasty, there was a river called Bianhe, which is actually the Tongji Canal excavated during the time of Emperor Yang, and it is part of the Grand Canal. In particular, food from the south was often gathered in the capital Kaifeng via the canal, so the Northern Song Dynasty made Kaifeng its capital due to the convenience of water transportation. It is located here. Now, it is in the eastern part of Henan Province, and Kaifeng is located here.
It is large for a capital city of the Northern Song Dynasty, but the center is the palace, where the emperor lived, and it consists of the inner city and outer city. This palace is about 2,500 meters in circumference and is located in the northern part of the inner city. The inner city is almost square and was rebuilt based on Bianzhou City of the Tang Dynasty. The outer city had a wall that was added in 956 during the Later Zhou Dynasty of the Five Dynasties. It has a circumference of about 30 km and is almost square. It was also restored many times during the Northern Song Dynasty. As I mentioned

もう一つの特徴は、寺院の多くは前の時代より継承されたもので、その一方、道観の多くは北宋期に創建されたものとなります。特に真宗皇帝と徽宗皇帝は道教を崇拝して、それを政治利用したということで、道教施設を多く作ったわけです。
北宋の皇帝陵がどこにあるかって言いますと、北宋皇帝７代及びその一族の陵墓は現在の河南省の鞏義市の南西部にあります。都城の開封と結構離れています。150キロ余り離れています。ここに作られた理由としては、実は北宋は最初は洛陽に都を置く、という考えだったので、お墓は洛陽付近に作られたわけです。結局、最後は開封に都を置いたため、その関係で結構陵墓が離れることになりました。皇帝の陵墓の造営と同時に、そのそばに寺院を設置するのが一つの特徴です。例えば永安陵とか永昌陵で陵のそばに永昌院を作り、他にもだいたいお寺は付随して作られたんです。その目的としては、薦福・祈祷・読経のために寺院が作られたわけです。
もう一つ宋代の制度では、皇帝が生前に陵墓を作らないということがあり、亡くなってから初めて陵墓を作ります。その七ヵ月後に埋葬する、つまり陵を作る時間は七ヶ月しかないと言うことになります。ここは現在、公園となっております。宋陵公園で永厚陵とかですね。鞏義という町のところにあります。
それから北宋皇帝としては、立派な施設を内外に示したいっていうことがあります。成尋の日記にはっきり書いています。成尋は1072年北宋の杭州に着きましたが、その年末に開封に行って、そこで皇帝から詔を下賜された。その詔書に、行くべき寺院の名前が書かれています。大相国寺、太平興国寺、啓聖禅院など。そこで皇帝の命令されたとおり、成尋はこれらのお寺に焼香に行きました。同時に、皇帝の傍にいた宦官の案内で成尋は見物したわけです。日記に「はなはだし妙なり」とか、「記し尽くすべからず」とかいう言葉で驚嘆していました。つまり、これらの仏教寺院は、北宋首都開封の寺院の代表として朝廷より示されたもので、朝廷との関係が深いものと考えられます。またその仏殿、仏像、仏典など、すべて自慢して外国の坊さん見せられるものとなります。また、この成尋は、神宗皇帝に善慧大師という称号が賜与されて、日本に帰国せず開封で亡くなって、天台山の国清寺に葬られたとになります。
最後に南宋の杭州をご紹介します。場所としては、杭州湾の西側にあります。五代十国の時代は、呉越国の都として使われました。南宋の時代になると、高宗皇帝は、杭州の鳳凰山に行宮造営の詔書を下し、杭州を「臨安府」に昇格しました。1138年に正式に首都となりました。それから場所としては、まず西湖の東側に町が広がるんですけれども、その南側に鳳凰山があり、鳳凰山のふもとに南宋の皇城がありました。宮殿とかいろんな建物が作られました。正門は、南門の麗正門となります。宮殿の中で重要なのは、大慶殿となります。これが正殿ではあるんですけれども、北宋と同じように儀式の目的によって建物の名前も変わることがあります。多目的用途の宮殿です。これは南宋宮殿制度の一つ顕著な特徴でもあります。ほかの宮殿としては延和殿・崇政殿などがあります。また高宗皇帝は退位して上皇として、皇城の外に住んだことになり、それは北内という名前のところもありました。皇城の面積としては、大抵50万平米あります。しかし、遺跡はほとんど現在の２㍍から３㍍の地下にあります。宮城は、鳳凰山のふもとにあり、400㍍×600㍍ぐらいの規模です。自然の地形に関係あるので、中軸線はないっていうのが一つの特徴です。
寺院としては、いろんな寺院がありました。日本と関係の深いのは、禅宗の五山十刹です。これらの寺院には皇帝と関係深いのがたくさんあります。現在まで発掘されたのは、姚園寺・永福寺・霊林寺の三つです。
皇帝陵については、杭州はここにあって、陵は今の紹興市の南側にあります。皇帝陵は、都城の杭州と85キロぐらい離れています。当時の文献記録では、皇帝が崩御すると運河の水運とかで移動して15日間もかかるんです。女真族との戦争があったので、南宋の皇帝たちは占領された領土を回復するという願望があって、そこで陵墓を簡単に作り、あるいは規模も小さめに作ることで、名前も攢宮というのを名づけました。
先ほど申し上げました、宋代では皇帝が崩御した後に陵を作り、七か月で埋葬するという制度があります。皇族とか皇帝がなくなってから埋葬される７か月間、一体どこに入れるかっていうのが問題で、だいたいお寺に一時的に安置する。それは寺院の攢所です。また、あるケースとしては、臨時的に安置されるままで、寺院の法堂に埋葬されることもあります。
南宋皇帝陵は発掘調査されています。2018年以来、発掘調査の成果により、一部復元されて、南宋陵公園、遺跡公園として現在も復元工事が継続されています。これが南宋一号陵復元計画図、このように復元するっていう感じです。
時間の関係で、ここで終わりとして、まとめたいと思います。
中国の政治拠点では性格上、遼の上京、北宋の開封、南宋の臨安城が王朝の正式な都城となります。遼の慶州は、慶陵などの陵墓の祭祀を保持するために設置された奉陵邑となります。それぞれの特徴としては、遼の上

earlier, the inner city was built based on Bianzhou City of the Tang Dynasty. The palace is located in the northern part of the center, toward the north, and was rebuilt to imitate the palace in Luoyang. There are various palace ruins in the Kaifeng palace, and there was also an inner daochang for religious purposes. The inner daochang was a religious facility established in the palace. It has existed since the Sui and Tang Dynasties. The inner daochang of the Northern Song Dynasty basically continued the characteristics of the inner daochang of the Tang Dynasty. What is interesting is that the diary of the Japanese monk Jōjin, “Can Tiantai Wutaishanji,” contains a detailed description of a ceremony held by Emperor Shenzong at the inner daochang. In other words, it was a rain-making ceremony. When you read about what kind of palaces were used and what kind of ceremonies were held there, you will find that these palaces were decorated with images. They were not decorated with statues, but with images, which means that the images were removed after the ceremony was over. This palace was designed to be used for other purposes. There were also various temples and Taoist temples in Kaifeng City during the Northern Song Dynasty. Among them, the most famous one is the Buddhist temple Daxiangguo Temple. There is also a plaque with the name Daxiangguo Temple written in gold by the emperor himself, and the emperors often visited here and held various ceremonies here. Xiangguo Temple also served as a lodging facility for envoys and monks from the provinces. Another famous temple is Taiping Xingguo Temple. This is also a place where the emperor visited and various ceremonies were held here. For example, monks from Japan who visited the Northern Song Dynasty, such as Chōnen and Jōjin, stayed at Xingguo Temple. There is also a temple called Qishengyuan, where the posthumous statue of Emperor Taizong was enshrined, as well as statues of other successive emperors. The statue of Shaka Nyorai at Qingliang Temple, which was brought to Japan by Chōnen, is said to be a replica of the statue at Qishengyuan. The other temple is Kaibao Temple, which is famous for enshrining the Buddha's relics received from the Wu-Yue Kingdom, and for being a place where successive emperors also visited. There are also other temples such as Tianqing Temple, Xiansheng Temple, and Cixiao Temple, but I will not go into detail here due to time constraints.
There were also many Taoist temples. The most famous one is the Taiqing Temple. Then there was Jingling Temple, which was a Taoist temple with the characteristics of an ancestral temple for the imperial family. There was also the Yuqing Zhaoying Temple. As I mentioned earlier, there was a belief that the emperor's authority was bestowed by heaven, and at that time, Liao and the Northern Song were at war, and the Northern Song lost, and made the Tanyuan alliance with Liao, and began to contribute various things to Liao, such as compensation. So, in order to strengthen the authority of the emperor, a ceremony was held at the Yuqing Zhaoying Temple, with the effect of an imperial edict descending from heaven. In other words, the Yuqing Zhaoying Temple is an important facility that has a connection to heaven.
Another characteristic is that many of the temples were inherited from previous eras, while many of the Taoist temples were founded during the Northern Song period. In particular, Emperor Zhenzong and Emperor Huizong worshiped Taoism and used it for political purposes, so they built many Taoist facilities.
As for where the Northern Song Dynasty imperial tombs are located, the tombs of the seven Northern Song emperors and their families are located in the southwest of Gongyi City, Henan Province. They are quite far from the capital city of Kaifeng. They are about 150 kilometers away. The reason they were built here is that the Northern Song Dynasty originally thought of placing the capital in Luoyang, so the tombs were built near Luoyang. In the end, the capital was placed in Kaifeng, so the tombs were quite far away. One characteristic is that temples were built near the construction of the emperor's tomb at the same time. For example, Yongchangyuan was built near the tombs of Yong'an Mausoleum and Yongchang Mausoleum, and most other temples were built in conjunction with them. The purpose of the temples was to offer blessings, pray, and chant sutras.
Another system in the Song Dynasty was that the emperor did not build a tomb during his lifetime, and only had a tomb built after his death. He was buried seven months later, which means that there were only seven months to build the tomb. This place is now Song Mausoleum Park and it contains the Yonghou Mausoleum. It is located in a town called Gongyi.
The Northern Song Emperor also wanted to show off his magnificent facilities to both inside and outside the country. This is clearly written in Jōjin’s diary. Jōjin arrived in Hangzhou in the Northern Song in 1072, and went to Kaifeng at the end of that year, where he received an imperial edict from the Emperor. The imperial edict lists the names of the temples he should visit, such as Daxiangguo Temple, Taiping Xingguo Temple, and Qisheng Zen Temple. As ordered by the Emperor, Jōjin went to these temples to offer incense. At the same time, Jōjin was guided by a eunuch who was beside the Emperor to see the temples. In his diary, he expressed his amazement, saying things like "extremely wonderful" and "it is impossible to describe them all." In other words, these Buddhist temples were presented by the Imperial Court as representatives of the temples in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song, and are thought

京では為政者の権力とかの構造物は、おそらく宮城と皇城の３本の道を有する東門とかで、また南門の承天門及び一番大きな宮殿の開皇殿とかです。また苑池・寺院とかもあります。祖廟の性格を持つ建築は、宮城の中では天雄寺。墓所としては、西南部20数キロ離れる太祖陵とかがあります。
慶州は、さっき申し上げました大安殿、七括宮などの宮殿やいくつかのお寺などがあります。現存白塔の「建塔碑銘」によれば、釈迦舎利塔は「大契丹国章聖皇太后」乃ち聖宗皇后が重熙十六年(1047)から十八年(1049)にかけて多くの官人や軍人によって建立したもので、まさに為政者の権力と財力を表象する構造物、かつ為政者の支配の正当性を示す象徴事物です。。また、慶州は性格上「奉陵邑」であり、慶陵の祭祀や保持のために設置されたもので、皇帝及び皇族の墓所・廟と関係が深いです。
北宋の都城開封では、為政者の権力と財力を表する構造物は宮城の宮殿や城門などです。他に先ほど申しました、天から下賜された詔が安置された道教の玉清昭応宮なども重要です。それから成尋が焼香に行った、北宋皇帝に示されたこれらのお寺とかです。城内で祖廟の性格をもつのは、太廟として改造された景霊宮とか。また、皇帝陵のそばに必ず仏教寺院が設置されたというのも一つの特徴ですね。
南宋都城の臨安では、規模は小さいんですけれども、宮殿群とか麗正門とかは為政者の権力と財力を表彰する構造物及び支配の正当性を示す象徴物です。皇帝陵は臨安城と離れたところにあります。つまり、居所の皇城と祖廟の景霊宮とかは距離的に遠いというのも一つの特徴です。
平泉の特徴は、佐藤先生およびほかの方々の研究では、政庁の面積が小さいとか、金色堂、関山山頂の塔とかは支配の正当性を象徴するものとなります。中国の時代の近い都城の特徴を比較すると、皇帝およびその一族の葬式に、仏教が多いに関与するっていうことは、当時東北アジアの共通点です。特に墓所の陵墓には仏教的要素が多いということが一番の特徴あるのが、やはり遼の慶州と北宋の皇帝陵です。それから支配領土の真ん中に都を作るっていう思想は東北アジア各地の共通の認識となり、もちろん平泉でも、その支配の真ん中に平泉をつくったという「吾妻鏡」の記載がありました。その中で、遼の慶州と南宋の臨安城は、その特殊な性格により、例外です。というのは、南宋は、やはり北に占領された領土を回復する目的で、割合に北に近い臨安に都を作ったというのは一つ重要な特徴だと思います。政治拠点内に陵墓を造成するのは平泉のみで、遼の上京、北宋の開封、それから南宋の臨安では、およそ都城から離れたところに陵墓があります。慶州は、陵墓の祭祀とか維持するためのまちですので、比較的陵墓とは近いです。南宋の皇族は、寺院の法堂に葬られたケースが見られます。
以上で私の報告が終わりました。どうもありがとうございました。

（佐藤）
劉先生、ありがとうございました。
それではパネリストの皆さまからご質問お願いしたいと思います。

（杉本）
ありがとうございました。少しイメージできないので教えていただきたいのですけれども、慶州城、いわゆる奉陵邑のことです。劉先生のご報告の中では、その皇帝陵を維持管理するための都市だということですけど。日本にはそのような都市は見当たらないです。したがってイメージがわかないのですが、それほど大規模なものが、そもそもその陵墓の維持管理をするのに必要なのか、ということが一つあります。ですから、イメージとして、その陵を管理するということだけではなくて、例えば皇帝陵そのものの荘厳装置としての都市、みたいな感じになるのかなと思いましたが、それでよいのか教えてください。

（劉）
ありがとうございます。この奉陵邑は遼代からから始まったわけではなく、秦・漢時代からありました。例えば今、西安に行きましたら、前漢時代の皇帝陵が沢山ありまして、大体皇帝陵のそばにその維持管理、あるいは祭祀するためのまちがあり、結構規模の大きな街なんです。そのときは内陸から数万人単位、あるいは十数万人単位で移民するっていうのがありました。この慶州も景色の綺麗な所で、捺鉢、秋の捺鉢の場所として、よく皇帝たちが行ったところなんですけれども、その後に陵が作られました。捺鉢なら、この街を作る必要がない、陵墓の維持管理の目的っていうことで記録されています。もちろん、町自身も王権の正当性、あるいはその権力、財力を表象するものという考えもできるとは思いますが、しかし、メインは、やはり陵の維持管理が一番大きな目的だと思っています。

to have had a deep connection to the Imperial Court. In addition, the Buddha hall, the Buddha statues, the Buddhist sutras, etc. were all proudly shown to foreign monks. This Jōjin was also given the title of Master Shanhui by Emperor Shenzong, and he died in Kaifeng without returning to Japan, and was buried in the Guoqing Temple on Mt. Tiantai.
Finally, I would like to introduce Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty. It is located on the west side of Hangzhou Bay. During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, it was used as the capital of the Wuyue Kingdom. During the Southern Song Dynasty, Emperor Gaozong issued an edict to build a temporary palace on Mt. Fenghuang in Hangzhou, and promoted Hangzhou to "Lin'an Prefecture". It officially became the capital in 1138. Then, in terms of location, the city spreads out on the east side of West Lake, and to the south of that is Mt. Fenghuang, and at the foot of Mt. Fenghuang was the Southern Song Imperial Palace. Palaces and various buildings were built. The main gate is the southern gate, Lizhengmen. The most important building in the palace is the Daqing Hall. This is the main hall, but like the Northern Song Dynasty, the name of the building can change depending on the purpose of the ceremony. It is a palace with multiple uses. This is also one of the notable features of the Southern Song palace system. Other palaces include the Yanhe Hall and the Chongzheng Hall. Emperor Gaozong also abdicated and became a retired emperor, living outside the imperial city, where there was also a place called Beinei The imperial city usually has an area of 500,000 square meters. However, most of the ruins are 2 to 3 meters underground. The imperial city is located at the foot of Mt. Fenghuang and is about 400m x 600m in size. One of its characteristics is that there is no central axis because it is related to the natural topography.
There were various temples. The Zen sect's Five Mountains and Ten Temples are closely related to Japan. Many of these temples are closely related to the emperor. Three have been excavated to date: Yaoyuan Temple, Yongfu Temple, and Linglin Temple.
As for the imperial tomb, Hangzhou is here, and the tomb is located south of the current city of Shaoxing. The imperial tomb is about 85 kilometers away from the capital city of Hangzhou. According to documents from that time, when the emperor died, it took 15 days to move him by canal water transport. Because there was a war with the Nǔzhen, the Southern Song emperors had a desire to recover the occupied territories, so they built simple tombs there, or built them on a smaller scale, and named them 'Zangong' tombs.
As I mentioned earlier, in the Song Dynasty, there was a system in which a tomb was built after the death of an emperor, and the tomb was buried within seven months. The problem was where to put the imperial family or the emperor for the seven months after their death, and they were usually temporarily placed in a temple. This was the temple's tomb. In some cases, the tomb was temporarily placed and buried in a temple's lecture hall.
The Southern Song imperial tombs have been excavated. Since 2018, the tombs have been partially restored based on the results of excavations, and restoration work is still ongoing as the Southern Song Mausoleum Park and the ruins park. This is the restoration plan for the Southern Song No. 1 tomb, which shows how it will be restored.
Due to time constraints, I will wrap things up here.
In terms of the nature of China's political bases, Shangjing in the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty, and Lin'an City in the Southern Song Dynasty were the official capitals of the dynasties. Qingzhou in the Liao Dynasty was a guarding and enshrining base for imperial tombs established to hold ceremonies at tombs such as Qingling. As for the characteristics of each, in Shangjing in the Liao Dynasty, structures representing the power of the rulers were probably the East Gate with three roads connecting the palace and the imperial palace, the Chengtianmen Gate at the south gate, and the Kaihuang Hall, the largest palace. There were also gardens, ponds, and temples. Within the palace, the building with the characteristics of an ancestral shrine is the Tianxiong Temple. As for the tomb, there is the tomb of Emperor Taizu, located some 20 kilometers to the southwest.
In Qingzhou, there are palaces such as the Daan and Qikuo Palace mentioned earlier, as well as several temples. According to the inscription on the existing white pagoda, the Shijiasheli Tower was built by many government officials and soldiers by "Great Khitan National Zhangsheng Empress Dowager", also known as Empress Shengzong, between the 16th year of the Chongxi era (1047) and the 18th year of the Chongxi era (1049). It is a structure that represents the power and financial strength of the ruler, and a symbolic object that shows the legitimacy of the ruler's rule. Qingzhou is also a “guarding and enshrining base for imperial tombs " in nature, was established for the purpose of holding and maintaining the Qingling tomb, and is closely related to the tombs and shrines of the emperor and royal family. In Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty, structures that represent the power and financial strength of the ruler are the palaces and gates of the imperial palace. Other important structures include the Taoist Yuqing Zhaoying Palace, where the imperial edict bestowed by heaven was enshrined, as mentioned earlier. Then there are these temples that were shown to the Northern

（佐藤）
よろしいでしょうか。
他いかがでしょうか。
それでは劉先生、どうもありがとうございました。

◆報告５

（パネリスト：金天鶴）
韓国から来ているキムチョンハクと申します。所属は韓国の東国大学で、実は京都から来ました。今、龍谷大学にサバティカルで１年間嘱託研究員として所属していますので、来月帰りますけれども、今は京都から来ました。それから私の報告は、今まで先生方がお話しましたこととは一味違いまして、ちょっと合わないといいますか、写真もなくって、自分の関心事が考古学とか、そういう歴史じゃなくて、思想関係を主に勉強しているものですから、そういう観点からアプローチしたということになります。佐藤先生からはいろいろ指示をいただきまして、従わなかったというか。思想関係のことを考える際には、まず自分なりに考えた方がいいと思って、そういうことになります。要するに、平泉でも中尊寺の建立供養文があるじゃないですか。それを見ると必ず誰かが書いてくださったんですね。えらい知識がある方が。と言うことと同じように、いくら政治拠点でも、そこで運営されている上では必ずその背景がある。背景っていうことは、思想を操る人がいるんじゃないかという観点からアプローチしたことでして、政治拠点の中には行政施設とか軍事施設とか、あるいは宗教施設とかあって、その中で宗教施設を主に取り立てて調査したというか、自分でいろいろ考えたわけで、そういう観点から今日少し話させていただきたいと思います。
目次では、百済と高麗を選びました。本当は新羅まで書きたかったんですけども、自信がなくて、百済と高麗だけに絞ってやりましたけれども、実は百済にしても中央と地方に分けて、高麗にしても地方と中央に分けて考えまして、それがそれぞれ接続しているという観点から見ました。要するに、単なる中央と地方じゃなくて、中央から地方へ思想や時代の政治の動きが流れている、という観点から見た場合、百済の場合は中央は王興寺っていうところだと考えられて、その王興寺の考え方を繋いでやったのが、益山の弥勒寺じゃないかっていうことですね。それから高麗に入りますと当然、今北朝鮮にある開城ですね。開城が中心ですけど、そこに奉恩寺というお寺がありまして、そこは今、跡しか残ってないみたいですけれども、その奉恩寺が建てられた時期の考え方を繋いで、そういう思想っていうか、それが定着して流れているところが地方における開泰寺っていうところだと考えまして、その百済、高麗両方とも中央と地方が関係しているっていう感覚から、この発表をすることになりました。
40分の時間を半分ずつ分けて話したいと思うんですけれども、百済に関しては昨年佐藤先生から呼ばれまして、少し話しましたところを進めましたので、馴染みのある方もいらっしゃると思いますけれども、高麗は全く初めてのところで、実際、百済や新羅になりますと日本の方々が結構研究されている地域なので、日本との関係が深いからですね。深いから日本でも結構研究していますけれども、高麗になりますと実際に日本との関係がそれほどないです。ほぼ無いに等しいですね。だから関係無い所はあんまり研究しないきらいがありますので、高麗に関しては、それほど新規性はないと思いますけれども、今日少し話して触れたいと思います。
中央においてまず、陵寺と王興寺を両方とも舎利の関係で見ているところですけども、それがなぜ創建されているのか、それから、そこにある仏教思想はなんなのかなということを考えることで、また同じく高麗も、この奉恩寺や開泰寺が作られた理由を考えて、その背景にどのような仏教思想があるのかなということを考えることになりました。
これが目次の全体像ですけども、それで実際、目次に入りますと、政治拠点における寺院と寺院の背景になる思想、主に仏教思想ですけれども、その時代は百済と高麗は政治と仏教が一致しているような形でもありますので、高麗はまた仏教が国教とも言われるくらい、仏教の割合が、重みが結構大きいかと思います。
陵寺と王興寺に関して簡単に説明しますと、両方とも跡しか残っていないんです。実物は全くわからないですけど、陵寺と王興寺の共通点は舎利信仰ということです。陵寺は舎利銘文が残っていまして、それが567年に作られたということと、これが舎利が残っている銘文ですけれども、王興寺の場合もいろいろと資料的に錯綜があってややこしいですけど、一応銘文があって、その銘文に沿って考える際には577年に作られたということに

Song emperor, where Jōjin went to offer incense. Within the city, the Jingling Palace, which was remodeled into an imperial temple, is an ancestral temple. Another characteristic is that Buddhist temples were always built near the imperial tombs.
In Lin'an, the Southern Song capital, the palace complex and Lizhengmen are small in scale, but are structures that commemorate the power and wealth of the rulers and are symbols that show the legitimacy of their rule. The imperial tombs are located away from Lin'an City. In other words, one characteristic is the large distance between the imperial city where the emperors lived and the ancestral temples such as Jingling Palace.
According to the research of Professor Sato and others, Hiraizumi is characterized by the small size of the government office area, the Konjikidō, and the pagoda on the top of Kanzan, which symbolize the legitimacy of rule. When comparing the characteristics of capital cities from a similar period in China, the fact that Buddhism was heavily involved in the funerals of the emperor and his family is a common feature in Northeast Asia at that time. In particular, the most distinctive feature of the imperial tombs in Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty and the imperial tombs of the Northern Song Dynasty is that they have many Buddhist elements. The idea of establishing a capital in the center of the territory under one's control became a common understanding throughout Northeast Asia, and of course, the Azuma Kagami states that Hiraizumi was established in the center of that control. Among these, Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty and Lin'an Castle of the Southern Song Dynasty are exceptions due to their unique characteristics. This is because I think one important characteristic of the Southern Song Dynasty is that they established their capital in Lin'an, which is relatively close to the north, with the aim of recovering the territory that had been occupied in the north. Hiraizumi is the only place where imperial tombs were constructed within political bases; in Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng of the Northern Song Dynasty, and Lin'an of the Southern Song Dynasty, the imperial tombs were located relatively far from the capitals. Qingzhou is a town for the maintenance and ceremonies of the imperial tombs, so it is relatively close to the tombs. There are cases where members of the Southern Song imperial family were buried in the lecture halls of temples.
This concludes my report. Thank you very much.

(Sato)
Thank you, Professor Liu.
Now I would like to ask the panelists to ask questions.

(Sugimoto)
Thank you. I have a hard time imagining it, so I would like to ask you to explain. You are talking about Qingzhou Castle, the so-called Fengling Village. Professor Liu said in his report that it was a city for maintaining the imperial tombs. There are no such cities in Japan. Therefore, I cannot imagine it, but one thing is whether something so large is necessary to maintain the tombs in the first place. So, I imagine it as a city not only for managing the tombs, but also as a means of adorning the imperial tombs themselves. But is that correct?

(Liu)
Thank you. These Fengling Villages did not start in the Liao Dynasty, but have existed since the Qin and Han Dynasties. For example, if you go to Xi'an now, there are many imperial tombs from the Western Han Dynasty, and there are towns near the imperial tombs for maintaining them or for holding ceremonies, and they are quite large. At that time, tens of thousands of people, or even hundreds of thousands of people, immigrated from inland. Qingzhou is a place with beautiful scenery, and emperors often went there for the autumn Napen, but the tomb was built there afterwards. If it had been Napen, there would have been no need to build a town, and it is recorded that the purpose was to maintain the tomb. Of course, one could think of the town itself as representing the legitimacy of royal authority, or its power and wealth, but I think the main purpose was to maintain the tomb.

(Sato)
Is that okay?
Any other comments?
Thank you very much, Professor Liu.

◆Report 5

(Panelist: Kim Cheon hak)
My name is Kim Cheon hak and I'm from Korea. I'm affiliated with Dongguk University in Korea, and

なりまして、舎利がですね、ここも舎利を入れたところですので、両方とも舎利に基づいて、建てられたいうふうに言われているようです。
ただ、韓国でも勅という言葉はあまり使わなくて、ただ願利というんですけども、日本の研究を読みますと勅のことを言えますけれど、それが正しいと思いまして読みました。
この陵寺と王興寺がどのような地に建てられた寺かと言いますと、陵寺は百済の羅城というものがあって、その外側にあって、聖王ですね、聖王を守るあるいは弔うために作られたということが知られていて、王興寺は聖王の次の威徳王の子供がどこかでなくなったみたいです。それは歴史的資料として、詳しくないですけれども、ともかく亡くなった自分の子供のために作られたお寺で、両方とも舎利を安置して弔うということで一致しているようです。舎利っていうことは、先ほども何回か出てきましたけれども、やっぱり権力を象徴するということでは同じく一致しているということで、実際に寺院がですね、先ほど私が、平泉の場所が王興寺の場所に似ているっていう質問をしたわけですけど、ここが王興寺がある地図ですけれども、この川沿いから風水のことも考えながら作られたということで、なんとなく似たような気がして質問したわけですけれども、こちらの陵寺と王興寺にある思想の全体は、この百済から発する骨属意識ということが一つとして知られています。我々が勉強する時に新羅の信仰とか新羅で転輪聖王の流れを組むという名前を付けられて、新羅からそういう思想が始まったっていうふうに勉強しているんです。高校までは。
最近になりまして、実際、そういう新羅の独特な思想じゃなくて百済から伝わったということに研究されています、今百済からのほうで発見されて、新羅に対する考え方も変わりつつありますけれども、そういうふうに陵寺と王興寺は中央にあって、骨族意識を持ちながら、王様たちの権力を表すっていうことで、解釈として一致しているけれども、特に王興寺の場合は、銘文から見ますと舎利が二つからから三つに変わりますね。そこに対してはやっぱり舎利の変化ということは王権が強くなければたぶんなかっただろうという事を示すためにわざと作ったというような解釈もあって、為政者の政治的な力を見せる、その場になるっていうこと。要するにお寺を作ることは、単なる信仰じゃなくて、その時代には為政者の力を見せるためのことが基本的にはあって作られたということが言えるんです。
その基本にあるのが為政者だけの血筋があるということですね。いわゆる骨族意識ですね。これがあると言う風に言われているんです。それで王興寺の方で少し考えますと、2月15日に葬られているんですけど、2月15日は、今現在もお釈迦様の涅槃日として知られていますけれども、多分そのようなことを示して、信仰を強めるとか、政治権力を強めるとかということの解釈がありますけれども、一つはですね、こういう供養の行為をして、後の功徳、現世利益とか未来のいい場所に生まれ変わるとか、そういうことを願っていたというには言われていますけれども、その時にお釈迦様の涅槃日とつなげるということが一般的ですけれども、実際に経典から考えますと2月15日は弥勒さんが上生する前に三昧に入って、現世に舎利を残して兜率天に行く、その日が2月15日ですね。すると、2月15日の弥勒さんの意味はないのかなっていうことを私は考えて、両方とも説明できるということです。
まず、お釈迦様の誕生日から考えますと、こういうことです。王興寺の位置ですけども、涅槃図に出てくるお釈迦様の亡くなる直前のふたつの沙羅樹がありまして、そこの経典の説明と一致する場所ではないかなということが考えられて、そこと、先ほどの舎利龕とかいろいろありますけど、それがお釈迦様のお葬式あるいは転輪聖王の葬式と一致するような、そういうことはすでに研究されていますので、それが実際の涅槃経とかに出てくるんですね。その涅槃経についても、非大乗、最近は小乗と言わない、小乗大乗と言わないみたいですね。非大乗という言葉を使って、その非大乗の涅槃経とを合わせると、お釈迦様の涅槃日のことが説明できると。そこには実際にお釈迦様が亡くなった日とか、その亡くなった場所、生まれた場所とか、そういったところに巡礼すると、すごい功徳が、生じるということが書かれていましたので、そのことを考えている場所と言えば、釈迦信仰との関わりが説明できるというふうに言えます。
弥勒信仰との関わりは、経典によりますと、現世に舎利を残している弥勒に供養すると、自分が亡くなってから兜率天に生まれるとか、そういうことが書かれていたり、あるいは、利益に関しても滅罪利益とか、弥勒の名前を聞くことによって生まれる利益とかが書かれていて、そういうことも念頭に入れた場合は、弥勒信仰との関りが想定できるんですけども、実際に三国遺事によりますと、王興寺はほかには弥勒寺がいるともいわれるっていうことがありまして、これに関する解釈で、今後、この2月15日を弥勒信仰とも関連付けて考えるべきじゃないかなと思っています。

I actually came from Kyoto. I'm currently on sabbatical at Ryūkoku University as a commissioned researcher for one year, so I'll be returning next month, but I'm here from Kyoto. My report is a little different from what the other professors have said so far, and it doesn't quite fit, or I don't have any photos, and my interests aren't archaeology or history, but I mainly study ideology, so I approached it from that perspective. Professor Sato gave me a lot of instructions, but I didn't follow them. When thinking about ideology, I thought it was better to think about it in my own way first, so that's how it turned out. In short, there is the Dedication Pledge for the Completion of Chūson-ji Temple in Hiraizumi, right? If you look at it, someone must have written it. Someone with great knowledge. In the same way, no matter how political a base it is, there is always a background to how it is run. The background is that I approached this from the perspective that there may be people who manipulate ideology. Among the political bases, there are administrative facilities, military facilities, and religious facilities, and I mainly investigated religious facilities, or rather, I thought about them a lot, so I would like to talk a little from that perspective today.
In the table of contents, I chose Baekje and Goryeo. I actually wanted to write up to Silla, but I wasn't confident, so I limited it to Baekje and Goryeo. In fact, I divided Baekje into the center and the local, and Goryeo into the local and the center, and looked at them from the perspective that they were connected to each other. In other words, if you look at it from the perspective that ideas and political movements of the time flow from the center to the local, rather than simply the center and the local, in the case of Baekje, the center is considered to be Wangheungsa Temple, and Mireuksa Temple in Iksan is what connected the ideas of Wangheungsa Temple. Then, when you enter Goryeo, it is natural that it is Gaeseong, which is now in North Korea. The focus is on Gaeseong, and there is a temple there called Bongeunsa Temple, of which only ruins remain now, but I believe that the ideas from the time when Bongeunsa Temple was built are connected, and that the place where those ideas have taken root and flow is Gaetaesa Temple in the local area. It is from this sense that both Baekje and Goryeo are related between the central government and the local areas that I decided to make this presentation.
I would like to split these 40 minutes into two parts. I talked a little about Baekje when Professor Sato invited me last year, so some of you may already be familiar with it, but I am new to Goryeo. Baekje and Silla are actually areas that are studied quite a bit by Japanese people, and that is because they have deep ties with Japan. Because they are deep, they are studied quite a bit in Japan, but Goryeo doesn't actually have that much of a connection with Japan. It's almost nonexistent. So we tend not to study places that are not related, so I don't think there is much newness in Goryeo, but I would like to talk a little about it today.
First of all, in the center, we can see that both Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple are related to sarira, but by thinking about why they were founded and what Buddhist thought is behind them, I also thought about the reason why Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple were built in Goryeo, and what kind of Buddhist thought is behind them.
This is the overall picture of the table of contents, and if you actually go into the table of contents, you will see that there are temples in political centers and the ideology behind the temples, mainly Buddhist ideology. During that period in Baekje and Goryeo, politics and Buddhism were one and the same, and in Goryeo, Buddhism was also said to be the state religion, so I think the proportion of Buddhism was quite large.
To give a brief explanation of Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple, only traces remain of both. We have no idea what the real thing was, but the common point between Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple is the belief in sarira. Neungsa Temple has an inscription on the sarira, which states that it was built in 567, and this is the inscription on which the sarira remains. In the case of Wangheungsa Temple, there are various conflicting documents and it is confusing, but there is an inscription, and if we consider this inscription, it is said to have been built in 577, and since this is also a place where the sarira was placed, it seems that both were built based on the sarira.
However, the word 'imperial' is not used much in Korea either, and it is said in the observation notes that when you read Japanese research you can say 'imperial', but I thought that was correct and read it.
As for where these temples, Neungsa and Wangheungsa were built, Neungsa was located outside of Baekje's Rajeong and was known to have been built to protect or mourn King Seong, and Wangheungsa was built after King Ideok, the son of King Seong, died somewhere. I don't have any detailed information on this as historical document, but in any case, it was a temple built for a child who had passed away, and both temples seem to agree that they enshrined relics and mourned them. As for relics, as I mentioned several times before, they both agree in that they symbolize power, and in fact, the temples, I asked earlier about the location of Hiraizumi being similar to the location of Wangheungsa , and this is the land where Wangheungsa is located, and it seems that it was built along the river with feng shui in mind, so I felt like I said that, so I asked the question, but the overall

それから転輪聖王思想を考えますと、やっぱり王興寺というのが、王の権力が興ずるとして理解した人もいますけれども、これは転輪聖王が兵を起こした時に平和的に収めるっていうことも念頭に入れているものとして考えると、実は弥勒経典に、弥勒経典は上生経と下生経がありますけど、下生の経典には転輪聖王のことが書かれていて、実際その転輪聖王が平和的にこの世界を統治する時に弥勒が兜率天から降りるということが書かれていまして、そこを合わせますと転輪聖王の思想もあるというふうに理解できるんじゃないかなと自分は思っていました。
すると、こういった仏教思想と関わる人物は誰なのかということは、今のところ全くわからなくて、既存の研究では、梁の時代に留学したその発正とか、あるいはその王興寺が創建された当時に、玄光という人が帰っていたはずですけど、その人たちとの関連があるんじゃないかというふうに言っています。実際に、この２人は法華経との関連が強い方々ですけれども、法華経を読みますと、弥勒信仰のことが書かれていて、また中国東北の史料を見ますと、観世音菩薩と弥勒が同時に彫刻される時期があるということがあって、法華経と弥勒さんはかなり親密だったなということから考えますと、この２人が法華経を専門にする方々だったから、この弥勒信仰に関する思想にもすぐ帰依できる、ということが言えるんじゃないかなと思いました。
それが中央における陵寺と王興寺に関するおおざっぱな考え方で、弥勒寺の場合は639年に完成しまして、この名前から見ても、弥勒思想に沿って作られた、建立されたというふうに思うんですけれども、実際にそういうことだと思いますが、結論的にいえば、結局は弥勒思想、特に弥勒が降りて弥勒三会といいますが、即ち弥勒下生と関連していますけれども、そこで2009年に発見された銘文から考えますと、そこには弥勒思想に関連するものが全くないということが言えますので、それをどう解釈すればいいのかなということで、両方の考え方があるっていうふうに解釈できると思います。
またこの弥勒寺に関連しては単なる弥勒だけではなくて、その寺院自体が百済において、企画的に作られた新しい都だったという説もあります。そこで王宮里というと地域がありますけれども、その隣に帝釈寺があって、少し離れて弥勒寺がありますけれども、既存の研究によりますとその関係は、単なる別々の地域じゃなくて、神都として作られて、それぞれ弥勒寺、帝釈寺、王宮里は弥勒信仰との関連で説明できると先行研究ではいっています。それは韓国では趙景徹さんとか崔鈆植さんとかがいっています。そういうことと似ているように日本でも、新川登亀男先生が百済時代の帝釈寺を考えまして、簡単に中国の複写ということではなくて、ある程度百済だけの進展が見えるっていう風に説明していて、要するに一つの不思議な地域を作るそういう発想があったっていう説明しているんですね。
今の説によりますと、この王宮里と帝釈寺、弥勒寺の関係をこういうふうに説明するんですね。王宮里は神都で帝釈天寺は忉利天、これは当然そちらにいる王様です。それから弥勒寺は兜率天というふうに簡単に説明する人がいれば、王宮里は弥勒さんが生まれたところであり、帝釈寺は弥勒さんが出家したところであり、それから弥勒寺は三会の説法の場所というふうに説明しますけども、経典をよくよく読みますと。王宮里は生まれた場所としていいんですけれども、出家の場所はそうでもないような気がして、実際に弥勒が出家したところは、また三会の説法の場所と同じ場所として説明ができますので、すると帝釈寺はなんなのかといいますと、弥勒経典に出てくる、いわば弥勒が成仏した時に、釈梵、帝釈天と梵天が行って管理するんですけど、この一人が帝釈王ですね。多分、この時に帝釈寺の役割は弥勒さんをお迎えすることでしょう、帝釈寺は欲界ですし、この兜率天も、欲界ですね。しかし昔の中国のお寺を見ますと、お塔は須弥山っていう象徴物としてつくられるという説明によりますと、その塔の帝釈寺から弥勒さんが下りる。すると、そこから帝釈はのちに勧請をするという役割を果たしているんじゃないかなということと、もう一つは、帝釈寺の帝釈天は戦争の神様としてとしても祀られているということがありまして、実際に仏典には阿修羅との争いの中で結構力を発揮しますけれども、その時にやっぱり転輪聖王として百済の王様と一緒に平和的な百済を治めるというようなことを象徴して作られたんじゃないかなというふうにも解釈できるように自分が考えました。
それが弥勒寺に関する大雑把な考えですけれども、他にも実際いろいろ書いてあるところは省いて次の説明にはいります。
この弥勒寺にも転輪聖王の思想として考えるところは、銘文から少し読み取れるところがあるということは書きましたので、ご覧になってください。この仏教思想と関わる人物に関しては、瀬間先生が詳しく書いてありまして、そのとおりですけれども、そこに少し補足したいところがあります。

idea behind Neungsa and Wangheungsa　is known to be one of a sense of belonging to Baekje. When we study, we learn about the beliefs of Silla and the name of the Silla Wheel-Turning Holy Kings, and that such ideas began in Silla. Until high school.
Recently, it has been discovered that it was not a unique Silla idea but was transmitted from Baekje. Now, discoveries have been made in Baekje, and the way of thinking about Silla is changing, but there is a consensus that Neungsa and Wangheungsa　are in the center, and they represent the power of the kings while having a clan consciousness, but in the case of Wangheungsa　in particular, the number of relics changes from two to three, as seen from the inscription. There is also an interpretation that the change in the number of relics was deliberate to show that they probably would not have existed if the kingship was not strong, and that they were a place to show the political power of the rulers. In other words, it can be said that building temples was not just a matter of faith but was basically built to show the power of the rulers at that time.
The basis of this is that there is a bloodline that is exclusive to rulers. It is a so-called bone affiliation. This is what is said to be the case. If we think about it a little at Wangheungsa　Temple, he was buried on February 15th, which is still known as the day of Buddha's nirvana, and there are interpretations that it was to strengthen faith or political power, but one thing that it is said is that he prayed for future merit, worldly benefits, or rebirth in a good place in the future by performing this act of offering, and it is generally believed that this is connected to the day of Buddha's nirvana, but if we actually think about it from the sutras, February 15th is the day Maitreya entered samadhi before rebirth, left his relics in this world, and went to Tushita Heaven, and that day is February 15th. If that is the case, I think there may be no meaning to Maitreya on February 15th, and both can be explained. First of all, if we think about the date of Buddha's birth, it is like this. As for the location of Wangheungsa　Temple, there are two Sāla trees that appear in the Nirvana paintings just before Buddha's death, and it is thought that there is no place that matches the description in the sutras. There are various things such as the relic niche mentioned earlier, and it has already been researched that these match the funeral of Buddha or the funeral of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, and this is what appears in the actual Nirvana Sutra. As for the Nirvana Sutra, it seems that it is not called Hinayana these days, but Hinayana and Mahayana. If we use the word non-Mahayana and combine it with the non-Mahayana Nirvana Sutra, we can explain the day of Buddha's Nirvana. It says that if you make a pilgrimage to the day and place where Buddha died, or the place where he was born, you will receive great merit, so if we say that it is a place where people think about this, it can explain its connection to Buddhist faith. Regarding its connection to Maitreya faith, the scriptures state that if one leaves behind relics in this world as an offering to Maitreya, one will be reborn in Tushita Heaven after one dies, and there are also passages about benefits, such as the benefit of atoning for one's sins and benefits from hearing the name of Maitreya. If we take these things into consideration, we can assume a connection to Maitreya faith, but in fact, according to the Samguk Yusa, it is said that Wangheungsa　Temple is also. I think that in the future, we should think about February 15th in relation to Maitreya faith as well. Then, when we consider the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, some people understand Wangheungsa Temple as the rise of the king's power, but if we think of this as also having in mind that when the Wheel-Turning Holy King raises an army, he will peacefully put an end to it, then in fact the Maitreya Sutra, which consists of the Sutra of Ascending Birth and the Sutra of Descending Birth, describes the Wheel-Turning Holy King, and it is written that Maitreya will descend from Tushita Heaven when the Wheel-Turning Holy King peacefully rules the world, so I thought that if we combine this we could understand that the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King is also included.
So, at present we have no idea who the people involved in this Buddhist thought were, and existing research suggests that there may be a connection with Baljeong, who studied abroad during the Liang Dynasty, or with a man named Hyeongwang, who should have returned around the time Wangheungsa Temple was founded. In fact, these two people have a strong connection with the Lotus Sutra, and when you read the Lotus Sutra, it speaks of Maitreya faith, and when you look at historical documents from northeastern China, there is a period when Kannon Bodhisattva and Maitreya were carved at the same time. Considering that the Lotus Sutra and Maitreya were quite close, I think it is safe to say that because these two people specialized in the Lotus Sutra, they were also able to easily convert to the ideas related to Maitreya faith.
That is the general idea behind Nyungsa Temple and Wangheungsa　Temple in the center, and in the case of Mireuksa Temple, it was completed in 639, and judging from its name, one would think that it was built in line with Maitreya thought, and I believe that is indeed the case, but ultimately, the actions are related to Maitreya thought, particularly Maitreya's descent and the Three Maitreya Assemblies, in other words, Maitreya's descent to birth, but considering the inscription discovered there in 2009, it can be said that there is nothing related to Maitreya thought at all, so how should we interpret this? I think it can be interpreted as there being both ways of thinking.

銘文から色々の思想が見えても、弥勒思想形態は見当たらなくて、転輪聖王との関連は少し見られるという風には考えられますけれども、ともかく弥勒寺を作った時に、弥勒思想と銘文とのへだたりは、多分、ふたとおりの思想の背景があるからこそ、こういうことが考えられるんじゃないかなと思いました。
高麗に入ります。中央の奉恩寺というお寺は、高麗を作った王建のたぶん四番目のお子さんが奉恩寺を作りますけれども、自分のお父さんにあたる高麗太祖を奉るために作ったもので、実際、高麗初期までは、のちに儒学が入りまして、景霊殿とか太廟とかが作られますけれど、儒教と関連のある、初期まではお寺がそういう役割を担当して、特にそういうお寺は真殿寺院と呼ばれています。だから、奉恩寺は中央における最も重要な真殿寺院として作られて、こちらでは、祖先の崇拝はもちろん、のちにはそこに行って政治の決まり事を、要するに詔もそちらで行われるという記録も残っているし、王様が何日間もそのお寺にいって帰ってこないと言う記録もあるんですけれども、そういうところで奉恩寺というところはかなり政治において重要な役割を果たしている、いわば別格のところであるんです。その上にそこには王建、高麗太祖の銅像も作られて奉られているということが書かれていますので、実の記録から見てももっとも重要な寺院になります。高麗でいろんな仏教に関連する儀式を行って、最後には奉恩寺にみんな行って王建、自分の一番の太祖にですね、奉るという儀式を行ったということがありますので、高麗を通じて最も重視されたっていうことが一致している研究であります。
ただ、この奉恩寺に係る仏教思想はほとんどわかりません。奉恩寺に関して、新羅・百済までは宗派がほとんどわからないんですけれども、高麗初期になってだいたい華厳宗、禅宗、天台宗という宗派が成立されていますけれども、それでお寺が作られても、だいたい何宗なのかということは、お坊さんの碑文とか読んでわかるということになるんですけれども、この奉恩寺だけは今まで何宗なのかということは、禅宗として理解している人もいれば、基本的に宗派にこだわらず、そこで政治的な何かが行われても、宗派的なことが何でも行われるように、排除したというような解釈もあるように、そういうお寺の、だから一番重要だったんじゃないかなという解釈もできるんですけれども、といういうことの背景には、その時代の高麗には国師・王師とかそういう階級があったんですけども、その人たちの諮問を受けている仏教ではなかったのかなというふうに、奉恩寺に関して説明ができると思います。
それから、奉恩寺に先ほど高麗太祖の銅像が安置されていたと言ったんですけれど、これは、最近発見されまして、北朝鮮にありますけれど、１回韓国にも来ていたようです。中央日報から持ってきましたけれども、この銅像を解釈している人によりますと、これは太祖に対する神格化が見える。彼の像を見ると弥勒さんにも見えるし、転輪聖王にも見えるし、釈迦と同等に取り扱っているようにも見える。ともかく、これが、高麗は仏教の国として作られたということが象徴されるし、その一番根源的な人がこの高麗の太祖だということの発想がここに見えるんだということを解釈しているんですね。日本の方が、美術関係の方が見たコメントが出てきまして、僕に会ってから帰りなさいと言われまして、それでこの銅像にあったという記録が残っています。それほどこれは象徴的な、高麗太祖の神格化のことを表しているようです。
それから地方の拠点で開泰寺っていうところがありまして、どこに作られたかと言いますと、百済が最後に新羅に負けたところがありますけれども、それが黄山というところ、今は縁山ですけど、その黄山の地に、この地域で最後に百済が滅びて高麗が統一しますけれども、まさにそのところにこの開泰寺が作られて、高麗太祖が力づけて、４年かけて、このお寺を建てて、自分が、中尊寺の供養文みたいな華厳法会疏っていうものを作る。その疏は供養文と同じ意味ですけれども、それで自分が仏像、神様によって国を統一したので、それに奉じたいということが書かれているんですね。これが神秘的な理由になりますけれども、ここにお寺を作ることは単なる神秘的ではなくて、地理的に結構重要なところで、昔、百済の地域から、その南との結びですね、交通の中心でもありました。そこを繋ぐような、東と西、高麗から考えると、南の西と東をつなぐ場所なんですね。そういうところでもあるし、また高麗は基本的に豪族たちが起こして作った国ですから、その豪族たちを治めるということが結構重要な役割だったと思います。その時にこの高麗太祖としてここを作りまして、昔の百済地域の、あるいは新羅地域の方々や、豪族やその人たちを安心させるということが目的ではなかったかなということも言えるんですね。
そこを象徴的に見せるのが、こういう釈迦像ですけれども、釈迦三尊像、これは美術専門の人によりますと、複数の、手印で独特なこの作り方でして、結構力があるっていうこういう塊のような作り方っていうのは、その時代に太祖として力を見せつけながらも、この慈悲とかによって民心を吸収する、そういうことを考えているんじゃないかという解釈もできるように、この開泰寺の役割は、単なる地方の一つのお寺ではなくて、全体的に統一させるようなことと、後の記録によりますと、奉恩寺で行われた占いとかがこの開泰寺でも行われる

Also, with regard to Mireuksa Temple, there is a theory that it is not just about Maitreya, but that the temple itself was a new capital that was planned and constructed in Baekje. There is an area called Wanggung-ri, next to which is Jeseoksa Temple, and a little further away is Mireuksa Temple. According to existing research, the relationship between these two areas is not simply that they are separate areas, but were created as new capitals, and previous research has said that Mireuksa Temple, Jeseoksa Temple, and Wanggung-ri can be explained in relation to the Maitreya faith. This is what Jo Gyeong cheol and Choi Yeon sik have said in Korea. In a similar vein, in Japan, Professor Tokio Shinkawa has considered the later Jeseoksa Temple, explaining that it is not simply a copy of China, but that it shows a certain degree of progress unique to Baekje, and that there was an idea to create a mysterious area.
According to the current theory, the relationship between Wanggung-ri, Jeseoksa Temple, and Mireuksa Temple is explained as follows. Wanggung-ri is the sacred city, and Jeseoksa Temple is Trayastra Heaven, which is of course the king who resides there. Some people simply explain that Mireuksa Temple is Tushita heaven, while others explain that Wanggung-ri is where Maitreya was born, Jeseoksa Temple is where Maitreya became a monk, and Mireuksa Temple is the place where the Three Buddhist sermon assemblies. But if you read the scriptures carefully, Wanggung-ri can be considered the place of birth, but the place where Maitreya became a monk doesn't seem to be the same, and the place where Maitreya became a monk can be explained as the same place as the place where the Three Buddhist sermon assemblies. So what is Jeseoksa Temple? It appears in the Maitreya scriptures that when Maitreya attains Buddhahood, Jeseokcheon (Sakra Devanam Indra), and Brahma go to look after him, and one of these is King Jeseok. Perhaps the role of Jeseoksa Temple at this time was to welcome Maitreya. Jeseoksa Temple is the world of desire, and Tushita heaven is also the world of desire. However, if you look at ancient Chinese temples, the explanation is that the halls were built as a symbol of Mt. Sumi, and Maitreya descends from the pagoda of Jeseoksa Temple. If that is the case, then Jeseoksa may have played the role of later enshrining the deity. Another thing is that Jeseokcheon at Jeseoksa Temple is also worshiped as a god of war, and in the Buddhist scriptures he exerts his power in the battle with Asura, but I think it can also be interpreted as being built to symbolize the Wheel-Turning Holy King ruling a peaceful Baekje together with the king of Baekje.
That's a rough idea about Mireuksa Temple, but I'll leave out the other things that are actually written and explain them next if I can.
I have written that in the inscriptions at Mireuksa Temple you can read a little about what I think is the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, so please take a look. Professor Sema has written in detail about the people associated with this Buddhist thought, and he is correct, but I would like to add a little to it.
Although various ideas can be seen in the inscriptions, no form of Maitreya thought can be found, and it is possible to see some connections with the Wheel-Turning Holy King, but in any case, I think that when Mireuksa Temple was built, the gap between Maitreya thought and the inscriptions is probably due to the two different philosophical backgrounds that allowed this to be thought of.
Let's move on to Goryeo. The temple in the center, Bongeunsa, was built by-the fourth son of Wang Geon who founder of Goryeo. It was built to worship his father, the founder of Goryeo. In fact, until the early Goryeo, Confucianism was introduced later, and buildings such as Gyeonryeongjeon and Taemyo were built, but temples related to Confucianism played such roles until the early period, and such temples were called Jinjeon temple(=Portrait temple). Therefore, Bongeunsa was built as the most important Jinjeon temple in the center, and there are records that not only ancestor worship was done here, but later political decisions, in other words imperial decrees, were made there, and there are also records that the king went to the temple for several days and did not come back. In that sense, Bongeunsa played a very important role in politics, and was in a class of its own. In addition, it is written that a bronze statue of Wang Geon, the founder of Goryeo, was built and enshrined there, so it is actually the most important temple in terms of records. In Goryeo, various Buddhist ceremonies were held, and at the end, everyone went to Bongeunsa Temple to perform a ceremony to offer prayers to Wang Geon, their foremost ancestor, so research agrees that it was the most important temple throughout Goryeo.
However, we know very little about the Buddhist thought associated with Bongeunsa Temple. Regarding Bongeunsa Temple, we don't know much about its sect until Silla and Baekje, but in the early Goryeo period, the sects of Huayan, Zen, and Tendai were established. Even when a temple was built, we could find out what sect it was by reading the inscriptions of the monks. However, until now, the sect of Bongeunsa Temple has been unknown, with some people understanding it as Zen, while others have interpreted it as being basically agnostic and excluding any political or sectarian activities, so that it could be said that it was the most important temple. In the background of this, there were ranks such as national priests and royal priests in Goryeo at that time, and I think that Bongeunsa

し、遷都したい、都を移動したいところでもこの開泰寺に来まして、占いをするということもあるほど、高麗末まで、重視されたお寺でもありました。そのお寺の思想を考えますと、基本的にその時代の中国の仏教の流れで入ってるんですね。華厳で言うと、新羅の華厳というよりも唐の華厳だったり、あるいは宋時代の華厳が入ったり禅が入ってきて、その人たちの背景によって開泰寺がのちに運営されているのではないかなということがいえると思います。
結論的に言いますと、私が言いたいところはですね、その時代の方々、たぶん平泉でも同じような感覚だったと思いますけれども、この人達はその時代の人たちは自分が作ってる仏教の領土とか仏教の地域が、単なる地域ではなくて、仏さんの力を借りて長く続く永遠にこれが浄土になったり、仏の国になるということを見せて実現させようとした時代のもとで、こういう場所が作られて、これが政治拠点のもとで長く長く営みをするために、こういうお寺とかが宗教発政治的な目的によって作られたんじゃないかなと言うことを思っています。
先ほどいろいろに言いましたように、象徴的なものとかがありますよね。こういう供養文とか、あるいはその信仰とかがあって、理想を見せているんじゃないかなというふうに思うことになりました。
少し長くなりました。自分の報告を終わらせていただきます。どうもありがとうございました。

（佐藤）
キム先生、ありがとうございました。
それであのパネリストの皆さんからご質問をお願いしたいと思います。

（杉本）
ありがとうございました。よくわからないので、一つ教えてください。高麗の王権の銅像を見ていると転輪聖王にも見えるし、弥勒にも見える。パッと見たらなんか王様の像じゃないな、という感じであるのですが。高麗にしろ、百済にしろ、朝鮮半島で王たちがそのような転輪聖王だとか、仏様のように捉えられていくというような、一般的な流れがあったのでしょうか。日本の場合では、例えば12世紀ぐらいだと王法仏法相依論というのがあって、王権と仏教というのは切り離されないものだ、という考え方が出てくるけれども、天皇自身を仏に具体的に見立てて強調するというのは、日本にはないのかなと思います。そのあたりをお教えください。

（金）
ありがとうございました。朝鮮時代に入りますと儒教の国ですので、すべて葬られてですね。朝鮮時代にはこういう銅像を作ることは全くないですね。それで1990年に発見されているんですけれども、先ほどこの像を見せて美術関係の人とがこの彫刻を見て、これが転輪聖王の特徴が表れている、弥勒との関係があるというんですね。しかし、記録上王建が仏に等しいという表現が無いんですけれども、ただ国が危ない状況に置かれた時には、必ずこの人に行って誓願するんですね。お願いして、この国を何とかしてくださいとかを何度もしているんです。そういうことから見ると、格別だっていうことが分かる。ほかの人にはしないですけど、この人にだけはするんですね。そういうことだけは今のところ分かる資料的には。

（佐藤）
よろしいでしょうか。
ほかいかがでしょうか？それではキム先生どうもありがとうございました。
それではここで、20分休憩に入りたいと思います。休憩に入るにあたりまして二つほどご連絡を差し上げます。一つは質問ですね。質問ある方は質問用紙に書いていただきまして、大体5分以内をめどに、質問箱に入れていただければと思います。それが１点でございます。
それからもう一点は4時からの討論で使う資料です。資料を事務局の方から会場の皆様に配布したいと思います。
A3の用紙一枚でございますので受取漏れのないようにお願いしたいと思います。
それでは4時まで休憩したいと思います。よろしくお願いします。

Temple can be explained as being a Buddhist temple that was consulted by these people.
Also, I mentioned earlier that a bronze statue of King Taejo of Goryeo was enshrined at Bongeunsa Temple. This was recently discovered and is in North Korea, but it seems that it also visited South Korea once. I took this from The Korea JoongAng Daily, but according to those who interpret this statue, it shows the deification of King Taejo. When you look at his statue, you can see him as Maitreya, as the Wheel-Turning Holy King, and as if he is being treated equally to Shakyamuni. In any case, this is interpreted as symbolizing the fact that Goryeo was founded as a Buddhist country, and that the idea that the most fundamental person in that is King Taejo of Goryeo can be seen here. There is a comment from a Japanese person in the art world who saw the statue, and he was told to go home after meeting me, and there is a record that he saw the statue. This seems to be a very symbolic representation of the deification of King Taejo of Goryeo.
Then there was a local base called Gaetaesa Temple, and where was it built? It was in the place where Baekje was defeated by Silla at the end, Hwangsan, now called Yeonsan, and in this area, Baekje was defeated and Goryeo unified the country. Gaetaesa Temple was built there. King Taejo of Goryeo gained power and spent four years building this temple, and he wrote the Hwaeom Beophoe Commentary, which is similar to the Dedication Pledge for the Completion of Chūson-ji Temple. This commentary has the same meaning as the Dedication Pledge, and it says that he unified the country with the Buddha statue and the gods, and that he wants to dedicate it to them. This is the reason for the mystical nature of the temple. But building a temple here is not just mystical, but is a geographically quite important place, and it was also a transportation center that connected the Baekje region to the south in the past. It is a place that connects the east and west, and from the perspective of Goryeo, it is a place that connects the east and west of the south. There are some aspects like that, and since Goryeo was basically a country founded by powerful clans, I think governing those clans was a pretty important role. At that time, the Goryeo Daesa built this place, and it could be said that one of the purposes of doing so was to reassure the people of the old Baekje and Silla regions, as well as the powerful clans and their people. This statue of Shakyamuni symbolizes this, and according to art experts, the Shakyamuni Triad is uniquely made with multiple hand gestures and is quite powerful. It can be interpreted that the statue was made in a mass-like style, showing off the power of the founder of the temple, while also absorbing the hearts of the people through his mercy. The role of Gaetaesa Temple was not just a local temple but was to unify the whole temple. According to later records, fortune-telling that was done at Bongeunsa Temple was also done at Gaetaesa Temple, and even when the capital was about to be moved, people would come to Gaetaesa Temple to have their fortune-telling done, so it was an important temple until the end of the Goryeo Dynasty. If we consider the philosophy of the temple, it is basically influenced by the Chinese Buddhism of the time. In terms of the Avatamsaka, it was not the Avatamsaka of Silla, but the Avatamsaka of the Tang Dynasty, or the Avatamsaka of the Song Dynasty, and Zen was also introduced, and I think it can be said that Gaetaesa Temple was later operated depending on the background of the people.
In conclusion, what I want to say is that the people of that time, and I think Hiraizumi probably had the same feeling, were trying to show and realize that the Buddhist territory or Buddhist region they were creating was not just a region, but that with the power of Buddha, this would become a Pure Land or a Buddhist country that would last forever, and that these places were created in an era when they wanted to make this a reality, and that these temples were created for religious and political purposes in order to operate for a long time as a political base.
As I mentioned earlier, there are symbolic things, right? I think that these memorials and faith show the ideal.
This has gotten a little long. I will end my report here. Thank you very much.

(Sato)
Thank you, Professor Kim.
So I'd like to request the panelists to ask some questions.

(Sugimoto)
Thank you very much. I don't really understand, so please tell me one thing. When I look at the bronze statues of the Goryeo kings, they look like the Wheel-Turning Holy Kings and Maitreya. At first glance, they don't look like statues of kings. Was there a general trend in the Korean peninsula, whether it was Goryeo or Baekje, to see kings as Wheel-Turning Holy Kings or Buddhas? In Japan, for example, in the 12th century, there was a theory that the kingship and Buddhism are inseparable, but I don't think there was a specific emphasis on likening the emperor himself to a Buddha in Japan. Please tell me about that.

(Kim)

◆シンポジウム―質疑応答、討論

・質疑応答

（佐藤）
討論を始めたいと思います。
先ほど休憩前に申し上げましたA3の用紙は、皆さんのお手元にございますでしょうか。国際シンポジウム平泉と東アジアの政治拠点総括表というA3の表でございますけれども、これはもう皆さんお持ちだと言うことでよろしいでしょうか。
それでは始めさせていただきます。最初に、会場の方からご質問をいただきましたので、それにパネリストの方にお答えいただきたいと考えています。
質問された方は磯野綾さん。質問の趣旨は金・馬の関係で古川先生に対するご質問で、金・馬と豊田館、平泉館の拠点の関係ですので、磯野さん、ご自身でご説明いただければと思います。

（磯野）
貴重なお話を伺い大変勉強になりました。古川先生のご報告の中で、最後の方だったと思うんですけれども、多賀城と平泉の位置、その政治拠点としての優位性について、金山であったり、馬の産出場所との位置関係についてのご説明があって、平泉のほうが優位だろうと言うご説明があったかと思うんですけれども、清衡自身が豊田館から平泉に移ったという経緯もありますので、その観点から見ると、政治拠点として豊田館よりやはり平泉の方が金山であったり馬の産出との位置関係から有利なんでしょうか、というところがふと疑問になりまして、お伺いできればと思いました。

（古川）
28ページの私のまとめの最後に表を示しておきましたけれども、柳之御所遺跡に清衡が移る前の居館として、豊田館があります。すでに指摘されていることですが、陸奥側の地方政治拠点の立地では北上川の河川交通が重視されていて、豊田館は北上川沿いではあるんですけれども川湊から離れた場所にあったということかと思われます。これに対して柳之御所遺跡は、北上川に直接面していて、河川交通的にも、拠点としてより有利な位置にあったということが指摘されています。多賀国府も河川との関係でいうと、北上川からかなり離れているんですけれども、10世紀後半に近くの七北田川から大規模な運河が導かれていますので、そういった河川交通に関わる動線が、当時の政治拠点では重視されていたのかなということで考えています。

（佐藤）
古川先生ありがとうございました。磯野さん、よろしいでしょうか？
それではですね。次のご質問です。オオタカズアキさんからのご質問で、できれば、あの全員の方にお答えいただきたいということです。これは私の方から紹介させていただきたいと思います。
柳之御所は他と堀で画され、面積も小さいままであり、浄土と現世の橋渡し的役割を持っていたようにも思えます。そのような役割を持った政治拠点の例いうのはあるのでしょうか、というようなご質問でございます。
それでは、櫻井さんの方から順番にお答えいただければなというふうに思います。

（櫻井）
柳之御所遺跡の場合は、堀にずっと区画されているのが大きいかと思いますが、やっぱり、何かで区画されるというのは、象徴的な意味もあるのかなとも思います。とくに12世紀の後半になってきて無量光院がつくられた段階では、柳之御所遺跡と無量光院の間に猫間ヶ渕という低地があるんですけれども、そちらにそう言った象徴的な場所になってくると理解されているところかと思います。平泉の場合では、その時期についてはある程度明確になると考えているところです。

（古川）
私の方で報告させていただきました。古代の城柵、もしくは11世紀代の豪族居館とか呼ばれる遺跡に関しまして、特にこの11世紀の豪族居館には、深い堀があったり土塁が築かれたり、外周施設があるんですけれども、あ

Thank you very much. In the Joseon period, it was a Confucian country, so all the kings were buried. There were no such bronze statues made in the Joseon period. It was discovered in 1990, and I showed these statues to the art people who looked at them and said that these show the characteristics of the Wheel-Turning Holy King and have a connection to Maitreya. However, there is no mention in the records that Wang Geon is equal to Buddha, but when the country is in a dangerous situation, he always goes to this person and makes a vow. He asks him to do something about the country, and he does them many times. From this, we can see that he is special. He doesn't do this to anyone else, but only to this person. That is all we know from the documents so far.

(Sato)
Is that okay?
Anything else? Thank you very much, Professor Kim.
Now, we would like to take a 20-minute break. Before we take a break, I would like to make two announcements.
The first one is about questions. If you have any questions, please write them on the question form and put them into the question box within about 5 minutes. That's the first point.
The other point is the paper that will be used in the discussion starting at 4 o'clock. The secretariat will now distribute the paper to everyone at the venue.
It is just a single sheet of A3 paper, so please make sure you receive it.
We will now take a break until 4 o'clock. Thank you for your cooperation.

◆Symposium - Q&A and discussion

・Q&A
(Sato)
I would like to begin the discussion.
Do you all have the A3 sheet I mentioned before the break? It is an A3 sheet titled "Integrated table of “International symposium comparative analysis between Hiraizumi and other political centers in East Asia” and I assume everyone has it.
Now, let's begin. First, we have received a question from the audience, and I would like the panelists to answer it.
The person who asked the question was Aya Isono. The gist of the question was about the relationship between gold and horses, and was directed at Professor Furukawa, and the relationship between gold and horses and the bases of Toyoda no Tachi and Hiraizumi no Tachi, so I would like Isono to explain it yourself.

(Isono)
I learned a lot from your valuable talk. I think it was towards the end of Professor Furukawa's report that he explained the location of Taga-jō ruins and Hiraizumi and their advantages as political bases, in terms of their relative position to gold mines and horse breeding sites, and that Hiraizumi would have been more advantageous. However, since Kiyohira himself moved from Toyoda no Tachi to Hiraizumi, I was wondering if Hiraizumi was more advantageous as a political base than Toyoda no Tachi in terms of its relative position to gold mines and horse breeding sites, and I would like to ask about this.

(Furukawa)
I have included a table at the end of my summary on page 28, but Toyoda no Tachi is the residence of Kiyohira before he moved to the Yanaginogosho site. As has already been pointed out, the location of local political bases on the Mutsu side placed importance on river traffic on the Kitakamigawa River, and although Toyoda no Tachi was along the Kitakamigawa River, it was probably located away from the river port. In contrast, the Yanaginogosho site faces the Kitakamigawa River directly, and it has been pointed out that it was in a more advantageous location as a base in terms of river traffic. In terms of its relationship to the river, Taga Kokufu is also quite far from the Kitakamigawa River, but in the second half of the 10th century a large canal was built from the nearby Nanakitagawa River, so we believe that such river traffic routes were important for political bases at the time.

(Sato)
Thank you very much, Professor Furukawa. Mr. Isono, if you'd like to answer it?
Then, the next question. It's a question from Kazuaki Ōta, and I would like all of you to answer it if possible. I'll introduce it to you.

くまでも戦時の防御的な施設ととらえられていると思いますので、宗教的、思想的なものとは結び付かない施設なのかなと思っています。

（杉本）
柳之御所のことはあまりよく分かりません。京都ですと、そもそも白河地区も鳥羽殿も、宇治も法住寺殿も、堀によって囲まれているということはありません。当然、平安京もそうです。ただ平家の拠点六波羅だけは、これまでの発掘調査で結構広い堀が見つかっているようです。一般論的に言いますと、おそらく水面が観念的に彼我の関係、あっちとこっちと言う関係の、その境界として認識されるのはあるだろうと思っています。例えば鳥羽殿に御陵が築かれます。白河陵とか鳥羽陵とかですが、濠が取り巻いています。水面で区画されているわけですが、そこにはおそらく彼我の関係もあったのでしょう。すみません。直接柳之御所についてはよくわからないので、関係するところだけでお答えさせていただきました。

（劉）
中国のその時代、12世紀の都城については、さっきご紹介した四つの都市で考えると、まず城壁があって城壁の外に堀があるんですけれども、それの役割といえば、まずは防衛です。つまり、中国大陸ではよく戦争があり、その時代に騎馬民族と中原の王朝との戦争が多かったので、そういう堀と城壁は防衛工事のセットです。もう一つは、水の利用です。城内は、大きな街ですので、飲用水だけではなく、物流にも水運が必要です。水渠の役割もあるし、あと先ほど杉本先生のおっしゃった、区画の役割もあると思うんです。そういう考えから見ると、柳之御所の堀にも同じような役割もあるかもしれません。防衛の目的も、水の利用の目的もあるし、それから区画の役割もあるかもしれません。
浄土思想とかなんかは、後付けの思想史的な解釈ではないかというような感じでです。これは私個人の考えです。以上です。

（金）
今考えましたけれども。小さいのだったら先ほど王興寺、そこは記録によりますと、百済の王様が船に乗って渡って航行するっていうな感じの場所で、後ろには砦みたいなところがあって、要害地です。信仰としても、その中には弥勒信仰、例えば観音信仰、こういう一つの信仰ではなくて、釈迦信仰とか弥勒信仰とかいろいろ混じってるっていうことがありましたので、末木先生の短い文を読んだことによりますと、平泉の辺りの・・・仏国土、浄土世界を意図していますけれども、金鶏山とか阿弥陀堂とか、一つの信仰で収まらないような、こういうことです。それに似ているというところが、小さいところが王興寺で、もし大きなところ考えると益山の弥勒寺、王宮里、帝釈寺、ここらへんじゃないかなという考えです。

（佐藤）
ありがとうございました。それからもうひとかた、アベさんの方から劉先生の方にご質問を頂いているんですけれども、今日の討論に直接に関係しないような中身でございますので、最後に時間があったら劉先生にお答えいただくか、もしくは時間がないようでしたら、直接劉先生の方にお尋ねいただければというふうに思っております。
それで先ほどお渡ししましたA3の総括表から、討論に入って参りたいと言うふうに思い。
今回、5人のパネリストの方に、政治拠点としてそれぞれ事例を報告していただいたわけですけれども、それは本日お配りしました予稿集の本文と、それから最後の付表としてまとめたところですが、それを少しアレンジしまして、平泉の特徴が少しでも浮き出る、あるいは平泉とよその政治拠点を比較しやすくすると言うような意味で作成したものでございます。この表の中身につきまして、５人の先生方から少しご説明をして頂ければなと思います。繰り返しになる部分、報告と重複する部分が出てくるかと思いますが、かいつまんでお願いできればと思います。最初に櫻井さんの方から平泉についてお願いしたいと思います。

・総括表説明
（櫻井）

Yanaginogosho was separated by the moats, and its inner area was rather small, so it seems to have played a role as a bridge between the Pure Land and this world. The question is whether there are any examples of political centers that played such a role.
So, I would like to ask Mr. Sakurai to answer in order.

(Sakurai)
In the case of the Yanaginogosho site, I think it's important that it has always been divided by a moat, but I think that dividing it into parts also has a symbolic meaning. Especially in the second half of the 12th century, when Muryōkō-in was built, there is a lowland called Nekomaga-fuchi between the Yanaginogosho site and Muryōkō-in, and I think that it is understood that it became a symbolic place. In the case of Hiraizumi, I think that the period is somewhat clear.

(Furukawa)
I reported on it. Regarding the remains of ancient castles or 11th century nobleman's residences, these nobleman's residences in particular have deep moats, earthworks, and outer facilities, but I think they are considered to be defensive facilities for wartime, and are not connected to religious or ideological purposes.

(Sugimoto)

I don't know much about Yanaginogosho. In Kyoto, the Shirakawa area, Toba-dono, Uji, and Hōjūji-dono are not surrounded by moats. Of course, the same is true for Heian-kyō. However, it seems that only Rokuhara, the base of the Heike clan, has had a fairly wide moat discovered in excavations so far. Generally speaking, I think that the surface of the water is probably perceived conceptually as a boundary between us and them, between here and there. For example, a tomb was built at Toba-dono. The tomb of Shirakawa and the tomb of Toba are both surrounded by a moat respectively. The water surface separates the two, and there was probably a relationship between the two. Sorry. I don't know much about Yanaginogosho directly, so I only answered the relevant questions.

(Liu)
When we think about the capitals of China in that era, the 12th century, in the four cities I introduced earlier, first of all there were city walls and moats outside the walls, and the role of these was primarily defense. In other words, there were many wars in mainland China, and at that time there were many wars between horse-riding peoples and the Central Plains dynasty, so the moats and city walls were a set of defense works.
The other is the use of water. The city is a large town, so water transportation is necessary not only for drinking water but also for logistics. It also serves as a water channel, and as Professor Sugimoto mentioned earlier, it also serves as a division of the area. From that perspective, the moat at Yanaginogosho may have a similar role. It has the purpose of defense, the purpose of water usage, and it may also serve as a division of the area.
I feel that Pure Land thought and the like are an interpretation of intellectual history that was added later. This is my personal opinion. That's all.

(Kim)
I just thought about it. If we're talking about small places, there's Wangheungsa Temple, which, according to records, was the place where the king of Baekje would cross on his ship, and there was a fortress-like place behind it, making it a strategic location. As for faith, there was Maitreya faith, for example Kannon faith, and it was not a single faith, but a mixture of Sakyamuni faith, Maitreya faith, and so on, and according to reading Professor Sueki's short article, it is the area around Hiraizumi... it is intended to be a Buddhist land, a Pure Land, but there are things like Mt. Kinkeisan and Amida Hall, and it is not something that can be contained in a single faith. I think that Wangheungsa Temple is small, and if we think of larger places, Maitreya Temple in Iksan, Mireuksa Temple, Wanggung-ri, and Jeseoksa Temple, and I think these are the places that are similar.

(Sato)
Thank you very much. And there is one more question from Mr. Abe to Professor Liu, but it is not directly related to today's discussion, so if there is time at the end, I would like to ask Professor Liu to answer it, or if there is not time, I would like to ask Professor Liu directly.

・Summary table explanation
So, I would like to start the discussion with the A3 summary table that I handed out earlier.
This time, the five panelists each reported on cases as political bases, and these were summarized in

まず平泉についてA3の表の上の３つを主にお話ししたいと思います。平泉の場合、奥州藤原氏の拠点というところもありますので、ひとつは為政者としてはその奥州藤原氏の氏族として、４代続いた同族の支配という形になるのかと思います。政治・行政の性格については一定程度、東北地方のなかで支配をしていたととらえられるのかなと思うんですが、一方でそれがどの程度独立していたか、あるいは奥州藤原氏がどの程度の権限を持っていたかについては、意見が、地域によっても違いがあるのかなと思います。政治拠点か否かという観点からいえば、一定の範囲、近い範囲、あるいは遠く離れた範囲も入って来るのかと思いますが、一定の支配を行った政治拠点としては位置づけることは可能なのかなと思います。それは文献史料、あるいは考古学的なところからも言えるのではないかと思います。その範囲とかはいくつかの考え方ができる状況かなと思います。政治拠点の範囲としては平泉の周辺はこういう形でとらえられるのではないかと思います。そのほか、陵、墓が近接する。特に支配者の一族が累代の墓所が形成された。累代、３代で終わっているので、それ以降どうなったかわからないのですれども、累代の墓所があるのは重要なのかなと考えております。これが再確認、まとめとなります。

（佐藤）

ありがとうございます。

古川先生。

（古川）

この表で言いますと、多賀城、胆沢城、秋田城、払田柵跡についてはいずれも東北地方の古代城柵ということで、政治拠点から居所の項目まで、すべて同じ記載となります。古代律令国家の地方行政の一組織であり、あくまでも中央集権国家の出先機関ということで、基本的にこれらの項目に関しては、同じ性格を持つということができるかと思います。ただし10世紀後半になりまして、多賀城は在庁官人、在庁の権力機構が温存される形で継続されますが、それ以外の胆沢城などは10世紀後半でその役目を終えることになります。

次に、この表の中ほどにあります大鳥井山遺跡と鳥海柵跡については、繰り返しになりますけども、大鳥井山遺跡は出羽側の秋田城、払田柵跡の領域を継承した拠点と考えられますし、鳥海柵は陸奥側の胆沢城、多賀城の一部の領域を接収した、継承した政治拠点としてとらえることができると思います。なお、政治拠点のところに「共同管理」と断り書きがありますけれども、この「共同管理」という言葉の意味については、先ほどの説明でも触れましたとおり、陸奥側では鳥海柵跡以外にも安倍の12柵といわれるような複数の拠点があり、出羽側でも大鳥井山遺跡以外に金沢柵、沼柵など、やはり清原氏一族の拠点とみられる遺跡が複数雄物川沿いに点在しております。そういう意味で、抜きん出た政治拠点があるというよりは、複数の拠点が郡単位レベルで存在していて、その共同管理といいますか、血族的な結合に基づく複数領域の支配というような意味で捉えております。

（杉本）

少し説明させていただきます。今回のこのシンポジウムで、政治拠点か否かということで、お題をいただいて、ハット思うところがいくつかありました。実は平泉と、例えば京都の鳥羽殿、白河地区、法住寺殿などを比べる場合には、だいたい都市構造論か、そこにある建築物、構造物の類似性を中心に議論されてきている。議論として似ているところ探しが多かったと思います。今回は政治拠点という切り口で、これをもう一度見直すと、例えば、平安京の周辺の鳥羽殿、白河地区、法住寺殿、宇治殿はここに書いてある通り、平安京と一体的でそれぞれ単独では存在しない拠点。拠点という言葉が良いかどうかどうかわからないですけど、そういうものだということが明確になっているわけですね。すなわち、天皇の権威・権力を象徴する平安京という都がなければ、平安京周辺の政治拠点は存在し得ないわけです。当時の社会の構造や権威・権力の変化の中で機能分化しながら鳥羽殿、白河、地区法住寺殿、宇治殿が成立しているということなのですね。それを中心に読んでいただくと分かりやすいと思います。すなわち、鳥羽殿、白河地区、法住寺殿、宇治殿の中には、平安京に匹敵するあるいは超える政治・行政施設というものはないわけです。院なら院、摂関家なら摂関家のそれぞれの正当性なり、権力・財力の表象物があるにしろ、政治の中心は平安京内にあるわけです。そういうところが改めて明確になってよかったと思っています。そのようなことをイメージして、この表を見ていただくとありがたいと思います。

（劉）

今日の話の中で対象となるのは遼の上京、北宋開封、南宋臨安城、遼の慶州です。これらの都市が同じ性格ではないですので、まずこの表の２番目から４番目まで、遼の上京・北宋の開封・南宋の臨安、これらは王朝の首都、都としての存在なんです。これは、政治拠点、もちろん、その王朝の最も重要な政治拠点です。これら

the main text of the proceedings that were distributed today and in the final appendix. I rearranged it a little to highlight the characteristics of Hiraizumi, or to make it easier to compare Hiraizumi with other political bases. I would like the five panelists to explain the contents of this table a little. There will be some parts that are repeated and overlap with the reports, but I would like to ask you to briefly summarize them. First, I would like to ask Mr. Sakurai about Hiraizumi.

(Sakurai)

First, I would like to talk about Hiraizumi, focusing mainly on the top three points in the A3 table. In the case of Hiraizumi, it was the base of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, so I think that the rulers were the members of the Ōshū Fujiwara clan, and that they were ruled by the same clan for four generations. I think that the nature of politics and administration can be considered to have been a certain degree of control in the Tohoku region, but on the other hand, I think that opinions differ depending on the region as to how independent it was, or how much authority the Ōshū Fujiwara clan had. In terms of whether it was a political base or not, I think that it could be considered a certain range, a close range, or a far-away range, but I think it is possible to position it as a political base that exercised a certain degree of control. I think that this can be said from historical documents and archaeological sources. I think that there are several ways to think about the range. I think that the area around Hiraizumi can be considered as a political center in the following way. In addition, tombs and a mausoleum are close by. In particular, tombs were built for successive generations of the ruling family. The family line only lasted for three generations, so we don't know what happened after that, but we think it's significant that the tombs and a mausoleum of these generations remain. This is my reaffirmation and summary.

(Sato)

Thank you very much.

Professor Furukawa.

(Furukawa)

In this table, Taga-jō, Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and the remains of Hotta no Saku are all ancient fortified government in the Tohoku region, and all of them have the same description, from political bases to residences. They were part of the local administrative system of the ancient ritsuryo state, and were merely branch offices of a centralized state, so I think that in these categories they basically have the same characteristics. However, in the second half of the 10th century, Taga-jō continued to function while preserving its local government officials and the power structure of the local government, while Isawa-jō and other sites ended their role in the second half of the 10th century.

Next, regarding the Ootoriiyama site and Tonomi no Saku in the middle of this table, I will repeat that the Ootoriiyama site can be considered a base that inherited the territory of Akita-jō and the remains of Hotta no Saku on the Dewa side, and Tonomi no Saku can be considered a political base that took over and inherited part of the territory of Isawa-jō and Taga-jō on the Mutsu side. In addition, there is a disclaimer that says "joint management" in the section on political bases, but as I mentioned in my previous explanation, on the Mutsu side, in addition to the Tonomi no Saku, there are multiple bases known as the Abe 12 Fortresses, and on the Dewa side, in addition to the Ootoriiyama site, there are multiple ruins that are also thought to be bases of the Kiyohara clan, such as Kanesawa no Saku and Numa no Saku, scattered along the Omonogawa River. In that sense, rather than there being a prominent political base, I think that there are multiple bases at the county level, and we can call them jointly managed, or rather, that they are under the control of multiple territories based on blood-line ties.

(Sugimoto)

I will explain a little. I was given the topic of whether Hiraizumi was a political center at this symposium, and I had a few thoughts about it. In fact, when comparing Hiraizumi with, for example, Toba-dono, Shirakawa district, and Hōjūji-dono in Kyoto, the discussion has generally focused on the similarities in urban structure or the buildings and structures there. I think the discussion has often focused on looking for similarities. This time, looking at this from the perspective of political bases, for example, Toba-dono, Shirakawa district, Hōjūji-dono, and Uji-dono around Heian-kyō are, as written here, bases that are integrated with Heian-kyō and do not exist independently. I don't know if the term political base is appropriate, but that is clearly what they are. In other words, without the capital city of Heian-kyō, which symbolizes the authority and power of the emperor, the political bases around Heian-kyō could not exist. Toba-dono, Shirakawa, Hōjūji-dono, and Uji-dono were established while differentiating their functions amid changes in the social structure, authority, and power of the time. I think it will be easier to understand if you read it with that in mind. In other words, there were no political or administrative facilities in Toba-dono, the Shirakawa area, Hōjūji-dono, or Uji-dono that

は、平泉と同じレベルの政治拠点ではなく、ある王朝の最高の政治拠点となるわけです。その性格としては、もちろん国家的な支配です。都城としての為政者は、皇帝とその一族、また官僚制度による官人たちです。表に書かれているように、平泉は地方支配なんです。特別な存在は遼の慶州です。今日の話の中で紹介したように、まずは奉陵邑です。それから秋の捺鉢の基地ですので、政治的拠点いうのは季節的拠点です。秋に皇帝が慶州に行って捺鉢する時に、あそこで国事を処理するなど、その時、季節的な政治的拠点という性格を持つっていうところです。もちろん為政者としては、遼の皇帝の一族も、また節度使などとなります。

（金）

私は先ほども申しましたように、少し外れた報告をさせて頂きましたので、今回もこの表を見ましたら、最も重要な政治的拠点と言えば、だいたいお寺がある所ですよね。百済、高麗につきましては、もちろんそれが一番重要なんですけども、それにほぼ同じ位お寺も重要だったと言うことを申し上げたかったです。そういう観点から見ますと、象徴的建物とか、そういうことはお寺にもありまして、それをバックアップする思想を考えます。その前に、今日は発表のときには言えなかったんですけども。仏教って政治的拠点になりますと、それほど政治とかかわりがあるのかなっていうことを、多分皆さん気になると思いますけども、実際に百済を調査しますと法王のときに、詔を出した時に仏教の戒律関係を出しているんですね。だから殺生禁止とかそういうことから見ますと、600年ですけれども、実際にその時代の王さまたちの名前も仏教式です。そしてその子供さんも仏教式になりますので、先ほど申しました骨族意識っていう優越感、血筋意識があるものは、信仰にもなりますけれども、戒律みたいな、そういうことを以て相手にいえると思います。ただ、仏教は、報告の中で政治的拠点の寺院の背景になる思想を全体的にいいますと、仏教といっても百済は弥勒信仰あるいは功徳信仰ですね。高麗になりますと禅と華厳になると思います。そんな感じで、政治拠点がこれぐらいになると思います。

・討論テーマ１：為政者の権力と財力を示す特徴的な構造物について

（佐藤）

ありがとうございました。

５人の先生方からもお話いただいたわけですが、今回のテーマが平泉と東アジアの政治拠点。このテーマでシンポジウムをするということはおそらく初めてだろうと言うふうなことで、準備期間も含めまして、打ち合わせを何回かやったわけなんですが、まだまだ議論が尽くされてないところというのは充分にあります。例えば政治拠点。どこまで、何をもって政治拠点というかっていう定義ですね。これも政治拠点の定義を始めますともうそれだけでシンポジウムが終わってしまうみたいなところもありますので、今回は一応のガイドラインのようなものはお示ししながらも、パネリストの方の考える政治拠点ということでまとめていただいたと言うところでございます。

その中で、当初は全部で十数カ所の拠点というのは、なんとなく同じ尺度で比較できるのではないかと言うところからスタートしたんですが、ご発表していただく中で、例えば鳥羽、法住寺殿、白河、宇治、などはちょっとやっぱり性格が違うのではないかとか、それから高麗や百済のように王宮と仏教というのを一緒に考えなければならないのではないかとか、いろんな観点が出てきたなと思っております。そうしたものは、今後の課題となるわけですけれども、現時点で、今回のシンポジウムの中でもう少し詰めておきたいところについて、パネリストの方からもうちょっとお話しいただければなと思います。

このA3の表で言いますと、荘厳装置とあるわけですけれども、為政者の権力と財力というのは、政治拠点にやはり形となって現れてくると言うことを前提に、こうしたものを作っていただいたところです。例えばですが、近世の城下町のお城みたいなものをイメージしてもらえると分かりやすいかもしれないですが、そういった観点で、それぞれのパネリストの方が担当された拠点から平泉を見た場合に、平泉の権力、財力を示す構造物っていうのはどのように見えるのかというようなあたりを古川先生からキム先生までお話しいただければなと思います。

（古川）

為政者の権力と財力を示すということでは、私が課題として与えられたのは古代の城柵と、それを継承する有力者の居館ということで、ほかの先生のご発表とは違って、時間軸政治拠点の変遷に視点を据えました。同時代性というよりはそれぞれの時代の思想や政治構造が反映されたことが重要かなと思います。一応その点も踏

could compare to or surpass Heian-kyō. Although each of the In and Sekkanke families had their own symbols of legitimacy, power, and financial strength, the center of politics was within Heian-kyō. I am glad that this point has been made clear once again. I would appreciate it if you would look at this table with this image in mind.

(Liu)

The subjects of today's talk are Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng of the Northern Song Dynasty, Lin'an City of the Southern Song Dynasty, and Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty. These cities are not of the same character, so first of all, the second to fourth cities on this table, Shangjing of the Liao Dynasty, Kaifeng of the Northern Song Dynasty, and Lin'an of the Southern Song Dynasty, are capitals and cities of the dynasties. These are political bases, of course, the most important political bases of the dynasty. These are not political bases at the same level as Hiraizumi, but they are the highest political bases of a certain dynasty. In terms of their character, they are of course under national control. The rulers of the capital are the emperor and his family, as well as officials under the bureaucratic system. As written on the table, Hiraizumi is under regional control. The special presence is Qingzhou of the Liao Dynasty. As introduced in today's talk, first there is honoring town. Then there is the base for the autumn Napen ceremony, so the political base is a seasonal base. When the emperor went to Qingzhou in the fall to perform the ceremony, he handled national affairs there, and so it had the character of a seasonal political base. Of course, the family of the Liao emperor also served as governors and other officials.

(Kim)

As I said earlier, I have given a slightly off-topic report, so if you look at this table again, the most important political bases are generally places with temples. In Baekje and Goryeo, of course, that was the most important thing, but I wanted to say that temples were almost equally important. From that perspective, temples also have symbolic buildings and such, and we should think about the ideas that back them up. Before that, I couldn't say this at the time of the presentation today. I think you're probably wondering if Buddhism is so closely related to politics when it becomes a political base, but when you investigate Baekje, you will find that when the ex-emperor issued an edict, he included Buddhist precepts. So, if we look at things like the prohibition on killing, it's 600 A.D. but the kings of that time had Buddhist names. And their children also had Buddhist names, so the sense of superiority and lineage that I mentioned earlier, that is, the sense of kinship, can become a faith, but I think it can also be expressed to others as something like precepts. However, when it comes to Buddhism, if we talk about the overall ideology behind the temples of political bases in the report, even though it is Buddhism, in Baekje it is Maitreya faith or merit faith. In Goryeo it is Zen and Avatamsaka. So I think the political bases are around that.

・Discussion Topic 1: How the structures that represent Hiraizumi's power and financial strength look when viewed from the bases that each panelist is responsible for

(Sato)

Thank you very much.

The five professors have spoken, and the theme this time is Hiraizumi and political bases in East Asia. This is probably the first time we have held a symposium on this topic, so we have had several meetings, including during the preparation period, but there are still many areas that have not been fully discussed. For example, a political base or center. How far and what does it mean to be a political base or center? If we start to define a political base, the symposium will end there, so this time we have presented a kind of guideline, but we have asked the panelists to summarize what they think are political bases.

At first, we started from the idea that the dozen or so bases could be compared on the same scale, but as the presentations were made, various perspectives came up, such as Toba, Hōjū-jidono, Shirakawa, and Uji, which have slightly different characteristics, and whether we should consider the royal palace and Buddhism together, as in Goryeo and Baekje. These will be issues for the future, but at this point, I would like the panelists to talk a bit more about what they would like to clarify at this symposium.

In the A3 table, it says "magnificent installations," and these were created on the premise that the power and financial strength of rulers would be tangibly expressed in political bases. For example, it might be easier to understand if you imagine something like a castle in a castle town from the early modern period in Japan. From that perspective, I would like to ask from Professor Furukawa to Professor Kim to talk about how the structures that represent Hiraizumi's power and financial strength look when viewed from the bases that each panelist is responsible for.

(Furukawa)

まえて、古代城柵と有力者居宅の象徴的な構造物を考えた場合に、まず、瓦葺の建物が古代の国家権力の大きさを見せつけるための舞台装置の役割を果たしていたのではないかなと思います。その背景には鎮護国家思想があったと思うのです。一方で、中尊寺、毛越寺について、杉本先生も触れていました一切経蔵、そうした思想が古代から古代末へと変異していきますので、象徴的な構造物の裏付けとなる思想がかなり違ってきている気がします。城柵官衙遺跡の瓦葺建物にしても中尊寺、毛越寺、平泉館などにもあります浄土庭園にしても、京都の白河とか中央の文化の模倣というと失礼かもしれませんけれども、どちらも中央の文化を地方で受け入れている点では、中央を意識した構造物が権力の象徴として造られたと考えておりました。

（杉本）
為政者の権力を示す特徴的な建造物、構造物について、例えば、京都・平安京周辺と平泉を比べてみると、今までから言われているとおり、大変よく似ているところがあるのは、そのとおりだと思います。寺院も庭園もそうですし、大路を作っているところもそうなのだろうと思います。ただ、それは、例えば言葉や文章にする、あるいは図面に書き起こして比べると、似ている感じはするのですけれども、当時の実際の姿がどうだったのか、ということを景観的にイメージしながら、立体的に考えてみると、両者は本当はずいぶん違う光景の中にあると思っています。平泉の場合、今回はあんまり細かい議論はなかったですけども、基本的には、それぞれが土塁で囲まれているという特徴があります。毛越寺にしろ、観自在王院にしろ、無量光院にしろ、柳之御所でも土塁と堀に囲まれている。しかし、そういうものはそもそも都にはなく、施設は築地塀で囲われている。平泉の寺院建物は瓦葺ではなくて、有機質の素材で葺いている。京都の寺院はほとんどが瓦葺になっている。また塔が平泉で本当に少ないけれども、京都では林立している。お堂の種類も京都は密教堂がとても多いので、そこから流れてくる音、香、雰囲気なんかもかなり違ったものであっただろうと思います。ですから、平面的には京都と平泉とは似ているように見えるけど、立体的に少しイメージするとずいぶん違うところがあるなということを思っています。街路に関しても、平泉ですと毛越寺前の道もそうですし、観自在王院と毛越寺の間の道も全部石敷きになっているわけですけれども、そのような石敷き舗装は京都では見つかっていない。京では街路そのものがいろんなパフォーマンスの場所になっている。天皇とか上皇とか関白とか、当時ですと移動するときには、お供が何百人も列をなして練り歩くわけです。ですから、そこで儀式が行われるということだけじゃなくて、移動するときのパフォーマンスというのが重要でして、そういうことも兼ね合わせて鳥羽殿でも、白河地区でも宇治殿でも街路整備がされている。そのような行列が実際行われていることが記録に残っているのですね。平泉で見てみると、どうして街路に石敷きをするのだろうと思います。おそらくは、都とは違うパフォーマンスがあの石敷き街路では行われていたのではないか、街路の位置付けも必ずしも都と同じではないのではないかと思ったりします。だから、切り口をちょっと変えてみると、まだまだ謎の感じがします。

（劉）
平泉の荘厳装置として一番特徴的と思うのは、寺院と居館です。いわゆる平泉館、柳之御所に大きな池を持っていて、寺院にはそれぞれ浄土庭園があります。不思議なのは、なんで一人の為政者ごとに一つの寺院と大きな池を持つ寺院を作るかっていうことです。なぜかというと、中国の歴史上のいろんな王朝では、いろんな皇帝が即位して、必ずしもそれぞれで大きな寺を作るっていうことはないです。つまり、その祖先からの寺院でも居館でも継承することが多いです。なんで平泉の３代は継承しないのか、というのが一番特徴的、ユニークな点になると思います。それで自分なりにいろいろ考えているんですけれども、菅野文夫先生の授業に出て、中世の貴族は50過ぎてから死を意識して、入道という言葉もあるように出家するということがあります。出家したら自分の住んでいる所は自然に寺院になります。それで、ほかの先生方、菅野文夫先生はいらっしゃるんですか、どう考えられているか、私からもお聞きしたいところです。私的にはこれが一番ユニークな特徴になるじゃないかと思います。

（金）
最初清衡のことを言いましたけれども、病気になったと言うんですね。70歳ぐらいで。それで四代目まで続くということを見ていてすごいなと思いました。これは、当然権力がありますと、宗教施設であれなんであれ、結構大きいものを作りますね。問題は、その次の人が自分の親をどう思うかっていうことによって、継承するかしないかということが決まると思います。こういう話をなぜするかと言うと、まず高麗時代ですけれども、王

In terms of showing the power and financial strength of rulers, I was given the task of studying ancient, fortified government sites and the residences of influential people who inherited them, and unlike the presentations of other professors, I focused on the transition of political bases over time. I think it is important that the ideas and political structures of each era are reflected, rather than contemporaneity. With that in mind, when considering the symbolic structures of ancient, fortified government sites and the residences of influential people, I think that the tiled buildings first played the role of stage equipment to show off the magnitude of ancient state power. I think that the background to this was the idea of protecting the nation. On the other hand, as Professor Sugimoto also mentioned about Chūson-ji Temple and Mōtsū-ji Temple, such ideas changed from ancient times to the end of ancient times, so I feel that the ideas behind the symbolic structures have changed quite a bit. Whether it be the tiled buildings at the fortified government offices or the pure land gardens at Chūson-ji, Mōtsū-ji, Hiraizumi no Tachi and other places, it may be rude to say that they are imitations of central culture such as that of Shirakawa in Kyoto, but in both cases, I believe that structures that were conscious of the central government were built as symbols of power, in the sense that they were an adaptation of central culture in the provinces.

(Sugimoto)
When comparing the distinctive buildings and structures that show the power of the rulers, for example, the area around Kyoto and Heian-kyō with Hiraizumi, I think it is true that there are similarities, as has been said. This is true of the temples and gardens, and of the roads. However, while they may seem similar when compared in words or sentences, or when drawn up on blueprints, I think that when you think about them in three dimensions, while imagining the landscape of what they actually looked like at the time, they are actually in very different scenes. In the case of Hiraizumi, although we did not discuss it in detail this time, the basic characteristic is that each is surrounded by earthworks. Whether it is Mōtsū-ji, Kanjizaiō-in, Muryōkō-in, or Yanaginogosho, they are all surrounded by earthworks and moats. However, such things do not exist in the capital, and the facilities are surrounded by Tsuiji walls. The temple buildings in Hiraizumi are not covered with tiles, but with organic materials. Most temples in Kyoto are covered with tiles. Also, there are very few pagodas in Hiraizumi, but they are plentiful in Kyoto. As for the types of temples, there are many esoteric Buddhist temples in Kyoto, so I think the sounds, fragrances, and atmospheres that flowed from them were quite different. So, Kyoto and Hiraizumi look similar on a two-dimensional level, but when you imagine them in three dimensions, I think there are quite a few differences. As for the streets, the road in front of Mōtsū-ji Temple in Hiraizumi, as well as the road between Kanjizaiō-in and Mōtsū-ji Temple, are all paved with stones, but such stone paving has not been found in Kyoto. In Kyoto, the streets themselves are the site of various performances. In those days, when the emperor, retired emperor, or regent traveled, hundreds of attendants would parade in procession. So it was not just the rituals that were held there, but also the performances that took place when traveling, and the streets were developed to accommodate these things in Toba-dono, the Shirakawa area, and Uji-dono. There are records that such processions took place. When I look at Hiraizumi, I wonder why they paved the streets with stones. I wonder if different performances than those in the capital were taking place on those stone-paved streets, and if the positioning of the streets was not necessarily the same as in the capital. So, if we look at it from a slightly different angle, it still feels like a mystery.

(Liu)
The most distinctive feature of Hiraizumi's solemn facilities are the temples and residences. The so-called Hiraizumi residence, Yanaginogosho, has a large pond, and each temple has its own pure land garden. What is strange is why each ruler would build a temple and a temple with a large pond. The reason is that in various dynasties throughout Chinese history, various emperors ascended to the throne, but they did not necessarily build large temples for each of them. In other words, temples and residences from their ancestors were often inherited. I think the most distinctive and unique point is why Hiraizumi did not inherit for three generations. So, I have been thinking about it in my own way, but in Professor Fumio Kanno's class, I learned that in the Middle Ages, aristocrats would become monks after they turned 50, becoming aware of death, as there is a word for this, "Nyudo". Once you become a monk, the place where you live naturally becomes a temple. So, are there any other professors here, such as Professor Fumio Kanno, because I would like to ask what you think. Personally, I think this is the most unique feature.

(Kim)
First, I mentioned Kiyohira, but he fell ill. At about 70 years old. I thought it was amazing that it continued to the fourth generation. Of course, when you have power, you build pretty big things, whether they are religious facilities or whatever. The problem is, I think the next person will decide

陵は権力によって格差があるみたいです、専門研究によりますと、それはそれでいいんですけれども、変わらないことは、先ほど王建の廟堂があるように、それについて拝むのは変わらなかったんですけれども、百済について考えてみますと、王興寺が作られて、王興寺で聖明王、威徳王そこまではなんかなんとなく継承しているように思われるんですけれども、武王の方が、益山のいわば新都として、639年に弥勒寺が建立されるんです。それで終わっちゃうんです。実はその次の義慈王の時代に比べると、王になったけれども義慈王の方はまったく益山に対して興味がなかったようです。彼はまた仏教にもなくて儒教に結構傾いている人だから、そういう自分の上の人たちを継承せずに、ほったらかしてしまったということが一つの原因じゃなかったかなということ思ったんです。それに比べて平泉を考えますと、四代目まで中尊寺の下に葬られていることを考えますと、親子仲が結構よかったかな、それ、権力がどのように継承されるかということに、すごく影響するんじゃないかと思います。百済と比較して考えてますと、こちらのほうはすごく良かったじゃないかと言うことを少し思うところがあります。

・討論テーマ２： 為政者の領域支配を正当化する象徴的な構造物について

（佐藤）
今４人のパネリストの先生方からひとりずつお話いただいて、劉先生の方から、会場参加で来られていた菅野文夫先生にもご発言いただきたいということだったんですが、先ほどまではおられたんですが、今はおられないので、また次のシンポジウムの機会にお願いしたいと思います。
それでは少し進めたいと思います。平泉では特に、文献に出てくる一基塔ですとか金色堂、それから浄土庭園のようなものが支配の正当性の象徴と説明があったかと思うんですが、それぞれの拠点から見た場合に、どういうふうに平泉と同じで違うか、そこに宗教的、思想的観点も含めて、何かあれば、先ほどのご発言いただいたことと重複する部分があれば、簡潔にお願いできればと思います。杉本先生から。

（杉本）
為政者の支配を正当化する象徴的な事物、構造物。言葉で言うと、じゃあなんだろうか。なかなか答えにくいですけれども、私が思っているのは、建造物は寺院建造物が基本的にはあるのですけれども、寺院建物なら何でもよいのではなくて、特別な意味を持つ建物があって、それらを模していくことによって、その支配の正当性を表現していくというようなことはあるなと思っています。
例えば京都ですと、白河天皇が法勝寺を造営する時に、藤原道長が造営したあの法成寺を明らかに意識している。それを継承しつつ乗り越えていく、というような感じでしょうか。鳥羽上皇が鳥羽殿に勝光明院を作るとき、あるいは法住寺殿に建春門院が最勝光院を作るとき、それぞれ平等院鳳凰堂を模しながらそれらを作っている。それは単に模しているわけではなくて、摂関家の権威、あるいは宗教的ヘゲモニ−を乗り越えていくというか、乗り越えてゆくことを明示するために関連性を持ちながら模していくみたいな感じでしょうか。おそらく平泉の毛越寺は白河院の法勝寺を、無量光院は摂関家の平等院を模すことでその権威に近づく、親和性を表現する、あるいは並びたい、できれば越えたいとも意識するものであっただろうと思います。そういうところは似ている。やり方がだいぶ似ているなというふうに思います。
象徴物として今回は平泉の方からは余り出ませんでしたけども、経蔵が重要であろうと思います。奝念が宋版一切経を宋から謹呈されて持って帰ります。日本の中でも一切経はありますが、いわゆる欽定ではない。中国皇帝がきちんと決めた一切経とは違うわけです。この宋版一切経は藤原道長の手に移り法成寺に収蔵されます。そこから写経が行われ法成寺本とか平等院一切経の経典が作られたと思いますが、この写経の底本が摂関家にあることは仏教を踏まえた権威性の大きな象徴的なものであったと思います。そういうことは法勝寺でもやっているし、鳥羽殿の中の勝光明院一切経蔵もそうだったと思います。法住寺殿宝蔵についてはよくわからないところがありますけれども、これらを見ていると、やっぱり平泉でも中尊寺一切経蔵は考えた方がよいのだろうと思っています。どのように管理されて、何が本当に収蔵されていて、どうであったのかっという事ですね。お墓のことはまたあとでやりますので、象徴的な部分だけを少し抜き出してみると、そのようなところがポイントかなと思います。

（劉）

whether to inherit or not depending on what they think of their parents. The reason I bring this up is that in the Goryeo period, there seems to have been a difference in royal tombs depending on power, and according to specialized research, that's fine, but what hasn't changed is that, as I mentioned earlier, there is a mausoleum for the royal authority , and worship at it has not changed, but when we think about Baekje, Wangheungsa Temple was built, and it seems that King Seongmyeong and King Ideok were somehow inherited up to that point, but King Mu built Mireuksa Temple in 639 as a sort of new capital in Iksan. That's where it ended. In fact, compared to the time of the next king, King Uija, it seems that King Uija had no interest in Iksan at all, even though he became king. He was also not a Buddhist and was quite inclined towards Confucianism, so I thought that one of the reasons was that he did not inherit the people above him and left them alone. In comparison, when I think about Hiraizumi, and considering that the first four generations are enshrined in Chūson-ji Temple, I think the relationship between father and son was quite good, which I think has a big impact on how power is inherited. When I think about it in comparison with Baekje, I sometimes think that it was a much better place.

・Discussion Topic 2: How are the symbols of the legitimacy of rule the same as Hiraizumi and how are they different, including from a religious and ideological perspective?
(Sato)
Now, the four panelists have spoken one by one, and Professor Liu asked Professor Fumio Kanno, who was also present at the venue, to make a comment. He was here until just now, but he is not here now, so we will ask him to do so at the next symposium.
Now, let's move on a little. In Hiraizumi, in particular, the Pagoda on the top of Mt. Kanzan, the Konjikidō, which appears in the literature, and the pure land gardens were explained as symbols of the legitimacy of rule. From each base, how are they the same as Hiraizumi and how are they different, including from a religious and ideological perspective? If there is anything that overlaps with what was said earlier, I would like to ask you to briefly explain. From Professor Sugimoto.

(Sugimoto)

Symbolic objects and structures that legitimize the ruler's rule. What would they be in words? It's difficult to answer, but I think that while the structures are basically temple structures, it's not just any temple building; there are buildings with special meanings, and by imitating them, the legitimacy of the ruler's rule can be expressed.

For example, in Kyoto, when Emperor Shirakawa built Hosshō-ji Temple, he was clearly conscious of the Hōjō-ji Temple built by Fujiwara no Michinaga. It was like inheriting it while also overcoming it. When Emperor Toba built Shōkōmyō-in Temple in Tobadono, or when Kenshunmon-in built Saishōkō-in Temple in Hōjūji-dono, they were each built while imitating the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple. It wasn't just an imitation, but rather a way of overcoming the authority of the regent family or religious hegemony, or an imitation while maintaining a connection to clearly show that they were overcoming it. I think that Hiraizumi's Mōtsū-ji Temple imitated Shirakawa-in's Hosshō-ji Temple, and Muryōkō-in Temple imitated Byōdō-in Temple of the regent family, to approach their authority, express affinity, or to match them, or even surpass them if possible. They are similar in that respect. I think that their methods are quite similar.

Although there were not many symbolic objects from Hiraizumi this time, I think the sutra repository is important. Chōnen was presented with a Song edition of the complete Buddhist scriptures from Song and brought them back with him. There are complete Buddhist scriptures in Japan as well, but they are not what you would call imperially appointed. They are different from the complete Buddhist scriptures that were properly decided by the Chinese emperor. This Song edition of the complete Buddhist scriptures was passed on to Fujiwara no Michinaga and stored at Hōjō-ji Temple. From there, the sutras were copied, and the Hōjō-ji edition and Byōdō-in edition sutras were created, and I think that the fact that the base for this copy of the sutra was in the regent family's possession was a major symbol of authority based on Buddhism. Hosshō-ji Temple did the same thing, and I think the Shōkōmyō-in complete Buddhist scripture repository in Toba-dono was the same. There are some things I don't know about the Hōjūji-dono Treasure House, but looking at these, I think it would be a good idea to think about the Chūson-ji Sutra Repository in Hiraizumi as well. How was it managed, what was really stored there, and what was it like? I will talk about the tombs later, but if I just extract a few symbolic parts, I think those are the key points. (Liu)
In regards to this point, if we are asked how Hiraizumi's symbolic items are perceived, what we see now is, of course, concentrated on Buddhist architecture. Temples and related facilities. Also, as in the

この点については、平泉の象徴アイテムがどのように映りますか、という話で言えば、今、我々に見ているのはやはり仏教建築に集中するんです。寺院とかの関連施設です。あとは金色堂のようにお堂と墓所で、一体化しているということも特徴的です。
今回、私からご紹介した中国の政治拠点などと比較すると、共通点としては先ほど申し上げましたように、この政治拠点の場所は、統治の真ん中のところに拠点を作る、これはまず一つの共通点です。もう一つは陵墓です。あるいは墓所を建てる、その後の供養するには、宗教、仏教が深く関わりがあるっていうのも一つの共通点になると思います。中国では道教が結構勢力が強いので、それは平泉と違うところになるかと思います。つまり、宗教的に考えると、平泉は仏教が非常に勢力が強い、っていうようなイメージです。

（金）
私にはますます難しい質問になりますけれども、平泉の経蔵なんですね、中尊寺の経蔵、そのことで少し気になっていますけれども、実はこの経蔵というものは今回の私の報告には入ってないんですけども、高麗の義天か宋と遼に経典を求めるんですね、それから、日本にも求める。それがのちには、写経が終わってからは、その国のプライドになるんですね。平泉の経蔵もそのような役割があるのではないか、少し違うのは義天さんは、のちに嫌われて海印寺に追い出されるけれども、後の記録を見ますといろんな方々が書写していることで、みんなが一緒に信仰心をもってやっているんですね。信仰心で言えば、韓国だったらば、高麗時代にモンゴル時代に新しく彫刻されている高麗大蔵経、それが信仰心によって作られている。要するに書写することによって功徳が生じて誓願しながら、 彫刻するということなんですけれども、結果はともかくとして、それによって文化的なプライドが、実際にはあり得るし、その当時の人々によっても自分たちがなんかやったっていうプライドになるっていうことに対しては同じではないかということを感じます。

（古川）
私のほうでは、先ほどの話しと重複するので、特にありません。

・討論テーマ３：為政者の居所・墓所・廟の関係について

（佐藤）
支配を正当化する象徴物っていうのは、目に見えるものと、それから観念的なものと、それから行為と、いろんなレベルがあるという形で今お話しいただいたなと思います。平泉の場合は、これもたまたまなのかもしれませんが、記録もあって、支配の中心に塔を建てて、みたいなことが書いてあって、なんとなくそうかなみたいに思わせるところがあったわけですけれども、今４人の先生方からいろいろご発言いただいたところです。だんだん議論が白熱してきました。予定していた時間よりも10分位オーバーしそうなところですが、会場のみなさんにはもう少しお付き合いいただければなと思います。
続きまして、これも櫻井さんの方から強調されておりまして、累代の廟、墓ですね、墓が居館との関係でもって形成されていたことは平泉の大きな特徴だというお話だったのかなと思いますけれども、ほかのそれぞれの拠点から見て、平泉でそのような形で為政者が葬られて居館と関係づけられたということは、どのように見えるかと言うようなあたりを、劉先生から順番にお願いできればと思います。

（劉）
平泉では、特徴的なのは拠点内に墓所を作ることと、また宗教施設の寺院の法堂と一体化している、ということではないかと思います。今日ご紹介いたしました中国の政治拠点、もちろん国家レベルの政治拠点ですが、結構墓は離れるところにあるんですけれども、一番近いところでも遼の慶州でも15キロくらい離れているわけです。ほかの事例から考えると、南宋の杭州と皇帝陵、あるいは遼の上京とその太祖の遼まで85キロぐらいずつ離れているし、北宋の場合はもっと離れていて、その倍ぐらいの150キロもあります。平泉の様式は非常に特徴的だと思います。もう一つは、平泉における為政者の性格、それぞれの政治拠点の事例から見るとどういうふうに理解しますか、ということについては、やはり平泉の寺院らは、中尊寺供養願文のように、鎮護国家の寺院、それぞれが天皇の御願寺っていうことです。この視点から考えると、やはり、これは中央政権への降伏、あるいは忠心を表す、という地方的な支配の性格をもつと感じられます。もちろんこの表にも書かれているよ

Konjikidō, it is also characteristic that the hall and tomb are integrated.
Compared to the Chinese political bases that I introduced this time, as I mentioned earlier, the location of this political base is the center of governance, which is one common point. Another common point is the mausoleum. Also, the construction of tombs and subsequent memorial services are deeply related to religion and Buddhism, which I think is another common point. Taoism is quite influential in China, so I think that is different from Hiraizumi. In other words, from a religious perspective, Hiraizumi has the image of being a place where Buddhism is very influential.

(Kim)
This is an increasingly difficult question for me, but I'm a little concerned about the scripture repository in Hiraizumi, the scripture repository at Chūson-ji Temple. In fact, this scripture repository was not included in my report this time, but it was said that Uicheon of Goryeo asked for scriptures from Song and Liao, and from Japan. Later, after the copying of sutras was completed, it became a source of pride for the country. I think the scripture repository in Hiraizumi also has a similar role. It's a little different, but Uicheon was later disliked and he was banished to Haeinsa Temple, but looking at the records later on, many people copied them, and everyone was doing it together with faith. In terms of faith, in Korea, the Goryeo Sutras that were newly carved during the Goryeo and Mongolian periods were made with faith. In short, merit was generated by copying them, and they were carved while making a vow. Regardless of the results, it is possible for cultural pride to be derived from this, and I feel that it is the same in that people of that time were also proud of having done something.

(Furukawa)
As for me, I don't have anything in particular to add, as it overlaps with what I said earlier.

・Discussion Topic 3: How the relations between tombs and the mausoleum and residences in Hiraizumi considered from the perspective of each of the other bases
(Sato)
I think you just said that symbols that justify rule have various levels, such as visible, conceptual, and action. In the case of Hiraizumi, this may be a coincidence, but there are records, and it is written that the pagoda was built at the center of rule, and it somehow seems like that, but the four professors have just commented.
The discussion is gradually getting heated. It looks like we are going to be about 10 minutes longer than planned, but I hope everyone in the audience will bear with us a little longer.
Next, as Mr. Sakurai also emphasized, I think that the fact that the mausoleums and tombs of successive generations were formed in relation to the residences is a major feature of Hiraizumi, but I would like to ask Professor Liu to take turns to tell us how it looks from the perspective of each of the other bases that rulers were buried in this way in Hiraizumi and related to the residences.

(Liu)
What is unique about Hiraizumi is that tombs are built within the bases, and that they are integrated with the temple's halls as religious facilities. The Chinese political bases that I introduced today are, of course, national-level political bases, and the tombs are quite far apart, but the closest one, Qingzhou in the Liao Dynasty, is about 15 kilometers away. Looking at other examples, the distance between Hangzhou and the imperial tombs of the Southern Song Dynasty, or between the capital of the Liao Dynasty and the Liao Dynasty of Emperor Taizu, is about 85 kilometers, and in the Northern Song Dynasty it is even farther away, about twice as far, at 150 kilometers. I think the style of Hiraizumi is very distinctive. Another thing is, in terms of the character of the rulers in Hiraizumi, and how we understand them from the examples of each political base, the temples in Hiraizumi are temples that protect the nation, as the Dedication Pledge for the Completion of Chūson-ji Temple says, and each is a temple for the emperor. From this perspective, it seems that this has the character of local rule, expressing surrender or loyalty to the central government. Of course, as this table also shows, they became local rule with a high degree of independence, and considering their position in Chinese history, I think it would be best to think of them as having been like military governors.

(Kim)
One thing that is unique to this area that I find interesting is that, according to the customs that were generally introduced from China, there are royal tombs and temples nearby. As I said earlier, there are royal tombs and temples dedicated not only to the king, but also to his family. In other words, the place of burial, the place where prayers are given every day, and the place where prayers are given as a memorial are not the same, even if they are very close to each other. On the other hand, I'm curious about how people here offer prayers every day to their predecessors, so I'll just say a little bit.

うに独立性の割合高い地方的な支配となり、中国史的な位置から考えると、節度使的な存在というような考えが良いんじゃないかと思います。

（金）
こっちだけの特殊なことで一つ気になるのが、一般的に中国から伝わった 風習によりますと、 王陵がありまして、近隣にお寺とかあるんですね。それが、先ほど言ったように、王陵があったり、王様だけではなくて、一族を奉るお寺があります。要するに埋葬しているところと、毎日拝むところと、記念として拝むところとは、すごく近くにあっても一緒じゃないですね。それと、逆にまた疑問になるのは。こっちでは毎日どのように先代に対して供養するかっていうことが気になりますので、ちょっとですけれども。

（古川）
居所と廟の関係ということで、古代城柵に関しては為政者が、派遣官ということで、基本墓所ができることはないと思いますが、大鳥井山遺跡と鳥海柵跡では、先ほどご覧いただきましたように、２間×５間の建物が仏堂の可能性があるということで、それが祖廟的な性格を有しているのではないか、という見方が横手市の島田さんのほうから提示されております。先ほど質問があったように、仏堂に関係するような仏教的な遺物は出土していませんので、この点に関しては何とも言えないかと思うんですけれども、そういったところが平泉に繋がっていくということは、今後の検討課題かと思います。

（杉本）
お墓のことについてなんですけれども、鳥羽殿、法住寺殿には、それぞれ陵墓がついているという話なのですが、これをもう少し紐解いてみると、11世紀ぐらいからの話になりますけれども、平安京の北西の角のところに御室と言うところがあります。仁和寺のある一帯です。仁和寺は父の光孝天皇の遺志を継いで宇多天皇が造営された寺院です。その関係で御室周辺にはだいたい宇多皇統の陵墓が集中しています。だいたい11世紀、12世紀の天皇陵は基本的に宇多天皇からの流れなので、その周辺に寺院も含めながら多くの陵墓が作られていくというのが、当時の基本的な陵墓の流れだったと思います。それを大きく打ち破ったのが白河上皇だったということになります。白河天皇が譲位して鳥羽殿の造営が始まるわけですけども、御室に墓所を定めても何の問題もないのに、最初から鳥羽殿に墓所を設定する。しかも三重の塔を用意するということになりました。これは従来から言われているように、新たな皇統のあり方をそこで示したのでしょう。それは結果的に白河上皇の孫にあたる鳥羽上皇にも引き継がれている。結果論的に鳥羽上皇の息子近衛天皇も鳥羽殿に葬られることになる。いずれにしろ白河天皇からの皇統を自分が開発した鳥羽殿の中に墓塔としてシンボル的に打ち立てて、見せていくというものだったと思います。後白河上皇も法住寺殿で同じことを企図するのですが、彼の場合は後が続いていかないので、ご夫婦の陵墓がそこに並ぶという形となった。
これは、考えてみると、例えば中世の屋敷墓とよく似ているのではないかと思います。中世の開発領主の屋敷跡の発掘調査では、屋敷跡の近くに1基か２基か、お墓が見つかる場合があります。開発領主の権威と財力を示す屋敷の一角に開発者が葬られている。初代が葬られているということのようです。これが屋敷墓ですね。その屋敷墓は、いわゆる開発地の領有権の正当性をその開発者の墓によって示す、というようなことです。この屋敷墓は、最終的に屋敷神に変わっていくと考えられています。要は、その一族を守っていく神へと昇華するわけです。鳥羽殿、法住寺殿の陵墓はイメージ的にはそういうことだったのだろう、と思っています。
平泉を考えてみると、中尊寺金色堂が初代清衡によって造営され、結果として３代、泰衡の首まで入れると４代、累代の墓堂と化してゆくのがポイントですね。それは櫻井さんのおっしゃられたとおりで、鳥羽殿の場合は個人墓で、累代別に陵墓が設けられてゆく。それが基本になっています。しかし平泉の場合は、為政者が累代金色堂に葬られてゆく。その結果、金色堂という建物に際立った意味が発生し、権威を象徴するすごく強烈なパワーになった。このような象徴化が強化されてゆく現象が金色堂にはあるのだろう、というイメージを持っています。血族の流れ、その象徴としてそこに幾代ものご遺体が納められていくことによって、金色堂はすごく力を持った。似ている部分もあるけど、平泉における金色堂のご遺体のあり方というのは京都とは違う。そしてその違いが領域支配の正当性のあり方や象徴性に、具体的な表現の差にもなって表れてゆくのではないかと思って聞いていました。

（佐藤）

(Furukawa)
In terms of the relationship between residence and mausoleum, I don't think that tombs were created at the ancient fortified government because they were rulers or dispatched officials, but as you saw earlier, at the Ootoriiyama site and Tonomi no Saku site, the 2 x 5 bay building could have been a Buddhist hall, and Mr. Shimada from Yokote City has suggested that it may have had the characteristics of an ancestral hall. As was asked earlier, no Buddhist artifacts related to a Buddhist hall have been excavated, so I think it's difficult to say anything about this point, but I think it's an issue for future consideration as to whether such places are connected to Hiraizumi.

(Sugimoto)

Regarding the tombs, Toba-dono and Hōjūji-dono each have their own tombs, but if we unravel this a little further, it dates back to around the 11th century, but there is a place called Omuro in the northwest corner of Heian-kyō. It is the area where Ninna-ji Temple is located. Ninna-ji Temple was built by Emperor Uda, following the wishes of his father Emperor Kōkō. For this reason, the tombs of the Uda imperial line are concentrated around Omuro. The imperial tombs of the 11th and 12th centuries were basically descended from Emperor Uda, so I think the basic trend at the time was for many tombs, including temples, to be built in the surrounding area. It was Emperor Shirakawa who made a major break with this. After Emperor Shirakawa abdicated, construction of Toba-dono began, and even though there would have been no problem if the tomb had been located in Omuro, they decided to set the tomb in Toba-dono from the beginning. Moreover, they decided to prepare a three-story pagoda. As has been said, this was a sign of a new imperial lineage. It was eventually passed on to Emperor Toba, the grandson of Emperor Shirakawa. As a result, Emperor Konoe, the son of Emperor Toba, was also buried in Toba-dono. In any case, I think that the imperial lineage from Emperor Shirakawa was symbolically erected as a tomb in the Toba-dono that he developed, and was displayed. Emperor Goshirakawa also intended to do the same thing with Hōjūji-dono, but in his case, there were no further successors, so the tombs of his wife and husband were lined up there.

If you think about it, this is very similar to, for example, medieval mansion tombs. In excavations of the remains of the mansion of a medieval development lord, one or two tombs may be found near the site of the mansion. The developer is buried in a corner of the mansion that shows the authority and wealth of the development lord. It seems that the first generation is buried there. This is a mansion tomb. The mansion tomb is meant to show the legitimacy of the so-called ownership of the development land through the developer's tomb. It is believed that these family graves will eventually transform into family gods. In other words, they will be elevated to gods who protect the family. I think that is the image that the tombs of Toba-dono and Hōjūji-dono had.

When we think about Hiraizumi, the key point is that Chūson-ji Konjikidō was built by the first lord, Kiyohira, and as a result, it became the tomb of three generations, and four generations if we include Yasuhira's head. As Mr. Sakurai said, in the case of Toba-dono, it was an individual tomb, and a mausoleum was built for each generation. That is the basis. However, in the case of Hiraizumi, rulers were enshrined in the Konjikidō. As a result, the Konjikidō took on a distinctive meaning and became a very strong symbol of authority. I imagine that the Konjikidō is a phenomenon in which this kind of symbolism is strengthened. The Konjikidō gained great power as the bloodline and the bodies of many generations were buried there as a symbol of that. There are some similarities, but the way the bodies are kept in the Konjikidō in Hiraizumi is different from that in Kyoto. And I was listening to it thinking that this difference would be expressed in the legitimacy and symbolism of territorial rule, and in the difference in concrete expression.

(Sato)
It seems like the words tomb, mausoleum, and imperial tomb are used differently in this table, but since these can be interpreted in a variety of ways, I think we need to deepen the discussion in the future, especially regarding mausoleums, including whether the Konjikidō should be considered a mausoleum. I think that after what the four professors have said so far, the unique nature of the Konjikidō in Hiraizumi has become quite clear.
So far, the four professors have spoken on three points, and I think that some fairly new perspectives have been presented on Hiraizumi in response to their talks. I would like to hear from Mr. Sakurai about this, including future issues.

(Sakurai)
That's right. It's quite difficult, but after listening to each of the professors talk about each region, I

墓所、廟、あるいはこの表の中で陵とかいう言葉で使い分けているようにも見えるんですけれど、いろんなイメージでとらえられる可能性があるので、今後は例えば特に廟などは、金色堂を廟と考えるかもどうかも含めて、議論を深めていく必要があるのかな、いずれ今の４人の先生方からお話いただいて、平泉における金色堂の特異なあり方っていうのは、かなり明確になったのではないかなというふうに思います。
今まで３点、4人の先生方にお話いただいたわけなんですが、その話を受けて、平泉でかなり新しい見方なども提示されたと思うんですが、今後の課題等も含めて、桜井さんの方からお話いただければと思います。

（櫻井）
そうですね。なかなか難しいですけれども、今回、各先生方から各地域の話を伺って、やはり政治拠点として共通する属性もあるなというところが幾つかなと思うんですが、かなり異なる状況もあると思いました。墓所なんかも似ている部分もあるんだけれども、異なる部分もある。
私のほうは、レジュメではかなりさらっと流してしまったのですけれども、本来的には誉田慶信先生なんかかなり研究されている仏教の経典であったり、それを納める経蔵のような、そういった所っていうのを平泉の象徴、平泉の象徴的なところとしてはあるのかな、と思います。特に中尊寺の場合は、瓦葺の経蔵が造営されておりますので、そのことが改めて注目されるように思います。
今回は、施設、あるいは装置、そういった属性での把握だったので、それでかなり具体化した部分があったと思うのですけれども、やっぱり杉本先生から指摘いただいたような細かい部分ですね。外形的には似ているかもしれないけれども詳細な部分、道路の作り方であったりとか、そういったところはまた改めて、考える必要があるのかと思います。拠点、柳之御所、居館の部分についても、今回、同じように詳細にみていくと時期的な変化があり、それが時期ごとの特質、支配の実態など、詳細な位置づけを踏まえていくのかなと思っています。そういったところからまた平泉の性格に、今回、独立性の高い地方支配としていますけれども、そういったところをいろいろと明確にしていくことが可能なのかな、と思ったところです。これまでも指摘されている、今回のテーマの一つですけれども、やはり仏教、寺院が占める物理的な面積もそうですけれども、思想的な部分、背景的な部分としても大きいな、ということも改めて感じたところです。劉先生の方から指摘いただいたところですけれども。あまり庭とか池の部分に触れてないところもありますので、今回いただいた考えと共通している特徴、異なってくるところなど、色々課題をいただいたところかなと思って、その辺のところ整理して今後検討していければと思っています。特に内容の部分、内実の部分については、考古学的な情報も年々増えてきていると思いますので、また少し整理しておくと、平泉の特徴が明確になると改めて思ったところです。浄土思想は、かなり触れられているところと思いますので、支配の属性を詳細に検討できる段階になっているのかと思いました。

◆討論のまとめ
（佐藤）
ありがとうございます。平泉、もう何十年と研究を続けてきた訳なんですが、発掘もかなり大規模に進められてきたわけなんですが、まだまだ課題が、ちょっと見方を変えると課題がまた出てくる、というようなことが明らかになったのではないかなと思います。
時間もおしていますので最後に、今回の討論、シンポジウムを丸１日の討論につきまして４点で私の方からまとめてお話しさせていただきたいというふうに思います。
これは０点目。政治拠点と思っていたものが、いろいろな種類があって、とりあえず今の段階では政治的拠点と言い換えたいと思っています。
今回のまとめの１点目です。これまで、院政期の都市的空間、白河、鳥羽、法住寺殿のなどですが、それらと平泉が似ているということで、特に都市論などで、いろんな形で議論されて、わたしもそのような考えに立ったこともあったわけなんですが、政治拠点としてみた場合には、同種のもの、スタート時点を同じにしていいのかどうかと、比較のスタートですね。それについてはさらに今後慎重な検討を要するのだろうなと言うのが一点目でございます。杉本先生の方からご指摘いただいた部分です。
それから二点目は東北地方においては、鳥海柵以降の政治的拠点と類似性が高まると、平泉の類似性が高まってくるというふうに見られますが、累代という観点からの為政者の墓所、廟がなお、鳥海柵や大鳥井山遺跡な

think there are some common attributes as political bases, but I also think there are quite different situations. There are some similarities in the graveyards, but there are also some differences.
I kind of glossed over this in my resume, but I think that places like the Buddhist scriptures, which Professor Yoshinobu Honda has studied quite a bit, and the sutra storehouse that stores them, are symbols of Hiraizumi. In particular, in the case of Chūson-ji Temple, a sutra storehouse with a tiled roof was built, so I think that this is something that deserves attention again.
This time, we were able to grasp the facilities and equipment, and other attributes, so I think that there were some parts that were quite specific, but it's the small details that Professor Sugimoto pointed out. Although the external appearance may be similar, I think that we need to reconsider the details, such as the way the roads are built. When we look in detail at the base, Yanaginogosho, and residence, we can see that there were changes over time, and I think that this will allow us to take into account the characteristics of each period, the actual state of control, and other detailed positions. From this perspective, we can clarify the characteristics of Hiraizumi, which is a highly independent local control, but I think that it is possible to clarify various aspects of this. This is one of the themes of this project, which has been pointed out in the past, but I once again felt that Buddhism and temples are important not only in terms of the physical area they occupy, but also in terms of ideological and background aspects. This was pointed out by Professor Liu. We haven't really touched on the gardens and ponds, so I think that we have been given a lot of challenges, such as common characteristics and differences with the ideas we have received this time, and I would like to organize these points and consider them in the future. In particular, with regard to the content and substance, I think that archaeological information is increasing year by year, so I thought that if we organize it a little more, the characteristics of Hiraizumi would become clearer. I think that Pure Land Buddhism has been touched on quite a bit, so I thought that we are at a stage where we can examine the attributes of control in detail.

◆Summary of the discussion

(Sato)
Thank you. Hiraizumi has been researched for decades, and excavations have been carried out on a large scale, but I think it has become clear that there are still many issues, and that if we change our perspective a little, new issues will emerge.
We are running out of time, so I would like to summarize the discussion and symposium that took place over the course of the entire day in four points.
This is point 0. There are many different types of political bases or centers, and for the time being, I would like to call them “political bases” including quasi-political bases or centers.
This is the first point of the summary. Up until now, there have been many discussions, especially in urban theory, about the similarity of Hiraizumi to urban spaces during the Insei period, such as Shirakawa, Toba, and Hōjū-jidono, and I have also held this view. However, if we consider them as political bases, we need to start from the same point of view, and it is the starting point of comparison. I think that this will require further careful consideration in the future, and that is my first point. This is the point pointed out by Professor Sugimoto.
The second point is that in the Tohoku region, the similarities with the political centers after Tonomi no Saku increase, and so do the similarities with Hiraizumi. However, from the perspective of successive generations, the tombs and mausoleums of rulers are still not clearly defined at places like Tonomi no Saku and the Ootoriiyama site, which is a difference from Hiraizumi, as pointed out by Professor Furukawa.
The third point is that Liao Shangjing, Kaifeng, and Lin'an are adorned with royal palaces and temples, and the legitimacy of rule is shown by pagodas and gardens, and are seen to have something in common with Hiraizumi. However, the tombs of successive generations and emperors were built far away from the political centers, and mausoleums and temples were built in the vicinity of the centers, which is a difference, as pointed out by Professor Liu.
And finally, the fourth point is that the political centers of Baekje and Goryeo, such as Gaegyeong, both have temples that visually show the legitimacy of Buddhist rule, and so they have something in common with Hiraizumi. This is what Professor Kim said.
I would like to conclude this symposium with these four points on Hiraizumi and the Political Base of East Asia. Thank you very much to all the panelists. Now, I would like to ask all the panelists to step down from the stage.

どでは明確ではないという点は違う、平泉とは異なる点だろうということでございまして、これは古川先生の方からご指摘いただいた部分でございます。
三点目としまして、遼上京や開封、臨安などは、王宮や寺院によって荘厳されて、仏塔や庭園によって支配の正当性が示されるなど、平泉と共通点を持っていると見られるんですが、累代の墓所、皇帝の墓所などは、そういったところでは、政治拠点から遠方に形成されて、別途拠点の近傍に、廟、寺院などが設置される点は異なる点であるということで、これは劉先生からお話いただいたということでございます。
そして、最後四点目でございます。百済の政治拠点及び高麗の政治拠点開京等の政治拠点においては、いずれも寺院によって仏教的支配の正当性が視覚的に示されるという点で、平泉との類似点を持っているのではないか。これはキム先生の方からお話いただいた部分でございます。
以上、この四点を今回の平泉と東アジアの政治拠点のシンポジウムのまとめとさせていただいて、このシンポジウムを終わりたいとに思います。パネリストの皆様、どうもありがとうございました。それでは、パネリストの皆様、降壇いただければと思います。

◆閉会行事

（會澤）
パネリストの皆様ありがとうございました。引き続きまして閉会行事をとり行いたいと思います。閉会のご挨拶を岩手県教育委員会生涯学習文化財課総括課長小澤様から頂戴いたします。よろしくお願いします。

（小澤課長）
本日のシンポジウムの閉会にあたりまして挨拶を申し上げます。
本日のシンポジウムは、令和２年度から５年間の岩手県と岩手大学との共同研究の、研究を進めてまいりました東・北アジアにおける政治拠点と平泉の比較研究につきまして、これまでの研究成果と今後の課題を明らかにすることを目的として開催いたしました。
本県の櫻井からは、政治拠点としての平泉の様相について、宮城の古川先生からは平泉以前の陸奥・出羽の地方政治拠点について、京都芸術大学の杉本先生からは、平安京周辺の政治拠点の様相について、中国山東大学の劉先生からは、中国の遼上京、慶州、北宋開封、南宋杭州の状況について、韓国、東国大学のキム先生からは、百済後期と高麗初期の政治拠点における寺院成立とその仏教思想について、ご発表いただきました。特に山東大学の劉先生は、この今回のシンポジウムのために、来日いただきましたし、キム先生は帰国２ヶ月前というお忙しい中、足をこちらにお運びいただきました。ありがとうございます。
今回のシンポジウムをとおしまして、平泉の特徴、さらに追求すべき今後の課題について明らかになったものと思います。また、広く東北アジアの視点から平泉を把握することの重要性を改めて認識したところであります。今後の調査研究の結果につきましては、来年２月の平泉学フォーラムでも発信して参りますので、追ってお知らせいたしますので、どうぞそちらもご参加いただければと思います。結びとなりますが、本日ご発表いただきました先生方、長時間にわたり会場で熱心にご参加いただきました皆様に感謝申し上げまして、閉会に当たっての挨拶といたします。本日はまことにありがとうございました。

（會澤）
小澤様ありがとうございました。
以上をもちまして国際シンポジウム平泉東アジアの政治拠点を閉会いたします。長時間にわたり会場に参加していただいた皆様、また今日報告していただいた皆様には、もう一度大きな拍手で感謝を申し上げたいと思います。どうもありがとうございました。

◆Closing Remarks

(Aisawa)
Thank you to all the panelists. We will now proceed to the closing ceremony. Closing remarks will be given by Mr. Ozawa, Director of the Lifelong Learning and Cultural Assets Division of the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education. Thank you very much.

(Director Ozawa)
I would like to give a closing speech for today's symposium.
Today's symposium was held with the aim of clarifying the results of research to date and future challenges regarding a comparative study of Hiraizumi and political centers in East and North Asia, which has been conducted jointly by Iwate Prefecture and Iwate University for five years since 2020.
Sakurai from our prefecture spoke about Hiraizumi's appearance as a political base, Professor Furukawa from Miyagi spoke about the local political bases of Mutsu and Dewa before Hiraizumi, Professor Sugimoto from Kyoto University of the Arts spoke about the appearance of political bases around Heian-kyo, Professor Liu from Shandong University in China spoke about the situation in Shangjing, Gyeongju, Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty, and Hangzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty in China, and Professor Kim from Dongguk University in Korea spoke about the establishment of temples in political bases in the late Baekje and early Goryeo periods and their Buddhist philosophy. In particular, Professor Liu from Shandong University came to Japan just for this symposium, and Professor Kim took the time to come here despite his busy schedule of just two months before returning to Japan. Thank you very much.
I believe that this symposium has clarified the characteristics of Hiraizumi and the future challenges that need to be pursued. I have also reaffirmed the importance of understanding Hiraizumi from a broader perspective of Northeast Asia. The results of future research will be announced at the Hiraizumi Studies Forum in February of next year, so we will let you know at a later date, so we hope you will participate in that as well. In closing, I would like to thank all the speakers who gave presentations today and everyone who participated enthusiastically at the venue for such a long time. I would like to conclude my closing remarks with this. Thank you very much for today.

(Aisawa)
Thank you, Mr. Ozawa.
With this, we will close the Hiraizumi International Symposium: Political Base of East Asia. Once again, I would like to express my gratitude with a big round of applause to everyone who participated at the venue for such a long time and to everyone who gave reports today. Thank you very much.

項目総括表

パネルディスカッションに向けた事項整理として、事務局では下記の事項を設定した。
明確に区分しがたい項目も含まれるが、各発表者、事務局（平泉：佐藤・櫻井、陸奥・出羽：古川一明、宇治・白河・鳥羽・法住寺殿：杉本宏、遼上京・遼慶州・北宋開封・南宋臨安：劉海宇）が参考として作成したものである。

政治拠点の表象

〇為政者と支配領域
〇政治における拠点における為政者（居所、墓、廟）
〇政治拠点の範囲と権力機構
〇荘厳装置（為政者を権威づけるもの、権力の表現）
〇象徴事物（支配の正当性を示す施設や事物）

統治構造

〇土地、人民の掌握、徴税
〇公的事業
〇行政組織
〇規律（法秩序）
〇軍事力

Summary Tables of Discussion Points

The secretariat has set the following points to organize for the panel discussion.
Some items are difficult to clearly classify, but they have been prepared by each presenter and the secretariat (Hiraizumi: Sato and Sakurai; Mutsu and Dewa: Kazuaki Furukawa; Uji, Shirakawa, Toba and Hojujidono: Hiroshi Sugimoto; Liao Shangjing, Liao Qingzhou, Kaifeng in the Northern Song Dynasty and Lin'an in the Southern Song Dynasty: Liu Haiyu) for reference.

Representation of political centers (bases)

○ Rulers and domains
○ Rulers in political centers (bases) (residence, tombs, mausoleums)
○ Boundary and power structures of political centers (bases)
○ Solemn devices (things that give authority to rulers, expressions of power)
○ Symbolic objects (facilities and objects that show the legitimacy of rule)

Governance structure

○ Control of land, people, taxation
○ Public projects
○ Administrative organization
○ Discipline (law and order)
○ Military power

項目総括表（平泉）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
平泉	**奥州藤原氏** **４代約 90 年**	**平泉館（加羅楽）** **金色堂**	**半径２キロの範囲に集中・集住** ・荘厳装置/象徴事物 ・実務官僚的家臣団	**・中尊寺** **・毛越寺** **・無量光院** **・他の寺院等** （寺院に付属する浄土庭園） **・平泉館** **・高屋、車宿**	**・一基塔（関山）** **・金色堂（廟）** **・（金鶏山）** **・庭園（館）**	・省帳/田文 ・諸郡券契	・関路/奥大道/笠卒塔婆 ・中尊寺ほかの寺院 ・伽藍１万 ・仏性灯油田	・奥州藤原氏一族 ・実務者 …… ・分有者 ・同盟者	・銅印 ・度量衡 ・秀衡泰衡先例	奥州合戦 二子合戦

Table on the Political Center; Hiraizumi

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Hiraizumi	Oshu Fujiwara clan 4 generations 90 years	Konjiki-do: the Golden hall	Concentrated within a 2km radius Solemn device and symbolic objects Practical bureaucratic vassals	Chuson-ji, Motsu-ji, Muryoko-in and other temples (Pure Land gardens attached to temples) Hiraizumi no Tachi: political and administrative office Tall buildings and ox-cart park	Konjiki-do: mausoleum Mt. Kinkeisan Pond garden in the residential office	Cadastral People's Register	Gate road Main road Stupas Chuson-ji and other temples 10 thousand Buddha halls Rice paddy for Buddha	Members of the Oshu Fujiwara clan Practitioner --- ・Sharers ・Allies	Copper seal Metlorogy Precedents by Hidehira and Yasuhira	Oshu kassen: civil war in the Tohoku region Two sons of Kiyohira's battle

項目総括表（陸奥）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 影響範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
多賀城	・陸奥守（按察使） ・陸奥（出羽） ・8～12c 中葉	・外郭施設囲繞一辺約 1000m 不整方形	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）四面庇建物 ・門・築地 ・政庁南大路	・腰帯具 ・文字資料 ・陶磁器	・政庁正殿（2× 5 間）四面庇建物 ・国司館舘前遺跡（2× 5 間）四面庇建物	・国衙在庁 ・陸奥国印 ・南は郡制 ・北は鎮守府直接支配		・曹司 ↓ ↓ ・国衙在庁	・陸奥国印	・鎮兵 ・軍団（磐城・白河・安積）
胆沢城	・鎮守府将軍（安倍比高）奥六郡 ・9～10c 中葉	・外郭施設囲繞一辺 668m 正方形	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）四面庇建物 三つの南門	・腰帯具 ・文字資料 ・陶磁器	・政庁正殿（2× 5 間）四面庇建物 ・伯済寺遺跡（2× 5 間）四面庇建物	・郡庁なし？ ・鎮守府印 ・直接支配		・鎮守府在庁	・鎮守府印	・鎮兵 ・軍団（名取・玉造・小田）
鳥海柵跡	・奥六郡主 俘囚長（安倍頼時） ・10c 後葉～11c 中葉	・外郭施設不明一辺約 600m 方形？	・主屋（2× 3 間）四面庇建物	・宴会儀礼土器（ロクロ土師器）	・縦街道南区域 SB01（2× 3 間）四面庇建物 ・仏堂（双堂）原添下区域 SB01・02（2×5 間）四面庇建物	・安倍十二柵 ・郡単位支配 ・俘囚長		・安倍十二柵 ・寺院 ・仏像		・前九年合戦

Table on the Political Center; Mutsu

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Taga-jo	Inspector Mutsu and Dewa 8c～mid. 12c	Enclosed by facilities 1000 m long by each side Irregular square	Main building of political offices 2 bays×5 bays with four eaves on each side and Gates and earthen fences Broad road at the south of political office	Waist belt Characters Ceramics	Main building of political offices 2 bays×5 bays with four eaves on each side Residences of officers Tatemae site 2 bays×5 bays with four eaves	Local officers Seal of Mutsu Ritsuryo county regime in the south Direct ruling by the commander in the north		Dispatched officers ↓ ↓ Local officers	Seal of Mutsu provincial government	Soldiers belonging to Chinjufu Soldiers at Tagajo Iwaki, Shirakawa and Asaka
Isawa- jo	Commander of northern Mutsu Abe no Koretaka Inner six counties 9c ～ mid. 10c	Enclosed by facilities 668 m long by each side Square	Main building of offices 2bays×5 bays with four eaves on each side and Three south gates	Waist belt Characters Ceramics	Main building of political offices 2 bays×5 bays with four eaves on each side Hakusaiji site 2 bays × 5 bays with four eaves	No county offices? Seal of Chinjufu Ruling directory		Officers under the commander	Seal of Chinjufu	Soldiers at Chinjufu Soldiers belonging to Tagajo Natori, Tamatsukuri and Oda
Tonomi no saku site	Chief of 6 counties Chief of prisoner Abe no Yoritoki Late 10c ～ mid. 11c	Enclosed facilities unknown 600 m long by each side Square?	Main building 2 bays × 3 bays with four eaves on each side	Banquet ceremony: haji ware made by wheel	Tatekaido minami area SB01 2 bays × 3 bays with four eaves on each side A Buddha hall twin buildings Harasoeshita area SB01・02 2 bays × 5 bays with four eaves on each side	12 forts by Abe clan Ruling by each county Chief of prisoner		12 forts by Abe clan Temples Buddha statues		The former nine years war

項目総括表（出羽）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 影響範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
秋田城	・出羽城介（清原令望） ・秋田・河辺二郡 ・天平五（733）～10 世紀中葉	・外郭施設囲繞 一辺約 550m 不整方形	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）南庇 ・門・築地	・腰帯具 ・文字資料 ・陶磁器	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）南庇	・郡庁なし？ ・直接支配（石崎遺跡） ・俘囚村		・郡庁なし？（石崎遺跡）		・元慶の乱
―――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――		―――――		―――――
払田柵	・専当管国司 ・山北三郡 ・9c～10 世中葉	・外郭施設囲繞 765×320m 楕円形	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）南庇 ・南門	・律令祭祀具	・政庁正殿（2×5 間）南庇	・郡庁なし？ ・直接支配（町屋敷遺跡） ・俘囚村		・郡庁なし？（町屋敷遺跡）		・元慶の乱
―――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	― ― ― ― ―	―――――		―――――		―――――
大鳥井山遺跡	・山北三郡主 俘囚主（清原光頼） ・山北三郡 秋田二郡 ・10 世後葉～12 世前葉	・堀・土塁・柵 500×600m 不整形	・主屋（2× 3 間）四面庇建物	・宴会儀礼（ロクロ土師器）	・主屋（2× 3 間）四面庇建物 ・仏堂 9SB01（2×5 間）四面庇建物	・清原氏の柵 ・郡単位支配（大鳥井山沼柵・金沢柵 虚空蔵大台滝 勅使館跡） ・俘囚主		・清原氏の柵 ・郡単位支配（大鳥井山沼柵・金沢柵 虚空蔵大台滝 勅使館跡）		・後三年合戦

Table on the Political Center; Dewa

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Akita-jo	Vice president of Dewa: Kiyohara no Yoshimochi Akita and Kawabe county 733～mid.10c	Outer facility enclosure Irregular shape Each side approximately 550m	Main building of political offices 2 bays× 5 bays with south eave and Gate and earthen fence	Waist belt Characters Ceramics	Main building of political offices 2 bays × 5bays with south eave	No county offices? Ruling directory Ishizaki site Prisoner's village		No county offices? Ishizaki site		Gangyo civil war
―――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――		―――――		―――――
Hotta no saku	Proper country officer Senboku three counties 9c~mid 10c	Outer facility enclosure 765×320m Oval	Main building of political offices 2 bays× 5 bays with south eave and South gate	Ritual tools by ritsuryo	Main building of political offices 2 bays × 5bays with south eave	No county offices? Ruling directory Machiyashiki site Prisoner's village		No county offices? Machiyashiki site		Gangyo civil war
―――	―――――	―――――	―――――	―――――	― ― ― ― ―	―――――		―――――		―――――
Ootoriiyama site	The head of the three counties in Dewa Kiyohara Mitsunori: Chief of prisoner Senboku three and 1akita two counties Late 10c ～ early 12c	Moat, embankment and fence 500×600m Irregular shape	Main building 2 bays× 3 bays with four eaves on each side	Banquet ceremony: haji ware made by wheel	Main building 2 bays× 3 bays with four eaves on each side A Buddha hall 9SB01 2 bays ×5 bays with four eaves on each side	Fortisites of Kiyohara clan Ruling by each county Ootoriiyama, Numa, Kanesaw, Kokuzoodaitaki and Chokushidate site Chief of prisoner		Fortisites of Kiyohara clan Ruling by each county Ootoriiyama, Numa, Kanesaw, Kokuzoodaitaki and Chokushidate site		The Later Three Years War

項目総括表（宇治）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
宇治(2・3期)	**平等院創建以降約100年** ・1052年の平等院創建から保元の乱の1156年まで	**東西2キロ、南北0.8キロの範囲** ・荘厳装置/象徴事物	**・平等院** **・金色院** **・池殿** **・泉殿(法定院)** **・富家殿** **・小松殿(成楽院)** **・小川殿** **・西殿**	**・鳳凰堂** **・経蔵** **・金色院** **・法定院** **・成楽院**	**・池殿、泉殿、富家殿、小松殿、小川殿、西殿** ・現任公卿はじめ京中邸第に住することが普通。 ・木幡に藤原氏墓所と浄妙寺	・荘園	・大和大路などの街路	・家司など		・家人としての武士

Table on the Political Center; Uji

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Uji: phase 2 and 3	**About 100 years since the founding of Byodo-in Temple** From the founding of Byodo-in Temple in 1052 to the Hogen Rebellion in 1156	**2km east-west, 0.8km north-south** Solemn installations/ Symbolic objects	**Byodo-in** **Konjiki-in** **Ike palace** **Izumi palace:** **Hojo-in** **Fuke palace** **Komatsu palace:** **Joraku-in** **Ogawa palace** **Nishi palace**	**Phoenix hall** **Sutra repository** **Konjiki-in** **Hojo-in** **Joraku-in**	**Ike palace,** **Izumi palace,** **Fuke palace,** **Komatsu palace,** **Ogawa palace,** **Nishi palace** It was common for incumbent nobles and others to live in the residence in Kyoto. The Fujiwara clan graveyard and Jomyo-ji Temple are located in Kowata.	Manors	Avenues such as Yamato ooji	House officers		Warriors as household

項目総括表（白河）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
白河	**白河天皇以降約 100 年** ・1075 年の法勝寺創建から 1180 年の治承寿永の乱による焼亡まで	**東西 1.2 キロ、南北 1.5 キロの範囲** ・荘厳装置/象徴事物	**・六勝寺** **・得長寿院** **・他の寺院** （寺院に付属する浄土庭園） **・南殿、北殿**	**・法勝寺金堂** **・法勝寺八角九重塔** **・林立する仏塔**	**・南殿・北殿** ・政治的な議定はない。法会での滞在。 ・鳥羽上皇皇后高陽院泰子陵		・白河の条坊類似の街路	・王家、院司		

Table on the Political Center; Shirakawa

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Shirakawa	About 100 years after Emperor Shirakawa From the founding of Hosho-ji Temple in 1075 to its destruction during the Jisho-Juei Rebellion in 1180	1.2km east-west, 1.5km north-south Solemn installations/ Symbolic objects	**Rikusho-ji** **Tokuchoju-in** **Other temples** Pure Land gardens attached to temples **South hall and North hall**	**Hossho-ji Temple Main Hall** **Hossho-ji Temple Octagonal Nine-Story Pagoda** **A forest of pagodas**	**South hall and North hall** No political agenda. Staying for a Buddhist memorial service. The tomb of Empress Toba and her husband, Kayanoin Taishi		Streets similar to the Jobo district in Shirakawa	Royal families and In officers		

項目総括表（鳥羽）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
鳥羽	**白河上皇以降約 240 年** ・1086 年の造営開始から南北朝期の焼亡まで	**東西 1.3 キロ、南北 1 キロの範囲** ・荘厳装置/象徴事物	**・南殿（証金剛院）** **・北殿（勝光明院、経蔵）** **・田中殿（金剛心院）** **・東殿（安楽寿院）** **・広大な園池**	**・証金剛院** **・勝光明院、経蔵** **・金剛心院** **・安楽寿院** **・墓塔**	**・南殿、北殿、田中殿、東殿院御所** ・政治的な議定はない。家政にかかる議定。 ・白河天皇陵 ・鳥羽天皇陵 ・堀河天皇陵	・荘園	・鳥羽作道などの街路	・院司		・北面の武士

Table on the political center; Toba

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Toba	**About 240 years after Emperor Shirakawa** From the start of construction in 1086 to its destruction during the Nanboku-cho period	**1.3km east-west, 1km north-south** Solemn installations/ Symbolic objects	**The south palace: Shokongo-in** **The north palace: Shokomyo-in and sutra repository** **Tanaka palace: Kongoshin-in** **The east palace: Anrakuju-in** **Broad garden ponds**	**Shokongo-in, Shokomyo-in, Sutra repository, Kongoshin-in, Anrakuju-in** **Stupa on tombs**	**The South, the North, Tanaka, and East palace of retired emperors** There are no political resolutions. Resolutions related to household affairs. Emperor Shirakawa's tomb Emperor Toba's tomb Emperor Horikawa's tomb	Manors	Avenues such as Toba no tsukurimichi	Officers for retired Emperors		Northern Warrior

項目総括表（法住寺殿）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
法住寺殿	**後白河上皇以降約 90 年** ・1161 年の造営開始から 1249 年の蓮華王院焼亡まで	**東西 0.8 キロ、南北 1 キロの範囲** ・荘厳装置/象徴事物	**・南殿** **・北殿** **・蓮華王院** **・最勝光院** **・広大な園池**	**・蓮華王院三十三間堂** **・最勝光院** **・墓堂**	**・南殿、北殿** ・後白河天皇陵 ・建春門院滋子墓	・荘園	・条坊に類似する街路など	・院司		・家人としての武士

Table on the political center; Hoju-jidono

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Hojuji-dono	**Approximately 90 years after Emperor Goshirakawa** From the start of construction in 1161 to the burning of Rengeo-in in 1249	**0.8km east-west, 1km north-south** Solemn installations/ Symbolic objects	**Minami-dono** **Kita-dono** **Rengeo-in** **Saishoko-in** **Broad garden ponds**	**33 bays Buddha hall of Rengeo-in** **Saishoko-in** **Tomb hall**	**Minami-dono** **Kita-dono** Emperor Goshirakawa's Mausoleum Kenshunmonin Shigeko' sTomb	Manors	Avenues like Jobo grid system	officers of retired Emperor		Warriors as household

項目総括表（遼上京、遼慶州）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
遼の上京	遼の皇帝 9代200年余 ・10世紀初期から建立された征服王朝で、完全に独立した領域支配、5京、6府、州軍城156、県209（『遼史』地理志）	約5平方キロの範囲に集中・集住 ・荘厳装置/象徴事物 ・国家的官僚組織、南北宰相と六部など ……	・東華門 ・承天門 ・宮殿群の開皇殿など ・天雄寺、義節寺ほか寺院 ・孔子廟 ・儀仗、鹵簿 ・輿服、国楽 ……	・城壁2丈 ・皇城西北隅の苑池 ・皇城西南部の寺院と二基の塔 ・各級官庁 ・符印 ……	・宮城に多くの宮殿 ・祖廟としての天雄寺 ・太祖陵、太祖天皇帝廟、聖踪殿 ……	・塩鉄、転運、度支、銭帛諸司 ・農穀、租賦、、塩鉄、貿易、坑冶、泉幣、群牧等諸税 ……	・918年上京を整備、孔子廟、仏寺、道観を建立 ・中京から上京までの駅館を整備 ……	・皇帝耶律氏一族 ・南北宰相、南北両院の官職 ・百官……	・刑法：死、流、徒、杖 ・重熙新定条制、太康条例 ・符印 ・儀礼 ……	・925年渤海を滅亡 ・938年燕雲十六州を取得 ・948年後晋を滅亡 ・993年高麗軍を撃破 ・1004年北宋軍を撃破、澶淵の盟を結ぶ
遼の慶州	遼の皇帝とその一族 4代、90年余 ・1031年奉陵邑として造営、遼の最後まで繁栄	約1キロ四方の範囲に集中・集住 ・荘厳装置/象徴事物 ・大内都総管司の所属、慶州刺史、慶州軍事	・興聖宮 ・攢塗殿 ・仏寺 ……	・釈迦舎利塔（白塔） ・各級官庁 ・符印 ……	・興聖宮 ・永慶陵、永興陵、永福陵 ・望仙殿、御容殿 ……	同上	・1031年奉陵邑として営造、宮殿、仏寺などを建立 ……	・皇帝及びその一族 ・大内都総管司の、慶州刺史、慶州軍事	同上	同上

Table on the political center; Liao Shangjing and Liao Qingzhou

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Liao Shangjing	Liao Emperors: 9 generations, over 200 years. A conquering dynasty established in the early 10th century, it controlled a completely independent territory, with 5 capitals, 6 prefectures, 156 provincial military fortresses, and 209 counties (Liaoshi,Geography)	Concentrated in an area of about 5 square kilometers Solemn installations/ symbolic objects National bureaucratic organizations, the Prime Ministers of North and South and the Six Departments, etc.	Donghua Gate Chengtian Gate Kaihuang Hall and other palaces Tianxiong Temple, Jieyi Temple and other temples Confucius Temple Honor guards, stewards Palace uniforms, traditional music	2-jo castle wall The garden pond in the northwest corner of the palace The temple and two pagodas in the southwest of the palace Government offices of all levels Seals	Many palaces in the palace Tian Xiong Temple as an ancestral hall Taizu's Mausoleum, Emperor Taizu's Mausoleum, and SHengzong Hall	Salt and iron, transportation, tax, and other government offices Taxes on grain, taxes, salt and iron, trade, mining, spring revenue, and livestock farming	In 918, Shangjing was built and the Confucius Temple, Buddhist Temple, and Taoist temple were erected. Constructed the station pavilions from Zhongjing to Shangjing.	Emperor Yelu's family The government positions of the Prime Ministers of the North and South, and North and South Houses of Parliament 100 officials	Criminal law: death, exile, clique, cane Chongxi New Provisions, Taikang Regulations Seal Rituals	Destroyed Bohai in 925 938: Acquisition of the 16 provinces of Yanyun Destroyed the Later Jin Dynasty in 948 Defeated the Goryeo army in 993. Defeated the Northern Song forces in 1004, and formed the alliance of “Tanyuan”.
Liao Qingzhou	The Liao emperors and their families Four generations, more than 90 years Built as Fenglingyi in 1031 and prospered until the end of the Liao Dynasty	Concentration within an area of approximately 1 km square Dignitary equipment/ symbolic objects Qingzhou Chishi, Qingzhou Military	Xingsheng Palace Zuantu Temple Buddhist Temple	Shakyamuni Pagoda (White Pagoda) Government offices of various levels Seal	Xingsheng Palace Yongqing Tomb, Yongxing Tomb, Yongfu Tomb Wangxian Palace, Yurong Palace	ibid.	Built palaces and Buddhist temples, etc.as Fenglingyi in 1031	The Emperor and his family Qingzhou Cishi, Qingzhou Military	ibid.	ibid.

項目総括表（北宋開封、南宋臨安）

	政治拠点の表象					統治の構造（政治・行政）				
項目	**◆為政者と支配領域** 為政者（最終意思決定者）の権限が影響を及ぼす範囲	**◆政治拠点の範囲と権力機構**	**◆荘厳装置** 為政者を権威づけるもの（権力の表現）	**◆象徴事物** 支配の正当性を示す施設や事物	**◆政治拠点における為政者** 居所/墓/廟	土地人民の掌握、徴税	公的事業	行政組織	規律（法秩序）	軍事力
北宋の開封	北宋の皇帝とその一族 9代160年余 ・完全に独立した領域支配、1122年天下に26路、254州、1234県（『宋史』地理志）	周囲29キロ余の範囲 ・荘厳装置/象徴事物 ・国家的官僚機構、宰相、門下省、中書省、尚書省を設置 ……	・宮城及びその宮殿群 ・相国寺 ・興国寺 ・開宝寺 ・啓聖院 ・景霊宮 ・玉清昭応宮 ・上清宝籙宮 ……	・天清寺の繁塔 ・開宝寺福勝塔 ・宮城の宮殿群及び後苑の苑池 ・東京城御街 ・各級官庁 ・各級官印 ……	・開封の宮城 ・開封太廟 ・歴代皇帝遺影安置の景霊宮 ・鞏義にある北宋七代皇帝陵及び関連寺院 ……	・門下省、中書省、尚書省の三省、六曹、二十四司 ・食貨の法、農田、方田、賦税、布帛、屯田、会計、銅鉄銭など ……	・大運河及び埠頭の整備 ・大規模な城壁の修復 ・寺院と道観の建立と整備 ……	・北宋皇帝及びその一族 ・中央官僚に三師、三公、宰執、門下省、中書省、尚書省及び六曹、二十四司……	・宋法制に律、令、格、式、編敕 ・初期に新定刑統三十巻 ・儀制令 ・農田勅 …… （『宋史』刑法志）	・五代十国を統一 ・986年雍熙北伐の失敗 ・澶淵の盟の締結 ・北宋、西夏との長期戦争
南宋の臨安	南宋皇帝とその一族 8代150年余 ・完全に独立した領域支配、1208年に17路、27府、34軍。	面積15平方キロ余、 ・荘厳装置/象徴事物 ・国家的官僚機構、宰相、門下省、中書省、尚書省を設置 ……	・宮城及びその宮殿群 ・宮城正門の麗正門 ・径山寺 ・霊隠寺 ・永祚寺 ・観音寺 ……	・臨安城壁高さ3丈（9m） ・宮城の大慶殿 ・徳寿宮 ・臨安城御街 ・各級官庁 ・各級官印 ……	・臨安城宮城の宮殿群 ・臨安城内の南宋太廟 ・紹興に位置する六代皇帝陵 ……	同上	・大運河及び埠頭の整備 ・御街の整備 ・寺院の建立と整備 ……	・北宋皇帝及びその一族 ・中央官僚に三師、三公、宰執、門下省、中書省、尚書省及び六曹、二十四司……	・乾道勅令格式 ・淳熙条法事類 ・慶元条法事類 ……	・宋金戦争の失敗 ・紹興和議 ・隆興北伐と隆興和議 ・開禧北伐と開禧和議 ……

Table on the Political Center; Kaifeng in Northern Song Dynasty and Lin'an in the Southern Song Dynasty

	Representation of the political center (base)					Governance structure (politics and administration)				
Index	Ruler and domain: the scope of influence of the ruler; the final decision maker	The ruler in political center: residence, tomb and mausoleum	Boundary of political center and power structure	Solemn device: something that gives authority to the ruler (expression of power)	Symbolic objects: facilities and objects that demonstrate the legitimacy of rule	Control of land and people, and taxation	Public projects	Administrative organization	Discipline (law and order)	Military power
Kaifeng in Northern Song Dynasty	Northern Song Emperors and their Families Nine generations and more than 160 years Completely independent territorial rule, 26 roads, 254 provinces, and 1234 counties under heaven in 1122 (Song Shi, Geography)	29 kilometers in circumference Dignified equipment/ symbolic objects National bureaucracy, Prime Minister, Ministry of Menxia, Ministry of Zhongshu, and Ministry of Shangshu were established.	Palace area and palaces Xiangguo Temple Xingguo Temple Kaibao Temple Qisheng Temple Jingling Palace Yuqingzhaoying Palace Shangqingbaolu Palace	Fan Pagoda at Tianqing Temple Fusheng Pagoda of Kaibao Temple The palaces of the Palace and the ponds in the rear garden Dongjing City Street Government Offices Official seals of various levels	Kaifeng Palace Kaifeng Taimiao Jingling Temple, where the remains of emperors are enshrined Mausoleum of the Seven Northern Song Emperors and related temples in Gongyi.	The three ministries of Menxia, Zhongshu, and Shangshu, other government agencies. The Law on Food and Currency, Farming Fields, Fields, Taxation, Fabrics, Tonden, Accounting, Copper, Iron and Copper Coins, etc.	Improvement of the Grand Canal and wharf Restoration of the city walls Construction and maintenance of temples and Taoist temples	Emperor of the Northern Song Dynasty and his family The three central government officials were the Three Masters, the Three Dukes, the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Gate, the Ministry of Middle and Middle Books, the Ministry of Shangshu, the Six Cao, and the Twenty-four Si.	The Song Dynasty legal system included the Ritsu, the Ryo, the Kyaku, the Shiki, and the Compilation of Laws and Regulations The early 30 rolls of the New Criminal Law The Rituals and Regulations Ordinance The Imperial Edict on Agriculture. ..... (Song Shi, Xingfazhi)	Unified the Ten Kingdoms and the Five Dynasties Failed Northern Expedition to Yongxi in 986 The signing of the "Alliance of the Tanyuan". Long war with Northern Song and Xixia
Lin'an in the Southern Song Dynasty	Southern Song Emperors and their Families 8 generations, more than 150 years Fully independent territorial rule, 17 roads, 27 prefectures, and 34 armies in 1208.	It covers an area of more than 15 square kilometers, The temple is a solemn apparatus/ symbolic object National bureaucracy, Prime Minister, Ministry of Menxia, Ministry of Zhongshu, and Ministry of Shangshu were established.	The Palace area and palaces The main gate of the palace Jingshan Temple Lingyin Temple Yongzuo Temple Guanyin Temple	Lin'an City Wall 3zhang high (9m) Daqing Palace Deshou Palace Lin'an City Imperial Street Government offices of various levels Official seals of various levels	Palaces in Lin'an City Palace Southern Song Taimiao Temple in Lin'an City Mausoleums of the Sixth Emperor in Shaoxing	ibid.	Improvement of the Grand Canal and wharf Improvement of the main street Construction and maintenance of temples	Emperor of the Southern Song Dynasty and his family The central government officials included the three masters, three dukes, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Menxia, the Ministry of the Zhongshu, the Ministry of the Shangshu, , the Six Cao, and the Twenty-four Si	The Imperial Decree of Qiandao The Junhee Articles of Incorporation The Laws and Regulations of the Chongxi and Qingyuan Articles	Failure of the Song-Jin War The Shaoxing negotiation The Northern Expedition of Longxing and the Longxing negotiation The Northern Expedition of Kaixi and theKaixi negotiation

国際シンポジウム「平泉と東アジアの政治拠点」総括表　(20240706)

		平泉	遼の上京	北宋の開封	南宋の臨安	高麗（開京）	高麗（地方）	百済（中央）	百済（益山）	大島井山遺跡	鳥海柵	鳥羽	法住寺殿	白河	多賀城	胆沢城	秋田城	払田柵	宇治（2・3期）	遼の慶州
政治拠点か否か		政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点	政治拠点（共同管理）	政治拠点（共同管理）	平安京と一体	平安京と一体	平安京と一体	（政治拠点）	（政治拠点）	（政治拠点）	（政治拠点）	平安京と一体	季節的拠点
政治・行政の範囲／性格		独立性の高い地方支配	国家支配	国家支配	国家支配	国家支配	国家支配	国家支配	国家支配	地方支配（官人支配の下位）	地方支配（官人支配の下位）	院別業家政的	院別業	国家的法会	国家の一部区画支配	国家の一部区画の部分支配	国家の一部区画の部分支配	国家の一部区画の部分支配	摂関家別業	奉陵邑掠鉢
為政者		同族	同族皇帝	同族皇帝	同族皇帝	同族王	同族王	同族王	同族王	同族	同族	同族（院）	同族（院）	同族（院）	非同族（国家官人）	非同族（国家官人）	非同族（国家官人）	非同族（国家官人）	同族（摂関家）	同族
居所との関係	陵/墓	近接/連続※2	遠方	遠方	遠方			近接/連続	近接	不明	不明	近接/連続	近接	なし	領域外	領域外	領域外	領域外	やや近接/連続	遠方
	廟	近接/連続	近接（太祖父）遠方（太祖）	近接	近接	近接遠方	近接遠方			不明	不明	（近接/連続）	（近接）	なし	なし	なし	なし	なし	（やや近接/連続）	
政治的拠点※1	面積	12㎢	5㎢	40㎢以上	15㎢余					0.3㎢	0.36㎢	1.3㎢	0.6㎢	1.8㎢	1㎢	0.45㎢	0.3㎢	0.25㎢	1.6㎢	1㎢
	区画施設	×	○	○	○	○		○	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	×	○
荘厳装置	王宮/御所	○	○	○	○					○	○	○	○	○					○	○
	政庁・政庁施設														○	○	○	○		
	寺院	○	○	○	○					△	△	○	○	○	○		○		○	○
	庭園など	○										○	○		○					
象徴事物	仏塔	○	○	○								○		○						○
	墓・廟	○											○							
	庭園	○	○	○																
	寺院		○			○	○	○	○			○	○	○					○	
	城壁		○		○															
	行政施設		○	○	○															○
	王宮			○	○															
	街区			○	○										○					
	儀式・儀礼用動産類		○	○						○	○				○	○	○	○		○
支配的宗教・思想		仏教	仏教	仏教/道教	仏教/道教	仏教/儒教	仏教/儒教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教	仏教

※1 為政者が一定期間住居したことが確認されている場所を含む

※2 連続：為政者が累代にわたる場合

Integrated table of "International symposium comparative analysis between Hiraizumi and other political centers in East Asia" (20240706)

		Hiraizumi	Liao Shangjing	North Song Kaifeng	South Song Lin'an	Goryeo Gaegyeong	Goryeo local	Baekje central	Baekuje Ikusan	OOtoriiyama site	Tonomi no Saku	Toba	Hojuji-dono	Shirakawa	Taga-jo	Isawa-jo	Akita-jo	Hotta no Saku	Uji phase2-3	Liao Qingzhou
Political center (base) or not		Political center	Political center	Political center	Political center	Political center	Political center	Political center	Political center	Political base (group ruling)	Political base (group ruling)	Subordinate to Heiankyo	Subordinate to Heiankyo	Subordinate to Heiankyo	Political base?	Political base?	Political base?	Political base?	Subordinate to Heiankyo	Seasonal base
Characteristic of politics and administration		Independent local government	Central government	Central government	Central government	Central government	Central government	Central government	Central government	Local government (subordinate to local burau)	Local government (subordinate to local burau)	Domestical villa of the emperor	Villa of the emperor	National Buddhist rituals	A part of central government-regional rule	A part of central government-regional rule	A part of central government-regional rule	A part of central government-regional rule	Villa of regents	guarding and enshrining base for imperial tombs Napen
ruler		Same clan	Emperors of same clan	Emperors of same clan	Emperors of same clan	Kings of same clan	Kings of same clan	Kings of same clan	Kings of same clan	Same clan	Same clan	Same clan retied emperor	Same clan retied emperor	Same clan retied emperor	Appointed burau	Appointed burau	Appointed burau	Appointed burau	Same clan regent family	Same clan
relation to residence	tomb	close and linked ※2	distance	distance	distance			close and linked	close	unknown	unknown	close and linked	close	non	out of domain area	out of domain area	out of domain area	out of domain area	semi-close and linked	distance
	mausoleum	close and linked	close (founder's father) distance (founder)	close	close	close or distance	close or distance			unknown	unknown	(close and linked)	(close)	non	non	non	non	non	(semi-close and linked)	
political and quasi political center※1	area	12㎢	5㎢	more than 40㎢	around 15㎢					0.3㎢	0.36㎢	1.3㎢	0.6㎢	1.8㎢	1㎢	0.45㎢	0.3㎢	0.25㎢	1.6㎢	1㎢
	division facility	×	○	○	○	○		○	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	×	○
Solemn devices	palace	○	○	○	○					○	○	○	○	○					○	○
	government facility														○	○	○	○		
	temple	○	○	○	○					△	△	○	○	○	○		○		○	○
	garden etc.	○										○	○		○					
Symbolic objects	pagoda	○	○	○								○		○						○
	tomb and mausoleum	○											○							
	garden	○	○	○																
	temple		○			○	○	○	○			○	○	○					○	
	city wall		○		○															
	administrative facility		○	○	○															○
	palace			○	○															
	town square			○	○										○					
	ritual and ceremonial items		○	○						○	○				○	○	○	○		○
predominant religion or ideology		Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism Taoism	Buddhism Taoism	Buddhism Confucianism	Buddhism Confucianism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism	Buddhism

※1 Includes places where rulers are known to have lived for a certain period of time.

※2 Continuous: When rulers have ruled for successive generations

平泉と北・東アジアの政治拠点の比較研究

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