

課題整理 2

古代・中世の北部九州をとりまく国際環境・交流環境 — 宗像・沖ノ島地域の国際環境を考えるために —

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はじめに

前近代、アジア各地の人々は、九州を介して列島各地の人々と様々につながった。なかでもその窓口となったのが、北部九州地域である。九州北東部に位置する宗像・沖ノ島の国際環境も、この北部九州の国際環境の一部として理解する必要がある。本報告では、主に文献史学の立場から、古代・中世前期の北部九州をとりまく国際環境・交流環境を踏まえて、宗像・沖ノ島地域の歴史的位置をめぐる課題点・論点を提示してみたい。

1. 倭国時代の沖ノ島祭祀の性格をめぐる

3世紀の倭は邪馬台国を軸に、連合的な政治組織体を形成し、朝鮮半島諸国や中国と交流を行っていた。その際、日本列島で窓口となった地域が北部九州である。唐津湾や博多湾はその重要な港で、特に博多湾には国際交易港が整備された。両港を管理したのが糸島に置かれた一大率である。外交船や交易船は壱岐・対馬を経由し、九州北部と朝鮮半島南端部を行き来した。

しかし、この国際環境が4世紀に変化する。280年に中国全土を統一した晋が4世紀に入り崩壊し、江南の政権に縮小したことで、華北一帯は混乱し、華北と接する朝鮮半島北部では、高句麗が大きく成長して、勢力を南へ延ばす。この刺激を受け、朝鮮半島南半部では新羅と百済が台頭した。高句麗と対抗する百済は、加耶南部勢力と連携し、その背後の倭国と同盟関係を結んだ。倭人は緊迫した朝鮮半島情勢に関与するようになったのである。

倭国では、この厳しい国際情勢に対応するため、倭王を結集核とした軍事化が進行する。ここにおい

て、倭国の国際交流実務を担ったのは、倭王のもとに結集した有力首長層である。彼らは、その活動の過程で、朝鮮半島諸国・諸地域と独自の関係を結ぶこともあった。このため、倭人の国際交流ルートは多様化し、王権によって秩序の保たれた博多湾の平和的な国際交易港は、その姿を消していく。

沖ノ島で王権祭祀が始まるのは、まさにこの時期である。交流ルートの多様化で、瀬戸内海・日本海側から博多湾を経由せず、直接対馬・朝鮮半島へ向かう航路上に位置した沖ノ島が注目されたのであろう。また、宗像勢力が沖ノ島祭祀に継続的にかかわるのは5世紀後半とされる。これは、5世紀中葉以降の倭王権が、厳しい国際環境と国内対立に対応するため、地方の有力首長を新たに編成して、支配体制を再構築したことと関係しよう。

ただし文献史学からみた場合、沖ノ島ルートを、倭国の対外交流ルートとして評価するには、そのラインがあまりに細い。倭国の主要な対外交流ルートが、壱岐・対馬ルートであることはまず動かない。

けれども、博多湾以西や壱岐・対馬において、沖ノ島祭祀ほどの外来一級品を用いた祭祀が行われた場もない。留意されるのは、沖ノ島祭祀の展開が、倭国の朝鮮半島に対する軍事行動と、ある程度対応した様相をみせる点である。出土品に倭製の武器・武具も目立つことから、沖ノ島祭祀は、相互交流の祭祀というより、まずは〈対〉朝鮮半島を意識した王権祭祀としての性格を帯びているように思われる。ただし、この点を史料と対応させて具体的に捉えるには、祭祀の内容や画期についての、より詳細な検討が求められる。この点、今後の考古学の議論に期待したい。

2. 奈良・平安時代の遣外使節と宗像・沖ノ島

奈良・平安時代の沖ノ島祭祀は、従来から、日本の遣唐使との関連性が想定されてきた。しかし、奈良時代以降の博多湾を出航した遣唐使船は、北行せず、西方の五島列島を経由し、東シナ海を一気に渡る南路が選択した。このため、遣唐使船が沖ノ島に立ち寄るとは考え難いことは、これまでも指摘がある。したがって、帰国の際の奉獻などが想定されているが、8世紀以後の舶来品としうる遺物は、破片で出土した1号遺跡と4号遺跡の唐式鏡程度である（岡寺末幾氏のご教示）。しかし、倭国時代の遺物には6・7世紀を中心に新羅系の優品が目立つ。遣外使の成果の奉獻、あるいは外国使節からの贈与品の奉獻を想定するなら、むしろ倭国時代に新羅との往来で行われていた可能性を想定すべきであろう。

以上と関連して、838年に宗像社らの新度僧が遣唐使の平安を祈願したことについても、これまで遣唐使との関係だけが注目されてきたが、新羅との関係も想定しうるように思う。この遣唐使は一度渡航に失敗しており、祈願は再びの遭難を危惧してものであった。なお遣唐使派遣時は、遣新羅使も派遣し漂着時の保護を新羅に依頼することになっており、この時も、遣唐使が最初に出発した836年に遣新羅使も派遣されている。しかし交渉は失敗し、838年段階は新羅の保護が期待できないばかりか、新羅との関係も悪化した状態であった。また、新度僧を出した5社のうち宗像社を含む4社は、9世紀に新羅を警戒した祭祀が行われたことが確認できる神社である。したがって838年の遣唐使平安の祈願も、新羅漂着を警戒したものであった可能性が高い。

以上をふまえると、倭国時代の沖ノ島祭祀に想定される〈対〉朝鮮半島を意識した祭祀が、奈良・平安時代にも継承された可能性が考えられる。ただし、古代日本の新羅観は、7世紀以前と、8世紀、9世紀でそれぞれ異なる。また、沖ノ島祭祀の終焉は、10世紀初頭前後の唐衰滅や新羅衰滅にともなう東アジア情勢の大変動期と重なっており、朝鮮半島を警戒した宗像社の祈願も、9世紀末で見えなくなる。こうした東アジアの変動や、古代日本の対外認識の変

化と、沖ノ島祭祀の変化に時期的対応関係があるかどうかとも検討課題となるであろう。

3. 中世前期の博多と宗像

宗像社の異国警固の役割は、1274年の元の襲来で一時的に復活する。けれどもそれ以前の宗像社は、むしろ異国の人々との結びつきを広げていた。それは、中世都市博多の発展と結びついたものである。

東アジア海域が9世紀に海商の時代を迎えると、日本が政治的な管理を行う貿易港に設定したのは博多湾であった。海商の安置の場所は、11世紀の前半までは博多湾西側に置かれた公設の客館である鴻臚館で、ここで管理貿易が行われた。しかし11世紀の中頃、鴻臚館が放火され焼失すると、再建されないまま、安置場所は館の入江を隔てた東方の砂丘上に移動する（博多遺跡群）。さらに12世紀前半になると、国家が貿易を管理することがなくなり、博多に居地を築き、日本の寺社や中央有力層から資本を委託されて日宋貿易を束ねる宋商が活躍する。これが博多綱首である。

宗像大社の「阿弥陀経石」は、宗像大宮司の宗像氏国が父氏実の菩提を弔うため、1195年に南宋から移入したもので、追刻銘によれば、氏国の母、すなわち氏実の妻は王氏、また氏国の子氏忠の妻は張氏と、いずれも博多綱首からの出自とみられる。したがって「阿弥陀経石」の南宋からの移入も、この博多綱首が大きな役割を果たしていたと想定されている。また、博多綱首で、承天寺を創建した謝国明は、宗像社領の小呂島に対する権益を持ち、1251年にはその一部を宗像社に納入する義務をめぐって、宗像社側と争論になっている（「関東御教書」）。

港町の遺跡とみられる福津市の在自西之跡遺跡では、12世紀～13世紀の貿易陶磁が多く出土しており、宗像社の対外拠点とみられている。本遺跡からも、宗像社が貿易に深くかかわっていたことは疑いない。

なお、博多綱首が深く関係した寺社として、他に宮崎宮がある。博多湾の東方の出入り口にあたる要衝をおさえ、航海神としての信仰も集めて、博多の

海商たちをひきつけた。1151年には、大宰府検非違使所が管崎と博多で大追捕を行い、宋人王昇の「後家」以下 1600 家の資財雑物を運び出す事件も起きている（「中原師尚勘状案」）。また 12 世紀後半には、宋商の「蘇船頭」が当地の女性の婚姻関係を結び、その妻は、蘇船頭の死後、平戸における財産管理の役割も担っていたとみられている（「青方文書」）。しかしこれらはいずれも、博多と中国を結ぶ日宋貿易のルート上でみられるものである。

けれども博多湾外にある宗像社は、日宋貿易ルートからも離れており、博多綱首が、大宮司と婚姻関係を結ぶほどの深い関係にあった背景は、判然としない。宗像の歴史的・国際的な位置づけを考える上で、この点も検討課題であろう。

The International and Exchange Environment Surrounding Northern Kyushu in Ancient and Medieval Times

Seeking to Understand the International Environment of the Munakata and Okinoshima Region

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Introduction

In premodern times, people from various regions of Asia connected with people from various parts of the Japanese archipelago via Kyushu. The region that served as the gateway for these interactions was northern Kyushu. The international environment of Munakata and Okinoshima, located in the northeastern part of Kyushu, must also be understood as part of this international environment in northern Kyushu. Concentrating primarily on the perspective of documentary historical studies and sources, this report seeks to present issues and points of discussion regarding the historical position of the Munakata and Okinoshima region, based on the international and exchange environment surrounding northern Kyushu in ancient times and the early medieval period.

1. Character of Okinoshima Rituals in the Wa Period

In the 3rd century, Wa, centered on Yamatai-koku, formed a confederate political organization and conducted exchanges with Korean Peninsula polities and China. At that time, the region that served as the gateway to the Asian mainland in the Japanese archipelago was northern Kyushu. Karatsu Bay and Hakata Bay were important ports, and particularly in Hakata Bay, an international trading port was developed. Managing both ports was the *Ichidaisotsu* (Inspector-General), stationed in Itoshima. Diplomatic ships and trading vessels traveled back and forth between northern Kyushu and the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula via Iki and Tsushima.

However, this international environment changed in the 4th century. The Jin dynasty, which had succeeded in unifying all of China in 280, collapsed in the early 4th century, shrinking to become a polity in the Jiangnan region. Northern China then fell into turmoil, and in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, which bordered north China, Goguryeo grew significantly and extended its power southward. Stimulated by this, Silla and Baekje rose to prominence in the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. Baekje, which confronted Goguryeo, allied with forces in southern Gaya and it was against this backdrop that Baekje formed an alliance relationship with Wa. The Wa people thus came to be involved in the tense situation on the Korean Peninsula.

In order to respond to this severe international situation, militarization in Wa proceeded, centered around the Wa king. At this point, those who were responsible for Wa's international exchange affairs were the powerful chiefs who had rallied together under the Wa king. In the course of their activities, they sometimes formed independent relationships with various polities and regions on the Korean Peninsula. For this reason, the international exchange routes of the Wa people diversified, and Hakata Bay's peaceful international trading port, which had been maintained by the unifying force of royal power, gradually disappeared.

It is precisely at this time that royally sanctioned rituals began on Okinoshima. With the diversification of exchange routes, Okinoshima likely attracted attention, located as it was on a route heading directly to Tsushima and the Korean Peninsula from the Seto Inland Sea and the Sea of Japan side without going through Hakata Bay.

Moreover, it is said that forces in Munakata became continuously involved in Okinoshima rituals from the latter half of the 5th century. This is likely related to the fact that from the mid-5th century onward the governance system under the Wa royal prerogative was newly restructured to include influential regional chiefs, as a means of responding to the severe international environment and also domestic upheaval.

However, when viewed from documentary history, the Okinoshima route is far too narrow a line to be evaluated as Wa's foreign exchange route. First and foremost, it is indisputable that Wa's main foreign exchange route was the Iki-Tsushima route.

That being said, there is no place west of Hakata Bay or in Iki-Tsushima where rituals were conducted using prestigious foreign goods comparable to those used in the Okinoshima rituals. What should be noted is that the development of the Okinoshima rituals shows aspects that correspond to a certain degree with Wa's military actions toward the Korean Peninsula. Given that Wa-made weapons and armor are also prominent among the excavated items, it would appear that the Okinoshima rituals were perhaps less about mutual exchange and more characterized as royal rituals conducted with a conscious awareness (and wariness) of the Korean Peninsula. However, to concretely align and reconcile this hypothesis with historical documentary sources, more detailed examination of the content and turning points in the rituals will be required. In this regard, there is room for further archaeological debate.

2. Foreign Envoys of the Nara and Heian Periods and Munakata-Okinoshima

The Okinoshima rituals of the Nara and Heian periods have traditionally been assumed to be related to Japan's missions to Tang China. However, the missions to Tang that departed from Hakata Bay from the Nara period onward did not travel north but instead selected the southern route, which passed through the Goto Islands to

the west and navigated straight across the East China Sea. It is for this reason that prevailing thought is that it would have been unlikely for the missions to Tang to have stopped off at Okinoshima. Accordingly, dedication of votive items upon return, etc. has been assumed, however, the only artifacts that could be considered imported goods from the 8th century onward are fragments of Tang-style mirrors unearthed at Site No. 1 and Site No. 4. (information provided by Ms. OKADERA Miki). However, among artifacts from the Wa period, high-quality Silla-style items are prominent, centered around the 6th and 7th centuries. Assuming that such items were offered as the outcomes of overseas missions or were dedicated as gifts from foreign envoys, the possibility that this was carried out during exchanges with Silla in the Wa period should rather be considered.

In connection with the above, regarding the fact that in 838 newly ordained monks from Munakata Taisha and others prayed for the safety of the mission to Tang China, only the relationship with the mission to Tang has received attention until now. However, it seems plausible that relations with Silla can also be assumed. The mission to Tang had once failed in its ocean crossing, and the prayer was offered out of fear of another maritime disaster. Furthermore, when missions to Tang were dispatched, missions to Silla were also dispatched to request protection from Silla in the case of vessels washing up ashore, and a mission to Silla was dispatched in 836 at a similar time as when the mission to Tang first departed. However, negotiations failed, and by 838, not only could protection from Silla no longer be counted on, relations had actually deteriorated. Moreover, among the five shrines from which newly ordained monks were dispatched, four shrines including Munakata Taisha are shrines where it can be confirmed that rituals were conducted in the 9th century to guard against the threat of Silla. Therefore, it is highly likely that the 838 prayer for the safety of the mission to Tang was also one that was wary of washing up on Silla's shores.

In view of the above, the possibility can be considered

that rituals demonstrating a conscious awareness (and wariness) of the Korean Peninsula, which are assumed for the Okinoshima rituals of the Wa period, were also passed down in to the Nara and Heian periods. However, ancient Japan's view of Silla differed according to the era, with distinct differences in approaches before the 7th century, during the 8th century, and during the 9th century. Moreover, the end of the Okinoshima rituals overlaps with the period of great upheaval in East Asian circumstances accompanying the decline of Tang and the decline of Silla around the early 10th century, and prayers offered by Munakata Taisha that indicated a wariness of the Korean Peninsula also disappear at the end of the 9th century. Whether shifts in East Asia and changes in ancient Japan's external awareness correspond chronologically with transformations in the Okinoshima rituals is likely to become a subject of future inquiry.

3. Hakata and Munakata in the Early Medieval Period

The role of Munakata Taisha in guarding against foreign countries temporarily was revived with the Mongol attacks of 1274. However, prior to that, Munakata Taisha was rather expanding its connections and interactions with people from other countries. These activities were linked to the development of the medieval city of Hakata.

When the East Asian maritime region entered the age of maritime merchants in the 9th century, the trading port that Japan established for political management was in Hakata Bay. Until the first half of the 11th century, the place where maritime merchants were lodged was the Kōrokan, a publicly established guesthouse located on the western side of Hakata Bay, where managed trade was conducted. However, when the Kōrokan was set on fire and burned down around the middle of the 11th century, it was not rebuilt, and the lodging place moved to the eastern sand dunes across the inlet from the guesthouse (Hakata Archaeological Site Group). Furthermore, in the first half of the 12th century, the state ceased to manage trade, and

Song merchants appeared who established residences in Hakata and controlled Japan-Song trade with capital entrusted to them by Japanese temples, shrines, and influential groups from the central government. These were the Hakata *kōshu* (boat guilds of Song China origin).

The Amida-kyo Sukhavativyuha-sutra Stone of Munakata Taisha was imported from the Southern Song in 1195 by Munakata Ujikuni, the *daigūji* (high priest) of Munakata, to mourn his father Ujizane's soul. According to additional inscriptions, Ujikuni's mother, Ujizane's wife, was from the Wang clan, and the wife of Ujitada (Ujikuni's son) was from the Zhang clan, both appearing to originate from the Hakata *kōshu*. Therefore, it is assumed that these Hakata *kōshu* also played a major role in the import of the Amida-kyo Sukhavativyuha-sutra Stone from the Southern Song. Moreover, Xie Guoming, a Hakata *kōshu* who founded Jōten-ji Temple, held rights over Oronoshima, part of Munakata Taisha's territory, and in 1251 engaged in a dispute with Munakata Taisha over the obligation to remit a portion of income arising from those rights to the shrine (*Kantō Migyōsho* [Directive from the Kamakura Shogunate]).

At the Arai-Nishi Site in Fukutsu City, considered to be the remains of a port town, many trade ceramics from the 12th and 13th centuries have been excavated, and it is considered to have been an base for overseas trade for Munakata Taisha. This site also demonstrates clearly that Munakata Taisha was deeply involved in trade.

Additionally, another shrine with which the Hakata *kōshu* were deeply involved is Hakozaiki Hachiman Shrine. O Commanding the strategic eastern gateway facing Hakata Bay and drawing devotion as a deity of seafaring, it attracted the maritime merchants of Hakata. In 1151, an incident occurred in which the Dazaifu Office of Police and Judicial Affairs conducted a major crackdown at Hakozaiki and Hakata and confiscated the assets and sundry goods of 1,600 households including the "widow" of the Song Chinese merchant "Wang Sheng" (*Nakahara no Morohisa Kanjō An* [Draft Report of Nakahara no Morohisa]). Moreover, in the latter half of the 12th century,

the Song merchant known as “Captain Su” entered into marriage with a local woman, and after his death, his wife appears to have taken on the role of managing property in Hirado (*Aogata Monjo* [Aogata Documents]). However, all of these were observed along the route of Japan-Song trade connecting Hakata and China.

Nevertheless, given Munakata Taisha’s distance from Hakata Bay, the background is unclear as to why the Hakata *kōshu* formed such a deep relationship with Munakata Taisha, going as far as to enter into marriage with the high priest. This point is also a subject for examination when considering the historical and international positioning of Munakata.

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