

ジェンダーと海の祭祀 ―沖ノ島信仰と船霊女神の出現―

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船霊信仰の歴史的概観

本報告では船霊(船玉)が女性である点に注目し、船霊信仰の時代的変容を検討する。船霊は神社系の海神として昇格し、のちに天妃(媽祖)信仰と習合する一方、漁船に祀る神として現代まで根強く持続してきた。

海神を祀る神社には古代から綿津見神社、住吉神社、宗像神社があり、綿津見三神(底津綿津見神・中津綿津見神・表津綿津見神)、住吉三神(底筒男命・中筒男命・表筒男命)、宗像三女神(市杵島姫神・田心姫神・湍津姫神)を祭神とする。そのほか、宇都志日金杵命、大山祇神、金比羅神、恵比須、観音菩薩などが航海安全神・軍神・漁撈神としての性格を有してきた。

遣渤海使船の「能登」が帰国するさいに船霊への航海安全祈願がなされた(天平宝字 7[763]年)。また、無事に遣使の航海を果たした船に従五位下が叙位された(8世紀初頭～中葉)。宗像三女神は、在地の海人集団の航海神が有力氏族である宗像氏の奉斎神となり、さらに倭王権と結合し国家的海神に昇格した例である。約500年間持続した沖ノ島の航海安全儀礼はF.ブローデルの称する「中期波動」の例にあたる(ブローデル 2004)。

海と女性

中山太郎(2012)は、古代の航海や船に女性が果たした役割に注目した。その具体例として、隠岐国知夫郡黒木村大字美田に鎮座する焼火山神社(祭神は比奈麻治比売命)は沖を航行する船に焼火により陸の目印となる灯台の役割を果たし、巫女の比奈麻治比売命が火を焚いた。焼火山神社への信仰は江戸期の航海者にも伝承され、初代/二代目の歌川広重や葛飾北斎の版画に航海安全儀礼の様子が描かれた。那

智熊野の諸田船(御船)神事、安芸厳島神社の玉取り祭神事、出雲美保神社の青柴垣神事において、女性が乗船し儀礼を執行する重要な役割を演じた。ただし、遣使船の祭祀関係者は主神、陰陽師、卜部であり、女性が乗船した証拠はない。先述した「能登」に乗船していた留学生の妻や乳幼児、乳母、優婆塞は暴風雨の元凶として海に投げられた悲劇もある。

船霊の民俗

船霊信仰に関連する慣行や民俗語彙は全国的にある(徳丸 1993)。船に人形(ひとがた)、さいころ、毛髪、銭、五穀などの供物を船大工が準備して船柱下部に収蔵する(図1)。宗像鐘崎には独自の船霊の御身入れがあり、船大工がノミでX印を入れることで船霊が宿る。瀬戸内海地域における64例の供物では、さいころ(37)、銅銭(34)、五穀(24)、人形(23)の順に多い(瀬戸内海歴史民俗資料館 1978)。沖永良部島で船霊はヒナダマ(船霊)ガナシ(加那志:神への尊称)と称される。船に祀る御神体はないが、新造船完成のさいに米・洗米・ミシヨー(甘酒)を船の帆柱の部分に供え、ヌル(巫女)がお祓いをした。供物は不漁時、水死体を扱った場合や船を売却したさいに入れ替えられる。航海中に水死体を見ると豊漁になるとする俗信はケガレのハレ(エビス)への転換説(波平 1984)や、水死体を船に揚収するさいに水死体が船霊に見えないようにする慣行から船霊の忌避説(鶴橋 2023)がある(図2)。琉球/台湾/朝鮮では水死体を悪霊とみなし、本土の例とは異なる(下野 1989)。船霊の発する音は船の部位により異なり、嵐や風の予兆とされた。船霊は女性であるが、船玉十二神を男神とする例が愛媛の川之江にある。

船霊と航海安全儀礼の習合

船霊は中世以降、中国伝来の天妃信仰・媽祖信仰と習合し、江戸期以降、航海神として位置づけられた。すでに元代に天妃は船乗りの神として崇拝されていた（秋月 1962）。天妃（媽祖）信仰は琉球、本土へと伝来し、在野の船霊信仰と習合し複数のフナダマが祀られている（藤田 2021）。

『万葉集』の第3巻第270番歌に、「在り嶺よし 対馬の渡り海中に幣取り向けて早帰り来ね」がある。大宝2年（702）の第八回遣唐使派遣のさい、海中に御幣を投げて航海の無事を祈った。神名帳記載の伊豆半島下田の火達山に鎮座する白濱神社で海の祭神である伊古奈比咩命を迎える御幣流祭（10月30日）では、海岸で海中に（伊豆七島の）島数に当たる七本の御幣と供物を投げ入れる。この祭祀は古代の航海安全祭祀に相通じる。

古代の遣唐使船で嵐に遭遇したさいの祈願対象は船霊ではなく観音菩薩であった。新羅の海商人も観音信仰を奉じていた。中国浙江省舟山列島の普陀山島にある観音菩薩像は現代の海神信仰の象徴である。

船霊は国家祭祀の対象となるなかで人格神として崇拝され、仏教伝来後は天妃信仰とも習合した。一方、漁船の進水式や年始の起業時に航海安全と大漁祈願のために船霊を祀る儀礼が息づいている。アニミズム的な海霊は海洋祭祀の根幹に結晶化されており、ブローデルの長期変動に相当する海の基盤思想

と深く関連するとみなすことができる（図3）。さらに時代を遡り、古墳時代の船型埴輪や弥生時代のペトログリフのなかに、船霊の原型となる図像表現を見いだせる可能性もあり、今後の課題としたい。

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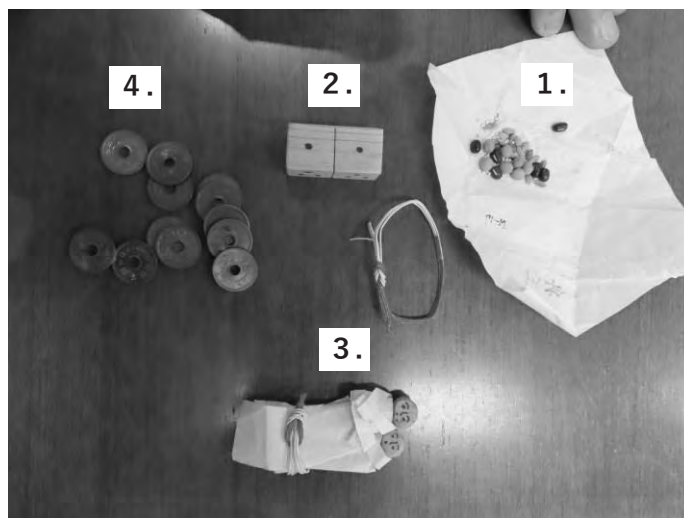


図1 「フナダマサン」の供物。1. 五穀、2. 木製さいころ2個、3. 男女の人形1対、4. 五円玉12枚。（広島県豊田郡木之江町）（瀬戸内海歴史民俗資料館蔵）

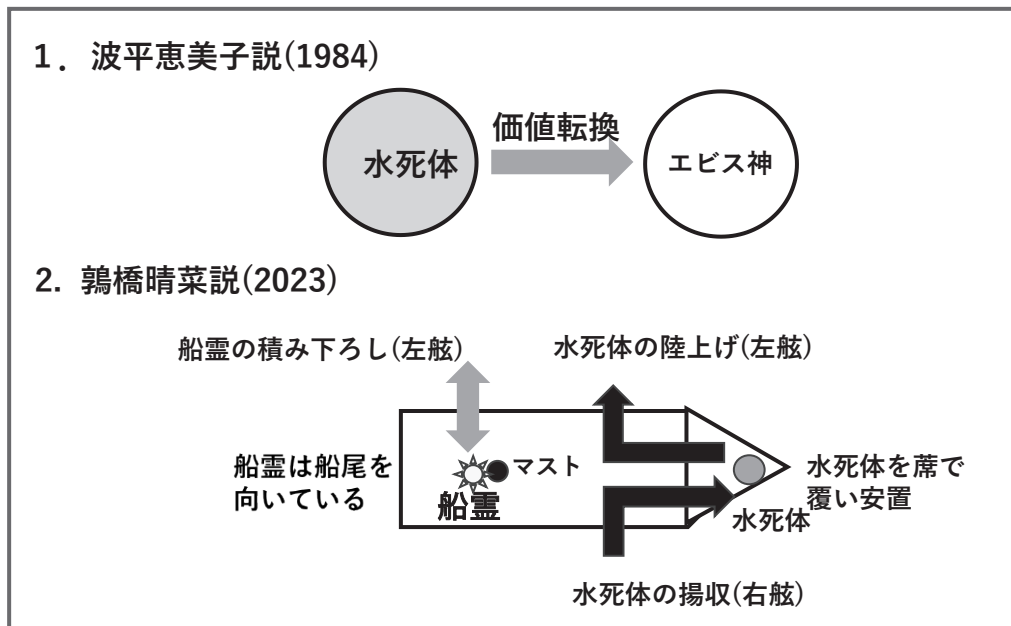


図2 水死体と船霊・エビスの関係。

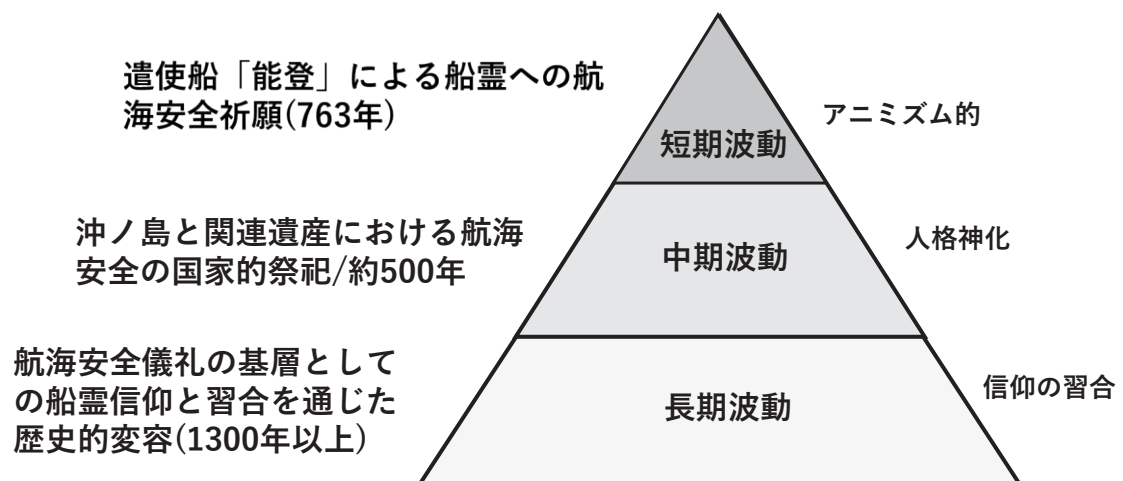


図3 船霊信仰の歴史的変容とF・ブローデルによる文明の「波動史観」。

Gender in Maritime Rituals — Emergent *Funadama* Goddess in Okinoshima Belief —

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Historical Overview of *Funadama* Belief

This report examines historical transformation of *Funadama* belief, focusing on gender role of *Funadama* as sea goddess. While *Funadama* was promoted as the first rank of the sea goddess in the shrine rank system, and later it was syncretized with Mazu belief. Overall, the *Funadama* has been believed as the ships' guardian goddess over 1300 years.

Watatsumi-jinja Shrine, Sumiyoshi-jinja Shrine, and Munakata-jinja Shrine are known to enshrine sea deities from ancient period. Sea deities involved are *Sokotsuwatatsumi-no-kami*, *Nakatsuwatatsumi-no-kami*, and *Uwatsu watatsumi-no-kami* in Watatsumi-jinja Shrine, *Sokotsutsu-no-ono-mikoto*, *Nakatsutsu-no-ono-mikoto*, and *Uwatsutsu-no-ono-mikoto* in Sumiyoshi-jinja Shrine, *Ichikishima-hime*, *Tagori-hime*, and *Tagitsu-hime* in Munakata-jinja Shrine.

Other sea deities are also identified that have played various roles in sea affairs as navigation, battles, and fishery. They include *Utsushihikanasaku-no-mikoto*, *Ohyamazumi-no-kami*, *Konpira-no-kami*, *Ebisu* and *Kannon*.

In the historical document, *Funadama* was described as the sea deity to be prayed for the safety of navigation when the *Noto*, an envoy ship to Bohai, being encountered with the heavy storm on returning to Japan in 763. Relevant to this fact, those envoy ships that safely cherished the voyage were promoted as the lower rank five. These events were described in the documents during the early and mid 8th century. The Three goddesses of Munakata had been the object of local belief, and later became the supreme deity of Munakata Taisha. Then, the Three Goddesses of Munakata were promoted as the first rank status of the Nation's formal ritual system. Munakata's rituals for safe

navigation persisted about 500 years since the mid of the 5th century until the end of the 10th century, which may correspond to an example of the medium-scale wave of the civilization, claimed by F. Braudel (2004).

Sea and the Gender

T. Nakayama (2012) raised a hypothesis that the shrine maiden (*miko*) played an important role in the ancient navigation. He showed some examples in the historical documents as well as folk ritual practices. First case is Mt. Takuhi Shrine in Chibu county, Oki Islands where the goddess *Hinamajihime-no-mikoto* prepared the fire, providing the light as a guide for navigators. The fire-making practice has later been passed down in the Edo period, and the Mt. Takuhi Shrine and navigators' weather forecasting was drawn in the *Ukiyoe* prints by Utagawa Hiroshige and Katsushika Hokusai. Morotabune festival at Nachi-Kumano, Tamatori festival at Itsukushima Shrine, and Aoshibagaki festival at Miho Shrine, Izumo, are other cases where priestesses played major roles in the sea-faring rituals.

Yet, there is no definite evidence to indicate the shrine maiden was on board the envoy ships, excepts Shushin (priest), Onmyoji (weather forecasting diviner) and Bokushi (diviner using bones) as male members. There is a document of Noto's navigation that the female, infant, and non-monk persons on board were sadly thrown into the sea as they were regarded as the root cause of storm.

Folk Belief in *Funadama*

Folk practices in *Funadama* belief are widespread in

Japan (Tokumaru 1993), and in general several offerings such as two dices, human hairs, five kinds of cereals (rice, wheat, barley, millet, and red bean) and human figures (*hitogata*) are prepared by the shipwright, and stored at the lower bottom of the mast of ship. Of 64 examples of *Funadama* offerings, dices are utilized in 37 cases, copper coins 34, cereals 24, and human figures 23. The site where *Funadama* offerings are stored is termed as *tsutsu*, *mori*, or *omuro*. Kanegasaki-type *Funadama* is a unique rectangular wooden board, and when the shipwright marked X by chisel on the side of board, *Funadama* is believed to dwell in it. In Okinoerabu Island, southern Japan, *Hinadamaganashi*, literally *Funadama* and its sacred term, is believed as the sea goddess. But in the launching ritual, rice and sweet rice wine etc. are offered at the bottom of the mast and the *nuru* or a sacred maiden conducted the safe navigation ritual. Offerings are generally replaced in case of a long-lasting poor catch, lifting a drowned body on the ship, or a sale of the vessel to another person. In the sea, a drowned body bears two distinct explanations; one is the transformation theory in which the polluted dead body is transformed into *Ebisu* god that brings about good luck (Namihiro 1984). The other is the avoidance theory (Uzurahashi 2023) in which the drowned body is lifted from starboard side and laid at the bow part of a ship and unloaded to land from port side while *Funadama* that is loaded from port side, and stored at the bottom of the mast behind, faces stern side (Figure .2). By this practice, *Funadama* is free from witnessing the corpse and able to avoid the pollution. It is also known that *Funadama*'s voice predicts the weather, which varies depending on the part of a ship where the sound is heard. Given the voice is detected from the stern, the calm will come whereas the voice from the bow and side-boards is a sign stormy weather. In terms of the gender of *Funadama*, it is generally acknowledged as the female, but *Funadama Junishin* (twelve gods of *Funadama*) nominate twelve male gods

as shown in the hanging scroll of the shipwright's house at Kawanoe, Ehime prefecture.

***Funadama* Belief in Syncreticism**

In central Fujian Province during the Song Dynasty, there was a folk belief in the sea goddess that was believed to protect the people from famine, disease and theft. It was further widespread as *Tiānfēi*, one of the highest position title in China during the Yuan Dynasty (1331) (Akitsuki 1962). In the Ming Dynasty, it was identified generally as *Mazu*, which was believed, based on the real story of one lady who possessed supernatural ability to cure people and to bring about miracles. *Mazu* belief has then come to widespread among navigators, sailors and sea-merchants in Southeast Asia, Taiwan, the Ryukyu and Japan. In Japan the *Mazu* belief has been syncretized with local beliefs in *Funadama* and other sea goddesses (Fujita 2021).

In the *Manyōshū* (the oldest collection of poems during the mid 7th and the mid 8th centuries), there is a poem (volume 3, No. 270) to pray for the safe voyage of the envoy ship between China and Japan, throwing sacred paper streamers into the sea. Similar practice is also found in the Onbenagashi-sai in the Shirahama Shrine, Shimoda of Izu peninsula, Shizuoka, in which seven paper streamers are thrown into the sea to welcome the sea goddess, *Ikonahime-no-mikoto* on the 30th October. Seven sets of paper streamers correspond to seven islands of Izu Shichito. It should be noted that in case of storms to capsize the ship, people prayed for the safety not to the *Funadama*, but *vide infra* *Kannon-Bosatsu*, a goddess of mercy in Buddhism. At the same age, sea-borne Silla merchants who used to navigate between Korean peninsula and East China Sea also believed in *Kannon*. Famous *Kannon* stature is built on the Póudú Island, Zhoushan Islands, Zhejiang Province. Overall, locally worshipped *Funadama* had come to be personified as sea goddesses worshipped in the first rank shrine, and national rituals for safe navigation. *Funadama* was also syncretized later with foreign well as

indigenous folk religions. While *Funadama* belief has persisted extensively praying for the safety in navigation and a good catch. In these historical processes, it is evident that *Funadama* has been crystalized as the core of sea cosmology as ‘a longue durée’ in Braudel’s term (Fig. 3) years. The origin of *Funadama* sea goddess may be dated back to the earlier Kofun and Yayoi periods, and possible evidences may be detected in clay ships and petroglyphs of ships in which proto-types of *Funadama* might be drawn as iconographies.

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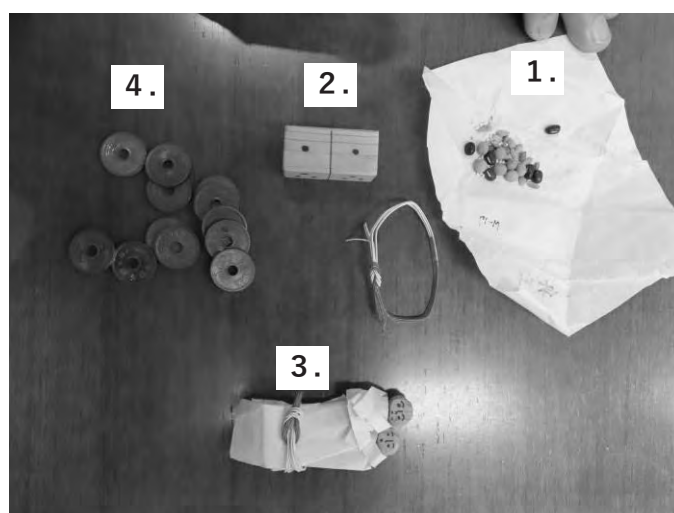


Figure 1. Offerings to *Funadama*. (Kinoue town, Toyoda county, Hiroshima Prefecture)
 1. Five kinds of cereals (*gokoku*), 2. Two wooden dices, 3. Male and female human figures (*hitogata*), 4. Twelve coins. (Seto Inland Sea Folk History Museum)

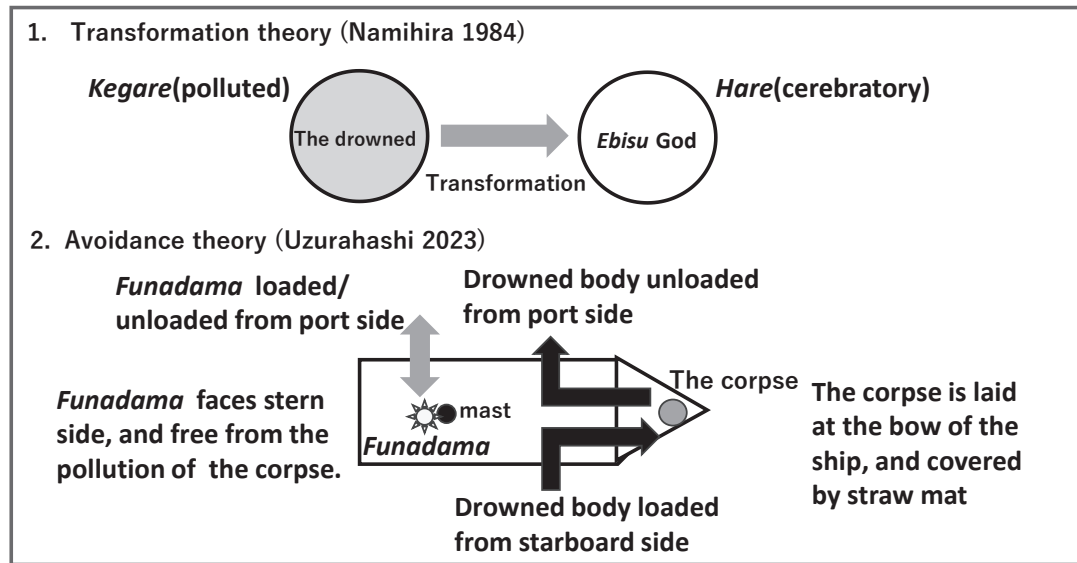


Figure 2. The relations among the drowned, *Funadama* and *Ebisu*.

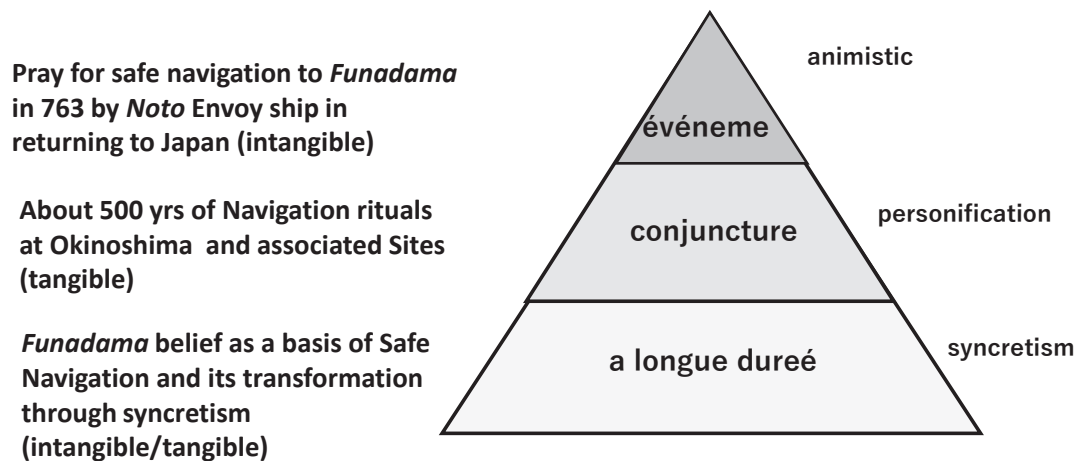


Figure 3. Historical Transformation of *Funadama* Belief with reference to Three Wave-layers Schema in the F. Braudel's Civilization Model.

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