

Fujiwara Yorinaga's *Taiki* Journal:
On the Edge, Arts of Scholarship and War

Motoki Yasuo, in *Nikki de yomu Nihon chûseishi* (Minerba, 2011)
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1. The Taiki and Yorinaga

In the late Heian Period (794-1185), there was a scion of the aristocracy who went out in armor to the battlefield, where he was struck in the head by the arrow of an enemy general and then died after escaping the fighting. He had been born into the Regents' Line (Sekkanke), and had been promoted to the highest posts at court, serving as royal document examiner (*nairan*) and minister of the left (*sadaijin*). The courtier with this unusual biography was Minister of the Left Fujiwara Yorinaga (1120-1156).

There were other ministers in Heian times who experienced political defeat and were exiled, including Sugawara Michizane (845-903), Minamoto Takaakira (914-982), and Fujiwara Korechika (974-1010). But to find someone who climbed as high as minister and then met with such an end, one needs to look back to the later eighth century in the Nara Period (710-784), to Premier Minister Fujiwara (Emioshikatsu) Nakamaro (706-764).

My focus here, Fujiwara Yorinaga, represents his times, when the political stability that had characterized the Heian age was ending and the upheavals of the medieval age were beginning. The journal that Yorinaga left behind is known as the *Taiki*, which title is derived from a Chinese term denoting the top three ministerships (*sandai*, alt. *sangai*) at the monarch's court. The journal covers, discontinuously, years when he served as a minister—we have entries from 1136 to 1136, 1139, and 1142 to 1155. There is also a text called the *Taiki bekki*, in 8 rolls, that includes extracts with detailed descriptions of court rituals from 1135 to 1155. And there is a later text of selections called the *Ugaikishô* that fills in gaps.¹

The journal that exists today is not the original—we have only copies, some from the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) but most from Edo times (1600-1868). As for its print history, first came the *Shiryô taikan* edition that was expanded in the *Zôho shiryô taisei* edition by Rinsen shoten in 1965. Then the contents of the journal up to Kôji 2 (1143) were newly collated and annotated in one volume, in the *Shiryô sanshû* edition. Here I have used the *Shiryô sanshû* edition up to 1143. For entries after that, I have relied on the *Zôho Shiryô taisei* edition.

2. Yorinaga's Life

At the beginning of the medieval age, in his *Gukanshō* history of the realm the scholar and abbot of Mount Hiei's Enryakuji, Jien (1155-1225), called Yorinaga “Nihon's preeminent scholar,

¹ The journal and its extracts have been published in the *Zôho Shiryô Taisei* series of courtier journals by Rinsen shoten. Part of the journal has also been published in the *Shiryô sanshû* series of historical records. Selections were read and translated into modern Japanese and English, with annotation, during the USC Kambun Workshop, Summer 2019, for which see the Resources section of the website <uscppjs.org>.

brimming with talent when it comes to texts both continental and domestic.” On the other hand, Jien criticized Yorinaga as being “bad tempered and difficult in all things.” In any event, given his father’s (Fujiwara Tadazane, 1078-1162) extreme affection for him, Yorinaga rivaled with his brother Tadamichi (1097-1164) over the post of regent and royal document examiner, but failed when the capable Tadamichi was appointed to that post. His angry father, as head of the Regents’ House, then retired and passed the family headship to Yorinaga, who was made royal document examiner by the retired monarch Toba in 1151. Thereupon swirled seeds of the Hôgen coup attempt of 1156. That, at least, is the usual account of Yorinaga’s ill fortune. Here, however, I want to look into Yorinaga’s life more closely.

As noted above, Yorinaga was born in the fifth lunar month of 1120, as the son of the then-vice-roy (*kampaku*), Fujiwara Tadazane. His mother was a daughter of Tadazane’s houseman and governor of Tosa Province, Fujiwara Morizane. In contrast, Yorinaga’s elder brother Tadamichi, who would become his lifelong rival, was the son of Tadazane’s senior consort (*seishitsu*) Minamoto Muneko, whose father was Minister of the Right Minamoto Akifusa. The two brothers thus had mothers of very different status.

In the first year of the Hôan era (1120-1124), while the retired monarch Shirakawa (Shirakawa In) was away on a pilgrimage to Kumano Shrine, Tadazane maneuvered to place a daughter in the reigning monarch’s (Toba Tennô, r. 1107-1123) back palace. Since this arrangement was strongly opposed by Shirakawa, Tadazane’s post as royal document examiner was terminated and he was forced from his position as vice-roy in 1121. Shirakawa, as retired monarch and patriarch of the royal family, was seen to enjoy the right to decide on royal marriages; and when Tadazane was forced into retirement, the retired monarch was also seen to have gained control over the appointment of such royal lieutenants as the regent and vice-roy. Tadazane had no choice but to spend the next ten years away from court, at Uji. It was there that the young Yorinaga grew up beside the disheartened Tadazane.

Meanwhile in 1125 Tadamichi, as Tadazane’s eldest son, succeeded his father as vice-roy, and Yorinaga was made Tadamichi’s adopted son (*yôshi*). That made Yorinaga Tadamichi’s heir—he would become head of the Regents’ Line and the future regent or vice-roy. In 1129, Shirakawa In died, and his grandson Toba retired, becoming retired monarch. In the 12th month of 1132 Tadazane returned to the capital and began again serving as royal document examiner and head of the Regents’ Line.

During this time, Yorinaga was rising in court rank and post. When he underwent his coming-of-age ceremony in Daiji 5 (1130), he was granted the senior fifth rank lower step; and in the same year he was appointed middle captain of the Right Inner Palace Guards. That was a very special privilege that only mainline heirs of the regents’ family enjoyed. Yorinaga was then 17. It was during his tenure in that post, from 1136 on, that he began brushing his entries in a journal, making it clear that he was expected to be the next regent. Yorinaga also set about excelling at scholarship. He began by reading all of the nine Chinese classics—he looked to scholarship to gird him as head of the Regents’ Line and court leader because it would enable him to direct government in an unwavering fashion.

What darkened Yorinaga's prospects was the birth of a male child to Tadamichi and his consort, the daughter of Minamoto Kunitoshi, in 1143. It seemed that what had been promised up to that point, Yorinaga's inheritance of the headship of the Regents' Line and the office of regent or viceroy, would now be denied, an outcome that invited the opposition of both Tadazane and Yorinaga. Their hostility presented Tadamichi with problems as well. Jien's arguments in the *Gukanshō* (My Humble Views) concerning the overly permissive relationship between Tadazane and Yorinaga and the latter's difficult personality as the root of the trouble is not persuasive. Jien, as Tadamichi's son, skewed the story as he tried to protect his father. He ignored the issue of succession faced by the Regents' Line. The point of no return came in the brothers' relationship in 1150. When Yorinaga tried to place his foster daughter in the back palace of Konoe Tenno, Tadamichi joined with the monarch's mother Bifukumon'in to plan the placement of Shimeko (1131-76), her foster daughter, there as well. The result was an unprecedented situation: one monarch with two queen-consorts. It was Shimeko, however, that was actually treated as queen-consort and Tadamichi was the real victor. So it was Tadazane disinherited his son, taking away his office as clan head and his estates, and then transferring them all to Yorinaga.

As head (*chōja*) of the Regents' Line, Yorinaga oversaw the affairs of Kōfukuji and Kasuga Shrine, the management of a large number of estates (*shōen*) that Tadazane had accumulated, and command of the Kawachi Genji warrior band of Minamoto Tameyoshi (1096-1156). By this time, given the armed monks (*akusō*) of Kōfukuji and the fighting men under Tameyoshi, the Regents' Line was a very powerful household (*kenmon*, "a gate of power") with substantial martial capacity. As family head, Yorinaga was determined to wield strong and unified authority. Therefore when Toba In handed Yorinaga the post of royal document examiner in the first month of 1151, Yorinaga took the opportunity to move against his top rival, Tadamichi.

At the hub of court politics, Yorinaga set out to conduct governance in a strict and ideal fashion. He met, however, substantial resistance from opponents, who called him "the overly harsh minister of the left" (*akusafu*). When Yorinaga struggled to preserve the status order, he quickly clashed with the beloved intimates of Retired Monarch Toba. Leaders of this opposition were members of the Sueshige Fujiwara, who for generations had served as provincial governors of the largest and richest provinces and as clients of retired monarchs. They were also kin of Toba's beloved Bifukumon'in (1117-1160), who was the mother of Konoe Tennō (r. 1141-1155) and therefore "mother of the realm" (*kokumo*). Meanwhile her cousin Ienari (1107-1154) was a favorite of Toba In. Ienari accumulated a large number of estates that later became holdings of the retired royal lady Hachijōin (1137-1211).

Bifukumon'in had already made an alliance with Tadamichi on the matter of the competition for entry into Konoe Tennō's back palace, and she was interested in foiling any plans Yorinaga had in that regard. That meant that she and Yorinaga were also bitter enemies. So relations between Yorinaga and Ienari and kinsmen worsened. In 1151, Yorinaga had Ienari's home trashed, which, according to Jien, was the reason Toba distanced himself from Yorinaga. Konoe Tennō already disliked Yorinaga, so Yorinaga was isolated.

In 1155 there was another heavy blow to Yorinaga's fortunes: Konoe Tennô died at age 15, and Yorinaga was excluded from discussions about the succession because his own wife had died and so he was in mourning. Furthermore, there was a rumor circulating that Tadazane, in residence at Mount Atago (Kyoto), had cursed the young *tennô*. Believing the story, Toba In terminated Yorinaga's post as royal document examiner. Even as the father Tadazane worked tirelessly to restore the retired monarch's faith in Yorinaga, Toba died.

Those left in control at court included Bifukumon'in, Tadamichi, and the lay monk Shinzei (Fujiwara Michinori), who had become a leader among Toba In's inner circle. That group now moved to use military force to get their way, and called for troops to suppress Yorinaga in 1156, known as the Hôgen Disturbance. In response, Minamoto Tameyoshi and other commanders assembled their own warrior bands. On the other side, Yorinaga himself dressed for battle and headed out to the battlefield, where he was wounded by an arrow shot by Minamoto Shigesada. Gravely wounded, Yorinaga made it to Nara and his father, but the latter refused to meet him before Yorinaga died.

Yorinaga's life was full of trepidation and challenges. That makes the *Taiki* journal a vivid and engrossing narrative. In what follows I will discuss four of its prominent themes: Yorinaga's scholarship; how the Regents' family became increasingly militarized; Yorinaga's conflict with his elder brother; and Yorinaga's attempt to discipline the intimates of the retired monarch, which resulted in violence.

3. *The World of the Taiki* (I)

I will begin by considering some entries from Yorinaga's journal that provide an image of the man. For instance, in the following entry from 1142 12/30, we get a sense of his attitude to scholarship as he admonished his children and grandchildren on that subject:

For my part I have relished the Chinese classics and histories, giving little thought to the writings of our realm. So the selections I've made are not very detailed. You too my progeny must not limit yourselves to the [Chinese] classics and histories that appeal to you. You must also become familiar with the old ways of our realm (Wagoku) and follow them loyally. I will not recommend that you to take up music, although there is no special prohibition against it. On the other hand, it is strictly forbidden to devote yourself to such pursuits as those with dogs, cows, horses, or wine.

Yorinaga was an expert in the Chinese classics. His diligent studies are clear from an entry that he wrote in 1143, which refers to the 4 books and 5 texts, including the *Laozu*, Mencius (*Moju*), and all the histories of China, totaling 1030 rolls. His studies continued throughout his tenure as a minister, beginning in 1136, and they shed light on his ambitions and objectives as a ruler.

Clearly Yorinaga was conscious of the importance of Japan's history, and he urged his sons to study it. It was not so much that he expected that knowledge to be directly applicable to contemporary governmental affairs, but in terms of precedent and protocol, it was useful. The fact is, Yorinaga's knowledge of Japan's history was meager, as seen in an entry of 1145 01/02. At the time Yorinaga had travelled to Uji to consult with his father about his son's adult name, for which Yorinaga proposed, "Tadatsune." His father objected, and chided him:

I was told that was the name of a rebel. And he [my father] added, "The Regents' Line has long had excelled in the arts, and [you] my son are an expert on the Chinese classics. And yet you don't know the name of a rebel against our court! To see a strand of hair is not to see the big picture. We will be scoffed at.

As for music, a common element in aristocratic education, and Japanese *waka* poetry, Yorinaga did not encourage his progeny to study them. Yorinaga's elder brother Tadamichi was well versed in the aristocratic arts of music, poetry, and calligraphy in which Yorinaga showed no interest. It may be that Yorinaga's insistence on studying things Chinese stemmed from the hostility between himself and his elder brother.

As we saw earlier, Abbot Jien acknowledged Yorinaga's stature as the premier scholar in the realm. On that subject there is a helpful anecdote that includes Shinzei (Fujiwara Michinori), who later became Yorinaga's political rival. In the entry of 1145 06/07, for example, when Yorinaga was studying bamboo stick divination (*ekizei*) with Shinzei, there was a debate. Yorinaga wrote in *Taiki* about it this way:

Michinori answered, 'It is my mistake, I don't know how to beg your pardon! Your Highness' knowledge is matchless—even in China there is no rival. You have gone far beyond any forebear in this realm. Your talents go beyond our shores. I am filled with fear and trembling. From here on, I must study the classics!

At the same time that he was apologizing, Michinori was pointing out the danger of knowing too much—how was Yorinaga to manage his erudition? In their everyday encounters, Yorinaga respected Michinori. Two years earlier, when Michinori had become a lay monk (taking the name of Shinzei), Yorinaga had held his hand and shed tears, remonstrating that his colleague's withdrawal from secular life amounted to the end of scholarship. So the two had mutual regard. When they later clashed in the Hôgen coup (1156), and Michinori—by then known as "Shinzei"—he went out to mourn over Yorinaga's body where it had been buried, to the south of the capital. Michinori's fears about Yorinaga's brilliance had been actualized.

To go back a bit, when Shirakawa In died in 1129, Yorinaga's father Tadazane returned to the world of court politics as its great lord ("Ôdono"), and he enjoyed tremendous power as chief of the Regents' Line. As Tadazane's (second) son, Yorinaga was promoted to inner palace minister (*naidaijin*) in 1136. Tadazane combined possession of a great number of estates with authority over Kôfukuji, whose protests he dedicated himself to controlling. For that, he relied on the military power of the Kawachi Genji under their commander (*tôryô*), Minamoto Tameyoshi,

even if the latter had increasingly fallen out of favor with the retired monarchs Shirakawa and Toba. And within Kôfukuji, Tadazane relied on Shinjitsu, himself a leader of armed monks (*akusô*). We get a glimpse of this threesome—Tadazane, Tameyoshi, and Shinjitsu—in a *Taiki* entry of 1142 08/03. On that day armed monks from Kôfukuji were to be exiled to Mutsu.

In recent years rampages by monks from the southern capital have been particularly serious. In this fifth month, evil monks were called to the Kangakuin. ... Fifteen were called in. This evening the Regent ordered Saemonnojô Minamoto Tameyoshi, who is Yoshiie's son: 'As my emissary, take them to Ôshû.' Reportedly Tameyoshi tied them to himself with rope. ... This Tameyoshi is not a houseman of the Regents' Line. Someone explained, 'Reprisals against armed monks have been left to Tadazane. The provisional abbot of Kôfukuji, Shinjitsu, will have them pursued.' Another report said, 'Regent Tadazane has ordered that the monks be punished by Shinjitsu. ... This time, they include many scholar monks.'

Dealing with rebellious monks was seen as an internal matter to be privately punished by the Regents' Line, by order of Regent Tadamichi and also the orders of Tadazane to Tameyoshi, to warriors as the claws and fangs of the Regents' Line. Notable too is that the armed monk Shinjitsu cooperated, since those being punished were not his followers. Yoronaga, however, found all this "Very regrettable." Even at this point, Yoronaga and Tadazane were not in agreement [about these private relationships]. Still, when Yoronaga eventually became head of the Regents' Line, he continued to utilize the military power Tadazane had built up. In the *Taiki* entry of 1143 06/30, Yoronaga wrote:

"Tameyoshi has not yet acknowledged me as his lord. He serves my father Zenkaku [Tadazane].' When he arrived home, he sent word to Tameyoshi through Lord Suemichi: 'This is a propitious day. You should come and present yourself (*shosan*) to me, or will you not?' Tameyoshi agreed to do so.

Such presentation was a ceremonial occasion during which a military man declared his intention to serve an aristocrat. During the Hôgen coup of 1156, Tameyoshi indeed served Yoronaga loyally, as did his sons. Indeed, earlier in 1144 Tameyoshi's heir, Yoshitsura, was given custodianship of an estate in Noto province by Yoronaga, a clear instance of how management of a regental property supported the military might of the Kawachi Genji as claws and fangs of the Regents' Line. Even after the assignment was cancelled due non-payment of rents, Yoronaga kept up a close relationship with Yoshitsura. In an entry of 1148 01/05, we read:

Tonight Yoshitsura came into the bedroom. He was threatening and uncivil. (Since the trouble, this is the first time for such behavior.)

This is one of many references in the *Taiki* to male-male sexual relations. Having admonished his progeny against such, along with hunting and drinking, it must have been difficult for Yoronaga to record this episode in his journal, which would be used by his sons and grandsons for guidance in the future. In medieval times, unlike in earlier classical times, personal relations

were key. And it is well known that male-male sexual relations had developed in warrior society. For Yorinaga, such relations may well have been an expression of lord-and-follower relations in his new age.

Nevertheless Yorinaga sometimes felt overwhelmed by these relationships. For instance, when his intimate, the royal guardsman Hata Kimiharu, died in the first month of 1153, Yorinaga withdrew from government affairs and noted in his journal, “my sorrows could be heard over 10 *chô*.” Unfortunately, Yorinaga did not include any details in his *Ukaikishô*, extracts of the *Taiki* that cover the period from 1145 to 1156. As for Yoshitsura, he set out for Kôzuke; and three years later he was assassinated by his nephew Yoshihira in the storehouse of Musashi provincial headquarters. Yoshitsura’s progeny included none other than Minamoto Yoshinaka, who later chased the Heike out of the capital in 1183.

The state of the Regents’ Line near mid-century is demonstrated graphically by Yorinaga’s entry of 1147 10/24: “Someone told me that Zenkaku killed the prelate Hôkyô Kanyo, and that the punishment was excessive.” Indeed Yorinaga’s father, as head of the Regents’ Line under Toba In, was harshly judged by popular opinion for this incident. The reason for the killing is unclear, but that it was purposeful is clear here. Tadazane also ordered the killing of high-ranking monastic sons of the minister Fujiwara Tamefusa, as punishment by the Regents’ house. In this way, patrimonial relations—those between a master and his followers—came to constrict and deny the application of court law in a society where warriors were increasingly involved. The Regents’ Line internalized martial might, creating bonds between Tadazane, warriors, and armed monks. The result was the substantial expansion of the patrimonial practices of the powerful households in the medieval age.

4. *The World of the Taiki* (2)

Relations between the brothers Tadamichi and Yorinaga worsened in 1143, when Motozane, Tadamichi’s heir, was born. There was no open fighting but harsh words begin to appear in *Taiki* entries. For example, in 1144 Tadamichi’s houseman was appointed Yamato provincial governor, and he tried to survey the province, including Kôfukuji’s land holdings, in preparation for Yamato being made a proprietary province (*chigyôkoku*). When Kôfukuji’s monks protested, Tadamichi cancelled the plans for Yamato, shifting them to Iwami province instead. Yorinaga wrote this in 1145 01/26:

“The Yamato governor Minamoto Kiyotada has been reassigned to Iwami, the Regent’s own proprietary province. Originally he [the Regent] had Bizen and Iga. Then Iwami was added, making three. Last year Kiyotada, having requested it, became governor in Yamato and went out himself to see to its administration. The Regent’s warriors went out to survey. [As a result] the monks rioted and chased out the Regent’s emissary. ... Reportedly, the plan has shifted to Iwami. [Tadamichi has served as] regent for two monarchs and has three provinces. The monarch’s grace is overmuch, and Tadamichi has a reputation for greed. Will it continue into the future?”

There was another issue festering in the background as well. By this time the retired monarch and his friends were becoming targets of increasing rioting by Kôfukuji's monks, complicating the Regent's position. As Tadazane had once done with Shinjitsu, Tadamichi sent his own son, the monk Kakukei, to be provisional abbot at Kôfukuji. Nevertheless, plans to suppress the resistance of Kôfukuji monks failed. That meant the end of Tadazane's hopes for controlling the rioting, even while the conflict between father and son over proprietary provinces lurked beneath the surface. Specifically, after Tadazane came back to power from 1129 onwards, trouble between father and son over what to do about Kôfukuji worsened. Indeed, in the above entry Yorinaga harshly criticized Tadamichi as greedy. Such rancorous language was new. It seems that a year after the birth of his brother's heir, Yorinaga viewed Tadamichi as his enemy. Conflict between these leaders of the Regents' Line would become increasingly visible.

As noted earlier, the bitter competition over placing a daughter in the back palace in 1150 was a defining moment. And then, Tadamichi's unwillingness to give up his post as viceroy resulted in his disinheritance (*gizetsu*) from the Regents' Line. On 09/26, Tadazane called on the martial forces of Minamoto Tameyoshi to take over the regental mansion at Higashisanjô, as well as the hereditary treasures of the Fujiwara head-of-clan. Tadazane then passed them to Yorinaga with these words, according to a *Taiki* entry:

About the hour of the sheep (1-3 P.M.), Zenkaku declared: the Regent has been unfilial. I have been deeply affronted. For years I have hidden it, saying nothing. I have tried to get him to resign as regent (some ten times, they say). Not only will he not agree, he has been disloyal. So I have cut the bonds between father and son. Since the regency is an office bestowed by the son of heaven, I cannot take that away. Nor as head of the Fujiwara clan can I issue a royal edict. I can, however, make you [Yorinaga] the head-of-clan (*chôja*).

To be the Fujiwara clan chieftain was to be the ranking member of the entire Fujiwara gens—all of the many, many lineages descended from Fujiwara Kamatari (614-669). The chieftain could nominate members to receive the fifth rank, and he supervised clan religious institutions including Kôfukuji and Kasuga Shrine, as well as the Kangakuin family headquarters. Usually the chieftain served as regent or viceroy. Yorinaga would now manage Kôfukuji and the relationship with its armed monks that Tadazane had created. All the estates that had formerly passed to Tadamichi now went to Yorinaga—everything that had belonged to Tadamichi as Tadazane's heir now went to Yorinaga. In medieval warrior society, such a retransmission of inheritance was known as "the right of regretful recall," reflecting the overwhelming power of a patriarch. Yorinaga now enjoyed lordship over Tameyoshi and his warriors, managership of estates, and control of Kôfukuji. Yorinaga now had in his hands all the productive capacity and martial power of the Regents' Line.

Certainly Tadazane was conscious that the authority to select a regent belonged to the heavenly sovereign (or at this time to the senior retired monarch). Tadazane himself had been appointed by Shirakawa: when Toba Tennô acceded to the throne in 1107, the monarch's royal grandfather who had served as regent, Kimizane, was forced to resign; and Tadazane, who had

no blood relationship with the throne, was made regent. From then on, whatever the relationship with the monarch, heirs of Michinaga served as regent or viceroy (*sekkan*). So, whatever his relationship with his father, Tadamichi could continue as regent. As a result, the discord between Tadamichi as “regent-in-name-only,” Yorinaga as leader of the Regents’ Line, and Tadazane only worsened.

In the midst of such tensions, Yorinaga, proud of his own high status, showed particular disdain for Toba In’s queen-consort Bifukumon’in as well as for the lower-ranking Sueshige-line Fujiwara who were the monarch’s intimates (*kinshin*). He made his feelings clear in the *Taiki*. For example, on New Year’s Day in 1144, when Regent Tadamichi did not present himself before Konoe Tennô, Yorinaga observed:

Then I called on the Regent. He will not present himself [to the monarch]—in this reign he does not participate in the New Year assembly. Perhaps he does not wish to present himself before the queen-consort? Although she is the queen-mother, he takes the righteous view that she is the daughter of a middling courtier in front of whom he should not bow.

Yorinaga apparently suspected that the only reason Tadamichi did not participate in the New Year’s assembly was to avoid bowing to the queen, since she was the daughter of a middling courtier. On the one hand, Yorinaga was critical of such behavior as disloyal to the monarch; but he was also impressed by Tadamichi’s stand on protocol. Yorinaga himself could only disdain Bifukumon’in’s lesser status. In aristocratic society, Yorinaga was at the top, far above lineages producing provincial governors like the Sueshige Fujiwara and Bifukumon’in’s family.

There was another series of events that revealed Yorinaga’s views. On the 25th of the second month of the following year (1145), when Bifukumon’in’s cousin 従兄弟, the provisional middle counselor Ienari, visited Enryakuji, Yorinaga opined that Ienari’s companions, the guardsman from the Murakami Genji, Masamichi and another from the Tokudaiji Fujiwara, Kimichika, had besmirched their own reputations by acting as outriders. And on the following day, when Yorinaga heard that Ienari had presided over a relics ceremony there, he wrote that such extravagance by middling courtiers amounted to the decline of virtuous rulership.

Earlier, on 02/08 of 1144, Ienari’s younger brother, Lesser Captain of the Left Gate Guards Ieaki, had fought with mounted warriors beneath the Kiyomizu Bridge. One of Ieaki’s followers was fatally wounded. Yorinaga wrote: it is too audacious for a middling courtier to put himself forward like that. The heavenly deities will abhor it.” As a lesser captain of the inner palace guards, Ieaki occupied a post usually given only to top courtiers. In Yorinaga’s view, that made his success and behavior inappropriate. In the following year (1145), Yorinaga recorded that “the low ranker” [Ieaki] of the royal police had been killed, after fatally attacking an attendant of the Council of State. Yorinaga reflected: “Is this something Heaven would condemn? It is a joy for the Council. Whose deed it was is presently unknown.” He added, however, “Actually I ordered Hata Kimiharu of the Inner Guards Headquarters to kill him. In Heaven’s place, I had him executed.” (1145 12/17) This famous passage makes it seem likely that the attack on Ieaki

was ordered by Yorinaga. Moreover it was Yorinaga's conflict with Bifukumon'in, herself from a family of clients of the retired monarchs, that helped feed suspicions that the young monarch Konoe, who died in 1151 06/, had been cursed. Yorinaga recorded:

Lord Chikataka came and told me the reason that Toba In hates Zenkaku and Yorinaga. After His Majesty's death, someone had the monarch [Konoe] speak through a medium. His Majesty declared, 'Last year a person pounded a spike into the eye of the Mount Atago demon (*tengu*) image to curse me. As a result, I became blind and died.' When Toba In heard this, he had the image examined and the spike was found. He suspects that Bifukumon'in and Tadazane, or Tadazane and myself, are responsible. So he despises us. (1151 08/27)

Mount Atago is a sacred mountain northwest of Kyoto, on the border of Tamba province; its heavenly deity (*ten*) is known for its protection against fire, and its bird-shaped *tengu* is famous as well. One can imagine that Bifukumon'in and Tadamichi might have created and nurtured this vivid narrative that implicated their arch-enemies, Tadazane and Yorinaga.

When Toba In died in the following year (1156 07/02), the retired monarch was already physically debilitated and mentally weakened, having lost his beloved prince and successor. His ever-deepening hatred of Yorinaga is not hard to imagine. On Yorinaga's side, he had lost his post as the royal document examiner (*nairan*) because of Toba In's anger. His ambitions were in shreds. He had also lost his wife, Fujiwara Yukiko; and his inlaws (Saneyuki, Saneyoshi) from the Sekiin-line Fujiwara deserted him as well. After Konoe's death, with the accession of GoShirakawa who was advised by Shinzei, Yorinaga's rivals who were the intimates of the retired monarchs against whom he had battled, moved to the hub of power. So Yorinaga faced isolation and misery. And when Kayanoin, who had served as a liaison between the In and Tadazane and Yorinaga, died in 1155 12/, her passing closed off any hope of rapprochement with Toba.

The last entries in the *Taiki*, for the last half of the 12th month, mostly concern Kayanoin's Buddhist funerary matters. The last entry of 1155 12/29 is that of the twenty-seventh day after Kayanoin's death. Yorinaga's heir Kanenaga, then captain of the right guards, visited her grave at Fukushôin, as well as Uji. We see too that readings at the Lesser Appointments ceremony on that day followed a precedent from Fujiwara Michinaga's era: just as on the 49th day after the death of Michinaga's older sister, Higashi Sanjôin, the *Shikan* [a Tendai Buddhist text], was read, along with the last scroll of the *Inmyôshô* [an early work on Buddhist logic]. In other words, Yorinaga was still thinking about scholarship! There are no *Taiki* entries for the First Year of Hôgen, 1156, so we can't know what was on Yorinaga's mind as the political turmoil that led to fighting in Kyoto streets deepened. Outflanked by the strategies of Shinzei and Tadamichi, Yorinaga must have felt deeply the inadequacy of scholarship. As I noted at the beginning, when the Hôgen fighting started, Yorinaga went out dressed as a warrior. In the end, what he had to depend on were the arts of war, not the arts of scholarship.