

The Poet's Persona – Amicability and Mundane Sensibility in the *kanshi* Poetry and Poetics of Ōkubo Shibutsu

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Abstract

The late 18th and early 19th century saw a renewal of *kanshi* in the poetic circles of Edo drawing from the works of late Ming and early Qing poets such as Yuan Hongdao, Yuan Mei and others. A professed preference for unaffected verse and everyday topics set the tone for a change in sensibility towards the mundane and entertaining, juxtaposed with the learned and affected tendency of poetry 'in high tone' after the Tang fashion. Ichikawa Kansai's poets' society *Kōko shisha* and Yamamoto Hokuzan's academy *Keigijuku* were at the centre of these developments. Among the poets of this new school was the highly successful Ōkubo Shibutsu, who after the publication of his first anthology of poems in 1810 became known throughout Japan. Shibutsu's ambition is readily apparent in his artist's name chosen after one of the epithets of the great Du Fu. At the same time, his persona as an approachable gentleman as well as a serene poet harks back to earlier models of itinerant poets in the *Jianghu* tradition of China's late Song dynasty. Drawing on Shibutsu's anthologies of travel poetry and writings on poetics the article explores the social embeddedness of Shibutsu's *kanshi* and the self-fashioning of a professional poet.

Introduction — Learned Societies, late Edo *kanshi* and the Performance of Poetry

In the *kanshi* circles of the late Edo period a network of family, friends, patrons, students, and admirers formed the basis for the emergence of poets solely dedicated to their verse. Their fame allowed them to make a living through the poetry they published, calligraphy sold at home and on travels, and the interest the munificent and powerful took in them.

The *kanshi* poet Ōkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767–1837, style name Tenmin 天民) is an early and exceptionally successful example of this type of poet.¹ A disciple of Ichikawa Kansai

¹ On Shibutsu see the older biography by SUZUKI 1937. See also the sections in MATSUSHITA 1972: 599–612; FUJIKAWA 1973: 94f and NAKAMURA 1977: 342. An annotated selection with translations into modern Japanese of Shibutsu's works is to be found in IBI 1990: 349f. A partial chronological biography is given by IBI 1998: 599–712. Another chronological account is contained in ŌMORI 1998. Topics such as conflicting schools of poetic thought, the importance of print and a comparison with Chinese poets are treated in Zhang Tao's dissertation on Shibutsu as a professional poet (ZHANG 2015). An overview of Shibutsu's œuvre is given in the appendix.

市河寛齋 (1749–1820) and Yamamoto Hokuzan 山本北山 (1752–1812) (on both see below), he decided against the family profession of medicine to dedicate himself fully to poetry. He published an early anthology titled *Bokkyoshū* 卜居集 (*Choosing an auspicious place to live*) in 1793 and an essay on his view of poetry and its trends in his time titled *Shiseidō shiwa* 詩聖堂詩話 (published six years later in 1799). During these early years Shibutsu also seems to have traveled and written a number of works, none of which survive.²

From 1800 on he participated in the edition of several Song dynasty poets' anthologies and poetic treatises. He also took part in the Japanese edition of the early Qing poet Yuan Mei's 袁枚 (1716–1797) writings on poetics, *Suiyuan shihua* 隨園詩話. These works proved to be defining influences on his own style. The appearance of his first mature anthology in 1810, the first volume of *Shiseidō shishū* 詩聖堂詩集, established him as a poet of lasting fame. The success of professional poets was facilitated by the booming publishing industry that created a larger public capable of reading and discussing poetry. The 'poetry journalism' of Kikuchi Gozan 菊池五山 (1769–1849) was supported by a broader public interest in poetry which distinguishes Shibutsu as a media phenomenon from earlier professional poets.³

Between the two devastating Great Fires of 1806 and 1829 (the Bunsei and Bunka era fires) the large residence at Otama-ga-ike became a testament to his success. Shibutsu went on to publish a number of anthologies of travel poetry composed during his visits to the Kansai and Hokuriku regions and Ise. Towards the end of his life, he briefly entered service with the Akita-han. A second volume of the *Shiseidō shishū* followed in 1828, the third and last volume was published in 1838, the year after Shibutsu's death.

Jianghu 江湖 poetry of the Song era, the school of 'Rivers and Lakes' poets, who were living removed from the capital and sought the company of monks and immortals drifting through the lands, was an important inspiration for Shibutsu. The *Kōko* poets' society *Kōko shisha* 江湖詩社, founded by Ichikawa Kansai in 1787 after his ousting from the Hayashi academy in the wake of Matsudaira Sadanobu's Kansei reforms and named after the *Jianghu* school, was the departure point of Shibutsu's poetic formation.⁴ Along with Shibutsu the poet-drifter, Kashiwagi Jotei 柏木如帝 and Kojima Baigai (Daibai) 児島梅外 (大梅) (1772–1841), who later turned to the *haikai*, were well-known members of the society.⁵ Interestingly, Kansai's work as a historian of the tradition of Classical Chinese poetry in Japan, attested to by his *Nihon shiki* 日本詩紀 (1788, a voluminous compilation of past anthologies of *kanshi*), afforded a central place to genres of Chinese origin in the order of native heritage. The Japanese identity of a Chinese genre such as the *kanshi* is a theme that

² See the appendix to *Shiseidō hyakuzetsu* in YAMAGUCHI 2012: 55.

³ ZHANG 2015: 18–23; IBI 2009: 154–170.

⁴ The influence of the *Jianghu* legacy on Shibutsu's style and self-conception certainly merits a more in-depth analysis, which is however beyond the scope of this article. On *Jianghu* poetry see ZHANG 1995; FULLER 2013; UCHIYAMA 2015 and UCHIYAMA 2018: 64.

⁵ On Baigai and Jotei see HINO *et al.* 1997.

Shibutsu would take up in his own poetic treatise, *Shiseidō shiwa*, which opens with a discussion of Japanese poetry on cherry blossoms since antiquity.⁶

Shibutsu's other major influence of his early years were the views of his teacher Yamamoto Hokuzan 山本北山 (1752–1812) at the *Keigijuku* 奚疑塾 in Edo. Hokuzan was critical of what he regarded as the Tang epigonism championed by the *Ken'en* 護園 school of Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) and advocated instead for a poetry of authenticity and inspiration adapting Yuan Hongdao's 袁宏道 (1568–1610) *xingling* (*seirei*) 性靈 poetics. *Xingling* poetics put emphasis on the spontaneous and emotive qualities of poetry, a position Hokuzan contrasted with the formalism of Tang imitation. He formulated his position in the treatise *Sakushi shikō* 作詩志彙 of 1783, a sharp polemic against old school poetry in the *Ken'en* vein. *Qingxin* (*seishin*) 清新, the 'refreshing' quality of spontaneous ease and elegance in poetic expression, was the ideal to be pursued and celebrated in *xingling* poetry. Both *xingling* and *qingxin* are expressions which figure prominently in Hokuzan's commentary on Shibutsu's work and the writings of Shibutsu himself (see below). Hokuzan's close relationship with Shibutsu can be gleaned from the humorous and at times sarcastic forewords he contributed to Shibutsu's works. While these texts show his sympathy for the poetry of his disciple, as a serious scholar of samurai pedigree he retained some distance to the *Jianghu* ways of the free-spirited poets among the people, disconnected as they were from official learning (*kangaku* 官学).⁷

Instead of Shibutsu as a phenomenon of printed media, his embeddedness in the learned networks of his time or the renewal of Edo period poetics that prepared the ground for his work, the topic attended to here is Shibutsu's self-fashioning, of how the poetic ideal relates to the staging of the poem on the textual scene. In an essay on *waka* poetics of the Edo period, Judit Árokay calls for renewed attention to the performative aspect of *waka* poetry. The 'desperate quest' for immediacy in the thought of Kagawa Kageki 香川景樹 (1768–1843) and Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) is ascribed to their struggle with an old language long removed from the Japanese of their day. Dialogic structure, fictitious orality, and short narrative contextualization form the staging of the *waka* poem, which in the history of its reception is reintegrated in new contexts that illuminate different layers of meaning in the text. The 'ideal poetic language' of the *waka* poetics was the 'act embodied as direct speech in a performative situation' (in reference to the idea of an emerging trend of 'phono-centric' thought as put forward by Karatani Kōjin and Sakai Naoki).⁸

⁶ For an edition of the *Shiwa* see YAMAGUCHI 2010/2011: 1–33, 133–157. Yamaguchi follows the text of IKEDA 1920. Shibutsu did not involve himself in scholarly controversy over *qingxin* poetics, which would have seemed to be an ill fit with the free-spirited persona he sought to cultivate. Zhang concludes a primacy of the appeal to a wider audience and their tastes, a consequence of commercial demands (ZHANG 2015: 200–201).

⁷ MATSUSHITA 1972: 600; YAMAGUCHI 2010: 3.

⁸ ÁROKAY 2014: 52–78.

The *kanshi* poetics of authenticity referred to above have an entirely different point of departure in the Chinese tradition of poetic treatise, but a number of structural similarities are apparent. Dialogic structure (e.g. in *ciyun* 次韻 exchange) and narrative contextualization (the often detailed thematic exposition and serial arrangement of the poem) are both elements adding emphasis to the 'performative situation'.

Shibutsu's *kanshi* frequently feature the poet as part of the poem's retelling of everyday situations. The snapshot of a given situation chosen as a motif in these poems is central to the performance. Mediated through the text, Shibutsu's persona is instrumental to the realistic feeling and amicable atmosphere of the poetry. This is not to say that the authentic personality of the poet as distinguished from his persona is denied, understood as something wholly artificial. An opposition between an authentic 'lyricism' of personal expression and the reproduction of certain tropes in the form of a persona is not intended.⁹ As the object of analysis is mainly poetry by Shibutsu himself, the term is a useful category to capture the stylistic choices he had to consciously make to convey an image of his self to the reader.

The article is divided into two main parts, a consideration of the reasons for the choice of the artist's name 'Shibutsu' and a reading of selected poems of the first travel anthology *Seiyū shisō* 西遊詩草. *Seiyū shisō*, written during Shibutsu's mature years as a well-known poet, lends itself well to such an analysis due to the narrative structure of the itinerary account and frequent inclusion of the poet in his poetry. The examples are selected to shed light on the self-image the author desires to project, the social conditions he inhabits (the 'culture of sociability' he participates in) and the relation of his persona to poetic thought.¹⁰ The texts are given with romanised *kundoku* readings, rhymes, and translations to communicate the poems' readings and perceptions in the mind of a Japanese reader along with their meanings.¹¹

The Buddha of Poetry

The artist's name is the immediate means to fashion one's identity. The choice of characters is an opportunity to join a certain lineage, some school of thought, show regional affiliations

⁹ Mewhinney in his introduction briefly hints at this problematic (MEWHINNEY 2022: 1–21). Gōyama contends that the use of conventional topoi need not preclude authentic expression; modern interpreters tended to devalue 'epigonic' poetry reproducing late Edo polemics (GŌYAMA 2014: 95–109).

¹⁰ On 'Tokugawa sociability' see the study by IKEGAMI (2005): 19ff, 204ff. Learned societies and self-cultivation in the formation of the early modern self are treated in NOSCO 2018: 31f, 91f.

¹¹ On the significance of *kundoku* see WIXTED 2022: 205–219. *Shuiping* 水平 rhymes rather than (modern) Chinese romanisations as suggested by Wixted are provided. I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for their many corrections and suggestions to the *kundoku* readings.

or to express a poetic idea. In the case of Shibutsu his name is at the same time an expression of character and of ambition.

Epithets designating famous poets such as the 'Buddha of poetry' abound in poetical treatises and commentary literature. The pair of Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) and Li Bo 李白 (701–762) are famously called the Saint and the Immortal of Poetry (*shisheng* 詩聖, *shixian* 詩仙), Du Fu being additionally known as the 'poet historian' (*shishi* 詩史). Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) became known as the 'Poet-Demon' (*shimo* 詩魔). Many more examples could easily be given.¹² Poets were given various appellations in a similar manner, sometimes to draw comparisons, that might receive little to no later reception. The early Qing dynasty poet Mao Xianshu 毛先舒 (1620–1688), for example, relates Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698–756) of the Tang bestowing upon Wang Wei and Du Fu the titles of 'prince' and 'minister of poetry' (*shitianzi* 詩天使, *shicaixiang* 詩宰相).¹³ Shibutsu once speaks of himself as the 'poet drunkard' (*shikyō / shikuang* 詩狂) after this fashion.¹⁴

There exist earlier examples of usage of the name of Shibutsu (*shifo*). Yuan Mei mentions in passing that his friend Jiang Shiquan 蔣士銓, (1725–1785, style name Xinyu 心余) nicknamed himself *shixian* (as Li Bo) and Yuan Mei *shifo*.¹⁵ It seems likely that Shibutsu, who was part of a group editing the *Shihua* of Yuan Mei, knew of the passage quoting Jiang Shiquan, but he never explicitly referred to it.

In the literature *shifo* is also frequently mentioned as a byname of Wang Wei 王維 (699–759), but it is unclear when this usage first appeared. Wang Wei's close connection to Buddhism is frequently remarked on in commentary by Wang Shizhen, who speaks of his 'Buddhist language' (*foyu* 佛語) and pairs him with Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740) as *Boddhisattva*, a metaphor for both being incomparable equals. The exact term *shifo* does, however, not appear.¹⁶ Zhao Diancheng 趙殿成 (1683–1756), the important Qing era editor of his works, only mentions the bynames of Youcheng 右丞 and Moji 摩詰 in the introduction to his *Wang Youcheng ji jianzhu* 王右丞集箋注 and its commentary.¹⁷ The appellation may be a modern coinage.

In any case Shibutsu did not draw a connection to Wang Wei, whom he might not have known at all as *shifo*. The poet Shibutsu wants to allude to instead is revealed by his teacher Ichikawa Kansai in one of the prefaces to Shibutsu's *Shiseidō shishū*.

¹² For the epithet of poet-historian see again fn. 18 in XIAO 2014: vol. 12: 6589f.

¹³ ZHANG *et al.* 2014: 969.

¹⁴ MATSUSHITA 1972: 601 (in the fourth volume of *Shiseidō shishū nihen*).

¹⁵ *Suiyuan shihua, buyi* (appendix) vol. 3 隨園詩話 補遺卷三, for an edition see LI 2012.

¹⁶ ZHANG *et al.* 2014: 1015, 1025 (quoting *Shiyōu shizhan xulu* 詩友詩傳續錄 and *Liang Peidi* 兩裴迪, from the collection *Wang Liangyang biji* 王漁洋筆記).

¹⁷ The editors of the *Collected Materials on Wang Wei*, while citing the byname of 'prince' given above with its first appearance, refer the reader simply to 'posterity' (*houren* 後人). See ZHANG *et al.* 2014: 1679 (afterword).

其帰而卜居今地也。堂安少陵像、以詩聖為稱。見所尊尚也。又自号詩佛。蓋取張南湖老杜詩中佛之語也。天民性樂易。嗜酒騷客酒人從遊甚多。…
余檢其詩清新和平出於自然甚似其為人。蓋生平盡心於南宋三家。三家之粹結為之繡腸。宜哉。詩佛之名以傾動一時。

*Sono kaerite kyo o ima no chi ni boku suru ya, dō ni shōryō no zō o yasunjite, shisei o motte shō to nashi, sonshō suru tokoro o arawasu nari. Mata mizukara Shibutsu to gō su. Kedashi Chō Nanko (Zhang Nanhu) ga 'Rō To (Lao Du) shichū no butsu' no gō o toru nari. Tenmin sei rakui ni shite sake o tashinami sōkyaku shujin no jūyū suru koto hanahada ōshi. ... Yo sono shi o kemi suru ni seishin (qingxin) wahei shizen yori ide hanahada sono hito to nari ni nitari. Kedashi seihei kokoro o nansō no sankā ni tsukusu. Sankā no sui musubite kore ga shūchō to naru. Mube naru kana. Shibutsu no na motte ichijji o keidō suru koto o.*¹⁸

After he returned [to Edo from his travels] he took his current residence. In the hall he placed a portrait [or statue] of Du Fu which shows his reverence. He also named himself Shibutsu after a verse of Zhang Nanhu [Zhang Zi 張鎡, 1153–ca. 1220], 'Old Du is the Buddha in poetry'. Tenmin [Shibutsu] is of an easy and relaxed temper, he loves to drink and often seeks the company of poets and drunkards. ... I read his poetry and it was refreshing (*qingxin*, *seishin*) and peaceful, springing from nature, it was just as the man himself. He was always dedicated to the three masters of the Southern Song [i.e. Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193), Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206) and Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210)]. The excellence of the three masters now bearing fruit [in his work], it is only natural the name of Shibutsu should achieve as great a fame as it has.

Kansai traces Shibutsu's lineage from the three great poets of the Song, who are the deciding influence on Shibutsu's *qingxin* style. Shibutsu's personal idol, however, is the great Du Fu. The 'poet saint' (*shisei*) is the namesake of Shibutsu's Edo residence *Shiseidō*, where he displays his icon. This appellation in turn serves as the title of the major anthologies, the three volumes of *Shiseidō shishū*. As the source for the name Shibutsu chose for himself, the expression 'Buddha in poetry', Kansai gives a line from the poem *Zhusheng abode* (*Zhushengxuan* 殊勝軒) by Song dynasty poet Zhang Zi. This poem makes reference to Du Fu's eight-liner on green bamboo, in which he describes young bamboo peaking above the garden walls, just enough to provide a little shade, giving a 'faint fragrance' after the rain.¹⁹

¹⁸ SHISEIDŌ SHISHŪ SHOEN: vol. 1 (2nd preface): 2 verso, 4 recto. Fujikawa gives a transcription and reading of pages 1–3 of Kansai's preface (FUJIKAWA 1973: 94), which deviates in parts from the reading indicated by the glosses. A copy of the preface with textual alterations by Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 is recorded in his miscellaneous writings (NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI KANKŌKAI 1928). See also HAMADA 1987.

¹⁹ NANHUJI vol. 7 *Jiayin jiyong* (Forty-eight poems) 南湖集七 桂隱紀詠 四十八首. OWEN 2016: vol. 4: 23 (number 14.16 *At the Residence of Yan, Duke of Zheng, We All Write on Bamboo*). See also SHIMOSADA/MATSUBARA 2016: vol. 3: 49.

On the reasons Shibutsu chose Du Fu as namesake, Stephen Owen gives some hints in the introduction to his translation of the latter's complete works. He writes of 'pervasive irony and humour' and 'human crankiness' as the hallmarks of the poet's character. His poems are said to display a 'vision of large significance in the everyday' in their 'engagement with the mundane'.²⁰ Du Fu has an intuition for the ridiculousness of oneself and human existence, that inspires an ease in his expression that resounds with the authentic ideal of *qingxin* poetry. Besides his poetic style, it is the persona of Du Fu Shibutsu is drawn to, as kindred soul and model worthy of emulation.²¹ The this-worldliness and at times humorous oddity of Du Fu, far from any transcendental and removed image the appellation of 'Buddha in poetry' may evoke, are qualities that are also to be found in various accounts of Shibutsu's character. In an episode related by Nakamura Shin'ichirō, Shibutsu visits Rai San'yō on a journey to Kyōto but had forgotten to buy a *miyage*-souvenir for his host. Thus, he simply tries to hand him some money, which San'yō indignantly refuses. Shibutsu resolves the situation by giving his stiff counterpart a friendly 'Oh, come on' (*ka narazu ya* 可ナラズヤ) and a chummy slap on the back, which takes San'yō by surprise, elicits laughter and warms the mood immediately.²²

Besides the attraction to the character of Du Fu there is of course Shibutsu's own ambition at play in his display of kinship with one of the greatest poets of tradition. The portrait (or statue) of the poet saint he kept in his residence at Otama-ga-ike is not only an expression of admiration. It demonstrates a striving for fame that was dangerous to state more blatantly, as Shibutsu would learn during the *banzuke* 番付 affair, when he received sharp criticism for his alleged arrogance.²³ While Shibutsu did not reach the heights of Du Fu's fame, he nevertheless achieved a rank among the most celebrated poets of his time. The poet Yanagawa Seigan would later seek to emulate Shibutsu, choosing his residence in Otama-ga-ike and naming a poet's society after the master's famous domicile.²⁴

Shibutsu's name naturally lends itself to plays on Buddhist vocabulary and playful associations, such as when he himself speaks of higher guidance (*hōbenryoku* 方便力, the working of *upaya*) as the reason for his choice of name and referring to his refusal of office

²⁰ OWEN 2016: vol. 1: 6f (introduction).

²¹ Shibutsu's perception of Du Fu thus may have had a more personal dimension than earlier reverence for his mastery of lyrical form and political commentary by historical allusion. For an example of a cycle of poems modelled after Du Fu written by Muro Kyūsō and annotated by Arai Hakuseki (*Shishshin shihyō* 室新詩評) see the two articles by Sugimoto and Yamamoto (SUGIMOTO 2004; YAMAMOTO 2021: 99–129).

²² 詩佛取銀子一星於懷中以為禮、山陽儼然、固辭不受、詩佛直前、撫其背曰、不亦可乎、山陽見其胸襟洞豁、笑而受之、NAKANE 1920: 347.

²³ On the Banzuke affair see IBI 2008: 154–170.

²⁴ See the biographical sketch of Seigan in IRITANI 1990.

as 'refraining from meat' in the *Hokuyū shisō* 北遊詩草.²⁵ His teacher Yamamoto Hokuzan jokingly denounces Shibutsu's ambition as a professional poet with reference to the threefold faults of character (the three poisons, *sandoku* 三毒) in his foreword to the *Shiseidō shiwa*.²⁶ The reference allows Hokuzan to express his reservations about the way of life of the poet removed from serious *kangaku* learning. Umetsuji Shunshō 梅辻春樵 (1776–1857) in his preface to the *Seiyū shisō* (discussed below) takes the name as a starting point for anti-Buddhist polemic. He makes Shibutsu out to be a lyrical Anti-Shakyamuni, who confers the merits of secular lyricism onto his followers without resorting to the deceptions and fantastic illusions Buddhist priests employ in order to blind the people.²⁷ Variations on the theme of Buddhism attest to the polysemy of the artist's name.

The Poetic Persona and 'Tokugawa Sociability'

Shibutsu's first travel anthology *Seiyū shisō*, published in 1819, recorded his journey to West Japan and trips and meetings with friends and patrons in and around Kyōto. The work was simultaneously printed by four publishers in the cities of Edo, Ōsaka, Kyōto, and Nagoya (in considerable number as far as can be judged by extant volumes). It came with four prefaces and one afterword by prominent acquaintances of Shibutsu. Namely, Tsusaka Tōyō 津阪東陽 (1758–1825) of the Yūzōkan academy 有造館 in Ise, who published a commentary on the poetry of Du Fu, the reclusive Kyōto poet Umetsuji Shunshō (mentioned above), Hata Kanae 秦鼎 (1761–1831) of the Meirindō academy 明倫堂 in Owari, as well as the two Confucian scholars from Edo, Ōta Kinjō 太田錦城 (1765–1825), a former disciple of Hokuzan's known for his studies on the exegetical literature and a detailed commentary on the *Lunyu* 論語, and Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (1781–1849), the famed teacher of wealthy patrons and powerful Daimyō.²⁸

²⁵ HOKUYŪ SHISŌ: 19 verso. *Nan no hōbenryoku ni aran ka / mizukara Shibutsu o motte nazuke ... Tadashi nikushoku no sō nakunba / sensei naru yuen* 有何方便力 / 自以詩佛名 ...但無肉食相 / 所以為先生. Matsushita gives a partial reading of the poem (MATSUSHITA 1972: 601 (the transcription mistakenly gives 自 for 肉 in the penultimate verse)).

²⁶ YAMAGUCHI 2010: 2f. Zhang states the text was indicative of the close relationship between Hokuzan and Shibutsu and reflective of *qingxin* poetics in its vocabulary (ZHANG 2015: 180–182).

²⁷ SEIYŪ SHISŌ, third preface (in the first edition of 1819, at fourth position in the 1823 edition): 3 recto. *Yo wa jusha, moto yori hotoke o shin sezu shite, tada Shibutsu ni shinsui su. Sono hotoke o manabazu shite mizukara kudoku, hotoke to hitoshiki koto aru o motte nari.* 余儒者固不信佛。唯心醉詩仏。以其不學佛而自有功德與佛均也。

²⁸ Ibi's anthology of poetry by Shibutsu contains six poems from *Seiyū shisō*: *Mura no yo* 村夜 from vol. 1, *Kajin koromo o yosu* 家人寄衣, *Yodogawa o kudaru* 下淀川, two poems in the series *Tsuchiyama o tatte...* 發土山抵鈴鹿途中風雪大作 得詩四首 and *Kyō ni jōzu* 乘輿 from vol. 2 (Ibi 1990: 243–252). Suzuki Hekidō provides a number of transcribed selections along with *kundoku* and short commentary (e.g. Shibutsu's poem addressed to Saikō, for which see below) (SUZUKI 1937: 144–179).

Poetic exchanges with Kyōto noblemen such as Ogura Toyosue 小倉豊季 (1781–1830), Hino Sukenaru 日野資愛 (1780–1846) and prince Fushimi no miya Sadayoshi 伏見宮貞敬親王 (1776–1841) show a poet at the height of his prominence. The anthology was the first of Shibutsu's collections of travel poetry and became the template in style and form for later such works. Poems on famous sights such as Ujibashi and Arashiyama or historic relics such as the burial site of Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104–1180) alternate with poetic exchanges, accounts of drunken merrymaking and cheerful outings to the countryside. Many poems belong to a thematic series, such as those on the ten sights of the *Garden of Ten Pleasures* (*Jūgien* 十宜園) in Fushimi at the home of the physician Shirai Itoku 白井惟徳 (1762–1839), named after a poem of Li Yu 李漁 (1611–1680).

A series like this was composed by Shibutsu on the occasion of a trip to Mount Takao in autumn. Two four-liners of this series are given below.

遊高雄山
 渡過溪橋更上危 紅楓樹樹弄霜時 如斯勝境如斯景 可惜山僧不解詩 …
 又
 賣茗老翁如雪眉 胡床一任客來移 出箋索字君休怪 意在貪錢不在詩

Takaosan ni asobu

*Keikyō o tōka shite sara ni takaki ni nobori / Kōfū no kigi shimo o rō suru no toki /
 Kaku no gotoki shōkyō, kaku no gotoki kei / Oshimu beshi, sansō no shi o kaisezaru o*

Mata

*Cha o uru rōō, mayu yuki no gotoshi / Koshō ichinin su, kyaku no kitariutsuru ni / Sen
 o idashite ji o motomu, kimi ayashimu koto o yameyo / I wa zeni o musaboru ni arite
 shi ni arazu*²⁹

An outing on Mount Takao

Passing the bridge over the stream we ascend still higher / the trees adorned in red maple leaves after the frost³⁰ / what a magnificent place, what scenery! / What a pity then the mountain's monks know nothing of Chinese poetry

Another [poem on the outing]

The old man selling tea, his brows as white as snow / on his chair quietly watching the patrons come and go / as I take out my paper slips and search for words to write, don't you blame me! / I am here for the money, not for the poetry

(The rhyme is *zhi* 支)

²⁹ SEIYŪ SHISŌ vol. 2: 4 verso.

³⁰ The praise of red leaves after frost alludes to Du Mu's 杜牧 *Mountain Hike* (*shanxing* 山行, *Fanchuan Wenji waiji* volume 1 樊川文集外集一卷). See MATSUURA/NAOKI 2004: 255.

The scenery of red autumn leaves after the frost on Mount Takao is reason for exalted praise and joy, only damped by disappointment in the local monks' disinterest in Chinese poetry. Shibutsu seeks out the Buddhist clergy after the fashion of the *Jianghu* poets, but finds no counterpart for a poetic exchange, or perhaps none willing to share his time with the art-minded traveller. Art is altogether out of the picture in the next four-liner on the sale of calligraphy at a teahouse on the mountain. Here the author projects his own conflicted attitude towards the artistic compromises of life as an itinerant poet on the elderly master of the tea house, watching on as customer after customer is serviced by the poet-artist. Placing both poems in the same series on the outing on Mount Takao heightens the sense of irony between the initial lofty hopes for a lyrical journey and the reality of working as a poet. The humorous effect achieved by the contrast with reality lends the poetic series a certain lightness and foregrounds the self-deprecatory attitude of the poet.

Besides the work for clients interested in collecting art or bringing home a calligraphic souvenir, friends, in particular friends providing patronage, are what supports the professional poet. Such friends were often poets themselves, as in the case of Shibutsu's important patron Saba Tansai 佐羽淡齋 (1772–1825). The following five-character poem in free meter for one such poet-friend exemplifies the relationship as fellow members of a community refining their poetic craft.

題文卿天城閣
 山色溢天宇 秀氣逼檐楹 能使主人筆
 與峯競崢嶸 非是樓之高 高在五字城

Bunkei ga tenjōkaku ni dai su

*Sanshoku, ten'u ni mitsu / shūki, en'ei ni semaru / yoku shujin no fude o shite / mine
 to sōkō o kisowashimu / kore rō no takaki ni arazu / takaki wa gojijō ni ari*³¹

On the Tenjō-Pavillon of Bunkei [Asahi Bunkei 朝日文卿 (1761–1845), a travel fellow of Shibutsu in the poetic series the poem belongs to]

The mountains flow over into the sky / fine mist of Qi rises to the eaves / and makes
 the master's brush / compete with the peaks' magnificence / not by the height of the
 pagoda / but the height of the fortress of five characters

(The rhyme is *geng* 庚)

Everything strives upwards in this poem that takes the pavilion's name as its motif. Mountain Qi moves the brush to erect a poem-fortress in lines of five characters, to bring about a towering achievement of the poet. Martial expressions like the 'fortress of five characters' also appear in other poets' works on friendly competition in *kanshi* composition. Such verses

³¹ *SEIYŪ SHISŌ* vol. 1: 2 recto.

ingratiate the donor with the poet-friend, whose membership in the *bunjin* community and his artistic ambition are acknowledged and celebrated.³²

Relationships with friends in higher places, meanwhile, follow different rules. An all too familiar tone would not be appropriate for a gift of poetry to a nobleman such as Hino Sukenaru, a patron of Shibutsu to whom the following seven-character *juequ* 絶句 is dedicated.

拜謁 中納言日野公席上賦之奉呈
何圖今夕謁黃扉 風雨滿庭紅葉飛 憶得春來落花節 品川驛裏送 君歸

Chūnagon Hino kō ni haietsu su. Sekijō ni kore o fu shi hōtei su.
Nanzo hakaran, konseki kōhi ni essen to wa / Fūu niwa ni michi kōyō tobu / Oboe
*etari, shunrai rakka no setsu / Shinagawa no ekiri, kimi ga kaeru o okuru*³³

During an audience with *chūnagon* Hino I presented him with this composition on the occasion

How should I dare! To think to seek out this evening your highnesses' noble residence
/ In wind and rain the red leaves covering the courtyard fly / and I am reminded of
the blossoms falling when I came in spring / to the station at Shinagawa when I bid
farewell to you returning home

(The rhyme is *wei* 微)

Seasonal imagery of autumn and spring are brought together in this reminiscence of an earlier meeting between poet and patron, prefaced by a dramatic expression of deference. Praise of skilfulness in poetic composition as seen above would draw the poem's addressee too close to the lower ranks. The reminiscence as motif lends itself to a more reverential mood, a sentiment that is conveyed by expressions such as *kōhi* as well as by leaving an empty space of respectful distance before the personal address to the nobleman Hino in the last line (a scribal convention). The rules of estate are maintained and far from any eccentric

³² The rivalry between Shibutsu's patron, the Kiryū merchant Saba Tansai, and Kurita Akira 栗田朗 (artist's name Issai 逸齋) is instructive in this regard. For similar martial imagery see for example the third poem of the series *On Reading Issai's Hyakuzetsu Anthology* 読逸齋百絶 in *TANSAI SHISHŪ* 淡齋詩集 (*Seigadōshū sanpen* 菁莪堂集三編): 5 verso. Tansai speaks of the 'battlefield of poetry' (*shi no senjō* 詩戰場), 'blades of verse' (*shihō* 詞鋒) and the 'fortress of five characters' (*gajijō* 五字城). Similarly, Shibutsu in his preface to the *SUIYUAN SHIHUA* writes, 'When we raised our banner in the camp of *qingxin xingling* (*seishin seirei*) poetry, the fortress of false poetry fell without attack, crumbled without battle' (*Wagahai nobori o seishin seirei no shinshidan ni tateru ni oyobite, gishi no jōruī semezu shite kudari tatakawazu shite yaburu* 及我輩創立幟於清新性靈之真詩壇。偽詩城壘不攻而降不戰而破). Transcription in ZHANG 2007: 240f.

³³ *SEIYŪ SHISŌ* vol 2: 7 verso.

peculiarities, a serious Shibutsu shows himself in the pose of the dutiful, subservient subject fond of his noble benefactor.

Ema Saikō 江馬細香 (1787–1861), *kanshi* poet of Ōgaki, was one of the few *literati* women of the Edo period.³⁴ Shibutsu on his travels westwards met her while passing through Owari. In the spirit of Yuan Mei, who was famous for teaching poetry to female students, Shibutsu wrote an encouraging poem to praise Saikō and make her known to a broader audience. The work is one of only a few by Shibutsu to take long narrative form, in seven-character format and free meter. The rhyme shifts after the introduction when the poem turns to the praise of Saikō. In both sections the main rhyme category is alternated with characters of a neighbouring category (*tongyong* 通用).

墨竹篇贈大垣江馬氏細香
 濃州女子號細香 墨竹從來其所長 … 詩佛老人遊尾日 聞名遠道來相謁
 自濃到尾兩日程 步步故試輕羅襪 其意無他我知之 欲以毫鋒闢詩律
 我見君貌似天仙 鉛粉卸盡更清妍 三十不嫁何足怪 眼中俗人非所天 …
 世間如欲識濃有女才子 試讀詩佛老人墨竹篇

Bokuchikuhēn — Ōgaki no Ema shi Saikō ni okuru

Nōshū no joshi, Saikō to gō su / bokuchiku jūrai sono chōzuru tokoro / ... Shibutsu rōjin, Bi ni asobu no hi / Na o kikite endō kitarite ai essu / Nō yori Bi ni itaru wa ryōjitsu no tei / Hoho yue ni kokoromu, keira no tabi / Sono i wa ta nashi, ware kore o shiru / Gōhō o motte shiritsu o tatakawasen to hossu / Ware, kimi ga kao no tensen ni nitaru o miru / Enpun sha shitsukushite sara ni seiken / Sanjū ni shite ka sezu, nanzo ayashimu ni taran / Ganchū zokujin shoten ni arazu / ... Seken, moshi Nō ni josaishi aru koto o shiran to hosseba kokoromi ni yome, Shibutsu rōjin ga bokuchiku no hen o

35

Poem on a Bamboo Painting (in ink, *mozhu*), a present to Miss Ema Saikō of Ōgaki
 The girl from Mino calls herself Saikō / in bamboo painting she excels... The day the old Shibutsu came to Owari / she came the long way to meet him as she had heard his name / From Mino to Owari it is a journey of two days / and so she went, step by step, putting (the socks on) her sandals to the test / I know exactly what she wants / to fight a battle of verse with brush's point / I look upon your features, detached as those of heavenly immortals in the clouds / all the more beautiful without a trace of powder / thirty years of age and not yet married, which is no mystery / around her all these ordinary men, none fit to be her husband / ... World, if you wish to learn of the woman genius of Mino, just read old Shibutsu's 'Poem on a Bamboo Painting'

³⁴ NAGASE 2014: 279–305.

³⁵ SEIYŪ SHISŌ vol 2: 19 recto. A transcription and variant *kundoku* readings are given by SUZUKI 1937: 95. The poem is quoted in Nakamura's biography of San'yō (NAKAMURA 1972: 348f).

(The rhyme in the first half is *yue* 月, alternated with *zhi* 質; in the second it is *xian* 先, alternated with *zhen* 真)

The poem speaks of the ambition that drives Saikō, her wish to triumph in battle over Shibutsu, the master poet. The description elevates Shibutsu as the worthy adversary challenged by a younger talent, only to remove him from competition altogether. After all, the poem does not record a poetic exchange, but a message of encouragement composed by the master, whose position is thus never in question.

The familiar theme of desire for fame in the poets' arena has already been observed in several examples above. The poem continues with praise of Saikō's immortal-like beauty, praise however that is then connected to her bachelor status. The female poet does stand out, and it is her special gift of literary talent that seems to deter potential suitors, or so Shibutsu believes. Suzuki Hekidō thinks these lines to be an offering of consoling verses for a lonely Saikō. Here Shibutsu takes on the role of patron to a young talent, an outsider to the male circles of poetry eager to prove herself, and rewards her efforts with an extensive lyrical endorsement.

Shibutsu on his many trips met admirers of all ages. The relationship between the old master poet and the eager youngsters is sometimes depicted in terms of patronage as above. The below example of a poem on the occasion of a hike on Yōrō mountain in Gifu sets a vivid scene with the older man on the sidelines and his companions engaged in a game of football in Japanese fashion. Shibutsu stages a genre painting that jokingly shows the poet as an old braggart.

十一月十二日遊養老山 樗園春屋蛙亭草川整齋遼海敬齋弘齋竹園宵齋從予自高田登 當當梅坪
鶴林自高須登 橘堂菊泉菊石松石文采自高尾同會於千載樓 入夜 鶴翁遣肩輿迎歸
趨場結社別為羣 相喚聲喧隔院聞 莫笑此翁無脚力 曾經踏破幾州雲
同行者有蹴鞠之戲故及之

Jūichigatsu jūninichi, Yōrōzan ni asobu. Choen, Shun'oku, Atei, Sōsen, Seisai, Ryōkai, Keisai, Kōsai, Chikuen, Meisai wa yo ni shitagai Takada yori nobori, Tōtō, Baikei, Kakurin wa Takasu yori nobori, Kitsudō, Kikusen, Kikuseki, Shōseki, Bunsai wa Takao yori nobori, tomo ni Senzairō ni kai su. Yo ni irite Kakuō wa kenyo o tsukahashi geiki su

Mariba, sha o musubi betsu ni mure o nasu / Sōkan seisen shite in o hedatete kiku / warau koto nakare, kono okina no kakuriki no naki o / katsute ikushū no kumo o tōha su

Dōkōsha ni shūkiku no asobi ari / Yue ni kore ni oyobu ³⁶

³⁶ SEIYŪ SHISŌ vol 2: 16 verso.

On a pleasure trip to mount Yōrō on the twelfth day of the eleventh month. Choen, Shun'oku, Atei, Sōsen, Seisai, Ryōkai, Sōsen, Keisai, Kōsai, Chikuen and Meisai hiked together with me from Takada; Tōtō, Baikei and Kakurin came from Takasu and Kitsudō, Kikuseki, Shōseki and Bunsai from Takao. We gathered at the Sensai pavilion in the evening. The old Kaku had himself carried home by porters in a *kago* [a palanquin].³⁷

On the *kemari* field they come together and form groups / yelling and shouting so loud it is heard beyond the courtyard / don't you laugh at this old man's weak legs! / Once on these feet I passed over many a province's clouded heights
Written because my companions had a game of *kemari*

(The rhyme is *wen* 文)

In the *Seiyū shisō* anthology Shibutsu skilfully performs the persona of Buddha of poetry discussed in the previous section. The ironic attitude, towards oneself and towards poetry as profession, proves an open mind free from rigid orthodoxy. The friendly teacher and patron, admired and challenged as master poet, finally just an ordinary old man, is exemplary of an approachable and humble, sociable demeanour. Towards higher ups he refrains from excessive familiarity or eccentricity, his behaviour maintains the proper distance and decorum required by social hierarchy. The artist's persona expressed in the style of easy *qingzhen* verse becomes an integral part of the poem.

Little in Shibutsu's writing speaks directly of events of his time or tells us of his opinions on Tokugawa society. In Shibutsu's early treatise on poetics, the *Shiseidō shiwa* briefly mentioned earlier, he includes a passage approvingly quoting his teacher Kansai's views on poetic style and social order (the passage is not to be found in Kansai's collected writings). Social hierarchy as expressed in the four estates, increasingly challenged and decaying during the late Edo period, was central to the Tokugawa self.³⁸ Kansai, too, frames his thought in this customary manner.

寬齋先生嘗論詩云。詩本風情。不求之風趣、而求之格調、抑遠矣哉。且格猶人品、品分上下。士農工商。各有身分有品格。臣而為君、農而為士、謂之不知分。故應制試帖、吾所不為。何則身在江湖也。從軍塞下、吾所不作。何則時際昇平也。夫教自脩身始、而充之天下。學詩亦爾。言其身分之中無所不能、然後應制從軍、從所遇而皆不出於吾身分之外。故學詩一求之目前、不必求之遠。先生此言、痛中今人之病。故錄於于此。

³⁷ By pseudonym alone Shibutsu's travel mates cannot be identified with certainty, but Sugimoto Choen 杉本樗園 (1770–1836), Kashibuchi Shun'oku Atei 柏淵春屋蛙亭 (1785–1835) and Takei Keisai 武居敬齋 (1785–1855) appear to have been among them.

³⁸ KURACHI 2008: 20ff.

*Kansai sensei katsute shi o ronjite iwaku, 'Shi, fūzei ni motozuku. kore o fūshu ni motomezu shite kore o kakuchō ni motomu, somosomo tōi kana. Katsu kaku wa nao jinpīn no gotoshi, hin wa jōge o wakatsu. Shinōkōshō, onono mibun ari, hinkaku ari. Shin ni shite kun o nashi, nō ni shite shi o nasu. Kore o bun o shirazu to iu. Yue ni ōsei shichō wa ware no nasazaru tokoro. Nan to nareba sunawachi mi Kōko ni areba nari. Jūgun saika wa ware no tsukurazaru tokoro. Nan to nareba sunawachi jisai shōhei nareba nari. Sore oshie wa shūshin yori hajimete kore o tenka ni mitsu. Shi o manabu mo mata shikari. Sono mibun no uchi o iite yoku sezaru tokoro naku shite, shikaru nochi ni, ōsei jūgun, gū suru tokoro ni shitagaite mina waga mibun no hoka ni idezu. Yue ni shi o manabu, ichi ni kore o mokuzen ni motomete, kanarazushimo kore o tōki ni motomezu', to. Sensei no kono gen, itaku konjin no yamai ni ataru. Yue ni koko ni roku su.*³⁹

Master Kansai once discussed poetry and said the following. 'Poetry is about feeling, not about style, thus if one pursues form and meter (*getiao*), the result is far from poetry. Moreover, form (*kaku*) is just like human character (*hin*), divided into high and low. The four estates (*mibun*) of samurai, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants have each a characteristic form (*hin-kaku*). A subject acting as the ruler or a peasant as samurai means to not know one's place (*bun*).

That is the reason I do not compose poetry [on fictional occasions non-existent in Japan that one finds in Tang poetry] such as poems written on demand by the emperor or poems composed as part of official examinations. The reason is that I am 'among rivers and lakes' [and not serving the emperor; 'among rivers and lakes' i.e. Kōko/Jianghu is a play on the name of Kansai's poets' society]. I do not compose poetry on heading into battle or defending the frontier. The reason is that times have changed (and we live now in a peaceful realm).

Teaching firstly is the correction of one's own conduct (*xiushen*), to then spread such teaching to all under heaven. To study poetry is to do the same. Only if there ever was nothing left to say in verse about one's own lot (*mibun*) could there be talk of poems for the emperor and heading into battle. If one abides by that which concerns oneself, nothing will be in violation of the boundaries of one's estate. Therefore, in the study of poetry one should first pursue that which is before one's eyes, and not necessarily that which is far removed. These words of Kansai keenly point to the sickness that has befallen men of our times, which is why I record them here.

Kansai clearly perceives the transgressive potential of literary arts in the moment of composing 'as if' another person. The order of estates is threatened by imagining oneself as someone not confined by that order. This happens when the poet turns to poetry not

³⁹ SHISEIDŌ SHIWA: 10 recto; YAMAGUCHI 2010: 20.

befitting his status and the circumstances of his times. Crucially, this transgressive threat is ascribed to Tang formalism, while the new poetics of authenticity is lauded for the narrowness of its everyday emotionality. Certain genres of (Tang) poetry do not conform to the expectations of one's social standing, which has a proper 'form' associated to it. Everyday emotionality, in contrast, is the result of a model of study centred on the self, which in turn conforms to the Confucian ideal of self-cultivation ultimately to the benefit of the whole of society, to cure it of its 'sickness'.⁴⁰

Art as a form of self-cultivation is here perceived as a means to preserve social order, not to soften or subvert the hierarchy of estates. As polemic against the Tang formalism of the *Ken'en* school, and against the backdrop of attempts at the restoration of the Tokugawa social order during the Kansei reforms, these remarks may also be read as an attempt to advertise the supposedly superior social conformity of the new poetics. The young movement was ultimately concerned with poetry, and considerations of political philosophy such as these were no point of emphasis. Still the passage provides a carefully laid out conception of poetics and its practice as part of a hierarchical 'Tokugawa sociability' made out to affirm the existing social order. It is a reminder of the difference between the views members of literary circles of the late Edo period had of their activities and the potential for freedom and self-realisation that social and literary theory might later ascribe to them. Poets of the samurai class were probably more likely to see their art as in some way conducive to the preservation rather than the decay of hierarchy. Shibutsu himself was certainly unlikely to think of his persona as somehow socially transgressive. The professional poet was removed from concerns of the government, but not outside the order of Tokugawa society.

Conclusion — Performing Shibutsu

Humour has been remarked upon as the central element of Shibutsu's poetry by scholars such as Fujikawa as well as Nakamura, and the ease and lightness contemporaries appreciated in his poetry owe a great deal to this element.⁴¹ *Qingzhen* poetry as Shibutsu saw it was predicated on a certain persona of poet. Shibutsu performed this role as mundane and amicable travelling poet, slightly eccentric but not offensively so, the old Buddha who smiled at this existence from a distance but was not himself removed from worldly affairs. Du Fu and the *Jianghu* poets provided a template for a poet and his art that found an eager audience in the learned networks of the cities and the countryside. Shibutsu chose resonating characters and hit the right tone to aptly perform the roles of teacher, subject,

⁴⁰ Yamaguchi believes Shibutsu's comment to refer to the 'sickness' of his fellow poets. See YAMAGUCHI 2010: 20. On self-cultivation and the polysemy of 'osameru' as a topos of Tokugawa social thought compare KURACHI 2008: 20.

⁴¹ FUJIKAWA 1973: 99; NAKAMURA 1977: 349. Nakamura believes the sensibility of Shibutsu's poetry to be somewhat akin to French *décadence* of the *fin de siècle* and the modernist movement.

patron, companion, and elder master poet in his verses. It was this talent of performing Shibutsu in poetry that contributed decisively to his success as a professional poet during the late Edo period.

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Appendix — Writings of Ōkubo Shibutsu (1767–1837)

Date of first print	Name of publication
1793 (Kansei 5)	<i>Bokkyoshū</i> 卜居集
until 1799	<i>Hokusei</i> 北征, <i>Seiyū</i> 西遊, <i>Ryūkan</i> 龍閑, <i>Saiyū</i> 再遊, <i>Jitō</i> 池頭 (non-extant works according to Okuda's 奥田在邦 afterword to <i>Shiseidō hyakuzetsu</i> 詩聖堂百絶, cf. ZHANG 2015, p. 7)
1799 (Kansei 11)	<i>Shiseidō shiwa</i> 詩聖堂詩話
1800 (Kansei 12)	<i>Shiseidō hyakuzetsu</i> 詩聖堂百絶
1801 (Kyōwa 1)	Ed. <i>Hōō sensei shishō</i> 放翁先生詩鈔 (Fangweng i.e. Lu You 陸游)

1803 (Kyōwa 3)	Ed. <i>Sō shiso</i> 宋詩礎 Ed. <i>Sō sandaika zekku senkai</i> 宋三大家絕句箋解 (the 'three Song masters' Fan Chengda 范成大, Yang Wanli 楊萬里 and Lu You) <i>Charyō zusan</i> 茶寮圖贊 (a <i>gesaku</i> work depicting pottery as allegories of Chinese officialdom)
1804 (Bunka 1)	Ed. <i>Sekko sensei shishō</i> 石湖先生詩抄 (by Fan Shihu i.e. Fan Chengda) Rev. <i>Tō Sō senchū renju shikaku</i> 唐宋箋注聯珠詩格
1805 (Bunka 2)	Ed. <i>Hibun infu (peiwen yunfu) ryōin benran</i> 佩文韻府兩韻便覽 Pref. <i>Hō Shūgai shishō</i> 方秋厓詩鈔 (Fang Jiuya i.e. Fang Yue 方岳)
1808 (Bunka 5)	Ed. <i>Yō Seisai shishō</i> 楊誠齋詩鈔 (by Yang Chengji i.e. Yang Wanli) Pref. <i>Suiyuan shihua</i> 隨園詩話 (Yuan Mei 袁枚)
1809 (Bunka 6)	<i>Shigaku jizai</i> 詩學自在 (encyclopedia of terms used in Song poetry)
1810 (Bunka 7)	<i>Shiseidō shishū shohen</i> 詩聖堂詩集初編 Rev. <i>Ō Hoku shisen</i> 甌北詩選 Rev. <i>Ō Hoku shiwa</i> 甌北詩話 (Ou Bei i.e. Zhao Yi 趙翼)
1811 (Bunka 8)	Pref. <i>So hyakka zekku</i> 宋百家絕句
1812 (Bunka 9)	Ed. <i>Kō san daika zekku</i> 広三大家絕句 (enlarged edition of 1803 anthology) (Fan Chengda, Yang Wanli, Lu You)
1815 (Bunka 10)	<i>Shibutsu hyakuzetsu</i> 詩仙百絶
1819 (Bunsei 2)	<i>Seiyū shisō</i> 西遊詩草 <i>Seishin shidai</i> 清新詩題
1822 (Bunsei 5)	<i>Hokuyū shisō</i> 北遊詩草
1824 (Bunsei 7)	Rev. <i>Kareki hyakuei</i> 花曆百詠 (Chōso Ryūan 長祚榴庵)
1825 (Bunsei 8)	Pref. <i>Sai Hokuyū shisō</i> 再北遊詩草 Pref. <i>Hōō shiwa</i> 放翁詩話 (by Zhao Yi)
1828 (Bunsei 11)	<i>Shiseidō shishū nihen</i> 詩聖堂詩集二編

1830 *Rev. Zuien onna deshi shisensen (Suiyuan nüdizi shixuanxuan)* 隨園女弟子詩
(Bunsei 13) 選選 (by Yuan Mei)

1831 *Nitō yūsō* 二島遊草
(Tenpō 2)

1838 *Shiseidō shishū sanpen* 詩聖堂詩集三編 (posthumously)
(Tenpō 9)

Works containing fore- and afterwords as well as edited and proofread volumes are restricted to poetry; Shibutsu's various contributions are not listed exhaustively.

List of abbreviations

Ed. = as editor (*hen* 編)

Rev. = in charge of revisions as proofreader (*etsu* 閱, *kōtei* 校訂)

Pref. = author of a preface or afterword (*jo* 序, *batsu* 跋, *shōin* 小引)