

講義録「明治維新の精神」の概要

— ヘルシンキ大学における桑木務の日本文化講座 —

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[キーワード] 戦中日本語教育、助成、文化事業、給費留学生、講義録

1. 戦前・戦中の日本語日本文化講座

戦前・戦中に欧米諸国で開講された日本語・日本文化講座には、主として、現地教授陣による、実践力の養成をめざした地域研究の一環としての日本語教育があった。一方、日本との交流事業の中で、日本人講師の派遣に伴い、新規にポストが設けられ、単発的に開講されるものもあった。この場合は、大学間協定や交流プログラムによって派遣された交換教授や交換学生が関わった。これらの文化事業に対する助成は、1935年、外務省欧亜局文化事業部に国際文化事業を担当する第二課が置かれると活発化した¹⁾。

助成事業の一例として、当時同盟国であったドイツを例に挙げると、東京帝国大学の伊東忠太は、1937年ベルリン日本学会第一主事としてドイツ各地の大学で日本建築について講じた。また、北山淳友は、1931年からフランクフルト大学で日本語・日本文化の講義を、1941年よりマールブルグ大学で宗教史や日本語講座を担当した。彼らは、日本語や日本文化講義の担当を目的に渡独した²⁾。

これに対し、研究の場を求めて渡欧し、後に、日本語・日本文化の教授に従事するようになった者がいる³⁾。ギリシャ文献学の岩倉具實は、給費留学生としてベルリン大学で学び、1941年からは、ハイデルベルグ大学で日本語を担当した。京都大学でドイツ文学を専攻した大賀小四郎は、給費留学生として学ぶ傍ら、1935年よりライプツィヒ大学で日本語や日本史を教えた。同じく、給費留学生として渡独した松本徳明は、研究を終えた後、1931年よりボン大学で東方文化や仏教について教えた。ワルシャワ大学でスラブ語学を学んでいた守屋長は、第二次世界大戦勃発直後、ドイツに渡り、1939年よりフランクフルト大学で日本語を教えた。また、ベルリン大学、イエナ大学等でカント哲学を学んでいた篠原正瑛は、

1944年よりベルリンの北テンプリンにあるヨハヒムスタール・ギムナジウムで日本語を教えた。

一方、ドイツ以外の地で日本語を教えるようになった者もいる。ベルリン大学、及び、フライブルグ大学で哲学を学んでいた桑木務は、1941年よりフィンランドのヘルシンキ大学で日本文化・日本語講座を担当した。このように、当時のドイツを中心とした地域で日本語講座を担当した者の中には、留学生として渡欧し、後に日本語教授に携わるようになった者も少なくない。

本稿では、ドイツに学んだ後、フィンランドで日本文化や日本語を教えた桑木を取り上げ、戦中、日本人による日本文化に関する講義の事例として、桑木がヘルシンキ大学で行った講義の概要を紹介する。

2. ヘルシンキ大学における桑木の講義

桑木務(1913 - 2000)は、1941年9月、客員教授としてヘルシンキ大学に着任した⁴⁾。戦争の最中で大学の授業は休講であったが、翌1942年の秋には、大学が再開し正式な大学の講義が始まった。その間、瑞日協会や日本大使館主催の催しで「日本史の基調」と題して講演を行った他⁵⁾、一般市民向けに、「現代の日本」と題して3回の連続講座が行われた。尚、日本語講座は、翌1943年に開設され、初級コース及び、初級継続コースが1944年秋まで継続された(小川2001:104)。

1942年秋に開講された日本文化講座のタイトルや講義日程の一部は、桑木のドイツ語による講義録、及び、ヘルシンキの新聞に掲載された講義案内、桑木の回想録を辿ると、次のようである。

明治維新の精神(全4回)

1. 1942年11月3日 明治天皇の治績
2. 1942年11月14日 鎖国政策の背景
3. 1942年11月21日 徳川期の社会・経済・文化
4. 1942年11月28日 鎖国徳川期の精神ルネッサンスとその系譜

日本文化の展開(全4回)

1. 1942年11月6日 民族文化と世界文化の一貫性
2. 1942年11月13日 日本文化の展開

3. 1942年11月20日 宗教的基礎

4. 1942年11月27日「明治維新の精神」の補完

「明治維新の精神」は、「日本文化の展開」と平行して1942年の11月からそれぞれ4回にわたり行われた⁶⁾。この後、1943年2月からは、「武士道」と題した講義が、1944年1月からは、「神道」と題した講義が続くが、いずれも精神文化をテーマとしている。当時の日本文化の講義については、特にドイツで行われたものについて、次のような指摘がある。

「30年代ドイツの大学における日本学科は、中世の作品を多く取り上げている。テーマは天皇制等であるが、これは、当時の日本の大学の国文学科の場合と大差はない。ただ、テーマは、派遣された日本人教授によってだけでなく、ドイツ人の大学教授も自ら選択している。」(シャウベッカー 1994:299)

日独文化協定締結以降、政治的力が交流全体を操作し支配しはじめ、互いの精神文化の浸透を目的としていたという背景から⁷⁾、桑木のテーマの選択は、当時日独の政治レベルで強く期待されていたものでもあったと推測される。

次節では、日独交換学生としてドイツで哲学を学んでいた桑木が、フィンランドへ渡り、日本についてどのような講義を行ったのか、1942年の大学再開後はいじめの日本文化講座「明治維新の精神」を、一つの事例として紹介する。本稿で扱う資料は、ドイツ語によるタイプ打ちされた講義録の原本である。分量は、B4サイズで15枚あり、主として日本語による手書きの書き込みが随所に見られる。本稿では、紙幅の関係で、講義録の逐語訳ではなく、概要を紹介するにとどめる。しかし、日本式表記法で記された固有名詞の表記をはじめ、聴衆への問いかけなど講義の趣旨を損なわないよう、可能な限り、原文に忠実に再現する⁸⁾。

3. 講義録の要旨 “The Spirit of Meizi-Isin”

I. Lecture, 03. November 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is a great honor to be allowed, as a guest professor, lecturing about Japanese Culture at this University. I have selected two themes for this semester: “The Spirit of Meizi-Isin” and “Evolvement of Nippon’s Culture”. The analysis of these themes will help you to understand the main stream of Japanese intellectual history. Both themes complement each other. In my lecture, I will give the answer to the question on how Japanese culture developed.

It is my intention to discuss the spirit of Meizi-Isin. Today is the Meizi-setsu, one of the four important national Holidays in Japan. The 122nd Japanese Emperor named Meizi-tenno was born exactly 90 years ago in Kyoto. He was truly the leader of the New Japan, because he was the head of Meizi-Isin. His politics has brought Japan into big reversal. It is impossible to understand the characteristic of modern Japan without the comprehension of Meizi-Isin.

First of all the meaning of the word “Meizi-Isin” : “Meizi” is the name of his era. It lasted from 1868 until 1912; it’s meaning could be interpret as “illuminates politics”. The meaning of “Isin” is about “novation or reform”. The recovery of the Imperial Power in 1867/1868 is the historical meaning of “Meizi-Isin”. To be more thorough: The Syogun Tokugawa-Yosinobu requested to be allowed to give the sovereignty back to the Tenno on 09. November 1867. This request was at once accepted.

The Imperial edict turned up on 03. January 1868. Therewith government (“Bakuhu”) Minamoto-Yoritomo initiated in 1192, was disestablished. There has not been other incident in world history like this reversal. It is called

“Meiji-restoration” in Europe, though it was not a reinstatement of the dispelled Dynasty. The Imperial Family was since Japan’s founding without respiting the head of the state. Even the most powerful Syogun was not allowed to forget that he had a sovereign. However, his warrants were boundless. So, Tenno’s posture was indeed only a symbol. It was necessary that Tenno got back the governance in all respects. Only in this sense this restoration is the political reversal.

It was a thorough reform. The old feudalistic system was abolished; the politics of self-compartmentalization was abrogated. So, after 200 years the country returned to the world and started to have diplomatic and international relations again. Certainly it was a sudden and vital change in Japan’s history. Japan was able to perform the politic of self-compartmentalization, because it is an insular state and it is far away from Europe, which was the center of international trade during that time. During those period the Japanese had only sketchy associations with foreign countries. The Japanese self-confidence awoke in 1853, when an American squadron dropped anchors in Uraga-Bay, close to Yedo (now Tokyo), the political center at that time.

The more Japanese realized the western culture the more they were attracted. Japanese has then boldly decided to merge the completely different culture to their antipode. The restoration had to stop by the beginning of the Meiji-Era. But the reform has started during this time and is still appealing. We have to study the temporal and spatial background, if we want to understand the historical character of Meiji-Isin. It is surprising that Feudalism was held that long in Japan. The chivalry went down bit by bit in Europe by the invention of firearms.

There might still be chivalry in Japan if the feudalistic system had been adequately reformed, because the Japanese chivalry is in our temper and blood. If we want to be able to understand the past 70 years, it is important to

know that Japan had contact with Europe by the middle of the 16th century. However, we also have knowledge about European history, especially about the Renaissance, the discovery of the seaway to India, and its cultural backgrounds. The importance is the structure and culture of Spain, Portugal, England, and Holland, because these countries play a very important part in Asia at that time. So, we will be able to recognize in which way Japan has got in contact with Europe.

The importance is the development in Europe, the accrument of states in modern sense during the 19th century, and the economic boom by the Industrial Revolution. Only if we know this background, we will be able to understand Japan's politics during the centuries: Its attitude towards Europe and the European states in the beginning, when they started to push their power to the East, the self-compartmentalization, and finally the reopening of the country, and the evolvment of this modern state until the present.

We have to ask: How did Japan orientate itself into the European civilization in the beginning? This is a very complex question. So, I would like to give an example: The launch of fire arms in Japan. I am of the opinion that this is a very interesting and instructive example. So we will be able to estimate Japan's attitude to European Culture.

Firearms, printing office, and compass were the main foundations of the Renaissance. Firearms were the first witness of European Culture that came to Japan and had a great influence of its evolvment. It is quite certain that there were no firearms in Japan before 1542. The oldest source is the "Teppooki", which was written by the monk Nampo. He describes how the firearm came to Japan in 1543 (on the 25th day of the 8th month of the 12th year of Temmon). A big ship anchored in the Bay of Nisimura on Tanegasima-Island. The European merchants leaded it: Mura Jukuscha and Kirisita da Mora. They had iron firearms. The fabrication of firearms spread over Japan. Tatibanaya Matasaburo

(called Teppoo Mata), a merchant from Sakai (which is close to Osaka), promoted the spread. Sakai was the center of foreign trade at that time and had become the center of the fabrication of weapons too. It was the wealthiest city in the country at that time.

II. Lecture, 10. November 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen!

We have discussed the contours of Meizi-Isin last time (...) and have now come to answer the question: How was Japan able to produce arms?

It had a highly developed blacksmith industry, which produced swords, and was very quick to reconvert its production.

I would like to discuss about Japan's self-compartmentalization from the 17th century until the 19th century now. Before we understand this politics, we have to care about three headings:

- 1) The foreign affairs, especially to Spain
- 2) Christianity
- 3) The home politics of the Tokugawa-Government

This politics of self-compartmentalization was not performed in one scoop.

Firearms were the most important import of European culture in a material sense; Christianity was in a spiritual and intellectual sense. The Spanish missionary Francis Xavier came to Kagosima in 1549. Prince Oda Nobunga (1534-1582) promoted his missionary work. Other princes, Daimyos, did the same. They did not protect Christianity because of religious reasons. They hoped to be able to push the Buddhism back this way. Buddhism became more and more powerful in politics and had pressed the state hard. Furthermore, the Princes wanted to push trade with Europe.

These speculations turned right: The Missionaries helped to push the foreign

trade, and Catholicism gladly helped to fight against Buddhism. The catholic Christianity had won many followers, especially in the upper class. It seemed as if Japan would adopt the Western lifestyle. However, suddenly the situation changed, because Japan felt they had been threatened by the foreigners and started to dispel them. Evangelic Hollanders and Englishmen helped the Japanese to fight against Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese, because they were jealous for economic reasons, and they disliked Catholicism. A Dutch legation was founded in 1609, and an English in 1613, which pushed the trade to Japan. Japanese started to develop their foreign trade at the same time and sent the first ship to Mexico (Nova Hispania) in 1610.

Suddenly the Japanese politics changed inconsiderately. Christianity was forbidden in 1614 and its extermination was ordered. All foreign missionaries, who were still in Japan, were damned to death penalty in 1617. Foreign trade was allowed only at Hirado in Nagasaki. Japanese were not allowed to leave the country anymore since 1621. Finally Iyemitsu forbid all foreigners to stay in Japan. Only Hollanders and Chinese were allowed to stay. All big ships were destroyed, and only coastal traffic was allowed. Japanese Christians were furthermore pursued. There were no Christians in Japan anymore by 1640.

This was the first period of connections between Japan and the west. Surely, Japan did not want to do without the connections with Europe. They wanted to use European's goods and inventions. So, around 16 to 20 Hollanders were allowed to live on the small island Dezima in Nagasaki. Their trade with Japan was strictly monitored. Foremost in the beginning of the 18th century and above all the beginning of the 19th century, quite a number of Japanese started to learn Dutch, and to study and in order to take over European medicine, science, and technique. Japanese got a good knowledge about medicine by Dutch and especially German physicians, for example, Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1694; 1690-1692), Thunberg (1743-1828; 1775-1776), Philipp Franz von Siebold

(1796-1866; 1823-1829 and 1859-1861).

Holland had provided Europe with Japanese merchandise like gold, copper, silk, camphor, chinaware, bronze, flowers, ornamental plants, etc. Japan got hardware, wine, arms, woven goods, clocks, barometer, thermometer, etc.

Toyotomi-Hideyosi was the first statesman, who reasoned that Christianity is not compatible with the Japanese form of government. Tokugawa-Iyeyasu was in the beginning of his incumbency not for this opinion, but finally changed his mind. These were the reasons:

- 1) Christianity disregarded the law
- 2) It offended Japan's religions
- 3) Christians were at most ejected from the society
- 4) Christianity was closely linked to the trade with Spain and it seemed as if Spain wanted to conquer Japan.
- 5) There was an eventuality that some ambitious Princes will abuse Christianity for own brads.

Another reason was the egging behavior of the missionaries.

III. Lecture, 17. November 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen!

We have discussed the problem of Christianity and the foreign affairs during the last lecture. We have to think about two facts before we go and estimate the self-compartmentalization of the Tokugawa-Government:

- 1) It was an explicit expression of Japan's autonomy, its self-confidence
- 2) This politics was not led by rancor against other states. Japanese always have a sense for the European culture. It is very important to know that this politics was not an intellectual compartmentalization of the Japanese

nation, but a territory. If we will be able to understand this, we will be able to understand Japan's reopening and the spirit of Meiji-Isin.

Japan reopened itself in 1854 by signing the agreement with America. During those two hundred years of compartmentalization, a lot of important cultural aspects happened. We have to say that the endeavor of the unification of the Empire by the Tokugawa-Government was successful: The power of the feudal lords was weakened, the Japanese lived in peace during the whole time, and the number of population, and the economy improved.

The last fact is very interesting, because by improving the economy, the economic power became more and more centralized. Finally it led to the expiration of Feudalism, because the financial status of the Samurais was threatened. Insecurity has begun as well in the administration by the Tokugawa-Government as by the feudal lords.

The founder of the Tokugawa-Government, Tokugawa-Iyeyasu (1542-1616), started to reorganize the internal social system. He scotched trade and promoted Confucianism to buttress the feudalistic system. He structured the 30-million-people-nation into four ranks: Samurais, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. However, this reorganization has been a problem, because trade was already highly developed at that time. Therefore, the so-called absolutistic and centralized feudalistic system was accepted although it was contradictory. The capital developed in Europe from trade-capital during the Renaissance has changed into industrial-capital at the time of the Industrial revolution. However, Japan developed back to Feudalism.

The internal traffic helped the commerce to prosper. The Daimyos (the Princes), who had to move to the capital for half a year, needed money. The merchants of Kyoto and Osaka then lent it to them for a distraint upon the rice-harvest in his province. So a wealthy bourgeoisie came up during two generations. It was, in spite of all hostility by Samurai, very important by the end

of the 17th century. The proverb is: "The Princes jitter, when the merchants are angry".

The new economic system developed very quickly in spite of the feudalistic conditions. The Daimyo's wealth near the Tokugawa-regime was the source of profit that the merchants were longing for. Usually merchants hope that the feudalistic system will demolish. On the contrary, the Japanese merchants hoped that the feudalistic system would remain and will give them conditions for agglomeration of their profit forever.

Here we are able to see a rare example in history. It is a special capitalism that supports the feudalistic system. As curious as it might be, and maybe we are not able to understand it, this system have lasted two hundred years; this is because of Japan's geographic conditions, and the policy of self-compartmentalization, which was able to stop the foreign commerce, and eliminate trade.

However, no country had interest to open this closed Empire at that time. These peaceful conditions kept the country safe. But the closed state was the positive compartmentalization in the free world. This free world turned into a European and American directed world, which pressed towards Japan. At this time, it was necessary to develop Japan's infrastructure. The Meiji-Isin (1868) was at the time the best and only method for Japan to stand the world politic of the 19th century.

However, not only have to consider the social and economic aspects, but also the unification of the state by the Tokugawa. The problem is that a lot of feudalistic elements still existed, which were in discrepancy to the spirit of unification. Especially the behavior of the Tokugawa to the spiritual head of the Empire, the Tenno, was such an element (Mikado). It seemed that by the middle of the 19th century as if the government of the Tokugawa was stable, but it was rotten, and, in the end, not able to stand the external occurrence.

There is no doubt; the evolvement of Japan's structure during Meizi-Isin is in causal connection to the cultural evolvement of that time, especially the education system. Iyeyasu was an excellent general, statesman, and patron of the national culture. He and his successors imported works of important Chinese philosophers and authors and printed them in Japan.

Some feudal lords were also important for the cultural evolvement. They had a kind of autonomy; and so there was in nearly every principality a state school for higher education, all together 200. The high level of those schools promoted the absorption of European knowledge during the Meizi-period.

I would like to discuss about the evolvement of the spirit of the state now. I will discuss about the evolvement of critical thoughts in the organization of the state: Confucianism, humanities, Shinto, and the Japanese Classic had an important influence on the topic.

IV. Lecture, 24. November 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen!

We are going to discuss the genealogy and the Renaissance of the Japanese spirit during the Tokugawa-Period today. It is the period from the beginning of Japan's modern times until the Meizi-Isin.

Japan was deeply influenced by China during the Kamakura Period and the Muromati Period. China had the status as a paragon and teacher. However, it has lost its status since Japan's culture awoke. Confucianism was adopted from China and the main theory of the Feudalistic system. Especially the school of Chu-Hsi of the Tokugawa-Government was minded by this theology. So, China turned to be an ideological existence. Such kind of cultural politics are responsible for self-contradiction. Finally it was jointly responsible for the fall of the Tokugawa-Government. Besides, Iyeyasu nominated Hayasi-razan (1583-

1657), a Confucianism philosopher of the school of Chu-Hsi, as counselor of the government. His descendants administrated Japan's education for a long time. The Syogun bestowed the Hayasi-family the title "Daigaku no Kami". It was related to the rectorate of the highest school in Japan, called "Syoohaikoo".

The school of Chu-Hsi of Yedo vindicated the contemporary politics. The Chinese science were treated and preserved as the highest expression of culture. And the school of Chu-Hsi in Kyoto evolved the private school of Yamazaki Ansai. He beheld in Japan's form of government the highest incarnation of Confucianism. But he also studied Shinto and tried to discuss it based on the Sung-philosophy. This doctrine was called Suika-Shinto.

Therewith he did not directly assault the political organization of the Tokugawa-Government, but he emphasized the posture of the Tenno. As a result, his students did not accept the legitimacy and suzerainty of the government. This school had not only influence in historical evolvement in the principality of Mito (Mito-doctrine), but also in the Kinno-movement by the end of the Tokugawa era.

The self-confidence of a nation is always supported by studies of historical science. This tendency was already noticeable, when the first Tokugawa-Government inaugurated. Iyemitu, the third Syogun, assigned the philosopher Hayasi Razan to author a story about Japan. Titled "Hontyo hennen Roku" was published during the Syuhoo-Period (around 1644). Unfortunately this work was destroyed by fire. However, the fourth Soyogun asked Razan's son, Hayasi Syunsai, to write a new story, which was published during the Kambun-Period (around 1670). The title was "Hontyo Tugan". Iyeyasu's son, Tokugawa Yosinao, who was Prince of Owari, was the publisher of "Ruizyu Nihongi". Besides, he set up an assemblage of works of Japanese stories. But there were already many savants working on Japanese history.

A grandson of Iyeyasu, the Prince of Mito, Tokugawa Mitukuni, studied Japan's history on a large scale. He used the Chu-His philosophy of national point of view in the strictest utilization. He founded an institute for historical research in 1657 (the third year of Myoreki), which was called "Syookookan" since 1672 (the 12th year of Kambun). Asaka Tampaku, Kuriyama Sempo, Miyake Kanran, later Tatiwara Suiken, Huzita Yukoku, and Aizawa An are a few of the excellent savants of this institute. Kuriyama and Miyake were Ansai's students. The title of the story, they were working on, was "Dai Nihonsi". It consists of 397 parts and 226 volumes. Four of these volumes consist the catalogue. The main part was finished in 1720 (5th year of Kyooho), but the work was completed in 1897 (30th year of Meizi). The principal aim was the itemization of the genealogy of the Imperial Family. This genealogy was, in a sense of the strictly bound, in honor of the idea of the state. The highest dignity of the Tenno and the Imperial Family was phrased. Only the Southern Dynasty was treated as the legal one.

Shinto was established on the Buddhist religion as it evolved. The Japanese gods became incarnations of Indian gods. This parallelism was called "Ryoobu-Sinto". However, Confucianism also became a part of Shinto around the 14th century (Nambokutyō-Period). The elements of Confucianism got stronger by the beginning of the Tokugawa-Period. Finally Buddhism was edged out. Yamasaki Ansai's thoughts are as example. Ever since savants have started to investigate the Japanese Classic, national natural religions were born in mind; and finally also Confucianism was edged out.

Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Hirata Atutane (1776-1843) were very important to the investigation of the Japanese Classic. They rediscovered the real sense of Shinto as primitive natural religion and original religion of the Japanese nation. The Japanese Classic started with the investigation of Manyōshū by Keitō (1640-1701). His successors were "the four savants"

(“Kokugaku no Sidaizin”) : Kada no Azumamaro (1669-1736), Kamo Mabuti (1697-1769), Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atutane. Besides studying the classical literature, Kada no Azumamaro also studied the old historical codes of law and the old Japanese customs and rites. He even tried to found a University for Japanese Classic.

Those ideas were important for the refusal of the Syogun government and the reestablishment of the Tenno's absolute power. The foreign tensions by the middle of the 19th century were the last impulse for the reversal. It was obvious that Japan was not able to absorb the European culture without making sacrifices.

There is a difference among the situations in the Pacific of the former times, when Spain owned the Philippines and Mexico, the Ming Dynasty and the Ching-Dynasty fought against each other in China, and today. Japan has the most important part in this matter today. The one, who is interested in this matter, will only be able to understand Japan's position by studying Meizi-Isin. However, he is not allowed to ignore about the 300 years before.

注

1. これにより、それまで現地の大学から受ける手当てに頼りながら日本語・日本文化講座を担当していた者にも助成金が支給されるようになった。
2. 外務省(1995) 昭和11年度版 252頁、256頁、及び、昭和14年度版 142頁による。
3. 多くの場合、戦争の激化に伴い帰国が危ぶまれていたためと思われる。
4. フィンランドに渡った経緯は、Ogawa (2002c)、小川(2003) に詳しい。
5. 「現代の日本」の講義内容は、Ogawa (2002c) に掲載。
6. 「日本文化の展開」の講義の概要は、小川(2002b) に掲載。
7. 「日独防共協定締結以降の日独文化交流におけるドイツの態度はそれまでとは違い、必要以上に日本の精神文化をドイツに移入することを希求し、ドイツの精神文化を日本に浸透させることを求めた」(橋本正和 2000: 76)。

8.原稿、その他の資料は、桑木土思子氏より拝借し、使用許可をいただいた。原文からの翻訳は、Detlev Struve 氏によるが、文責はすべて筆者にある。

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