
Research Note

JAPAN IN ROMANIAN BOOKS BEFORE WORLD WAR TWO

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Always joyful and smiling, the Japanese is a simple, primitive spirit, with no scientific curiosity; still, he is a great admirer of civilization, with a high ambition of transforming himself from student into professor. With little imagination, he is spiritual; spiritual more than intelligent, discursive more than spontaneous; assimulative and performer more than innovator...hardworking, ambitious and tenacious, but not miser, and a great lover of leisure time...warrior like spirit, brave and courageous, and still without cruelty and with a poetical love for nature...of all these features, the most characteristic one is patriotism.

Ioan Timus, *Japonia*, Vol. 2, p. 179

While Japan's image in Western publications is the topic of numerous publications,¹ the same cannot be said about its image in Eastern Europe. Part of a larger project, the purpose of this paper is to explore Japan's presence in Romanian books before World War II; specifically, it examines what kind of books contained information about Japan, which aspects of Japan presented most interest, who wrote those books, and how much originality or universal value they had. For purposes of clarity the term "books" refers to all books and brochures about Japan, approached from the historian's (rather than literary critic) viewpoint, without analyzing "whatever Japanese forces have acted upon literature."² Also, the prototext and to the relationship between authors and publishers will not be covered in this essay.

The author has identified fifty Romanian books about Japan dated before World War II, mostly written by historians, geographers, or military personnel. A detailed analysis shows the following:

(1) It was only after the start of the Russo-Japanese War that Japan became a topic in Romanian books, showing them as the last "channel of socialization"³ to take on Japan. Similar to journalists, war had the most powerful impact over the book authors: the highest numbers of books about

Japan were published during 1904-1906 and the late 1930s.⁴

(2) Even as their styles differ, the purposes of these books were the same: make Japan comprehensible, and educate the masses about Japan and its progress in general. Neither the Romanian, nor Japanese government used the books for propaganda purposes.

(3) The areas covered showed interest in all things Japanese. Most of the books were richly illustrated, providing a visual introduction to Japan. Much of the information conveyed was copied from previous works.

(4) Japan's image in Romanian books was positive; it was not "a strange and singular country,"⁵ but rather an advanced and interesting one. The construction of Japan's otherness in terms of self was based on the concentric circles system of increasing otherness, rather than the dual opposition system (by which the other is defined by self as non-self),⁶ friendliness being the most common attitude towards Japan, similar to its perceptions by the Poles as "a country belonging to the category of ours rather than to that of others."⁷ In terms of image theory studies, Japan's image fits best into what Cottam identifies as the perceptual pattern of "complex image," evoked when a country is perceived as non-threatening and is thought to be motivationally complex.⁸

Still, not everything Japanese was praised - making a neutral presentation was the intention of many authors. The general tendency was that of "friendly neutrality," quite different from school textbooks or newspapers. The military literature and books from the mid 1930s showed a clear movement from "learn from Japan" attitude toward one that advocated people "learn from Japanese successes and failures." This neutrality, together with first hand experience and the increasing amount of available information, resulted in a rather narrow gap between Japanese realities and Romanian perceptions during the interwar years.

(5) However dangerous the Japanese were considered by some, there are no traces of racial discrimination, no echoes of "yellow journalism,"⁹ even though economically (a great deficit in the commercial balance with Japan) and politically (the failure to ratify the Bessarabian Treaty)¹⁰ there were enough reasons to paint Japan in dark colors. Moreover, there were no "double standards" in presenting Japan in contrast to what was being done in Europe.¹¹

TRAVELOGUES

Most Romanians who visited Japan left a written account, confirming that "Japan is an absorbing country and there are few people who visit it who do not wish to talk or write of it."¹² Most books detailing travels to Japan were parts of round-the-world travels, being designed to popularize and entertain the reader rather than instruct the prospective traveler. They included the most known clichés and stereotypes present in Western travelogues, and portrayed Japan in a positive light.

The first Romanian mention of Japan dates back to the seventeenth century,¹³ when Czar Alexei sent Nicolae Milescu (a Romanian boyar and intellectual who had taken refuge in Russia) to China with a diplomatic mission (1675-1676). Following this expedition, he wrote *Description of China*, which included one subchapter about Japan.¹⁴ In modern times, Basil Assan was the first Romanian traveler to Japan who published his impressions.¹⁵

Following Crown Prince Carol's round-the-world tour, which included one month in Japan, Constantin Gavanescul, who had accompanied the prince, wrote the most accurate travelogue, gracefully balancing the presentation of official events with personal comments.¹⁶ As a member of Prince Carol's retinue, he had access to places and "high circles" that were inaccessible to the common traveler; usually, everything was arranged so that the guests would leave with a very high impression of Japan. Indeed, what impressed him most was the result of official preparations: the welcoming ceremonies ("It is clear that we are the guests of a great Emperor and of a country that knows how to honor its guests." p. 68); the luxury surrounding the official dinners; the thousands of children welcoming the Prince; the cleanliness; the inexistence of beggars; and, on a personal note, Admiral Togo (for

whom Gavanescul had very high esteem). He also touched upon different things Japanese: the too hot *ofuro* [bath] or the noisy music ("During my entire life, this was the most painful moment for my ears." p. 211); the tea house and the geishas; or the "little, delicate and tender" women. While his description of Japan is not much more accurate than works by others, his details about the welcoming ceremonies and the "high society" were original. Similar to many other round-the-world travelers, Gavanescul regarded Japan as by far the most interesting country he visited.¹⁷

Other authors worth noting are Elie Bufnea, George Flaislen and Ana Stanica. Bufnea makes some interesting comparisons between Japan and Romania (e.g., Tokyo's Ginza Street with Bucharest's Lipscani Street), noting that "all the Japanese, whatever their social position, described Japan as the most beautiful country in the world - the best proof of patriotism."¹⁸ Flaislen was a stereotypical tourist, complaining about different fees or branding all ladies wearing a kimono as geishas.¹⁹ Stanica focused on social aspects as well, her presentation including a day in the life of a Japanese family, noting the women's elegance, as well as the respect and love characterizing the child-parent relation.²⁰

GENERAL PRESENTATIONS

The first presentations were published following the start of the Russo-Japanese War. In February 1904, G.T. Buzoianu wrote a brochure based on his geography textbook,²¹ portraying Japan very favorably, referring to the "patriotism and love for the family, the most sophisticated politeness, patience, the pleasure to work, order and cleanliness, the highly developed artistic feelings, and more than everything an always happy and joyful character."²² Months later, historian Nicolae Iorga wrote another presentation, compiled from Western sources, striving to provide a neutral image by showing both positive and negative aspects and by constantly comparing Japan with China.²³ Another book, by Mihail Gaspar, was published in Transylvania, targeting the Romanian readership in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁴

Once the war was over, interest in Japan diminished greatly.²⁵ The First World War and its aftermath failed to provide a renewed interest in Japan (except for Timus's books).²⁶ The situation changed

during the 1930s, at which point several authors heaped praise upon Japan, while others were more neutral in their assessments, and yet others openly criticized its territorial expansionism.

Ioan Simionescu illustrated the first tendency toward praise, using Japan as a model worth following, from which there was much to be learned, the same as noted in the contemporary geography textbooks.²⁷ In order to increase its attractiveness as a worthy example, Simionescu claimed "everything the Japanese do is for the country, and nothing for themselves," and presented only positive aspects, such as "the modern system of education in which, unlike Romania, no expense is considered to be too high."²⁸

Two different books were more tempered in their assessment of Japan. First, Ioan Longhin focused on the economy. While praising the Japanese economic model and its achievements, he also noted the rural poverty, "a mass of seven million underfed people, for which the political leadership does nothing because it admirably serves its purposes: cheap labor and numerous soldiers." He also wrote about the gross underpayment of workers: "The Romanian workers receive 12.50 lei/hour whereas the Japanese get 3.50 lei/hour."²⁹ The second book, by Pom peius Demetrescu, detailed the first year of the Sino-Japanese War, pointing out Japanese and Chinese successes and failures. He remained neutral, considering Japan the aggressor, at the same time trying to justify its actions (e.g., overpopulation). Also, in certain sections, the Chinese were seen as equal and even superior to the Japanese, a view clearly different from those of other authors.³⁰

Both books, as well as others,³¹ show that enthusiasm about Japan was waning by the late 1930s. It was at this point that the only book presenting Japan primarily negatively was published by T. Cristureanu. He argued against each reason justifying Japan's territorial expansion, considering it a purely imperialistic enterprise, backed by the Army and high finance: "Japan is silently following its plans for the atomization of Asia and its domination, with the help of a hypocrite and brutal pan-Asianism." He considered Japan's intervention in favor of Abyssinia and its protest against European imperialism as "the greatest possible hypocrisy."³² Still, following the communist model, he only criticized the leadership and not the mass-

es, who were described as living in poverty and under strict government control. After World War II, a similar position would reappear in Romanian books, for purposes of propaganda.

The war alliance revived Japan's positive image. Aside from the reprint of Timus's *Japonia*, the Romanian Japanese Association published a book containing two very positive (and insightful) articles written by Timus and Bagulescu in order to answer the call for papers launched by Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai on the celebration of 2600 years since the formation of the Japanese Empire (1940).³³

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

There are ten books in this category, all written (translated) by military personnel. As shown by them and by military magazines (*Revista Romania Militara*, *Revista Infanteriei*), the war reverberated with the military. That interest stemmed not only from hatred toward Russia, but also from its perception as the first war of the new century, showing what aspects of military doctrine were still valid. Even as the Japanese preparations were praised highly by all authors, thus also sending a message to the Romanian leadership, overall the presentations were neutral, indicated from comments such as "Japan had an excellent infantry but a very poor cavalry."³⁴ In fact, none of the books showed the same enthusiasm for Japan that could be found in school textbooks or in other books.

Colonel Ion Manolescu authored the most influential work.³⁵ Providing an objective assessment, he highlighted the advantages and disadvantages of both combatants. He noted the war's causes ("In February 1904 the war started, provoked by Japan, although in reality it was provoked long ago in the Japanese heart by the Russian attitude." p. 13) and described the war preparations, theater of operations, strategies employed, and military operations. The most insightful commentaries came at the end of each chapter, where he provided insights on what he believed the Romanians could learn from the war.

Even as overall he praised the courage and endurance of the Japanese military, in many cases he attributed their successes to Russian indecision, insisting that the Japanese victory on land was just as much the result of the disorganization and corruption characterizing the Russian mili-

tary leadership as that of Japanese tactics (which repeatedly left them vulnerable to counter attacks): "The Japanese victory was, first of all, the result of their warrior spirit, and only second due to their fighting method" (p. 162). Also, while he stated that the bloody offensives led by General Nogi over Port Arthur were militarily unjustified, he attributed the Tsushima victory to the genius (and the moral and scientific preparation) of Togo and his officers.

TRANSLATIONS

There are only a few translations of Japanese works from this time, mostly of literature and poetry. The first translation was a best seller, *The Japanese Nightingale*, by Onoto Watanna, followed by Tokutomi Kenjiro's *Plutôt la mort*, and *Japanese Novels*, by Minamoto no Sanetomo.³⁶ It was only by the late 1930s that new translations were published: an anthology,³⁷ children's literature,³⁸ and Thomas Raucat's *The Honorable Picnic* (from French). Also worth noting is the first Romanian-Japanese Dictionary. Prepared by Radu Flondor,³⁹ Kenzo Nezu (a professor at Waseda University) and Kiyomatsu Aoyama,⁴⁰ the 1,500 page dictionary contributed not only to cultural but also propaganda purposes: "the Turks and the Hungarians have already published such dictionaries."⁴¹

In 1937, the poet Traian Chelariu published a collection of fifty *tanka* and *haiku* by poets such as Motoori and Matsuo Basho.⁴² His pamphlet indicated that the Romanian intelligentsia was knowledgeable of Japanese poetry, an interest that came via the French channel,⁴³ and is still alive today. There were also Japanese influences in the works of Romanian poets.⁴⁴

BOOKS BY IOAN TIMUS AND GHEORGHE BAGULESCU

Due to his first hand experience in Japan (1917-1922), Ioan Timus was the most prolific Romanian scholar of Japan. Providing more than basic knowledge, Timus tried to make Japan's success story seem plausible by emphasizing the ways in which the Japanese national character and culture contributed to the process of modernization, and he did so through books, articles, theater, and radio.⁴⁵ Judging by their originality, two of his books clearly stood aside.

The first, *Japonia*, was a two volume general presentation.⁴⁶ Rich in details, Ti-

mus's main aim was to familiarize his compatriots with Japan, while also presenting his own impressions. His style was journalistic, with no critical apparatus (except for a bibliography). As noted by Nicolae Iorga in the book's foreword, "What he gives us is not only 'photography' and is not at all poetic imagination; without trying to 'make science' and to assert his own 'individuality,' he talks with passion about a topic that he has lived [Italicized in original]. But this is exactly the secret of popularization books." In his "Introduction," Timus stated: "The difficulty of describing Japan is shown, first of all, by my notes taken on the spot: what the last ones are doing is to simply contradict the first ones; it is also proved by the immense literature about this country, written in all European languages, most of it full of errors."

The book detailed a great variety of topics, showing high admiration for Japan - Timus even tried to justify the Japanese expansionism: "The Japanese xenophobia is easy to explain if we consider their mentality of islanders very proud of their past, really confident in the future, constrained to face greedy and thirsty coalitions, intoxicated by the speed of their first successes" (vol. 1, p. 86). Still, what impressed him most were the women; "Absolutely nothing of what Japan produced over time has reached the admirable perfection that the Japanese women have... She has never been in a state of slavery, only in a minority position, at most" (vol. 2, p. 154). He wrote not only on their social positions, but also on the ways they loved (discreet, uninterested), on their weakness for actors and sumo fighters, and their proverbial fidelity.

Without looking for the sensational, he based his explanations on recorded observation, always adding historical details. Timus was the first Romanian to detail a number of topics, such as language and writing, popular superstitions and beliefs, holidays and distractions, literature ("The literature is clearly the expression of this people's character: respect for the past, love for the family, patriotism, courage, politeness, joyfulness, and the unlimited admiration for nature." vol. 2, p. 15), music and the arts. In particular, the chapter about political, social and cultural institutions remains the most insightful Romanian language presentation of interwar Japan.

Timus was not always positive about Japan. For example, he pinpointed what

he believed the effects of recent times over the art were "encouraging mediocrity and imitation" (p. 92), and also criticized the educational system, claiming "their [Japan's] school program gives a large space to arithmetic, ethics, writing and gymnastics, but very little to history, geography and intuition... The general note is utilitarianism" (p. 109).

Timus's second book, *Ogio-san*, was autobiographical, detailing his stay in Japan, giving an account of the foreigner's experiences there. Timus kept his normal accessible style in addressing the reader, always adding necessary explanations, and showing again great admiration for Japan. Although Timus calls his book a fiction, and some chapters were indeed pure imagination, one might also consider it "a book of impressions."⁴⁷ As there is not enough space in this essay to reproduce the book's glamour, it must suffice to state that its simplicity, its friendly style, and the numerous details recommend *Ogio-san* as a good book about Japan in general. Its only "drawback" comes from the fact that it was written only in Romanian.

General Gheorghe Bagulescu wrote a fiction about Japan, *Yamato Damashii*, published initially in English and French, and later in Romanian (1939) and Japanese (1943).⁴⁸ A romance based in Medieval Japan, the action evolved around the story of the 47 *ronin*. Most of the fiction was based on whatever Bagulescu had read or heard about the samurai and on his knowledge of Japan. Well written, the book centered on the conflict between dignity, honor, tradition (symbolized by the samurai, loved by all people) and corruption, dishonor, and machiavellic thirst of power (illustrated by a pirate turned businessman, loved by nobody). In the end, it was the samurai who, after a long battle, defeated the son of the pirate.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the Romanian books about Japan showed that the Romanians' interests were not limited to politics or economics, but that art and culture, as well as daily life, were also topics of interest. In a manner of speaking, they opened the way for the rich series of translations from Japanese contemporary writers published during the 1960s and 1970s.

NOTES

- 1 Recent works include Charles B. Wordell, *Japan's Image in America: Popular Writings about Japan, 1800-1941* (Kyoto, 1998); Ian Littlewood, *The Idea of Japan: Western Images, Western Myths* (London 1996); Bert Edstrom, ed., *The Japanese and Europe, Images and Perceptions* (Richmond: Japan Library, 2000); and Phil Hammond, ed., *Cultural Difference, Media Memories, Anglo-American Images of Japan* (London, 1997).
- 2 Earl Roy Miner, *The Japanese Influence on English and American Literature, 1850-1950*, PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1955, p. 3.
- 3 The term "channels of socialization" comes from Wolfgang Strobe, Chester Insko, "Stereotype, Prejudice, and Discrimination: Changing Conceptions in Theory and Research," in Daniel Bar-Tal, ed., *Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing Conceptions* (New York, 1989), p. 29. Other channels analyzed elsewhere by this author are the schools, archives, newspapers and magazines, and personal contacts.
- 4 The foreign language books about Japan kept in Romanian libraries introduce this same fact: a quarter date from the first decade (with 20 of the 30 books about the Russo-Japanese War), but there are only ten books published during the 1910s and fewer than twenty in the 1920. Only by the 1930s did the numbers surpass those from the first decade of the twentieth century.
- 5 Toshio Yokoyama, *Japan in the Victorian Mind. A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation, 1850-1880* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p. 2.
- 6 Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and Its Influence on the European Perception of the People in the New World," in W. Haase, ed., *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 145-146.
- 7 Ewa Palasz Rutkowska, "The Image of Japan in Poland at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century," *Japonica* 16 (Warsaw, 2003), pp. 29-51.
- 8 Richard W. Cottam, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (Pittsburgh, 1977), p. 75.
- 9 Wordell, *Japan's Image*, pp. 157-226.
- 10 Marcel Mitrasca, *Moldova: A Romanian Province under Russian Rule* (New York: Algora, 2002), *passim*.
- 11 Ben-Ami considers the application of a double standard, aimed mostly at blaming Japan, as one of the four characteristics common to much contemporary writing on Japan in Anglo-American countries. Daniel Ben-Ami, "Is Japan Different?" in Ham-

- mond, ed., *Cultural Difference*, pp. 13-15. Instead, in the Romanian books there was a double standard with regard to the presentation of Japan and other parts of Asia, mostly China and Korea; Japan was greatly "prioritized."
- 12 Earl Roy Miner, *The Japanese Influence*, p. 128.
 - 13 Although some Romanian scholars take great pride in Milescu's description of Japan, the book was kept in manuscript and published in Romanian only in 1910; and, as he had to present his findings to the Czar, Milescu did not write it in Romanian. Florin Vassiliu, *Scriitori romani despre Japonia* (Bucharest, 2000), pp. 14-15.
 - 14 Nicolae Milescu Spatarul, *Descrierea Chinei* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1975), pp. 233-237.
 - 15 Basil C. Assan, *Calatorie imprejurul Pamantului* (Bucharest: Socecu, 1899), pp 15-16 (out of 30).
 - 16 General Constantin Gavanescul, *Ocolul lumii in sapte luni si o zi*, vol. 5, *Japonia* (Turnu Severin: Ramuri, 1926). A military historian, Gavanescul was the Dean of the Romanian Superior Military School. Unfortunately, he described only half of the visit to Japan - the sixth volume, aimed at presenting the rest, was never published.
 - 17 John Ashmead, *The Idea of Japan, 1853-1895* (New York, 1987), *passim*.
 - 18 Bufnea, a military man, visited Japan during the first half of the 1920's. Elie Bufnea, *Pe drumuri japoneze* (Bucharest: Tip. Romane Unite, 1927), p. 197.
 - 19 George Flaislen, *De peste noua mari si tari* (Bucharest: Universul, 1931), p. 71.
 - 20 Ana Stanica, *E lung Pamantul, ba e lat* (Bucharest: Dambovitza, n.d.), p. 43.
 - 21 G.T. Buzoianu, *Pamintul, curs de geografie pentru uzul claselor secundare* (Craiova, 1896). Buzoianu was a secondary school geography teacher.
 - 22 G.T. Buzoianu, *In jurul razboiului din Extremul Orient. Note geografice* (Bucharest: Baer, 1904), p. 25.
 - 23 Nicolae Iorga, *Razboiul din Extremul Orient, China, Japonia, Rusia Asiatica, Note* (Bucharest: Socecu, 1904).
 - 24 Mihail Gaspar, *Japonia* (Lugoj: Traunfeldn, 1905).
 - 25 There were only two brochures published before 1914: Mihail Negreanu, *Cateva cuvinte asupra poporului japonez* (Calarasi, 1907); and Jean Campineanu-Cantemir, *Vieux Drame Japonais* (Paris, 1915), describing impressions of kabuki, insisting on the Japanese love for violence.
 - 26 Following the War, there were only a brochure (Mihai Stancescu, *Japan*, 1925) and a book (Eugene Relgis, *Soare Rasare, Schite, legende si insemnari japoneze*, Bucharest: Alcala, 1918) dealing entirely with Japan.
 - 27 Marcel Mitrasca, "Romanian Images and Perceptions of Japan before World War Two, The School Textbooks," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj Napoca* 44 (2005).
 - 28 A university professor, Simionescu wrote over a hundred brochures about different historical and geographical topics. Ioan Simionescu, *Japonia, tara minunilor* (Bucharest: Cartea Romaneasca, 1932), pp. 24, 11.
 - 29 Ioan Longhin, *Japonia economica* (Bucharest: Eminescu, 1937), pp. 20, 51.
 - 30 Colonel Pompeius Demetrescu, *Razboiul chino-japonez, 1937-1938* (Bucharest, 1939).
 - 31 Eugen Savulescu, *De la criza la razboi* (Bucharest: Lucia, 1936); Axente Sever Banciu, *Razboiul imperialismelor* (Bucharest: Universul, 1943, pp. 87-94). With all the war alliance, Banciu is very moderate in presenting Japan.
 - 32 T. Cristureanu, *Imperialisme, 1934-1936* (Bucharest: Adevarul, 1936), pp. 29, 123. Cristureanu was a well-known journalist with the *Adevarul* newspaper, of pro-Soviet tendency.
 - 33 *Caracterele civilizatiei japoneze*, ed. by the Romanian-Japanese Association (Bucharest, 1942).
 - 34 Captain Ion Jitianu, *Razboiul ruso-japonez* (Bucharest: Clementa, 1904), p. 44.
 - 35 Colonel Ion Manolescu, *Razboiul Ruso-Japonez* (Bucharest: Rasarit, 1921, also 1907, 1912). A military historian, Manolescu wrote a number of books presenting the most important wars in modern years.
 - 36 Although the name on the book cover is Minamoto no Yun, this author believes that it actually refers to Minamoto no Sanetomo, a 12th century poet. Minamoto no Yun, *Nu-vele japoneze* (Bucharest: Steinberg, n.d.).
 - 37 *Esarfe de matase. Antologie japoneza*, prepared by Al.T. Stamatiad (Bucharest: Contemporana, 1943), 250 pp.
 - 38 Ioan Timus, *Basme japoneze* (Bucharest: Cugetarea, 1938); Elena Matasa, *Soare Rasare* (Bucharest: Scoalelor, 1942).
 - 39 Radu Flondor was a Secretary of Legation at the Romanian Legation in Tokyo during the 1930s, and he also graduated from the Master's Course at Waseda University.
 - 40 According to information written concerning the book itself, the third author was Hayashi Fukashi. *Dictionar Roman-Japonez, Ra-Nichi Jiten* (Tokyo: Kyorinsha, 1940).
 - 41 Romanian Foreign Ministry Archives, Fond 71/Japan, Vol. 12, Report Paraschivescu (Tokyo) to Manoilescu, September 14, 1940.
 - 42 Traian Chelariu, *Suflet nipon* (Cernauti: Junimea Literara, 1937).
 - 43 According to Miner, "From about 1905, many of the most important French poets

- and many minor ones imitated the Japanese haiku." Miner, *The Japanese Influence*, p. 88.
- 44 Alexandru Macedonski (1854-1920) wrote a number of poems inspired by Japan, although he never unified them into a sole collection; among them were *Niponul*, *Rondelul apei din ograda japonezului*, and *Rondelul mării japoneze*.
- 45 Timus composed *Bucharest-Tokyo*, a musical symphony on Japan; *Hara-Kiri*, a drama in seven acts; and *Bushido*, a Radio drama in two acts, broadcast by the Romanian Society for Radio diffusion. He also collaborated in directing a Romanian movie about Japan, called *Major Mura (Maiorul Mura)*, a comedy.
- 46 Ioan Timus, *Japonia, viata si obiceiurile*, and *Japonia, arta, femeia, viata sociala* (Craiova: Scrisul Romanesc, 1924-1925), reprinted as *Japonia de ieri si de azi* (Bucharest, 1943).
- 47 Doina Curticapeanu, "Japonia, peisaj viitor," in Ioan Timus, *Ogio-san* (Cluj: Dacia, 1984), p. 29.
- 48 George Bagulescu, *Yamato Damashii, A Romance* (Kenkyusha: Tokyo, 1938). General Bagulescu was Romania's military attaché (1935-1940) and Minister to Japan (1941-1943).