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**A PROFESSOR OF THE
RUSSIAN LANGUAGE
IN TOKYO, DUŠAN
TODORVIĆ AND
HIS EARLY LIFE:**

**An Introduction for Studying
a ‘Marginal Man’**

INTRODUCTION

Considering the modern history of Central and Eastern Europe, we could easily find cases in which people had to select their own nationality because their country had collapsed and a new country had been built. One of the most recent such cases was that of a popular musician, Ms Jadranka Stojaković, who lived in Japan and who passed away in the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016. She was born in Sarajevo in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

of the Former Yugoslavia, and was very active on the popular music scene in Europe as well as in the Former Yugoslavia. When Jadranka had come to Japan for a recording in 1988 and then performed as a singer, the Bosnian wars began and her homeland dissolved. As the Former Yugoslavia for which she had a deep love had disappeared, she had to change her nationality into Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Such cases came into being in various ways when nation states were founded as a result of the collapse of three Empires in Central and Eastern Europe, where the new, emerging countries had been under the occupation of the Habsburg Empire, the Russian Empire and the German Empire until the end of World War I.

Professor Dušan Todorović (1875–1963), who had taught Russian language for 31 years from 1909 to 1940 at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (now, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) is one of these cases. When he was in Tokyo, World War I broke out and his homeland, the Kingdom of Serbia, was integrated into the new ensuing state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (The Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929). Such cases where people's homelands had been changed while they were living abroad like Prof. Todorović can also be found here and there among soldiers who were taken prisoner by enemy countries.

During World War I, Czech and Slovak soldiers under the Habsburg Army surrendered to the enemy, i.e. the Russian Army, and were taken prisoner. This is a relatively well-known event in relation to the later Czech and Slovak Legion.¹ A number of the Croat, Serb and Slovene soldiers in the Habsburg Army also surrendered to the Russian Army. A considerable number of Serbian officers and soldiers in particular deserted, and upon returning to their homes surrendered to the Russian Army and joined it. In April of 1916 before the formation of the Czech and Slovak Legion, the First Serbian Voluntary Division was founded under the command of the Russian Empire by such South Slav prisoners of war (mainly Serbs) and officers from the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia, which had withdrawn at Corfu.² Although the Serbian Voluntary Divisions will be examined in another of my papers, I only wish to point out that the South

1 For a recent work on the Czech and Slovak Legion in Japanese, See: 林忠行「チェコスロヴァキア軍団——未来の祖国に動員された移民と捕虜」(Hayashi, Tadayuki. The Czech and Slovak Legion: The Migration and Prisoners Mobilized for the Future Homeland). In: 山室信一・岡田暁生・小関隆・藤原辰史編『現代の起点 第一次世界大戦 2 総力戦』岩波書店 (Yamamuro, S., Okada A., Koseki T., Fujiwara T. (eds.). *World War I: The Starting Point of Contemporary Period*, Vol. 2, *Total War*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten), 2014, pp. 55–77.

2 Regarding recent research on the Serbian Voluntary Divisions, See the following three books by Milan Minić. Минић, Милан. *Српско добровољачко питање у Великом рату (1914–1918)*. Ново Милошево: Банатски културни центар, Београд: Радио Телевизија Србије, 2014; *Незапамћена битка: Српски добровољаци у Русији 1914–1918*. Ново Милошево: Банатски културни центар, 2016; *Српски добровољаци 1914–1918: Животи, сећања*. Ново милошево: Банатски културни центар, 2016.

Slav prisoners of war each had to change their nationality at the advent of the building of the new country, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, after World War I.

We can also find similar cases to the above in Japan. After entering World War I, Japan sent an army numbering over 70,000 men to possess Jiaozhou Wan (膠州湾) on the Shandong Peninsula (山東半島, then a territory under German lease) in China in August of 1914. The German Army surrendered in November of the same year and about 4,600 officers and soldiers of the German Army were taken prisoner.³ They were interned separately in prison camps in various locations in Japan until 1919. Around 400 prisoners of the Habsburg Army⁴ were found among these German Army prisoners, and many of them were also Czechs, Slovaks, Croats and Slovenes. Before their repatriation in 1919, the prisoners were confronted with the necessity of choosing a nationality. Japan respected the intentions of these prisoners, allowing them time for deliberation and to make their own choice.⁵

And what do we know about the case of Dušan Todorović? Mr. Todorović came to Japan as a professor of the Russian language in 1909. At the time when he was teaching Russian Language at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, World War I broke out. Teaching as a 'Russian', Todorović made a start in supporting Serbia with funds in the autumn of 1914, just after hearing of the Japanese Red Cross's campaign to provide relief through the Serbian Red Cross in the form of goods and bandages for this country caught up in the turmoil of war.⁶ These actions reflect how strongly he identified himself with Serbia. Todorović played an active part in the diplomatic works as 'a private ambassador' of the new country of Yugoslavia in Japan (and was the only person in Japan

3 For more on the labor and life of the prisoners during World War I, See: 大津留厚『捕虜が働くとき——第一次世界大戦・総力戦の狭間で』人文書院 (Otsuru, Atsushi. *Prisoners and Labor during World War I as Total War*. Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin), 2013.

4 瀬戸武彦『青島(チンタオ)から来た兵士たち——第一次大戦とドイツ兵俘虜の実像』同学社 (Seto, Takehiko. *Soldiers Coming from Tsigtao: The World War I and the True Picture of Prisoners of the German Army*. Tokyo: Dogakusha), 2006, p. 61.

5 Bertalanič, Boštjan. Exploring the Origins of Japanese-Yugoslav Relations during World War I through the Case of Yugoslav POWs in Japan. *The Electronic Journal of Central European Studies in Japan*, 1, 2015.

6 In Great Britain, a woman by name of Flora Sandes also supported Serbia with funds. She served in the Serbian Army from 1915; at first as a nurse and then as a soldier, organizing a relief foundation for Serbian soldiers in Great Britain when she returned home on a leave of absence from her military service. During this time she was busily engaged in charity activities, organizing relief goods. See: 林田敏子「女性であること、兵士であること——バルカン女性兵士フローラ・サンデスの大戦経験」(Hayashida, Toshiko. To Be a Woman, To Be a Soldier: The Experience during the War of Ms Flora Sandes, a Woman Soldier in the Balkans). In: 山室ほか編『現代の起点 第一次世界大戦 2 総力戦』(Yamamuro et al. (eds.). *World War I: The Starting Point of Contemporary Period, Vol. 2, Total War*), pp. 230–231.

from Yugoslavia at the time), as Yugoslavia had not set up its embassy in Japan yet during the inter-war period.

He didn't leave any memoirs and wrote but a few essays about his personal views. He did however write several textbooks on the Russian language in Japanese.⁷ Therefore we have no way of gleaning his views and thoughts about Serbia, Russia, Yugoslavia, Japan and the United States and his national identity from the related materials on him. This paper is an introductory and preparatory work to researching the changes in the national identity of a 'marginal man' (Robert E. Park) whom we cannot follow within the framework of a national history.

1. TODORVIĆ'S ORIGINS AND HIS BIRTHPLACE, SREM (SRIJEM)

When I first introduced the subject of Todorović's activities in Japan in 2015,⁸ I could not yet specify his exact date of birth and his birthplace. Therefore the process of ascertaining them will be shown in this paper. Needless to say, it is not easy for us to specify the origins of 'an ordinary person' living over 100 years ago, even if he was an intellectual. One clue, however, came up in an article by Branko Vukerić, a correspondent of the Belgrade based newspaper "Politika".⁹ As Vukerić had written in the article that Todorović was awarded a high decoration from the Japanese Government, Riko Shiba looked through the database of the Japanese Center for Asian Historical Records of the National Archives of Japan (JACAR), where she was able to find a file about his decoration.¹⁰ An account of his career was also included in the file. According to the account, he was born in Belgrade on February 22 in 1875. We could then follow his activities

7 For example, テ・エヌ・トドロヴィチ『露西亜語書簡文』大倉書店 (Todorović, D.N.. *An Epistolary Style of Russian Language*. Tokyo: Okura Shoten), 1921; 『日本人用實用露語発音指針——新正字法適用』大倉書店 (*A Way of Practical Pronunciation of Russian Language for the Japanese: Based on the New Orthography*. Tokyo: Okura Shoten), 1923.

8 柴宜弘「ドウシヤン・トドロヴィチ——ロシア語を教えたセルビア人」(Shiba, Nobuhiro. Dušan Todorović: A Serb Teaching Russian Language in Japan). In: 柴宜弘・山崎信一編『セルビアを知るための60章』明石書店(Shiba, Nobuhiro, Yamazaki, Shinichi (eds.). *60 Chapters to Understand Serbia*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten), 2015, pp. 323–327.

9 For a book containing translations into Japanese of Mr. Vukerić's articles in "Politika," See: 山崎洋編訳『プランコ・ヴケリッチ 日本からの手紙——ボリテイカ紙掲載記事(1933–1940)』未知谷 (Yamasaki Vukerić, Hiroshi (ed.), *Branko Vukerić, Letters from Japan: His Articles Published in "Politika" (1933–1940)*. Tokyo: Michiya), 2007.

10 柴理子「白系ロシア人」音楽家カテリーナ・トドロヴィチの日本滞在(1)——1910年代までの軌跡」(Shiba, Riko. Katerina Todorović (1877–1974): A Central European Pianist and the Japanese Reception of Western Music in the Early 20th Century). In: Eジャーナル『中欧研究』(*The Electronic Journal of Central European Studies in Japan*), 2, 2016, note 14; JACAR(アジア歴史資料センター), Ref. A10113356400: *The Document on Decision of Decorations in 1940*, Vol. 20, Foreigners 1, National Archives of Japan (国立公文書館).

during his stay in Japan through books on University history¹¹ and the newsletter of the Russian Association of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages,¹² but were completely unable to ascertain anything about his career in Russia before coming to Japan in 1909, or his life during his stay in the United States (where his sons lived) after he left Japan in 1940.

We were however able to trace an imperfect family history of Todorović through the website Ancestry.com in the United States, which assists people in finding the individual family histories of American people. Several photographs including the graves of Mr. and Mrs. Todorović and their family were on the website. One of them is a photograph of his grave with the inscription of his date of birth and death being 1875–1963, in the Serbian graveyard of Colma in California. The person in charge of the photos was Dana Dušan Todorović, so I called for his response to my message on the electronic bulletin board of Ancestry.com. Fortunately, I received his reply not long after posting. Dana is the son of Todorović's second son, Dragutin, one of four brothers. He has been living in a town in California since his retirement, which is only about two hours away by car from Palo Alto where Todorović and his wife Catherine (Katerina) lived¹³ until the end of their lives.

We met Dana at a hotel in Palo Alto in 2016. He seemed to have a strong interest in the lives of his grandfather and grandmother, especially Dušan, which was not surprising as he was his grandfather's namesake. When his grandfather passed away in 1963, Dana was still attending elementary school. For this reason, he said, he had only fragmented memories of his grandfather and scarcely knew anything about him as there was no chance for him to ask the Todorovićs anything directly during the early years of his life when they were living in the United States. He showed us a lot of photographs of the decorations which were given the Todorovićs, various letters of invitation, the covers of Todorović's books on the Russian language and photos with them and friends or acquaintances. After the meeting, we continued our exchanges via e-mail. With every e-mail, he also sent us a new photo he had recently successfully searched for, but curiously, we still hadn't any clues of Todorović's origin and early years.

There is an article however written by Vukerić about Todorović's early years based on an interview he had with him.

11 『東京外国語大学史』東京外国語大学 (*A History of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Languages), 1999; 野中正孝編著『東京外国語学校史——外国語を学んだ人たち』不二出版(Nonaka, Masataka (ed.). *A History of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages: People Who Studied the Foreign Languages*. Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan), 2008.

12 『会報』(*The Newsletter*) was published twice a year from 1926 by東京外語露西亜会(the Russian Association of Tokyo School of Foreign Studies).

13 For more on Catherine, See: 柴理子(Shiba, R.), Katerina Todorović.

I left Serbia just after turning 19 years old when I had finished my first year of studies at the faculty of Technology, University of Belgrade. Then I graduated from Petersburg University in Russia, where I later also received a doctorate in physics and mathematics. At that time I became acquainted with my wife.¹⁴

My research started at the Archives of Serbia, based on the above account. At first, all I could find was a manuscript containing the list of scholarship students of the Russian Government.¹⁵ The name of a Dušan Todorović, who was sent to Petersburg to continue his studies, appeared on the page as number 1894 in the list. Regrettably, the list contained no other data but the above. He must have matriculated at the Faculty of Technology, University of Belgrade (then Velika Škola of Belgrade, University of Belgrade since 1905), so he might have been enrolled in a gymnasium in Belgrade. I then searched the enrolments lists of the two gymnasiums in Belgrade in the 1890s, which were held in the room for archival materials at the Pedagogical Museum in Belgrade.

Fortunately, the First Gymnasium in Belgrade had published a list of its graduates to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the school's founding. It was not so difficult for me to find Todorović's name among the 30 graduates of the class of 1893–94.¹⁶ His results at the end of the 7th grade of Gymnasium (8 school years) were also kept in the same room. According to them, Todorović had taken 11 courses during that school year and his final marks for five subjects were 5 (on a scale of one to five), and 4 for the other six subjects. He was a leading student.¹⁷ It seemed that students had to select French or German in the 7th grade and it was not clear whether they could study the Russian language or not. It was very interesting to find that his final grade in Geometry was 5 in comparison with the 4 he got in Algebra, and that he got a 5 in Botany and a 4 in Physics. As the Velika Škola of Belgrade then consisted of three faculties: Law, Technology and Theology, he matriculated at the Faculty of Technology.

Naturally, we also sought the Birth Registry and the Marriage Registry at the Historical Archives of Belgrade to specify his birthplace and his parents, as he'd graduated from the First Gymnasium in Belgrade, but we failed to find his name in these documents. His grandson, Dana, told us that his father Dragutin may have been born in Niš, a city in the south of Serbia, so we asked

14 「23. 1934年7月2日(月) 滞日25年のセルビア人、教え子には日本の大臣、将軍、外交官」(No. 23, A Serb Staying in Japan for 25 Years: Minister, General and Diplomat among his Students). In: 山崎編訳『ブランコ・ヴケリッチ 日本からの手紙』(Yamasaki Vukerić, *Branko Vukerić, Letters from Japan*), p. 120.

15 Архив Србије, МПС-п, Велика школа, деловодник за 1893, бр. 1209 і 2194

16 Прва београдска гимназија "Моша Пијаде" 1839–1989, Београд, 1989, р. 436.

17 Оцене ученичког успеха у I београдској гимназији 1891/92, Београд, 1892.

the Historical Archives of Niš whether we could search for Dragutin's entry in the Birth Registry, but their answer was that they did not keep the documents for the relevant year of birth.

It was far from easy for me to find a clue to Todorović's origins at the Historical Archives of Belgrade and Niš. At last, I sought it again at the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade because I'd heard from a professor of the University of Belgrade, Milan Ristiović, that the Archives kept students' record files from the Velika Škola of Belgrade. I reasoned that I could maybe find his name among the students matriculating at the Faculty of Technology in 1893 and obtain copies of his registration for matriculation along with the letter of application for the scholarship in his own handwriting.¹⁸ My hopes proved well founded and in this way, after my long search, I finally discovered his birth place and his father Nikola Todorović's occupation.

We now know that Dušan's father was Nikola Todorović, a leather worker from Surčin, born on February 20, 1875¹⁹ from Dušan's registration for matriculation recorded on an blue paper. His birthplace was Surčin (then under the government of the Habsburg Empire), his religion Orthodox Christian, his nationality Serbian, the state of his finances was poor, he graduated from the First Gymnasium in Belgrade, and so on. Todorović himself had stated that his family was poor and that he'd sent in an application letter for a scholarship with a revenue stamp of 30 paras and a certificate from the District Court of the City of Belgrade. This certificate shows that his father Nikola possessed no movable or immovable property and received no additional income apart from his craftsman's earnings nor a pension, thus qualifying for tax exemption. Nikola Todorović also had to support his second son Ilija, who was a student in the 7th grade of gymnasium. Evidently, Todorović's family was fairly poor while dependent on the income of his father, a leather worker. We are forced to wonder how Todorović and his little brother Ilija could continue to study at the gymnasium given the state of the family finances. It is not clear whether they had any relatives in Belgrade or whether their family had just moved to Belgrade at that time. Nor do we have any information about his mother.²⁰

18 Архив Србије, МПС-п, Велика школа, деловодник за 1893, бр. 1209, 2194.

19 His birth date was listed as February 22, 1875 in his personal history published by the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. See: note 8 of this article.

20 Though I cannot go into detail on this in this article, Todorović was busily engaged in activities in support of Serbia during World War I. When he contributed money to the Red Cross of Serbia through the Red Cross of Japan, he stated the following in response to a question during an interview with a newspaper journalist: 'serbia is similar to Japan in its small territory and brave people. Now my brother has fought bravely against Austria and my sister has worked as a nurse at the Red Cross of Serbia.' 『東京朝日新聞』(*Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*), the morning paper, October 4, 1914.

Moreover, it will be necessary to explain his birth place, Surčin, which also indicates a complicated history. Surčin is a well-known place-name where the International airport Nikola Tesla in Belgrade is now situated. It is located only 20 km west across the Sava river from the center of Belgrade. Surčin is now a part of Belgrade city, but going back in history, it was in the northwest of the Kingdom of Serbia and belonged to the border land called Srem (Srijem in the Croatian language) between Serbia and Croatia – a region where Serbs, Croats, Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Vlachs and Ruthenians all lived together. The land of Srem is fertile and is suitable for cultivating fruits, especially grapes, so that a lot of people have been coming and going to and from this region since ancient times.

Srem was under the rule of the Kingdom of Hungary from the 12th to 16th century, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to 18th century and under the rule of the Habsburg Empire from the 18th century up until World War I. At the time of the 1848–49 Revolution, when the Hungarian Revolution broke out against the rule of the Habsburg Empire, Serbs living in the southern part of Hungary including Srem as well as in Croatia, rose in revolt against Hungarian rule, demanding the right to use their mother tongue – the Serbian language, and so forth. In May of 1848, the foundation of the Duchy of Serbia (Vojvodstvo Srbija) was declared at Karlovci, the center of Srem, which included the following four regions: Srem (the region between the Danube River and the Sava river), Baranja (the region between the Danube River and the Drava river), Bačka (the region between the Tisa river and the Danube River) and Banat (the region between the Mures, the Tisa river and the Danube River, the eastern region of which turns toward Pannonia). This declaration showed that the Duchy of Serbia forming the basis of today's Vojvodina was a free political entity that had complete equality with the 'Triune Kingdom' (Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia) under the Habsburg Empire.²¹

The Duchy of Serbia was changed into the Duchy of Serbia and Banat of Timișoara (Vojvodstvo Srbija i Timiški Banat) after the suppression of a chain of revolts by Serbs and the Military Border was revived in the southern parts of Srem and Banat. The Military Border consisted of the administrative units which the Habsburg Empire had founded in the first half of the 16th century in preparation for the attack of the Ottoman Empire. The peasants living in the Military Border region enjoyed the privilege of tax exemption, but in turn had to do military service in wartime. Therefore they were called 'free peasants and soldiers'.²² A lot of people moved to the Military Border from the neighboring

21 Ćirković, Sima M.. *The Serbs*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, pp. 200–202.

22 Kaser, Karl. *Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slavonischen*

Serbia as well as the interior regions of the Habsburg Empire in response to the Emperor's appeal, so that the Military Border was a mixed, multi-ethnic society. The Military Border Administration continued until 1881, but it had already been abolished at Surčin in 1871. When Todorović was born in 1875, Surčin was transferred under civil administration.

The Surčin region (*satnija*), comprised of six settlements including the village of Surčin, was incorporated into the Slavonian Military Border by the decree of 1746 by Maria Theresa. At the time, the total population of the Surčin region was 5128 (725 households), of which 4,712 were Orthodox, 328 Catholic and 48 Lutheran.²³ Many people quickly migrated to this region in the first half of the 18th century and the parish of the Serbian Orthodox church in the region was solidly prepared for the big influx. According to the Birth Registry of the Serbian Orthodox church, 800 Serbs (134 households)²⁴ lived in only the village of Surčin in 1746, which had grown to 1,034 Serbs (200 households)²⁵ in 1878 by the time Todorović was three years old. Srem, including the Surčin region, was removed from the Military Border in 1871 and Surčin was absorbed into the district (*kotar*) of Zemun through the reorganization of the administrative units in 1881, and had developed considerably by then – both in the field of agriculture and of commerce. The social condition of the district from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century and the origins of the Todorović family are of considerable interest to us,²⁶ but I cannot go into much detail on this topic at present.

Dušan Todorović was born as a Serb in the borderland of the Habsburg Empire, enrolled in the gymnasium in Belgrade, the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia situated across the Sava river, and matriculated in the Velika Škola in Belgrade. He entered his nationality as Serbian in the above-mentioned students' record file of the Velika Škola, so he might have moved to Belgrade with his family at that time. Considering the economic condition of the Todorović family and the near distance, it seemed a natural decision that he selected to enter the school in Belgrade, not in Vienna, the then capital of the Habsburg Empire.

Militargrenze. Wien, 1997 (Japanese translation: 越村勲・戸谷浩編訳『ハプスブルク軍政国境の社会史——自由農民にして兵士』学術出版会(Koshimura, Isao, Toya, Hiroshi (eds.), *A Social History of Military Border in the Habsburg Empire: Free Peasants and Soldiers*. Tokyo: Gakujutsu Shuppankai), 2013.

23 Kljajić, Marko. *Surčin kroz povijest*. Petrovaradin, 2010, p. 54.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 268.

26 The Orthodox church, St. Petka (Crkva sv. Petke) in Surčin keeps the registration books of the births, marriages and deaths in the parish from the end of the 18th century, but unfortunately the registration books of around 1875 have gone missing for unknown reasons.

TODOROVIĆ AS A RUSSIAN LANGUAGE PROFESSOR IN JAPAN

As I have mentioned above, we have few materials about the course he followed from the period when he finished his first year at the Faculty of Technology, Velika Škola in Belgrade and went to St. Petersburg to study as a scholarship student of the Russian government in 1894, up until the date he arrived Japan in April, 1909. Vukerić's interview article is one of the important clues and he stated that Todorović became acquainted with Catherine (Katerina) and got married with her just after he had received a doctorate in Physics and Mathematics at the University of St. Petersburg, and they subsequently lived in Russia for ten years or so.²⁷ Vukerić didn't write down the exact date and place of Todorović's first meeting with his wife. Even now the details of their life in Russia are not clear. But Catherine had married Joseph Kogan, with whom she had a son, Jacob (James) in September, 1902 before her marriage with Todorović, as Riko Shiba mentioned.²⁸ Todorović had also been married – most likely with a Serbian woman, with whom he had two sons, Valerian in October, 1902, and Dragutin in May, 1904. It was the second marriage for both of them, with both having children from prior marriages, a fact that Todorović was probably reluctant to reveal in the interview.

According to Dana, a son of Dragutin living in California, the birthplace of Valerian and Dragutin would have been Niš in Serbia. However, I couldn't find confirmation of their birthplace to this effect at the Historical Archive in Niš. I presume that Todorović became acquainted with Catherine in 1905 or so, but there is nothing to tell about where they met each other, or whether it was in St. Petersburg or Kilija in Bessarabia, a borderland of the Russian Empire, and how they became further acquainted.

Todorović didn't leave any essays about his life when he studied at the University in St. Petersburg, but a student who studied at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of St. Petersburg in 1896 two years later than Todorović left a number of his letters to his friends. This scholarship student, M. Ivković, depicted a few aspects of his student life as follows:²⁹

Two months have already passed since I came here, but I could not inform you at all. Don't think badly of me. Whenever I tried to write to

27 山崎編訳『ブランコ・ヴケリッチ 日本からの手紙』(Yamasaki Vukerić, *Branko Vukerić, Letters from Japan*), p. 120.

28 柴理子(Shiba, R.), Katerina Todorović, p. 7.

29 Писмо српског студента у Петрограду М. Ивковића новинару и књижевнику Р. Одавићу, о студентском животу у Русији, словенофилским круговима и предабању о Србији студента В. Н. Корабљова. In: *Москва-Србија Београд-Русија: Документа и материјали*, том 3 (*Друштвено-политичке и културне везе 1878–1917*). Москва-Београд, 2012, pp. 550–551.

you, someone bothered me and I had to make the time for them. ... I had no time for myself. It is not too much to say that I have no time to spend freely in the least. I go out from my room in the morning to work as an intern and I come back to my room at 8 p.m. in the evening. After that, I usually study the reference books from 10 at night to 3 in the morning.

We are obviously dealing here with a medical student and from what he says, we can only imagine that Todorović had to work hard to graduate from the University, let alone achieve his doctorate in Physics and Mathematics.

Todorović had an opportunity to talk about the part of his career after taking his degree at the University of St. Petersburg in his speech at the a party celebrating the 25th anniversary of his tenure of employment at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. The party was held at the Ueno Seiyoken (上野精養軒) restaurant in Tokyo. Over 50 men were present at the party and Vukerić was one of the guests.³⁰ To our surprise, most of the speeches of the participants were in the Russian language. Todorović expressed his thanks at the very end of the party. His speech in the Russian language which also included a brief account of the history of his life was published in *The Newsletter* edited by the Russian Association of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.³¹ Although he didn't state the exact dates in his brief history and we cannot know precisely when, it seems he taught physics and mathematics at several schools for seven years. Then he became interested in life in the Far East and went to work as a government official at the Pri Amur tax office at Khabarovsk for three years. His life at Khabarovsk, a town in the Far East of the Russian Empire is very interesting. Catherine, who was born in the southern borderland of the Russian Empire, was now fated to live in the coldest town in the Far East of the Empire.

About 300 Japanese were living in Khabarovsk when Todorović, Catherine and their three sons moved there in 1907. Japanese people began to be settled at Khabarovsk in the 1880s, but they returned to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and only came back to the town again after the war to rebuild the social fabric of their settlement. Todorović wrote in his brief history that already then he'd had his sights on a country in the Far East he'd heard of and ever since hearing of it, he'd wanted to live in Japan.³² Todorović and Catherine had their first son, Victor, in Khabarovsk in December, 1907. We are struck with their decision to move to a strange country, Japan with four children and cannot help

30 溝部壽六「トドロウイチ先生勤続25年祝賀会記事」(Mizobe, Juroku. Report on the Party Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of Professor Todorovic).『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 21, December 1935, p. 42.

31 Прощалиная речь проф. Д. Н.Тодоловича.『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 21, December 1935, pp. 20–27.

32 Краткие сведения из жизни проф. Д.Н.Тодоровича.『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 21, December 1935, p. 27.

feeling the mental strength they showed in the way they crossed this national border with great ease. It may be that differences in nationality or language mattered less to the ‘marginal men’ born in the borderlands between the Habsburg Empire and the Russian Empire.

Whatever the case may have been, Todorović and his wife arrived in Japan on April 15, 1909. Calculating backward from this date, he most likely received his doctorate in 1899³³ and lived in Russia until 1906. However, he had his eldest son in 1902 as mentioned above, so we can conclude that he had married with his son’s Serbian mother some time in between. We cannot tell where he met his first wife and where they had lived together. He only noted in his brief history that he had taught physics and mathematics at several schools for seven years after getting his degree. He also said that he had taught in Russia for seven years in the speech he made at his farewell party at the Eiraku Club (永楽クラブ) restaurant in Marunouchi (丸の内) in Tokyo when he’d reached the age of retirement during his work at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages on May 12, 1940.³⁴

If his first wife was a Serbian woman, he might temporarily have come back to Serbia after finishing his studies in St. Petersburg. Assuming this was so, it makes one think that he must have had a reason why he didn’t want to reveal this part of his life in the brief history he gave in his speech. Although the name of Dušan Todorović is not rare in Serbia and there is a possibility of another person with the same name featuring in the records, I nonetheless believe I have found some interesting material pertaining to “our” Dušan. The table of personal interchanges among diplomats, officers and students is listed at the end of the book, and quoted in note number 27, we can find the name of Dušan Todorović listed as follows: ‘III Scholarship students of the Serbian Government for studying the Russian Empire and Officers of the Ministry of War in Serbia received by the Russian Government’. This Todorović was a second lieutenant belonging to an artillery unit of the Serbian Army and was sent to an artillery school for shooting training in Russia.³⁵

I have two photos by me now which may serve as proof that Todorović was an officer of the Serbian Army. The dates and places are not known, but one is a commemorative photo in which four young officers in military uniform –

33 In July, 1959, Todorović received the Golden Order of Merit from the Red Cross of Japan for his great contribution to the Red Cross of Japan. The party celebrating his receiving the Order was held at Berkley in California in September. The wife of Catherine’s son James worked as the president of the volunteers for the Berkley Red Cross. The Berkeley Daily Gazette reported that Todorović was the first American recipient of the Order from the Red Cross of Japan, that he had received a octorate from the University of St. Petersburg in 1898 and become a United States citizen in 1945. Japanese Red Cross Honors Dr, D.N. Todorović at Berkeley Ceremonies. *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, September 23, 1959.

34 Прошालиния речь проф. Д.Н.Тодоловича. 『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 30, July 1940, p. 21.

35 Москва-Србија Београд-Русија: Документа и материјали, том 3, 666.

including Todorović – were taken with two men in civilian clothes, and the other is a photo in which Todorović, dressed in military uniform, is happily smiling with his healthy-looking child on his shoulder. His son looked to be one year old, so the date this photo was taken could either be 1903 if the child in the picture is his eldest son Valerian, or 1905 or so if the child was his second son, Dragutin. The place where this photo was taken may have been Niš in Serbia, according to Dana. Considering that the Kingdom of Serbia had a well-established military system at that time, and had adopted the conscription system,³⁶ Todorović most likely returned home for a short time to carry out his compulsory military service and was a member of the Serbian Military. But there is no evidence to prove this conjecture.³⁷

As Riko Shiba presumes in her article, Todorović married Catherine in 1905 or so, after those mysterious seven years in which he had been a teacher of physics and mathematics.³⁸ Now I would like to consider, based on a few clues, how he came to Japan from Khabarovsk as a professor of the Russian language. Vukerić wrote that Todorović became a professor of the Military Academy at the invitation of the Japanese Government, after which he was appointed as a professor at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.³⁹ However, his colleague Professor Sadatoshi Yasugi's speech at the party celebrating the 25th anniversary of his tenure of employment at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages shows that the situation was a little bit different from Vukerić's article. When the employment period (1906–09) of his predecessor, Professor Aleksandor Petrov at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages had expired in 1909, Petrov was expected to recommend a successor before leaving Japan. For some reason, though, Petrov had difficulties in deciding upon a new staff member, so Yasugi contacted his acquaintance Ksimidov, who was living in Vladivostok, to ask him to recommend a suitable person. The Tokyo School of Foreign Languages had a student exchange agreement with the first University in Far East Russia, i.e. the Oriental Institute (東洋学院)⁴⁰ at that time and received students every year

36 About the military system and the conscription system in the Kingdom of Serbia, See: Милићевић, Милић, Регрутни састав војске Србије 1883–1912: Систем позива и неки његови друштвени аспекти, *Војно-Историјски Гласник*, 1, 2016, pp. 9–25.

37 I had a chance to ask two photos to a researcher of the uniforms of Serbian army, Mr. Saša Ružeković who works at Archives of Serbia in September 14, 2017. According his opinion, Todorović's uniform is maybe not from Serbian army, but the Russian government official. The further verification of two photos shall be needed.

38 柴理子 (Shiba, R.), Katerina Todorović, p. 8.

39 山崎編訳『ブランコ・ヴケリッチ 日本からの手紙』(Yamasaki Vukerić, *Branko Vukerić, Letters from Japan*), p. 120.

40 About the Oriental Institute, See: A. ディボフスキー「極東ロシアにおける日本研究日本語教育の行方——東洋学院(1899–1920)の日本学を中心に」(Dybovski, Alexander. The Developmental Problems of Japanese Studies and Japanese Language Education at Far East Russia: Japanology at the Oriental Institute (1899–1920). 『言語文化研究』(*Language and Culture Studies*, Osaka University), 35, 2009, pp. 95–117.

who majored in Japanese language studies from the Oriental Institute. Ksimidov was one of these exchange students and kept in touch with Yasugi. The person whom Ksimidov selected and recommend to Yasugi was Todorović, who was then living in Khabarovsk.⁴¹

Russian language studies in Japan came into full swing after Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, because it was clear that Japan would be in opposition to Russia over various interests in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula if Japan wanted to advance into China. In this situation, the National Institutes for Foreign Languages were reorganized and the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages started off the academic year of 1897 with six new departments for foreign language studies in: English, French, German, Russian, Chinese and Korean. (The Italian department was added in 1899). Russian language studies were also introduced in the Military Preparatory School as a regular subject in 1897. From 1900 onwards, a native speaker from Russia was officially invited to the Department of Russian Language Studies of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and this invitation system was to continue, making Todorović the fifth professor from Russia⁴² to be invited.

Getting back to Yasugi's speech, we see that he also introduced a part of Ksimidov's letter recommending Todorović to him. Ksimidov wrote to Yasugi that Todorović was working as a government official at Khabarovsk at the time, but that he wanted to teach the Russian language in Japan, that he was a person with an advanced academic background with a sincere character, steady and diligent, and that he had enough experience to teach at schools. Ksimidov recommended him as being just the right person for a professorship at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Finally, he concluded in his letter that Todorović's best point was that he did not care much for alcohol. Yasugi said that Ksimidov had been informed that Todorović's predecessor Petrov had liked to drink alcohol, although not to the extent that it would impair his work, and this is why he may have added Todorović's dislike of the beverage as his final recommendation.⁴³ This turned out to be the decisive factor in securing Todorović the post, regardless of the fact that he was a Serb and not a native speaker of the Russian language.

In Todorović's words, he set sail for the Japan Sea from the dark Siberian lands deeply covered with snow in the midst of a raging rainstorm onboard the Hozan Maru (ホザン丸), like Rip Van Winkle and came to the Empire of the

41 Table Speech at the Celebrating Party by Professor Sadatoshi Yasugi. 『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 21, December 1935, p. 9.

42 『東京外国語大学史』(*A History of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*), pp. 795–799.

43 Table Speech at the Celebrating Party by Professor Sadatoshi Yasugi. 『会報』(*The Newsletter*), 21, December 1935, pp. 9–10.

Rising Sun.⁴⁴ When he disembarked from the train at Shinbashi Station (新橋駅) in Tokyo on April 15, 1909, where Yasugi was already waiting to meet him, the cherry blossoms were fluttering down all over Tokyo. Todorović was employed promptly – on the very day of his arrival – by the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.⁴⁵ As mentioned above, the Department of Russian Language Studies at the Institute had employed foreign professors since 1900. These professors usually returned to their countries as soon as the period of their employment had ended, but Todorović worked as Professor of the Russian Language at the Institute for 31 years until his retirement. He was also employed as Professor of the Russian Language on September 1⁴⁶ at the Military Academy where Petrov had held the post before him and taught the Russian language at the Military Academy for two and half years until 1912.⁴⁷

BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION

Todorović changed his domestic base four times, living 19 years in the Habsburg Empire and Serbia, 15 years in Russia, 31 years in Japan and 23 years in the United States. It is interesting to wonder how such a person perceives their national identity. Though we cannot go into greater detail regarding his later life in Japan and the United States in this paper, we may say that he identified strongly with his home of Serbia (Yugoslavia) at this time. What kind of identity change did their stay in Japan for 31 years, when Todorović worked as a Professor of the Russian language and Catherine as a concert pianist and piano teacher, cause them? The subject is discussed further in another article.⁴⁸

Michael Tripp, one of their great-grandsons who lives in Canada, has written his reminiscences on their later life in the United States and the great –grandmother’s Jewishness,⁴⁹ so a fragment of his writing will be quoted instead of a conclusion to this paper:

44 Ibid., pp. 21–22.

45 JACAR, Ref. A10113356400: *The Document on Decision of Decorations in 1940*, Vol. 20, Foreigners 1, National Archives of Japan.

46 『陸軍士官学校 明治42年歴誌』(*The Military Academy: Report on Human Affairs in 1909*), Vol. 4, 防衛省防衛研究所(The National Institute for Defense Studies).

47 JACAR, Ref. C06085149700: 士官学校外国語教師外国人接待の件 (*On the Entertainment to the Foreign Professors at the Military Academy*), March 9, 1912, 防衛省防衛研究所 (the National Institute for Defense Studies).

48 Shiba, Nobuhiro. National Identity of a 'Borderland Man': The Case of Dušan Todorović, Russian Language Professor in Tokyo – From Early Days until End of World War I. *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, Belgrade, XXIV, No. 3, 2017 (published in October 2018), pp. 27–50.

49 The unpublished article on his family history written by Mr. Michael Tripp is titled Jewish Connections.

As a child and well into my teen years all these individuals, except for my grand-father's father, whose existence to me served only as a genealogical placeholder, were very much alive and integrated into the rounds of visiting that entwined us all. Great-grandmother Catherine Todorovic, once Kogan, born Gitel Schlesinger, lived with her husband Dushan in Palo Alto, California. Their home was a classic Arts and Crafts Bungalow stuffed with all the treasures and bric-a-brac that had accompanied them from their decades in Japan. A cluster of statuary greeted us in the entrance alcove, including my mother's favorite of a boy holding one hand high above his head feeding a goose whose neck stretched for the offering.

As children, well-scrubbed, warned to be on our best behaviour, hands held tightly to our sides, we were directed forward and seated. Great-Grandmother eventually was persuaded to play for the gathering. We listened politely – no fidgeting. It was vaguely understood by us that she once had been a renowned concert pianist. The recital completed, we were dismissed to entertain ourselves in the garden until summoned for a kitchen supper, eventually over the years graduating with pride to the adult's dining room table. I cannot recall the discussions that took place there, at least none in which I was directly involved beyond the occasional words of praise for competent behaviour – definitely nothing that I recall about our Jewish ancestry. Yet great-grandmother's strong accent and the obvious fact that when you were with her the experience was singularly unique even amongst our many unique relatives hinted at un-examined cultural roots.