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The Family of Dr. Vladan Đorđević: Cultural Transfers in 19th- and 20th-Century Belgrade

Abstract: Dr. Vladan Đ. Đorđević was born in Belgrade in 1844 and died in Baden, Austria in 1930. He was a surgeon, scientist, writer, Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Army Medical Corps, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia (President of the Council of Ministers), and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1897 to 1900. Vladan Đorđević's real name was, in fact, Hippocrates, and his family name was Jimo or Čuleka. Not all Tsintsars and Greeks changed their names. Vladan Đorđević's mother's family has kept its original surname, Leko, to this day. His mother, Maria Đorđević, née Leko, was born in Bela Crkva in Banat, then part of the Habsburg Monarchy. Vladan Đorđević's father, Đorđe Đorđević alias Georgije D. Georgijević, was in the medical service of the army of the Principality of Serbia (later becoming a medical lieutenant). Vladan Đorđević's father and mother actually came from the same region of the Balkans, and their families left their ancestral homes and went north for the same reasons. Đorđe Đorđević was born in the predominantly Aromanian village of Fourka in present-day Greece. Vladan Đorđević's maternal grandfather, Marko Leko, was born in Vlachokleisoura, today Kleisoura in the Greek municipality of Kastoria. Migration to the northern areas of Southeast Europe was gradual. Merchants from the Ottoman Empire used to travel to and live in the Habsburg Empire for business purposes. Final departures from the old country were caused by the violence of the local semi-independent pashas. The most notorious was Ali Pasha of Ioannina. As is well known, the Tsintsars, like the Greeks, considered the Orthodox Church based in Constantinople and Byzantine culture to be their heritage. Apart from the businesses they ran, they had their own churches and schools (the Greek quarter in Vienna). They could start schooling in Greek in Belgrade, continue in Zemun, move on to Buda, and finish it in Vienna or Trieste. Business and cultural networks spread from Western European cities to Vienna, Buda, Pest, Constantinople, Odessa, and the country of the Khazars. Vladan Đorđević was not the only high-ranking official of the Kingdom of Serbia who was not of Serbian ethnic parentage. As in other European countries of that time, citizens of the Kingdom of Serbia of German or Jewish ethnic origin could also reach the highest positions. They were, of course, completely integrated into the framework of Serbian state politics and society.

Keywords: Vladan Đorđević, Cultural Transfers, Belgrade, Aromanians (Tsintsars), Greek culture.

Dr. Vladan Đorđević was born in Belgrade in 1844 and died at Dr. Lakatos Sanatorium in Baden bei Wien, Austria in 1930. He was a medical doc-

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tor, surgical specialist, scientist, writer, Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Army Medical Corps, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia (President of the Council of Ministers), and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1897 to 1900.¹ He resigned as Prime Minister because of King Alexander's engagement to Draga Mašin, a former lady-in-waiting to the Queen Mother Natalie (Natalija) in 1900.² Previously, he served as the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs and acting Minister of National Economy (1888–1889), Mayor of Belgrade (1884–1885), Minister Plenipotentiary in Athens (1891) and Constantinople (1894), personal physician of Milan Obrenović, Prince (1868–1882) and later King (1882–1889) of Serbia, Chief of the Medical Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Chief of the Medical Staff of the South Morava Division and the Morava-Timok Army (1876), and Chief of the Supreme Command Medical Corps in the Serbian–Ottoman Wars (1876–1878) and the Serbian–Bulgarian War (1885). He was the initiator and founder of the Serbian Medical Society, the Serbian Society for Private Assistance to Wounded and Sick Soldiers (Serbian Red Cross Society), and the First Belgrade Society for Gymnastics and Fencing. He launched and edited the first medical journals in Serbia and initiated and edited the renowned literary and scientific journal *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*) from 1875 to 1892. Đorđević's bibliography is extremely extensive and covers a very long period (1858–1930), with 573 bibliographic entries that could be divided into literary works, articles, and reviews; publications in medicine and papers on natural and medical sciences; publications and articles on politics, economy, education, historiography, military science; polemics and published letters, memoirs, Đorđević's translations and translations of his papers into foreign languages.³ Đorđević was a full member of the Serbian Learned Society (1869), the Medical Society in Vienna (1870), and the

¹ Vladan Đorđević served as Prime Minister during the autocratic regime of King Alexander. He did not make the most important decisions, but he bore the brunt of the regime's unpopularity, and his name even led to the pejorative term for the entire regime – *vladanovština*. *Vladanovština* is a play on words, meaning “the bad rule of Vladan (from ruler, in Serbian “vladar”). A detailed biography of Vladan Đorđević can be found in: *Vladan Đorđević: Life, Work, Times*, ed. Radoje Čolović, trans. Jelena Mitrić and Tatjana Ružin Ivanović (Belgrade: SASA, 2020); J. Jovanović Simić, *Vladan Đorđević: a portrait of a tireless begetter*, trans. Katarina Spasić (Belgrade: SASA: Museum of Science and Technology, 2020). I would like to thank Jelena Jovanović Simić for making the documents and photos in the Museum of Science and Technology available to me.

² S. Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića 2* (Belgrade: BIGZ, Jugoslavijapublik, SKZ, 1990); S. Rajić, *Vladan Đorđević, biografija pouzdanog obrenovićevca* (Belgrade: ZUNS, 2007).

³ G. Lazarević, “Selective Bibliography of the Academician Vladan Đorđević's Works”. In *Vladan Đorđević: Life, Work, Times*, ed. R. Čolović (Belgrade: SASA, 2020), 303–386.

Anthropological Society in Vienna (1871), a member of the French Society of Hygiene in Paris (1881), a corresponding member of the Spanish Society of Hygiene in Madrid (1883), and the Society for Public Medicine in Brussels (1885), as well as a full member of the Serbian Royal Academy (1893). Vladan Đorđević was the first to be granted an honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Belgrade (1926).⁴ Before he died at 86, Đorđević spent around 35 years out of the country (in Sarajevo, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Constantinople, and Athens), staying the longest in Vienna (for educational, political, and private reasons).

Vladan Đorđević's schooling began at the Greek school in Belgrade, which, like the Serbian school, was next to the Belgrade Cathedral. After his father left the army and decided to open a private European-style pharmacy with his brother Nikola, they moved to Sarajevo, where Đorđević continued his education at a Serbian school.⁵ His teacher in Sarajevo was a young, enthusiastic Serbian intellectual called Aleksandar Šuškalović, who tried to imbue his pupils with the spirit of patriotism. In 1856, the family returned to Belgrade, where Đorđević's father got his old job and an apartment at the Military Hospital. Vladan Đorđević graduated from the Belgrade High School in 1862 and enrolled in the Law Department of the Belgrade Lyceum, but soon devoted himself to the natural sciences. Đorđević was granted a state scholarship to study medicine, and in the fall of 1863, he enrolled at the Medical University of Vienna. His professors were the greatest authorities in medicine at the time (Josef Hyrtl, Ernst Wilhelm Ritter von Brücke, Joseph Ritter von Škoda, Carl Freiherr von Rokitsansky, and others). In 1869, Đorđević received three degrees – Doctor of Medicine, Doctor of Surgery, and Master of Obstetrics (he passed the examen rigorosum on June 11, 1869). Then he passed the entrance exam and got a job as an "assistant physician" to Theodor Billroth at the Surgical Clinic in Vienna. With the consent of the Serbian government, Đorđević accepted Billroth's offer and spent three months working as a doctor in the Prussian medical corps during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). After his service in the Prussian army, he completed specialist studies and, in 1871, received the diploma of

⁴ Vladan Đorđević was awarded the highest Serbian honors: Order of Miloš the Great of the 2nd Class, Order of the Cross of Takovo of the 1st Class, Order of Saint Sava of the 1st Class, Order of the White Eagle of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Classes etc. He was awarded numerous foreign honors: Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Joseph – Commander's Cross, Imperial Austrian Order of the Iron Crown of the 2nd Class, Imperial Russian Order of St. Saint Anne with Swords of the 2nd Class, Imperial Ottoman Order of the Medjidie of the 1st Class, Imperial Ottoman Order of Osmanieh (Osmaniye) of the 1st Class, and others. For the complete list of Vladan Đorđević's honors and medals, see J. Jovanović Simić, *Vladan Đorđević*, 246–247.

⁵ Jovanović Simić, *Vladan Đorđević*, 21.

“operator” (surgeon). In Vienna, he met his future wife, Paulina Bittner. At that time, surgery was on the rise, and surgeons were in demand. He liked Vienna a lot. However, no preserved historical sources suggest that he considered making his stay in Vienna or any German city permanent. During his studies, he was a member of the Serbian student society “Zora” in Vienna and one of the initiators of the United Serbian Youth (1866), a liberal-patriotic organization. At first, he was very active in those organizations. He participated in the Pan-Slavic Convention in Moscow in 1867 and gave a speech on the emancipation of women at the Assembly of the United Serbian Youth in Belgrade. When the United Serbian Youth increasingly began to espouse socialist and revolutionary ideas, Đorđević gradually distanced himself from its work. He had been very religious in childhood but, influenced by the achievements of the natural sciences, he became very critical of religion. Reflecting the *Zeitgeist* and the inclinations of his generation, he became a republican, liberal, leftist, and nationalist, like most members of the United Serbian Youth. However, he later changed his political views and became a close and loyal associate of King Milan.

Milan Jovanović Stoimirović recorded an anecdote about the wedding of Vladan Đorđević in the Cathedral Church in Belgrade: “When he was getting married, the priest said: ‘The servant of God Hippocrates is betrothed’ – by which he made it clear that the Church did not recognize his metamorphosis and his pen name *Vladan*, and laughter broke out in the Cathedral”.⁶ Namely, in the Serbian national-romantic spirit of his generation, Vladan Đorđević changed his name from the Greek Hippocrates (Ἱπποκράτης) to Vladan. Vladan was, in fact, a calque of the second half of his Greek name. The name Hippocrates comes from the word ἵππος (horse) and the suffix κρατία (rule, *vladavina* in Serbian). The Serbs have many names common to all European peoples, originating from Greek, Hebrew, or Latin, but the name of the famous Ancient Greek “Father of Medicine” sounded strange and unusual, even funny. At that time, many well-known Serbian intellectuals changed their names. The full given name of Vladan Đorđević was Hippocrates Gymas or Gymo (Jymo) Chuleka (Džimo Čuleka). He was born on November 21 O.S. (3 December) 1844 in Belgrade, where his family lived. His mother, Marija Leko, was born in the town of Bela Crkva in the Habsburg Monarchy’s Banat Military Frontier, now in Serbia. His father, Đorđe (George) Đorđević (also Georgios D. Georgijević), was a Serbian Medical Corps Lieutenant. Both of his parents were of Tsintsar (Aromanian, Vlach) descent. Their families came from the same region of the central Balkans. In Serbia, the Aromanians from the central Balkans are almost exclusively called

⁶ M. Jovanović-Stojimirović, *Silujete starog Beograda* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2008), 335.

Tsintsars. The term *Vlach* was reserved for the inhabitants of Eastern Serbia (like in Vladan Đorđević's writings) and the inhabitants of Wallachia.⁷

Vladan Đorđević's father Đorđe (George, Georgios, Γεώργιος) was born in 1812 in the predominantly Aromanian village of Fourka (Φούρκα) in what is now the Ioannina regional unit in Epirus, Greece. His father, Demetrios (Δημήτριος, ca. 1780–1843), had a trade network that reached as far as Vienna. Their family name was Gima (Gymas) or Gymo (Jymo) Chuleka.⁸ Čuleka (Chuleka) was the nickname of Vladan Đorđević's great-grandfather, priest Fr. Eftimios (Ευθύμιος), which, according to Đorđević, means "well-dressed and proud".⁹ The various dialects of Aromanian include different variants of this word (*čiuleka/čilika/čileki*), and the original meaning is "steel" (*çelik* in Turkish, *čelik* in Serbian, *çeliku* in Albanian). By semantic extension, it can mean "proud, strong". There is a saying "sanatos ca čileki" (healthy as steel).¹⁰

Fr. Eftimios' father's name was probably George (Đorđe). This could be why Đorđe Đorđević took the Serbian surname Đorđević (descendant of Đorđe/George). Vladan Đorđević's maternal grandfather, Marko Leko (Μάρκος, Marcus, Mark, Marc), was born in the well-known Aromanian center of Vlachokleisoura (Βλαχοκλεισούρα), today Kleisoura (Κλεισούρα) in the Greek municipality of Kastoria.¹¹ The Leko family left their ancestral home in the last quarter of the

⁷ There are other historical meanings of the term *Vlach* in the Serbian language.

⁸ HAB, Collection of Church Registers, Church Register of Births of the Cathedral Church (1842–1847), vol. 5, 197, reg. no. 252.

⁹ "My father and the teacher [Šuškalović] sat down, and the teacher took my hand and asked: – Please tell me your name and your surname. – My name is Hippocrates Đorđević Čuleka! [...] Čuleka is certainly a nickname, just as my grandfather was called 'Šuškaló', and now my last name is Šuškalović. – Yes, that's our nickname from the old days. That's what they called my great-grandfather, because he was handsome and proud. – As far as I know Greek – said Daskal [from Greek: διδασκαλία] – the word 'čuleka' in that language means neither one nor the other. – It is not Greek, but Albanian, because we are from the southern border of Arnautluk [from Turkish: Arnavudluk]! – Oh right! Then we will make Čuleka Čulekić, like Šuškal became Šuškalović? – Jok [no, nope, from Turkish: yok], write down Đorđević, my [Đorđe Đorđević's] name is after my [great] grandfather. And then he [Šuškalović] reached for a kind of large notebook and wrote in it: Hippocrates Đorđević from Biograd [Belgrade]". V. Đorđević, *Uspomene: kulturne skice iz druge polovine devetnaestoga veka*, 1 (Belgrade: SANU, 2022), 28.

¹⁰ I would like to thank Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković for the explanations of the meaning of the word *čuleka*.

¹¹ The etymology of the word Kleisoura comes from the Latin word *clausura*, which means narrow passage. I would like to thank the Leko family for the copies of the genealogies made by Marko Leko (1929–2005), PhD, professor at the Faculty of Science and Mathematics, University of Belgrade.

18th century. Initially, they moved to the town of Bela Crkva in the Habsburg Monarchy's Banat Military Frontier, present-day Serbia, but then moved to Belgrade, the capital of the Ottoman autonomous Principality of Serbia, in 1820. Migration to the northern areas of the Balkans was gradual. Merchants from the central Balkans used to travel and settle in the Habsburg Empire for business purposes. The departure was probably gradual because they had previously gone to cities in the northern Balkans and moved to the Habsburg Monarchy for business reasons. Of course, they did not take their families with them on business trips. Judging by the known biographies, not only Aromanian and Greek families but also Serbian families from the regions where the Leko family came from maintained strong ties with their homelands. Due to the trade networks that connected the central Balkans with the cities of the Habsburg Empire for centuries, they remained outside the Ottoman Empire from time to time, for a longer or shorter period, and in some cases permanently. Those who stayed permanently sometimes became subjects of the new state, and sometimes they kept their old Ottoman citizenship because it made it easier for them to do business in the Ottoman Empire. Aromanians (Tsintsars) and Greeks once had a large economic and cultural center called Moscopole, (Μοσχόπολις, Moskopolje), now a village named Voskopojë in southeastern Albania, with numerous churches, a developed business life, schools, and a printing house. Aromanians used the Greek language and alphabet. They lived in cities all over Southeast Europe, from Constantinople to Vienna, and did business in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zemun, (Sremska) Mitrovica, Novi Sad, Sopron (Ödenburg), Buda, Győr, and Eger.¹² The most famous Aromanian family in the Habsburg Empire was certainly the Sinas family (Σίνας), which had come to Vienna from Moscopole via Niš and Sarajevo. Simon George Sina von Hodos und Kizdia (1753–1822) and Barons George Sina (1783–1856) and Simon Georg von Sina (1810–1876) were bankers, entrepreneurs, and benefactors in the Habsburg Empire.¹³ The final departures from the homeland in the central Balkans were caused by the violence of the semi-independent local pashas. Many Orthodox Christian families emigrated during this period. The central government of the Ottoman Empire was weakening. According to family tradition, troops of the notorious Ali Pasha of Ioannina (1740–1822) attacked the village of Fourka and killed Vladan Đorđević's great-grandfather, the priest Fr. Eftimios (Ευθύμιος). In his *Memoirs*,

¹² D. Popović, *Les Aroumains : extrait de mon livre "O Cincarima" (2^e édit.)* Beograd 1937 (Belgrade: Institut balkaniques, 1938).

¹³ See the history of the von Baich family in: G. Baich, T. Pampas, *Von Blace nach Wien: Wege der Familie von Baich aus den Bergen Makedoniens im osmanischen Reich in die Hauptstadt der Habsburger Monarchie* (Berlin: Leykam Buchverlagsgesellschaft m.b.H. & Co. KG, 2023).

Vladan Đorđević recorded what his grandmother Anastasia had told him: “The gaze of her tired soul did not stop even on that Macedonian plain, but climbed to the top of those mountains, which are on the border between Epirus and Arbëria [Albania], where the village of Fourka is, where even today there are white stones but deserted ‘courts’ of the former great Chuleka family... She was brought to those ‘courts’ as his bride by Fr. Eftimios’s son Dimitris... There she was the mistress of an estate farmed by a hundred workers who worked in Chuleka’s vineyards, orchards, and fields during the summer [...] The happiness did not last long. [...] Terrible cruelty arose throughout the country. Bloody waves climbed up to the heights where Fourka was. The robbers heard that the priest Eftimios Chuleka had rich ‘courts’ in that village, [...] A dark day dawned... Her husband Dimitris had gone on business to Vienna. The robbers grumbled to rob the palace... They killed her father-in-law, Fr. Eftimios and then plundered the whole house”.¹⁴

As is well known, the Tsintsars (Aromanians), like the Greeks, are of Byzantine (Roman) origin. The inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire referred to the polity as Rome and to themselves as “Ῥωμαῖοι (Rhōmaîoi)” (Romans – citizens of the Roman Empire). The Tsintsars and Greeks were well aware of their role as heirs of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire and considered the Orthodox Church based in Constantinople and Byzantine culture to be their heritage. Aromanian is an Eastern Romance language. Its vocabulary, morphology, and syntax are derived from Latin, but it was subordinate to Greek, the language of education and of the Orthodox Church in Constantinople. Latin and Greek were the dominant languages of the Roman Empire. It could be said that the existence of the Aromanian language testifies to the continuous dualism of these two languages. The official transition from Latin to Greek in the Byzantine Empire began around the 7th century. The terminology is sometimes confusing. The Greek language was called “Romaiika” (the language of the Romans!) for a long time. Aromanians doing business in cities largely embraced the Greek language and culture. Inter-marriage between Orthodox Greeks, Aromanians, and Serbs was common in urban areas, especially if they all spoke Greek as the *lingua franca*. Since mixed marriages were common among the city’s upper classes, some Belgrade families were not entirely sure whether they were of Greek, Tsintsar, or Serbian ethnic origin. On the other hand, they sometimes had a very

¹⁴ Đorđević, *Uspomene*, 19. The attacks on Christians continued after the death of Ali-pasha of Ioannina. It is possible that Dimitrije Gymo settled after 1833. Jovanović Simić, *Vladan Đorđević*, 15, 252.

clear tradition and evidence that, for instance, they were of Greek rather than of Tsintsar origin, etc.¹⁵

Apart from the businesses they ran, they had their own churches and schools (the Greek quarter in Vienna). One could start schooling in Greek in Belgrade, continue in Zemun, move on to Buda, and finish in Vienna or Trieste. Business and cultural networks spread from Western European cities to Vienna, Buda, Pest, Constantinople, Odessa, and the country of the Khazars.¹⁶

The Greek-Aromanian community, like any community or ethnic group, included different social strata.¹⁷ Vladan Đorđević was born in the highest echelons of this community. To understand the social context and position of his family in 19th-century Belgrade society, it is of utmost importance to look at the history of his mother's family. The Leko family belonged to the elite of the Serbian society in the 19th and 20th centuries, actively participating in the life of the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia and making a significant contribution to the development of the Serbian state, science, and culture. As noted by Milan Jovanović Stoimirović: "Already in the first half of the 19th century, the Leko family played a major role among the Belgrade families of Greek-Tsintsar origin (these families were later "Serbianized"). Those wealthy people had relatives from Thessaloniki to Pest."¹⁸ Vladan Đorđević's uncle, kyr (from *kyrios* – Sir, mister) Toma (Tomas) Leko (1814–1877), rentier and wholesaler, son of Marko (Marc) Leko (1780–1832), married Aspasia (1833–1889), daughter of Duka Pešika (Peshika), also from Vlachokleisoura.¹⁹ The second daughter of Duka Pešika was married to Nikola (Nicholas) P. Kiki (Kyky) from a well-known Belgrade Aromanian family. The branches of the Pešika family created a whole family business network in the Balkans (e.g., Pešikov in Sofia, Bulgaria). They had branches and offices in Trieste since 1840. On the other hand, in 1835, Koča (Constantine) Duka Pešika married Katarina (Catherine) Katica

¹⁵ See the family trees of Hadži-Toma (of Greek descent), Ristić, and Ćipra (Kipra) families in: B. Milosavljević, *The world and times of Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958): on the occasion of 150th anniversary of his birth* (Belgrade: SASA, 2021), 147–151, 153. https://hdl.handle.net/21.15107/rcub_dais_14694

¹⁶ In Belgrade, in addition to the Greek (Greek-Aromanian) colony, there was also a large community of German origin, as well as a German-speaking population (Czechs, Slovaks, etc.). This was a favorable circumstance for learning foreign languages, of which Vladan Đorđević made good use.

¹⁷ B. Milosavljević, *Beogradski rodoslovi* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, 2020), 55, 110–112.

¹⁸ Jovanović-Stojimirović, *Siluate*, 333.

¹⁹ The business books of Tomas (Tomas) Leko, which were kept in Greek, have been preserved.

Kara-Marković (born in 1815), who was the daughter of Nikola Kara-Marković (1776–1816), the voivode of Rujno in the nahiya of Užice, and Sara, Karađorđe's daughter.²⁰ Katarina Duka Pešika's uncle was the ruling prince of Serbia, Alexander (Aleksandar) Karađorđević.

Vladan Đorđević's first cousin was Dr. Marko T. Leko (1853–1932), a chemist, scientist, professor, and rector of the Belgrade Great School, member of the Serbian Learned Society and President of the Red Cross. Leko graduated in chemistry from the Polytechnic School at Zürich (ETH) and obtained his doctoral degree in 1875. He was married to Danica Antula (1866–1951), also from an old Belgrade family of Aromanian descent (she was the eighteenth child in the family). Her father Konstantin (Constantine) Antula (1819–1882), MP, and municipal councilor and member of the Commercial Court, as well as her mother, Katarina J. Naslas, were both born in Vlachokleisoura. The sons of Marko and Danica Leko were Infantry Brigadier General Jovan M. Leko (1892–1964), the King's adjutant and Chamberlain (after WW II, he lived in Washington D. C.); Dr. Aleksandar M. Leko (1890–1982), a chemist, Dean of the Technical Faculty, President of the Serbian Chemical Society (he completed his doctorate in chemistry at Fribourg University in Switzerland); Dimitrije M. Leko (1887–1964), architect (graduated in Karlsruhe, Germany), professor and Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Belgrade (his uncle Dimitrije T. Leko was also a prominent architect), and Dragomir M. Leko (general manager of the *Prometna* bank). Their sister Maria (1860–1911) married Aleksa (Alexis) Kumanudi (Koumanoudis, Κουμανούδης) from a prominent Belgrade family of Greek descent from Adrianople (Edirne in Turkey). There were two main branches of the Kumanudi family, the Serbian and the Greek. Kosta (Constantine) D. Kumanudi (1874–1962) was professor at the Faculty of Law at the University of Belgrade, Minister of Finance, and Mayor of Belgrade; his first cousin Stefanos Koumanoudis (Στεφάνου Αθ. Κουμανούδης, 1818–1899), was a Greek classical philologist and archaeologist, and professor of Latin philology at the University of Athens.²¹

Vladan Đorđević's godfather was Konstantin (Constantine) "kyr-Koča" Gherman (German). The family name Gherman(i) was a metaphor for the "deep state" in Serbia, especially during the reign of Prince Miloš. The Ghermans kept

²⁰ Milosavljević, *Beogradski rodoslovi*, 120, 318–319.

²¹ The Koumanoudis family left Adrianople around 1820. They settled in Bucharest (Romania), and later in Silistra (today's Bulgaria) and Belgrade (Serbia). Kosta Koumanoudis' mother was of German origin (Hermine Gruber), the daughter of a banker from Bucharest. His older first cousin Stefanos Koumanoudis spent his childhood in Bucharest and Silistra. I would like to thank Kosta Kumanudi for the family tree of the Kumanudi family.

a network of agents from Belgrade to Bucharest to St. Petersburg.²² Dr. Adam Gherman, Koča Gherman's son and a captain in the Serbian Medical Corps, was godfather to Vladan Đorđević's son, Milan, in 1874. Koča Gherman's grandson, by his daughter Mileva (married to infantry colonel Svetozar Hadžić), was army general Stevan (Stephan) Hadžić (1868–1931), Minister of the Army and Navy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The Greek-Aromanian community had close ties to the Orthodox Church.²³ As a boy, Vladan Đorđević spent a lot of time with his paternal grandmother, Anastasia (Ἀναστασία), Mana (1784–1878), who knew the liturgy in Greek by heart. Vladan Đorđević recorded in his *Memoirs* that he knew the entire liturgy in Church Slavonic by heart, as well as many hymns (troparions and kontakions) and liturgical chants. He was an altar boy at the Belgrade Cathedral. Although his grandmother did not understand Church Slavonic, she listened to him with pleasure. She told him about his great-grandfather who was once a priest in Fourka. Vladan Đorđević's description of the "revolution" that took place in his mind is an impressive picture of the state of mind of an entire generation. The natural sciences, which had achieved enormous practical success, fascinated them all. "Because of physics and chemistry, operational medicine, and surgery, because of Darwin and Haeckel, he had long ceased to believe in those ceremonies with which priests adorn Christian worship, but continued to sing religious hymns with great pleasure".²⁴ Although he replaced faith in God with faith in the natural sciences, Vladan Đorđević did not forget the images of his childhood nor the Greek-Byzantine culture he adopted at home and the Belgrade Greek School. He was a prolific writer, covering a broad range of subjects. However, after he was elected to the Serbian Royal Academy, he chose "Greek and Serbian education" as the topic of his Introductory Address. The Introductory Address, greatly expanded, was published as a book in 1896, with three chapters: (I) Byzantine and Old Serbian State. Roman [Rhōmaïoi] and Serbian ["Srbulje" – the Serbian recension of Old Church Slavonic] Literacy and Education; (II) From the Collapse of the Byzantine and Old Serbian states to Korais [Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῖς, Adamantios Korais] and Dositej [Obradović]; (III) Korais and Dositej.²⁵ Vladan Đorđević wrote in detail about the continuing Greek education system (during Ottoman rule) in the territory of former Byzantium, including the area where his ancestors lived. He mentions "[Emmanuel] Goumas' school [a.k.a. Gioumeios or Gioumas School, Σχολή Εμμανουήλ Γκιούμα]"

²² Milosavljević, *Beogradski rodoslovi*, 125, 311–312.

²³ Jovanović-Stojimirović, *Silujete*, 333.

²⁴ Đorđević, *Uspomene*, 88.

²⁵ V. Đorđević, *Grčka i srpska prosveta* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1896).

in Ioannina from 1657 until 1821, which may have had something to do with his family (since his surname was originally Gima, or Jimo, Gimias or Gioumas). He lists a total of seven Greek schools in Ioannina, the capital of a large Pashalik.²⁶ The teachers in these schools had usually studied in Italy. He mentions the example of the school in Adrianople (Jedrene), noting that “its continuous development lasted a full 300 years, up to the time when an honorary member of our Academy, Stefanos Koumanoudis, attended that school, and today now teaches Latin at the University of Athens.”²⁷ Students of the famous Evangelical School (Ευαγγελική Σχολή) established in 1733 in Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey) included the towering figures of the Greek and Serbian Enlightenment, Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) and Dositej Obradović (1739–1811). In the study devoted to Greek and Serbian education, Đorđević makes no distinction between Greeks and Aromanians, surely because their education would have been uniquely Hellenic in any case.

On the one hand, Vladan Đorđević was influenced by Greek-Tsintsar culture and, on the other, by the Serbian tradition passed on by his stepmother. Đorđević's mother died in 1854 when he was still a boy. His widowed father remarried a few years later. Vladan Đorđević's stepmother, Katarina Miljković, née Vučković (1834–1899), was a widow herself, having lost her husband at an early age. Her first husband, cavalry lieutenant Anđelko Miljković, slipped on some ice while riding and hurt his leg. The injury got infected, and he died, probably from gangrene. The stepmother had a son from her first marriage and brought him into the Đorđević family: Ljubomir Miljković (1853–1918), who later studied in Jena under Ernst Haeckel. Đorđe and Katarina Đorđević had a daughter, Poleksija/Polexia (1858–1874), Vladan Đorđević's half-sister. Ljubomir Miljković married Mileva Simić, daughter of Stanoje Simić, Governor of the Užice district (son of *knez* Sima Nikolić Nikolajević from Zaječar) and sister of Svetislav St. Simić, professor and diplomat, a diplomatic envoy and then Minister Plenipotentiary in Sofia and Consul in Priština, and founder of the influential *Serbian Literary Gazette* (*Srpski književni glasnik*).

Vladan Đorđević married his girlfriend, whom he had met during his student days in Vienna, Paulina Bittner, on November 11 (23), 1871, in Belgrade. His wife was born in Vienna in 1847 and died in 1916 in Vrnjačka Banja, where many Belgrade families had fled during the Great War. She was a daughter of Josef Bittner (1802–1871) and Anna Barbar Bittner, née Aigner (1814–1875). Her brother, Franz Bittner (1852–1913), a lieutenant colonel in the Austro-Hungarian army, was married to Albertina Bertha (Betty) Goldstein (they had a daughter, Paula), and her other brother, Josef Bittner (1844–1901), a civil ser-

²⁶ Đorđević, *Grčka i srpska prosveta*, 89.

²⁷ Đorđević, *Grčka i srpska prosveta*, 86.

vant in the Post Ministry (previously a commissioned officer), was married to Baroness (Freiin) Emilia von Schellerer-Pettendorf.²⁸

Vladan and Paulina Đorđević had many children, but many of them did not survive into adulthood. Out of (apparently) 24 pregnancies, eleven children were recorded in the baptism registers.²⁹ Their eldest two children were born out of wedlock in Vienna.

The Belgrade press reported in 1912 that Lieutenant Milan VI. Đorđević (1874–1918), a Belgrade lawyer (a former diplomat and *chargé d'affaires* in Constantinople) who had distinguished himself in the battles at Merdar, in the Battle of Monastir (Bitola) captured the Turkish trench of Oblakovo, on the extreme right wing, and was severely wounded in the attack on the second trench. After he recovered, he returned to active service and entered Dubrovnik in 1918 at the foreguard of the Serbian Army. However, he soon died of pneumonia on December 2 [15], 1918. In his 1930 will, Vladan Đorđević made a bequest to the Royal Serbian Academy Foundation under the name Milan VI. Đorđević's Literary Fund. Vladan and Pauline's son Aleksandar VI. Đorđević lived in the family villa in the Belgrade neighborhood of Topčiderski brdo. He died in 1964. The third son of Vladan Đorđević, Nikola VI. Đorđević (1885–1953), was chief secretary of Dudzele Corporation Patent Exploitation Company in Paris.³⁰

Vladan Đorđević's daughter Mara (Maria/Mara, 1877–1915) married the well-known Constantinople banker Dimitris Vlastari. Their son Constantine Vlastari (1896–1970), a lawyer, had a son and a daughter called Ariana (born in Paris, 1938). Vladan Đorđević's daughter Natalie (Natalija, 1879–1960) was married to Colonel Vladislav J. Deroko (1871–1944). The Deroko (Derocco or De Rocco) family had originated from Dubrovnik. Jovan Deroko, professor at the Lyceum in Belgrade (from 1850), had sons with Katarina Vuković from Vienna: division general Nikola Deroko, Evžen (Eugen) Deroko (father of the famous Belgrade architect and intellectual Aleksandar Deroko), deputy director of state railroads Marko Deroko, the military veterinarian and colonel Vladislav

²⁸ MST, CADM, Non-inventoried material, Baptismal entry of Franz Bittner (born 6 February 1852), St. Ulrich parish, Vienna, 21 February 1942.

²⁹ The children of Vladan and Pauline Đorđević were: Stajka (1866–1868); George (Đorđe, 1871–1875); Helen (Elena, 1873–1873); Milan (1874–1918); Alexander (Aleksandar, 1875–1964); Maria (Marija, 1876–1915); Natalie (Natalija, 1876–1960); Ljubomir (1881–1896); Olga (1884–1884); Nicholas (Nikola, 1885–1953); Dushan (Dušan, 1888–1889). Jovanović Simić, *Vladan Đorđević*, 248–249.

³⁰ Natalie Petrović Njegoš, née Konstantinović (1882–1950), a member of the Obrenović and Petrović Njegoš dynasties, was married for the second time to Gaston Hugues comte Errembault de Dudzele (1877–1961), son of the Belgian minister to Serbia.

Deroko, and Dragutin Deroko, a cartographer. Son of Colonel Vladislav and Natalija Deroko, grandson of Vladan Đorđević, was Artillery Captain 2nd Class Jovan Deroko (born in Cresot, France, 1912). After the April War, he escaped capture and soon joined the troops under the command of General Staff Colonel Dragoljub Draža Mihailović. This grandson of Vladan Đorđević was killed at the very beginning of the civil war in Serbia by the Communist-led Partisans near Ljubić on November 7, 1941.³¹

Vladan Đorđević died in Baden on August 18 (31), 1930.³² In his lifetime, he was a generous donor and benefactor (for instance, he donated an entire library to the newly founded universities in Skopje and Subotica). His worth was estimated at over one and a half million dinars. He left half a million dinars to his sons Aleksandar and Nikola and 100,000 dinars to his grandson Vladan A. Đorđević. At that time, for half a million dinars, one could buy or build a modern family house in the very center of Belgrade.

Vladan Đorđević's family is an illustrative case of the processes of cultural transfer in Belgrade in the 19th and 20th centuries: a blend of "Greek" upbringing and ethnic origin, the influence of the Serbian environment, society and family, and education in Vienna, the culture of the Austro-Hungarian capital and Austria, and finally, the influence of the families of his sons-in-law from Constantinople and Dubrovnik. Vladan Đorđević was not the only high official of the Kingdom of Serbia who was not of Serbian descent.³³ As was the case in other European countries of that era, subjects of the Kingdom of Serbia who possessed German or Jewish ancestry were able to ascend to the uppermost echelons of society and the professions. They were, of course, fully integrated into the framework of the Serbian (later Yugoslav) state and society.

³¹ N. Dević, "Kapetan Jovan Derok (1912–1941), biografija," *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* 1, (2021), 157–183.

³² MST, CADM, Copy of the last will of Vladan Đorđević, Belgrade, 5 July 1931, MNT.T: 11.177.1.

³³ For instance, Vukašin J. Petrović (1847–1924), who served as Minister of Finance and was an economist, was of Jewish descent (Schauengel). Ljubomir Klerić (1844–1910), a member of the Serbian Royal Academy, Minister of Education, and Minister of Economy, was of German descent (born Julius Kleru).

Abbreviations

AS	–	Archives of Serbia
ASASA	–	Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
HAB	–	Historical Archives of Belgrade, Collection of Church Registers
MST, CADM	–	Museum of Science and Technology, Collection of Archival Documents – Medicine

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