

Novčanica od 50 dinara nastala u miru – puštena u ratu

Svetlana Pantelić
email: ceca.pantela@gmail.com

Prevod
obezbedio
autor

Rezime: Rad pruža osvrt na aktivnosti Ministarstva finansija i Narodne banke Kraljevine Jugoslavije u periodu od 1931. do 1941. godine, u kojem je novčanica od 50 dinara pripremana, štampana i nakon skoro deset godina čekanja puštena u promet sa kratkim periodom opticaja. Pripreme za izradu novčanice od 50 dinara koja na sebi nosi datum 1. decembar 1931. godine započete su početkom te godine. Novčanica je izrađena da u slučaju vanredne situacije u zemlji, kada dolazi do nestajanja srebrnog novca iz opticaja, zameni isti kovani novac i omogući nesmetani gotovinski promet. Puštena je u opticaj 8. aprila 1941. godine kada je Kraljevina Jugoslavija već bila u ratnom stanju, u tiražu od 30.792.000 komada. Narodna banka je samo njen manji deo pustila u opticaj, a veći deo uništila, ali su ga i okupatori koristili za plaćanja u zemlji. Povlačenje iz opticaja obavila je Srpska narodna banka u okupiranoj Srbiji od 14. do 22. oktobra 1941. godine.

Ključne reči: novčanica, 50 dinara, Ministarstvo finansija, Narodna banka, Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Milan Stojadinović, Aleksandar I Karadžorđević, Petar II Karadžorđević, Drugi svetski rat

JEL: N14



Kako bi se bolje razumeo period od 1931. do 1941. godine u kojem je novčanica od 50 dinara pripremana, štampana i nakon skoro deset godina čekanja puštena u promet sa kratkim periodom opticaja, potrebno je osvrnuti se na rad Ministarstva finansija i Narodne banke Kraljevine Jugoslavije tog perioda. To je vreme u kojem se Jugoslavija suočava sa ekonomskom krizom, potom beleži lagani oporavak i na kraju se priprema za nadolazeću strahotu – Drugi svetski rat.

Stvaranje ratne rezerve novčanica

Sredinom 1931. godine Jugoslavija, pogođena svetskom ekonomskom krizom, ulazi u recesiju. Turbulencija na svetskim berzama i kriza vodećih svetskih valuta primorala je Narodnu banku da 27. juna 1931. suspenduje zamenu novčanica za zlato i devize. Nepovoljna ekonomska kretanja dovode do pogoršanja u međunarodnim odnosima, zbog čega nadležni državni organi i Narodna banka shvataju neophodnost stvaranja ratne rezerve novčanica u iznosu od šest milijardi dinara. Početak realizacije ovog zaključka usledio je nakon donošenja Programa rada Zavoda za izradu novčanica za period od 1931. do 1935. godine, koji je Upravni odbor Narodne banke usvojio 14. marta 1931. godine. Četiri godine kasnije, ministar finansija dr Milan Stojadinović obavešten je pismom od 18. juna 1935. godine da je formirana ratna rezerva prema sledećoj apoenskoj strukturi novčanica:

- *1.000 dinara – godina izdanja 1931. u tiražu od 4 miliona (tečajna novčanica);*
- *100 dinara – godina izdanja 1934. u tiražu od 10 miliona, iznos u dinarima 1.000.000.000 (rezervna novčanica);*
- *50 dinara – godina izdanja 1931. u tiražu od 20 miliona, iznos u dinarima 1.000.000.000 (rezervna novčanica).*

„Novčanice za potpuno izvanredne potrebe“

Prilike u svetu najavljuje su, mnogo izvesnije, da će doći do rata, zbog čega Narodna banka nastavlja, u saradnji sa državnim organima, da preduzima potrebne mere. Tako je, Programom rada Zavoda za izradu novčanica za period od 1936. do 1939. godine, pored izrade redovnih novčanica za bančine potrebe, utvrđena nova kategorija pod nazivom „novčanice za potpuno izvanredne potrebe“. Narodna banka je predložila, polazeći od činjenice da u vanrednim okolnostima metalni novac izrađen od srebra nestaje iz opticaja, izradu nove rezervne novčanice u apoenu od 20 dinara. Takođe, predviđajući rast gotovinskih plaćanja u vanrednim prilikama, predložena je rezervna novčanica nominalne vrednosti deset hiljada dinara.

Ministarski savet je na sednici održanoj 26. avgusta 1935. godine usvojio sve ove predloge Narodne banke, o čemu je Banku obavestio ministar finansija, Dušan Letica, poverljivim aktom od 27. avgusta 1935. godine. Dve kategorije novčanica, koje su potpuno zavisile od odluka države, razlikovale su se u sledećem: dok ukupan iznos novčanica „za potpuno izvanredne potrebe“

nije bio maksimiziran, niti je apoenska struktura bila propisana, novčanice „za potrebe zemaljske odbrane“, bile su kontingentirane na iznos od šest milijardi dinara i podeljene na depo Ministarstva finansija I i na depo Ministarstva finansija II.

Dva ministra – dve različite životne priče

U ovih deset turbulentnih godina, od 1931. do 1941. bilo je više ministara finansija u Vladi Kraljevine Jugoslavije. To su: Stanko Švrljuga, Đorđe Đurić, Milorad Đorđević, Milan Stojadinović, Dušan Letica, Miloš Bobić, Marko Kožulj, Vojin Đuričić i Juraj Šutelj. Kratka biografija Milana Stojadinovića data je u članku „Novac od nikla iz 1925. godine“, objavljenom u časopisu *Bankarstvo* br. 4 iz 2018. godine. U ovom tekstu, osim Milana Stojadinovića, pominju se i ministri finansija Dušan Letica i Juraj Šutelj.

Dušan Letica je rođen 23.10.1884. godine u Valjevu (Srbija) iz koga nakon dve godine odlazi sa roditeljima u Beograd. Osnovno i vojno obrazovanje završio je u Beogradu. Bio je učesnik Balkanskih ratova 1912. i 1913. i Prvog svetskog rata 1914-1918. godine. Zajedno sa Vladom, vojskom i narodom prelazi Albaniju i boravi u Grčkoj. U Beograd dolazi 1918. godine nakon studija na fakultetu u Madridu vraća se za Beograd i u proleće 1934. godine završava školovanje.

Kao pravnik bavio se advokaturom i prevodenjem jer je govorio više jezika: poljski, engleski, ruski, francuski i španski. Ministar finansija u Vladi Kraljevine Jugoslavije postaje juna 1935. godine. Podržao je 27. marta 1941. puč generala Simovića, a 30. marta 1941. ulazi u Vladu nacionalnog spasa Milana Nedića. U toj vladi Letica je bio ministar finansija od 1941. do 1943. godine. Ministarsku funkciju napušta 26. oktobra 1943. Godinu dana kasnije odlazi iz zemlje u Kicbil (Tirol, Austrija). U Hamburgu, nakon rata, 16. maja 1945. uhapsila ga je Crvena armija kada je pokušao da ode za Portoriko. Izručen je jugoslovenskoj vladi i nakon suđenja je je streljan 19. septembra 1945. godine.

Juraj Šutej rođen je 1889. godine u Podorašcu kod Konjica (današnja Bosna i Hercegovina). U Zagrebu je stekao doktorat prava. Od 1913. godine radi u sudskoj službi, a potom otvara advokatsku kancelariju u Sarajevu. Jedan je od osnivača Hrvatske radničke stranke. Na parlamentarnim izborima 1927, 1935. i 1938. godine izabran je za zastupnika u Splitu i okrugu Duvno.

Bio je ministar finansija u vladama Cvetković - Maček i D. Simovića u periodu od 1939. do 1941. godine. Nakon što su snage Osovine napale Jugoslaviju, emigrirao je sa članovima Vlade. U Šubašićevoj vladi, od jula 1944. do marta 1945. godine, bio je ministar finansija, trgovine i industrije. U Vladi Josipa Broza, od marta 1945. godine preuzeo je funkciju ministra. Nezadovoljan nepoštovanjem sporazuma Tito-Šubašić, podnosi ostavku. Potom je pokušao da osnuje seljačko-demokratski blok nekomunističkih partija i borio se za aktivniju politiku HSS-a. Nakon neuspeha u realizaciji ovih inicijativa povukao se iz politike i kao penzionisani ministar živeo je u Zagrebu sve do smrti 1976. godine.

Pripreme za evakuaciju

Novčanica

Već sredinom 1939. godine počinje preseljenje Bančinih vrednosti iz centrale u Beogradu u unutrašnjost zemlje. Najveći deo novčanica svih kategorija (oko 37 milijardi dinara) bio je smešten u trezorima Narodne banke u Sarajevu. Problem smeštaja drugih novčanica, pre svega onih rezervnih čija je količina bila mnogo veća od ukupne količine novčanica u tečaju, rešen je izgradnjom podzemnih trezora nove filijale u Užicu. Tokom oktobra 1940. godine bilo je završeno preseljenje novčanica u ovu tek izgrađenu filijalu. Prema planu evakuacije, u slučaju rata, bila su predviđena prihvatna i pribežišna sedišta Narodne banke. „Četiri milijarde dinara bilo je smešteno u trezoru centrale Narodne banke u Beogradu, a kao prihvatna sedišta bile su određene filijale Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Niš, Zagreb, Šabac i Užice. Pribežišna sedišta su bila: Užice – za prihvatanje centrale iz Beograda i zbirne filijale iz Niša, i filijala u Sarajevu – za prihvatanje zbirnih filijala iz Banje Luke, Zagreba i Šapca. U Arilju je pripremljen ratni pogon Zavoda za izradu novčanica“ (*Novčanice Narodne banke 1884 – 2004*). Magacin u Arilju korišćen je za smeštaj rezervi papira i manjih iznosa redovnih i vanrednih novčanica, ali nema podataka da su se one tu i štampale. Ministar finansija, Juraj Šutej, je rešenjem od 11. septembra 1939. i 23. marta 1940. godine, kao i serijom drugih poverljivih akata, obezbedio pravnu osnovu za puštanje u tečaj rezervnih novčanica.

Uprava Narodne banke je 6. aprila 1941. godine, nakon nemačkog bombardovanja Beograda, krenula za Užice. Iz Užica, preseljenje novčanica i zlata za Sarajevo realizovano je 11. aprila 1941. godine. Sutradan, po rešenju ministra finansija od 9. aprila 1941. godine, uprava Banke je objavila puštanje u opticaj rezervnih novčanica od 100, 50, 20 i 10 dinara. Pošto su filijale Narodne banke, nakon napada na Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju, već obavile isplatu vojnim jedinicama iz depoa Ministarstva finansija I, važnost objave je utvrđena retroaktivno od 8. aprila 1941. godine.

U Bančinih trezorima na dan 31. marta 1941. nalazilo se ukupno 51,4 milijarde dinara od čega je u periodu do 15. aprila pušteno u opticaj 4,2 milijarde dinara. Ministar finansija je naredio da se preostali iznos od 38,2 milijarde dinara uništi u Užicu i drugim gradovima gde su se nalazile filijale Narodne banke, a 9 milijardi dinara su opljačkali okupatori.

Zlato

Narodna banka Kraljevine Jugoslavije je od 1939. do 1941. godine preduzela mere da svoju imovinu u zlatu sačuva u slučaju rata. Na inicijativu Narodne banke, ministra finansija i ministra vojske i mornarice, a na osnovu akta Saveta zemaljske odbrane od 4. maja 1939. godine krenula je, u velikoj tajnosti, njegova evakuacija. Prema poslednjem pregledu zlatnih rezervi sredinom aprila 1941. godine u trezorima Narodne banke nalazilo se 10,7 tona čistog zlata, a u inostranstvu je bilo deponovano 52,9 tona, 78,8% kod Federalnih rezervi u Njujorku i 21,2% kod Banke Engleske u Londonu.

Nemačke trupe su u Skoplje ušle 8. aprila, Niš je zauzet dan kasnije, a 10. aprila su ušle u Zagreb, uz proglašenje Nezavisne države Hrvatske. Italijani su

12. aprila zauzeli Ljubljanu, kada su i prve nemačke trupe ušle u Beograd, a tri dana kasnije palo je Sarajevo. Kraljevina Jugoslavija je kapitulirala 17. aprila, a već 29. aprila 1941. godine u Beograd je stigao jedan od direktora Rajhsbanke (Reichsbank) na mesto nemačkog komesara u Narodnoj banci.

Meštrovićev Kraljević Marko

S obzirom na to da se na naličju novčanice od 50 dinara nalazi replika skulpture Kraljevića Marka vajara Ivana Meštrovića, potrebno je izneti najvažnije podatke o ovom delu i njegovom tvorcu.

Ivan Meštrović rođen je 15.8.1883. godine u Vrpolju, Slavonija (današnja Hrvatska), a najveći deo detinjstva proveo je u Otavicama, selu u Dalmaciji, odakle su mu roditelji i gde se nalazi mauzolej kojeg je sam osmislio i u kome je sahranjen nakon smrti u Saut Bendu, SAD 1962. godine. Diplomirao je na Likovnoj akademiji u Beču 1906. godine. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je u emigraciji, a potom se vratio u zemlju, sada Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. U periodu između dva rata bio je rektor na Akademiji u Zagrebu od 1923. do 1942. godine i član JAZU od 1934. godine. Na početku Drugog svetskog rata ustaše ga zatvaraju i osuđuju na smrt. Intervencijom nemačkih vlasti biva pušten nakon tri i po meseca. Emigrirao je 1942. godine, prvo u Italiju, a potom u Švajcarsku. U SAD stiže 1947. godine. U ovom periodu bio je profesor vajarstva u Sirakuzi i Saut Bendu. U posleratnu Jugoslaviju došao je samo jednom, 1959. godine.

Autor je mnogih vajarskih dela: Zdenac života (Zagreb), Povijest Hrvata (Zagreb), Marko Marulić (Split), Mauzolej Meštrović (Otavice), Indijanci (Čikago), Mauzolej Njegošu (Crna Gora) itd. U Srbiji se nalaze njegova brojna dela među kojima su najpoznatija: Spomenik neznanom junaku na Avali, Zahvalnost Francuskoj u Beogradu, Spomenik Pobednik na Kalemegdanu, Nadežda Petrović u Čačku, Nikola Tesla u Beogradu, itd.

Meštrović je bio fasciniran Kosovskim bojem koji se odigrao 1389. između srpske i turske vojske. Od svojih sredstava je napravio maketu Kosovskog hrama koju je izložio na Svetskoj izložbi 1911. godine u Rimu. U Kraljevini Srbiji je, povodom izgradnje hrama na Gazimestanu (Kosovo i Metohija), formiran odbor, ali je sve prekinuto zbog Prvog svetskog rata. Nakon rata nije bilo novca a ni državne volje za njegovu gradnju. Interesantna je sudbina same makete. Bila je predstavljena u Londonu 1915. godine, a potom i u Americi gde joj se gubi svaki trag, Pronađena je u Njujorku 1968. godine, vraćena potom u Beograd, a 1971. godine poklonjena je Narodnom muzeju u Kruševcu gde se i danas nalazi.

Skulptura Kraljevića Marka na konju bi se, prema projektu, nalazila u najvećoj dvorani ovog hrama, gde bi bile i skulpture drugih kosovskih junaka: cara Lazara, Miloša Obilića, Srđe Zlopogleđe, Banović Strahinje, devet Jugovića, starog Jug Bogdana, Ivana Kosančića, Milana Toplice, Kosovke devojke, itd. Neke od ovih skulptura nalaze se u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu.

Deset godina čekanja i sedam meseci opticaja

Novčanica od 50 dinara koja nosi datum 1. decembar 1931. godine bila je svedok svim ovim dešavanjima tokom deset godina od svog idejnog nastanka pa do konačnog povlačenja. Dakle, godinu dana nakon svečanog otvaranja Zavoda za izradu novčanica u Beogradu (26. januara 1930. godine) počele su pripreme za izradu novih novčanica. Prva za koju su urađeni osnovni elementi lica novčanice bila je pedesetodinarka. U septembru 1931. godine, u Narodnoj banci doneta je odluka da se za štampanje ove novčanice hartija naruči od engleske firme Portals (Portals Ltd., Hants, England). Prve količine hartije su stigle u Zavod 21. maja 1932. godine. Papir ove renomirane engleske firme isporučivan je Zavodu i za izradu drugih novčanica.

Ova banknota je izrađena sa namerom da, u slučaju vanredne situacije u zemlji, kada dolazi do nestajanja srebrnog novca iz opticaja, zameni isti kovani novac i omogući nesmetan gotovinski promet. Imajući u vidu datum koji se nalazi na novčanici, očigledno je da je, pripremljena za opticaj, ležala u trezorima Narodne banke skoro punih 10 godina. Njeno puštanje u opticaj realizovano je 8. aprila 1941. godine, kada je Kraljevina Jugoslavija već bila u ratnom stanju, što je i objavljeno u službenom listu Kraljevske banske uprave Drinske banovine *Narodno jedinstvo*, broj 30, od 12. aprila 1941. godine. Ovaj rezervni apoen sa tiražom od 30.792.000 komada odlikuje se originalnim dizajnom, funkcionalnošću i kvalitetnom zaštitom. Narodna banka je manji deo tiraža pustila u opticaj, a veći deo uništila, ali su ga i okupatori koristili za plaćanja u zemlji. Povlačenje novčanice obavila je tada Srpska Narodna banka u okupiranoj Srbiji, od 14. do 22. oktobra 1941. godine.

Osnovne karakteristike

Na ovoj novčanici izostavljen je deo klauzule o isplati „u metalnoj zakonskoj moneti“ koji je karakterističan za sve do tada izdate papirnate novčanice Narodne banke Kraljevine SHS i Narodne banke Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Razlog tome su nova zakonska rešenja o pokriću zasnovana na standardu u zlatu i devizama plativim u zlatu.

Veličina crteža ove višebojne novčanice je 134mm dužine i 78mm širine. Vodotisak na njenoj desnoj strani lica i levoj strani naličja ima pravilan šestougaoni oblik visine 40mm u kome je oslikana glava kralja Petra II Karađorđevića sa sokolskom kapom. Tekst na licu novčanice je dat ćirilicom, a na naličju latinicom.

Lice novčanice:

- Na levoj strani u stilizovanom osmougaonom ovalu visine 52mm nalazi se lik kralja Aleksandra I Karađorđevića u generalskoj uniformi sa ordenom Karađorđeve zvezde sa mačevima;
- Ispod ovala je broj 50 sa ornamentikom u prepletu i dva bela krina levo i desno od brojke;
- Više vodotiska, s desne strane, je veći broj 50, a ispod toga je ornamentika širine 25mm;

- Pejzaž Boke Kotorske je na sredini lica novčanice;
- Više pejzaža je stilizovana ornamentika sa tekstom „plaća donosiocu pedeset dinara“;
- Ispod teksta je datum 1. decembar 1931. i potpisi člana Uprave dr Melka Čingrije i guvernera Ignjata J. Bajlonija;
- Na vrhu sredine je natpis „Narodna banka Kraljevine Jugoslavije“, a levo i desno oznake u slovima azbuke i brojevima serije;
- Ispod pejzaža je klauzula o falsifikatu i višecifreni kontrolni broj;
- Oko celog lica novčanice je okvir sa stilizovanom ornamentikom iz Miroslavljevog Jevanđelja širok 9mm;
- Na donjoj ivici okvira nalaze se potpisi autora crteža Pante Stojićevića i gravera Veljka Andrejevića Kuna.

Naličje novčanice:

- Na levoj strani više vodotiska je tekst: Narodna banka Kraljevine Jugoslavije, a ispod toga „plaća donosiocu 50 dinara“;
- Na desnoj strani je državni grb, stilizovan beli dvoglavi orao raširenih krila sa krunom na glavi, a iznad je broj 50;
- Na sredini je figura kraljevića Marka na konju, po skulpturi vajara Ivana Meštrovića iz ciklusa Kosovski hram, u visini od 70mm;
- Na postamentu figure je tekst o falsifikatu;
- Ispod celog naličja nalazi se okvirna stilizovana ornamentika u prepletu od 10mm;
- Na donjoj ivici okvira su imena autora Stojićevića FEC i gravera Kuna SC.

Kreatori novčanice

Ovo je prva novčanica koju su kreirali i izradili domaći umetnici i stručnjaci.

Panta Stojićević, autor novčanice, bio je u periodu njene izrade šef odeljenja za štampanje u Zavodu za izradu novčanica. Nažalost, o njemu je malo dostupnih podataka. Istakao se kao talentovani autor i koautor sledećih novčanica:

- 50 dinara sa datumom 1.12.1931. godina,
- 100 dinara sa datumom 15.7.1934. godina, zajedno sa slikarem Vasom Pomorišcem,
- 20 dinara sa datumom 6.9.1936. godina,
- 1.000 dinara sa datumom 6.9.1935. godina, zajedno sa Vasom Pomorišcem koja nije puštena u opticaj.

Veljko Andrejević Kun (1877- 1948) bio je graver svih novčanica koje su se stvarale u Zavodu za izradu novčanica nakon njegove izgradnje, osim banknote od 1000 dinara sa likom kraljice Marije, autora slikara Paje Jovanovića, za koju je graver bio E. Deloche. Kun je bio jedan od najpoznatijih crtača i ksilografa u Evropi tog doba. Ovom zanatu se posvetio nakon završene gimnazije u Beogradu. Prvo se zaposlio u Državnoj štampariji kako bi izučavao drvorez. Odlazi zatim u Budimpeštu, potom u Beč i Vroclav. U Berlinu izrađuje drvoreze za ilustrovane kataloge, naučne knjige i za ostalu višebojnu štampu. Po povratku u Beograd otvara štampariju u Balkanskoj ulici. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata

radi kao grafičar u Komandi vojske Srbije. U Zavodu za izradu novčanica bio je graver do kraja Drugog svetskog rata.

Kun se rodio i umro u Beogradu. Imao je petoro dece, a dvojica sinova nastavili su da se bave grafikom i umetnošću: Đorđe Andrejević Kun, slikar i graver mnogih novčanica posle Drugog svetskog rata i Andreja Andrejević Kun, takođe slikar i grafičar.

Literatura

1. Dugalić V., Mitrović A., Gnjatović D., Hofman G., Kovačević I. (2004), *Narodna banka 1884-2004*. Beograd. Jugoslovenski pregled
2. Đorđević M., Majstor obojenog novca, *Zabavnik*, 2.7.2007.
3. Hadži-Pešić J. (1995). *Novac Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941*. Beograd: Narodna banka Jugoslavije
4. Izložba Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), skulpture iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu, preuzeto sa www.historiografija.hr
5. Kun M. i Veselinović M, Biografija Veljka A. Kuna, preuzeto sa www.veselinovic.org
6. Stojanović Ž. (2004), *Novčanice Narodne banke 1884 – 2004*. Beograd, Jugoslovenski pregled
7. Stojanović Ž. (2007), *Nacionalni katalog novčanica Srbije i Jugoslavije*, Beograd, Sanimex
8. www.enciklopedija.hr
9. www.mestrovic.hr/biografija
10. www.ru.qwe/wiki/dušan_letica

50-Dinar Banknote Created During Peace - Released During the War

Svetlana Pantelić
email: ceca.pantela@gmail.com

*Translation
provided by
the author*

Abstract: The paper provides a review of the activities of the Ministry of Finance and the National Bank of Yugoslavia in the period from 1931 to 1941, during which the 50-dinar banknote was prepared, printed and, after almost ten years of waiting, put into circulation for a short amount of time. The preparations for the production of the 50-dinar banknote, which bears the date 1 December 1931, began at the beginning of the same year. The banknote was made for the event of an emergency situation in the country, when silver coins disappear from circulation, to replace those coins, and to enable unhindered cash circulation. It was released on 8 April 1941, when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was already at war, in the total amount of 30,792,000 pieces. The National Bank only put a small part of that into circulation, and destroyed a larger part, but the occupying forces also used it for payments in the country. The withdrawal from circulation was carried out by the Serbian National Bank in the occupied Serbia, from 14 to 22 October 1941.

Keywords: banknote, 50 dinars, Ministry of Finance, National Bank, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Milan Stojadinović, Aleksandar I Karađorđević, Petar II Karađorđević, World War II.

JEL: N14



In order to better understand the period from 1931 to 1941, in which the 50-dinar banknote was prepared, printed and, after almost ten years of waiting, put into circulation for a short amount of time, it is necessary to consider the activities of the Ministry of Finance and the National Bank of Yugoslavia in that period. It was a time when Yugoslavia was facing an economic crisis, then recorded a slight recovery and finally started preparing for the looming horror - World War II.

Creating a War Reserve of Banknotes

In the middle of 1931, Yugoslavia, affected by the world economic crisis, entered into recession. The turbulence on the world stock exchanges and the crisis of the world's leading currencies forced the National Bank to suspend the exchange of banknotes for gold and foreign currency on 27 June 1931. Unfavourable economic trends lead to a deterioration in international relations, which is why the competent state authorities and the National Bank understood the necessity of creating a war reserve of banknotes in the amount of six billion dinars. The beginning of the realisation of this conclusion followed the adoption of the Work Program of the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins for the period from 1931 to 1935, which was adopted by the Governing Board of the National Bank on 14 March 1931. Four years later, the Minister of Finance, dr Milan Stojadinović, was informed by a letter as of 18 June 1935 that the war reserves were formed according to the following denomination structure of banknotes:

- *1.000-dinar – year of issue 1931, 4 million in circulation (exchange rate banknote);*
- *100-dinar – year of issue 1934, 10 million in circulation, amount in dinars 1,000,000,000 (reserve banknote);*
- *50-dinar – year of issue 1931, 20 million in circulation, amount in dinars 1,000,000,000 (reserve banknote).*

“Banknotes for Utterly Extraordinary Needs”

The circumstances in the world announced, much more certainly, that a war was about to break out, which is why the National Bank, in cooperation with state bodies, continued to take the necessary measures. Thus, the Work Program of the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins for the period from 1936 to 1939, in addition to the production of regular banknotes for the bank's needs, established a new category called “banknotes for utterly extraordinary needs”. The National Bank proposed to make a new reserve banknote in the denomination of 20 dinars, seeing as how, in extraordinary circumstances, metal coins made of silver disappear from circulation. Also, predicting the growth of cash payments in emergency situations, a reserve banknote with a face value of ten thousand dinars was proposed.

At the session held on 26 August 1935, the Council of Ministers adopted all these proposals of the National Bank, of which the Minister of Finance, Dušan

Letica, informed the Bank in a confidential act dated 27 August 1935. The two categories of banknotes, which depended entirely on the State's decisions, differed in the following: while the total amount of banknotes "for utterly extraordinary needs" was not maximized, nor was the denomination structure prescribed, banknotes "for the needs of national defence", were determined at the amount of six billion dinars and divided into the depot of the Ministry of Finance I and the depot of the Ministry of Finance II.

Preparations for Evacuation

The Banknote

As early as mid-1939, began the relocation of the Bank's valuables from the headquarters in Belgrade to the interior of the country. The largest part of banknotes of all categories (around 37 billion dinars) was placed in the vaults of the National Bank in Sarajevo. The problem of storing other banknotes, primarily the reserve ones, the amount of which was much higher than the total amount of banknotes in circulation, was solved by building underground vaults in the new branch in Užice. During October 1940, the relocation of banknotes to this newly built branch was completed. According to the evacuation plan, in case of war, the contingency seats of the National Bank were planned. "Four billion dinars were placed in the vault of the National Bank's headquarters in Belgrade, and the branches Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Niš, Zagreb, Šabac and Užice were designated as contingency seats. The contingency seats were as follows: Užice - for accepting the headquarters from Belgrade and the collective branch from Niš, and the branch in Sarajevo - for accepting the collective branches from Banja Luka, Zagreb and Šabac. A war-time office of the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins was prepared in Arilje" (*Banknotes of the National Bank 1884 - 2004*). The warehouse in Arilje was used to store reserves of paper and small amounts of regular and extraordinary banknotes, but there is no information on whether they were printed there. The Minister of Finance, Juraj Šutej, according to the decisions as of 11 September 1939 and 23 March 1940, as well as a series of other confidential acts, provided the legal basis for the issuance of reserve banknotes.

On 6 April 1941, after the German bombing of Belgrade, the management of the National Bank left for Užice. From Užice, the relocation of banknotes and gold to Sarajevo was realised on 11 April 1941. The next day, according to the decision of the Minister of Finance from 9 April 1941, the Bank's management announced the release of reserve 100-, 50-, 20- and 10-dinar banknotes. Since the branches of the National Bank, after the attack on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, had already made payments to military units from the depot of the Ministry of Finance I, the validity of the announcement was determined retroactively on 8 April 1941.

As of 31 March 1941, the Bank's vaults contained a total of 51.4 billion dinars, out of which 4.2 billion dinars were put into circulation by 15 April. The Minister of Finance ordered that the remaining amount of 38.2 billion dinars be destroyed in Užice and other cities where the branches of the National Bank were located, and 9 billion dinars were robbed by the occupying forces.

Two Ministers - Two Different Life Stories

In these ten turbulent years, from 1931 to 1941, there were several finance ministers in the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. These were: Stanko Štrljuga, Đorđe Đurić, Milorad Đorđević, Milan Stojadinović, Dušan Letica, Miloš Bobić, Marko Kožulj, Vojin Đuričić and Juraj Šutelj. A short biography of Milan Stojadinović is given in the article Nickel Coins from 1925, published in *Bankarstvo* Journal no. 4 from 2018. In this text, apart from Milan Stojadinović, the ministers of finance Dušan Letica and Juraj Šutelj are also mentioned, which is the reason for presenting their short biographies.

Dušan Letica was born on 23 October 1884 in Valjevo (Serbia), and left for Belgrade with his parents at two years of age. He completed his primary and military education in Belgrade. He was a participant in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and the First World War in 1914-1918. Together with the Government, the army and the people, he made the Great Retreat across Albania and resided in Greece. He came to Belgrade in 1918. After studying at the University of Madrid, he returned to Belgrade and finished school in the spring of 1934.

As a lawyer, he practiced law and translation, since he spoke several languages: Polish, English, Russian, French and Spanish. He became Minister of Finance in the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in June 1935. He supported the coup of General Simović on 27 March 1941, and on 30 March 1941, he entered the Government of National Salvation of Milan Nedić. In that government, Letica was the Minister of Finance from 1941 to 1943. He left the ministerial post on 26 October 1943. A year later he left the country for Kitzbühel (Tyrol, Austria). In Hamburg, after the war, on 16 May 1945, he was arrested by the Red Army when he tried to go to Puerto Rico. He was extradited to the Yugoslav government and, after the trial, was shot on 19 September 1945.

Juraj Šutej was born in 1889 in Podorašac near Konjic (today's Bosnia and Herzegovina). He obtained a doctorate in law in Zagreb. He had been working in the court service since 1913, and subsequently opened a law office in Sarajevo. He is one of the founders of the Croatian Workers' Party. In the parliamentary elections of 1927, 1935 and 1938, he was elected a representative for Split and the Duvno district.

He was the Minister of Finance in the governments of Cvetković-Maček and D. Simović in 1939-41. After the Axis forces invaded Yugoslavia, he emigrated with members of the government. In Šubašić's government, from July 1944 to March 1945, he was Minister of Finance, Trade and Industry. In the government of Josip Broz, from March 1945, he took over the function of minister. Dissatisfied with the non-compliance with the Tito-Šubašić agreement, he resigned. He then tried to establish a peasant-democratic bloc of non-communist parties and fought for a more active policy of the Croatian Peasant Party. After the failure in the realisation of these initiatives, he withdrew from politics and lived in Zagreb as a retired minister until his death in 1976.

Gold

From 1939 to 1941, the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia took measures to preserve its property in gold in the event of war. At the initiative of the National Bank, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of the Army and Navy, and on the basis of the act of the National Defence Council as of 4 May 1939, the evacuation of the gold began in great secrecy. According to the last survey of gold reserves from mid-April 1941, 10.7 tonnes of pure gold were in the vaults of the National Bank, and 52.9 tonnes were deposited abroad, 78.8% with the Federal Reserve in New York and 21.2% with the Bank of England in London.

German troops entered Skopje on 8 April, Niš was occupied a day later, and on 10 April they entered Zagreb, with the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia. The Italians captured Ljubljana on 12 April, when the first German troops entered Belgrade, and three days later Sarajevo fell. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia capitulated on 17 April, and already on 29 April 1941, one of the directors of the Reichsbank arrived in Belgrade, to the position of German commissioner at the National Bank.

Ten Years of Waiting and Seven Months of Circulation

The 50-dinar banknote, dated 1 December 1931, witnessed all these events during the ten years from its ideological origin until its final withdrawal. So, a year after the ceremonial opening of the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins (26 January 1930), preparations for the production of new banknotes began. The 50-dinar banknote was the first one for which the basic elements of the obverse were made. In September 1931, the National Bank decided to order the paper for the printing of this banknote from the English company Portals (Portals Ltd., Hants, England). The first quantities of paper arrived at the Institute on 21 May 1932. The paper of this renowned English company was also delivered to the Institute for the production of other banknotes.

This banknote was made so as to replace the silver coins, disappearing from circulation in case of an emergency situation in the country, and thus to enable unhindered cash circulation. Having in mind the date on the banknote, it is obvious that it lay in the vaults of the National Bank for almost 10 years, prepared for circulation. Its release into circulation was realized on 8 April 1941, when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was already at war, which was published in the official gazette of the Royal Ban's Administration of the Drina Banovina *Narodno jedinstvo*, no. 30, as of 12 April 1941. This spare denomination with a circulation of 30,792,000 pieces is characterised by its original design, functionality and high level of protection. The National Bank put a smaller part of the total pieces into circulation, and destroyed a larger part, but the occupying forces also used it for payments in the country.

Meštrović's "Kraljević Marko"

Considering that there is a replica of the sculpture of Kraljević Marko, sculpted by Ivan Meštrović, on the reverse of the 50-dinar banknote, it is necessary to present the most important information about this work and its creator.

Ivan Meštrović was born on 15 August 1883, in Vrpolje, Slavonia (today's Croatia), and spent most of his childhood in Otavice, a village in Dalmatia, where his parents were from and where the mausoleum he designed is now located, and where he was buried after his death in South Bend, USA in 1962. He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna in 1906. During the First World War, he was in exile, and then returned to the country, then the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In the period between the two wars, he was the rector of the Academy in Zagreb from 1923 to 1942 and a member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU) from 1934. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Ustashes imprisoned him and sentenced him to death. He was released after 3.5 months with the intervention of the German authorities. He emigrated in 1942, first to Italy and then to Switzerland. He arrived in the United States in 1947. During this period he was a professor of sculpture in Syracuse and South Bend. He came to post-war Yugoslavia only once - in 1959.

He is the author of many sculptural works: Well of Life (Zagreb), History of Croats (Zagreb), Marko Marulić (Split), Mausoleum Meštrović (Otavice), Indians (Chicago), Mausoleum of Njegoš (Montenegro), etc. There are his numerous works in Serbia, the most famous of which are: Monument to the Unknown Hero on Avala, Gratitude to France in Belgrade, The Victor on Kalemegdan, Nadežda Petrović in Čačak, Nikola Tesla in Belgrade, etc.

Meštrović was fascinated by the Battle of Kosovo, which took place in 1389 between the Serbian and Turkish armies. From his own funds, he made a model of the Kosovo Temple, which he exhibited at the World's Fair in 1911 in Rome. In the Kingdom of Serbia, on the occasion of the construction of the temple in Gazimestan (Kosovo and Metohija), a Board was formed, but everything was interrupted due to the First World War. After the war, there was no money or the desire of the State to build it. The fate of the model itself is interesting. It was presented in London in 1915, and then in America, where all trace of it was lost. It was found in New York in 1968, then returned to Belgrade, and in 1971 it was donated to the National Museum in Kruševac, where it is still located today.

According to the project, the sculpture of Kraljević Marko on horseback was to be located in the largest hall of this temple, where there would also be the sculptures of other Kosovo heroes: Emperor Lazar, Miloš Obilić, Srđa Zlopogleđa, Banović Strahinja, the nine Jugović brothers, the Old Jug Bogdan, Ivan Kosančić, Milan Toplica, the Kosovo Maiden, etc. Some of these sculptures are currently in the National Museum in Belgrade.

Basic Characteristics

On this banknote, a part of the clause on disbursement “in metal legal tender”, which is characteristic of all paper banknotes issued by the National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, has been omitted. The reason for that were the new legal solutions on coverage based on the standard in gold and foreign currency payable in gold.

The size of the drawing on this multicolour banknote is 134mm long and 78mm wide. The watermark on the right side of the obverse and the left side of the reverse has a regular hexagonal shape 40mm high, which features the head of King Petar II Karađorđević with a falcon feather hat. The text on the obverse of the banknote is given in Cyrillic, and on the reverse in the Latin script.

Obverse of the Banknote:

- *On the left side, in a stylized octagonal oval 52mm high, there is a figure of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević in a general's uniform with the Order of Karađorđe's Star with Swords;*
- *Below the oval is the number 50 with interlaced ornaments and two white lilies to the left and right of the figure;*
- *Above the watermark, on the right side, is a larger number 50, and below that is an ornament 25mm wide;*
- *The landscape of the Bay of Kotor is in the middle of the obverse of the banknote;*
- *Above the landscape are stylized ornaments with the text „pays the bearer fifty dinars“;*
- *Below the text is the date of 1 December 1931 and the signatures of the member of the Management Board Melko Čingrija, PhD, and the Governor Ignjat J. Bajloni;*
- *At the top of the middle is the inscription “National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia”, and on the left and right are serial marks with letters and series numbers;*
- *Below the landscape is a forgery clause and a multi-digit control number;*
- *Around the entire obverse of the banknote is a frame with stylized ornaments from Miroslav's Gospel, 9mm wide;*
- *On the lower edge of the frame are the signatures of the author of the drawing, Panta Stojićević, and the engraver Veljko Andrejević Kun.*

Reverse of the Banknote:

- *On the left side of the watermark is the text: National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and below that “pays the bearer 50 dinars“;*
- *On the right side is the state coat of arms, a stylized white double-headed eagle with outstretched wings with a crown on its head, and above is the number 50;*
- *In the middle is a figure of Prince Marko on a horse, based on a sculpture by sculptor Ivan Meštrović, from the Kosovo Temple Cycle, 70mm in height;*
- *On the pedestal of the figure is a text about a forgery;*

- *Below the entire reverse there is a stylized ornamental frame in a 10mm weave;*
- *On the lower edge of the frame are the names of the author Stojićević FEC and the engraver Kun SC.*

Banknote Makers

This is the first banknote created by local artists and experts.

Panta Stojićević, the author of the banknote, was the head of the printing department at the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins during the period of its production. Unfortunately, little information is available about him. He distinguished himself as a talented author and co-author of the following banknotes:

- 50-dinar banknote as of 1.12.1931,
- 100-dinar banknote as of 15.7.1934, together with the painter Vasa Pomorišac,
- 20-dinar banknote as of 6.9.1936,
- 1.000-dinar banknote as of 6.9.1935, together with the Vasa Pomorišac, which was not released into circulation.

Veljko Andrejević Kun (1877- 1948) was the engraver of all banknotes created at the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins after its construction, except for the 1000-dinar banknote with the image of Queen Marija, which was made by the painter Paja Jovanović, and engraved by E. Deloche. Kun was one of the most famous draftsmen and woodcuts in Europe at that time. He dedicated himself to this craft after graduating from high school in Belgrade. He first got a job at the State Printing House to study woodcarving. He then went to Budapest, and later to Vienna and Wrocław. In Berlin, he makes woodcuts for illustrated catalogues, scientific books and other multi-colour printing. Upon his return to Belgrade, he opened a printing house in Balkanska Street. During the First World War, he worked as a graphic artist in the Command of the Serbian Army. He was an engraver at the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins until the end of the Second World War.

Kun was born and died in Belgrade. He had five children, and two of his sons continued to work in graphics and art: Đorđe Andrejević Kun, a painter and engraver of many banknotes after the Second World War, and Andreja Andrejević Kun, also a painter and graphic artist.

References

1. Dugalić V., Mitrović A., Gnjatović D., Hofman G., Kovačević I. (2004), *Narodna banka 1884-2004*. Beograd. Jugoslovenski pregled
2. Đorđević M., Majstor obojenog novca, *Zabavnik*, 2.7.2007.
3. Hadži-Pešić J. (1995). *Novac Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941*. Beograd: Narodna banka Jugoslavije
4. Izložba Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), skulpture iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu, preuzeto sa www.historiografija.hr
5. Kun M. i Veselinović M, Biografija Veljka A. Kuna, preuzeto sa www.veselinovic.org
6. Stojanović Ž. (2004), *Novčanice Narodne banke 1884 – 2004*. Beograd, Jugoslovenski pregled
7. Stojanović Ž. (2007), *Nacionalni katalog novčanica Srbije i Jugoslavije*, Beograd, Sanimex
8. www.enciklopedija.hr
9. www.mestrovic.hr/biografija
10. [www.ru.qwe/wiki/dušan letica](http://www.ru.qwe/wiki/dušan_letica)