

COOPERATION OF THE NATIONAL BANK AND PAVLE PAJA JOVANOVIĆ DURING THE PERIOD 1928–1939 CASE STUDY: ARTISTIC DESIGNS FOR THE 1000-DINAR BANKNOTE WITH THE PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARIJA KARADORĐEVIĆ

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Abstract: This paper will present a manner in which visual culture in the process of making visual solutions was applied in the case of drawings for banknotes of National Bank in the period of National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Namely, as a result of cooperation between National Bank and Pavle Paja Jovanović, emerged a proposal of standards regarding appearance of banknotes, i.e. through forming of the new concept of visual identity. Mentioned drawings for banknote that originate from collection of The Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins in Topčider we attribute to artist Pavle Paja Jovanović. The review of the drawing, recording of the drawings and development of clichés were done in Paris, at the Banque of France, where the engraver for this banknote, Emile Deloche, was employed. A precious source of data is the minutes from the sessions of the National Bank's Governing Council, kept at the Archives of the National Bank of Serbia. The minutes can be used to track the procedures and decisions necessary for drafting the concept designs for banknotes. This led to the identification of the use of standardised symbols required when producing artistic designs, and subsequently the money in circulation.

Keywords: Pavle Paja Jovanović, drawings for banknotes, National Bank, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Banque de France

INTRODUCTION

The cooperation of the National Bank of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, afterwards (NBKSCS) Kingdom of Yugoslavia (NBKYU) with the most eminent names in Serbian/Yugoslav and European applied arts and sciences was reflected through the creation of visual identity on permanent 2nd edition of 1000-dinars banknote that was in the circulation from 1932–1941.¹ Establishing the key characteristics to produce mentioned banknote, this can lead us down the chronological sequence of events within the

1 Ž. Stojanović, *Papirni novac Srbije i Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1996, 108.

development of the stabilisation of the dinar currency and other functions of the National Bank (NB).² From the year 1931 on, the Bank's primary responsibility focused on streamlining the national monetary policy and assuming direction of the lending policy. In line with the new name and the extended territory of the country, the Bank changed its name into the Bank of the National Bank of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (NBKYU) with its core purpose to maintain the integrity and value of the national currency.³ The subject of this analysis is the artistic design of banknotes belonging to the National Bank of Serbia, i.e. the Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins – Topčider. In addition to the artistic designs for banknote, the painting and engraving opuses of the artist Paja Pavle Jovanovic, engraver *Emile Deloche* and the archive materials from the Archives of the National Bank of Serbia (NBS), *Banque de France* were taken into consideration. A precious source of data is the minutes from the sessions of the NB Governing Council, kept at the Archives of the NBS. They can be used to track the procedures and decisions necessary for drafting the concept designs for banknotes. This led to the identification of the use of standardised symbols required when producing artistic designs, and subsequently the money in circulation. All the events studied were concentrated around the date of banknotes' issuance from the printing press, which facilitated the research of archive materials. The entire procedure of issuing banknotes was studied, and the discoveries made were related to internal regulations, procedures and notices of the NB regarding the creation of banknotes. Prominent among such studies has been the work of Emily Gilbert on 19th century Canadian money⁴, in which she explores the design and production of the banknotes, as well as spatial aspects of both national and imperial narratives. However, most of these studies have been highly selective and subjective in the sample of notes upon which they have drawn, and have remained largely at a descriptive level. None have yet explored in any detail the creation of new currencies as an integral part of the emergence of the newly independent nation states of Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Moreover, none have sought to develop a systematic and rigorous comparative methodology through which it would be possible to interpret the imagery – depicted iconography that was built on banknotes.

PROCEDURES AND PREPARATION FOR THE PRODUCTION OF 2ND EDITION 1000-DINAR BANKNOTE

Governor of the National Bank KSCS Ignjat J. Bajloni⁵ made a decision at the session held on 22 December 1928 on manufacturing and issuing a new permanent 2nd edition of 1000-dinars banknote. In the meantime, a decision was also made about the signatures on the banknote, as well as the reimbursement for Pavle Paja Jovanović, who produced the drawings for the banknote (Figure 1). It was understandable that the Governing Board of the NB choose Paja Jovanović, one of the greatest and most esteemed painters. The Governing Board and Council of NB were familiar with the work of exceptional portraitist Paja

2 Despite being founded in 1884 as a privileged private shareholder institution under the name Privileged National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbia, Bank operations were under constant state control. After World War I and the unification of part of the South Slavs, the Privileged National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbia grew, by way of the Law of 26 January 1920, into the National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and under this name took over operations across the entire territory of the Kingdom. В. Дугалић и др., *Народна банка 1884–2004*, Београд, 2004, 28.

3 *Ibid.* 123–144.

4 E. Gilbert, "Ornamenting the facade of hell: iconographies of 19th-century Canadian paper money", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16/1, 1998, 58–70.

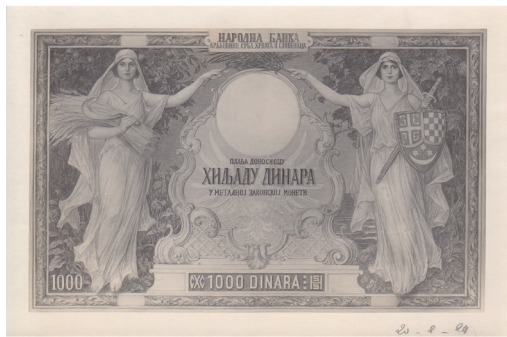
5 Governor of the National Bank from 1928 to 1934. В. Дугалић и др., *Народна банка 1884–2004*, Београд, 2004, 292.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Jovanović, who produced a number of representative portraits after 1918 (standing, life-sized, seated, waist-high) of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević and Queen Marija Karađorđević.⁶ However, during this observed historical moments, there was insistence to place the emphasis on political and royal propaganda in the visual message of the banknote – during the 1930s the emphasis was on portraits of Aleksandar I Karađorđević and members of the dynasty, including the portrait of Queen Marija Karađorđević (as a symbolic and visual replacement for the personification of Motherland – Kingdom of Yugoslavia). In early 1929, after a brief discussion at the session of 16 January, Governor Bajloni decided that painter Jovanović, accompanied by Milivoje Obradović,⁷ would take the draft drawing he had produced to Paris, so as to determine the changes that would need to be made for the technical preparation of banknote clichés.⁸ Item 10 of the agenda, related to the manufacture of the 1000-dinar banknote, was adopted at the Governing Council session held in February. Milivoje Obradović took the drawings to Paris, to conclude an agreement with Mr Schiller, the Director of the Money Factory of the *Banque de France*, and the engravers. The agreement involved modifications to the drawing by Paja Jovanović, as required for additional technical processing of the 1000-dinar banknote. The report by Milivoje Obradović shows the progress of the development and technical preparation of the 1000-dinar banknote:

6 П. Петровић, *Паја Јовановић: системски капитал у дела*, Београд, 2012, 322.

7 The Bank's director for the manufacture of banknotes.

8 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор, Записник са 34. седнице, тачка 5, од б. 12. 1928/29. [АНБ, 1/II, Governing Council, Minutes from the 34th session, item 5, from 6. 12. 1928/29.]

“[...] As per your oral instructions, I travelled on 15 February of this year to Paris, taking with me the original drawings of the new 1000-dinar banknote, to effect the definitive review of the same there with the engraver, and to implement potential corrections to the same with Mr Jovanović.”⁹

Regarding the Paja Jovanović reimbursement, Governing Council members Luka Čelović and Mihailo L. Đurić believed a reimbursement of 50,000 dinars for one drawing was excessive. Due to the difference in opinions of the Governing Board of NB, Paja Jovanović asked the Governor Bajloni to send further information about the concept design of the drawing and there to determine whether it is suitable for handling and manufacture. On this occasion, Jovanović was notified about a misunderstanding regarding the requested sum of 50,000 for his work.¹⁰ Considering the existing changes with Jovanović’s drawing (Figure 2), the members of the Governing Council in the meantime also adopted the expertise report¹¹ that was determined by the forensic scientist Professor Rudolf Archibald Raiss’s¹².

MODELLING THE PORTRAIT OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARIJA KARAOĐEVIĆ FOR THE PRODUCTION OF 2ND EDITION 1000-DINAR BANKNOTE

As the visual symbols of a country’s sovereignty, along with its flag and official emblem, there are also its banknotes and coins in the circulation.¹³ Michael Billing has termed this phenomenon “banal nationalism”, claiming that these seemingly naïve symbols are powerful daily representation of a nation, government and state. At the heart of Billing’s concept is the view that there is a “continual ‘flagging,’ or reminding, of nationhood through the daily reproduction of ‘ideological habits’ in this case by using and spending money.”¹⁴ The most frequent motifs on banknotes are human figures, portraits of rulers or important person from national history.¹⁵ For the first time in our money production history, a visage of a known woman was showed – a historical person, Queen Marija.¹⁶ Historians often point that the monarchs shared numerous similarities called “imperial networks” – there are many examples of representation of the monarch on coins and banknotes. The decision to feature Queen Marija on the banknote is quite understandable,

9 *Ibid.*

10 АНБ, 1/II, Писмо које је написао Гувернер Игњат Бајлони и упутио га Паји Јовановићу, од 10/12.04.1929 [АНБ 1/II, Letter written by Governor Ignjat Bajloni and sent to Paja Jovanović, from 10/12.04. 1929.]

11 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор, Извештај урађен од стране професора Рудолфа Арчибалда Рајса од 28.5.1929. [АНБ 1/II, Governing Council, Report conducted by Professor Rudolf Archibald Raiss, in which he points out from 28.5.1929.]

12 Professor Rudolf Archibald Raiss contributed to the recognition, reorganisation and modernisation of Yugoslav police. He established the first institution of higher education for police. Due to plots of politicians he soon withdrew himself from the public life and remained as an advisor to the National Bank in the Department of banknote production and examination of counterfeit banknotes and coins. J. Mathyer, *Professor RA Reiss: A Pioneer of Forensic Science*, London, 1983, 136.

13 T. Unwin and V. Hewitt, „Banknotes and national identity in central and eastern Europe“, *Political Geography* 20, 2001, 1005–1028.

14 M. Billing, „Banal nationalism and the imagining of politics“, London, 1995, 6–8.

15 J. Penrose, „Designing the nation. Banknotes, banal nationalism and alternative conceptions of the state“, *Political Geography* 30, 2011, 429–440.

16 Painter Đorđe Krstić drew the first female figure for the production of the 100-dinar banknote, it was Princess Ljubica, in a seated position. However, those banknotes were not used as a means of payment, but rather produced for the needs of the last Serbian–Turkish war in 1876. J. Хаџи Пешић, *Новац Србије 1868–1918*, Београд, 1995, 60–63.

since she was the great-granddaughter of Queen Victoria (1819–1901) – “first” media monarch. Therefore, we can conclude that NB Board supported the activities of the ruling dynasty, even though Bank had its independence in the monetary operations.¹⁷ By the mid-19th century up to the beginning of 20th Queen Victoria had profound effect and a major role in expediting the mass urban culture and industrial society. It was obvious, during the rule of Queen Victoria the term “royal populism” was coined and attached to her public role and her figure necessarily became a multi-media phenomenon. Also, Queen Victoria could find her Patron Portrait on stamps, coins and banknotes, circulating across the world.¹⁸ Banknotes have influenced, therefore not only a way of reinforcing internal cohesion and identity, but it is also a way of depicting that identity to the outside world in a very tangible, and they were often presented as an artwork.¹⁹ When it comes to female portraits in Serbian history, it is interesting that only unknown or imaginary characters were portrayed. The only banknote in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which bears the image of a famous, real person, is the new permanent 2nd edition of 1000-dinar banknote. As mentioned, it depicts a portrait of Queen Marija, the wife of the then King of Yugoslavia, Aleksandar I Karađorđević, whose portrait is also featured on this banknote, but on the watermark. It is important to underline that the portrait of Queen Marija represented the personification of the previous state of Serbia (later Yugoslavia) which in the 19th century was often modelled after the French “Marianne”.²⁰ The cult of national heroines, in this case of Queen Marija, was used in the development of an identity. It was important to establish a link between the main representations of women (personification, allegory) and the Mother-homeland-Kingdom of Yugoslavia. To create the central figure of Queen Marija Karađorđević depicted for the purposes of production of 1000-dinar banknote, Paja Jovanović used sketches (Figure 3) and studies that he completed between 1925 and 1927.²¹ The portrait on the banknote was modelled after and in accordance with other superb representative portraits of Queen Marija. Today, they can be found in his legate in the Belgrade City Museum. For Jovanović, a flawless draughtsman, there could hardly be any obstacles. He was able to give solid structure to his sketches and drawings with a single stroke of pencil or chalk, without that same stroke seeming dry or merely descriptive.²² Regarding the production changes of the banknote, between 15 February and 16 March 1929, Milivoje Obradović and Paja Jovanović met with engraver Emile Deloche²³. Since the development of the clichés for the 1000-dinar banknote took longer than expected, leading to discontent within the Governing Council of the NB, Milivoje Obradović attempted to accelerate the work through the reduction of motifs. According to the presented report, the work on the banknote involved corrections such as increasing the size of the eagle on the right-hand

17 From the year 1931 and on, the Bank’s primary responsibility focused of streamlining the national monetary policy and assuming direction of the lending policy. In line with the new name, the Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, it had its core purpose to maintain the integrity and value of the national currency, in those terms became independent, it wasn’t under the control of the Karađorđević dynasty. В. Дуналић и др., *Народна банка 1884–2004*, Београд, 2004, 123–144.

18 J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria – First Media Monarch*, Oxford, 2003, 3–251.

19 T. Unwin and V. Hewitt, „Banknotes and national identity in central and eastern Europe“, *Political Geography* 20, 2001, 1026.

20 G. Jauković, „The role of Mihailo Valtrović and Dragutin S. Milutinović in the creation of national visual identity on Kingdom of Serbia banknotes in the period 1884–1900“, *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovnu umetnost* 47, 2019, 161.

21 J. Хаџи Пешић, “Преписка Паје Јовановића око његовог цртежа за новчаницу од 1000 динара из 1931. године”, *Годишњак Града Београда* 35, 1988, 219–225.

22 М. Тимотијевић, *Паја Јовановић*, Београд, 2009, 11–236.

23 Emile Deloche, a painter-engraver.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



side compared to the picture of Queen Marija, shaping the ornament above the section where the watermark was to be placed, simplifying the image of the pine forest, etc. Having adopted the sketches, the Governing Council of the NB sent a letter on 24 April 1929 ordering Paja Jovanović to produce “large cardboards” (Figure 4). The drawings for the banknote produced by Paja Jovanović are characterised by an original design and functionality. The obverse of the artistic design is dominated by the visage of the queen, while the right side shows an eagle in flight. The central inscription is in Latin script. The drawing contains a faithful representation of the authentic crown of Queen Marija, containing seven emeralds.²⁴ The reverse of the design, to the left and right, contains representations of women, with the leftmost holding a sickle and a sheaf of wheat, while the right is holding a sword and shield with the national coat of arms. They are the personifications of farming and statehood. Both female figures have a notable likeness to Muni, the wife and muse of Paja Jovanović. Both figures are holding palm leaves in their hands, their symbolism, in this case, indicating welfare in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Female figure motifs celebrating the state through female heroines “Marianne” on French banknotes and “Serbia/Yugoslavia” on Serbian/Yugoslav ones, recalling the motherland, statehood, victory, peace, national prosperity and welfare. The allegories on banknotes were mostly related to the economic sector: agriculture, trade and industry. The female figure later continued to symbolise economic development, national wealth or the country’s cultural identity. On the basis of insight into photographs of test draft prints (Figure 5 and 6)²⁵,

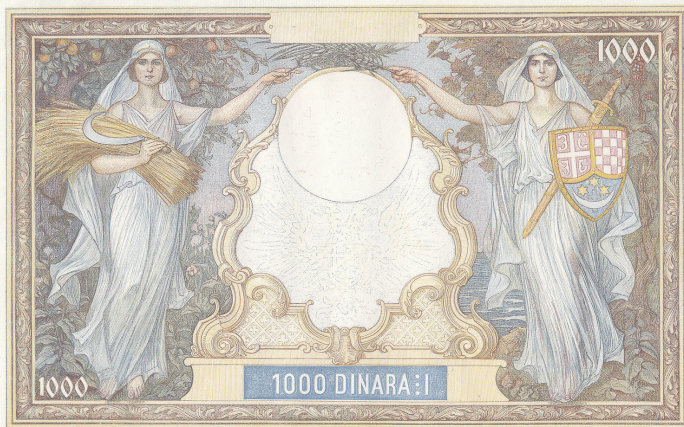
24 Emerald as a precious stone that symbolises green light, representing the renewal of positive forces. Artists sometimes use it as a symbol of spring. See: А. Гербран, и Ж. Шевалије, *Речник симбола*, Нови Сад, 1982, 849.

25 Four photographs of preparation prints that belong to the Archives of Banque de France were incorporated into an illustration, in order to understand the designing process the production of a permanent 2nd edition of 1000-dinar banknote.



Fig. 5

kept in the Archives of Banque de France, we are able to determine and notice the change and additions process applied in order to reach final solution for circulation banknote of the new permanent 2nd edition of 1000-dinars. The coat of arms was changed and removed, leading motif on the avers of the banknote, and emblem of the Bank on the reverse. In addition, the eyes of Queen Marija, appeared softer as we can notice a correction in a form of a small sketch on the left side of the print. The inscription was in Cyrillic script. The drawing is clear, it exudes lightness and virtuosity, and incites the illusion of monumentality, combining folklore elements and a representative portrait. The forest shown on the banknote obverse recalls the great importance of wood as an export product. During the 1930s a connection was established between the exchange value of the dinar and the mercantile price of wood. If we consider the primary role of banknotes as only means of payment, we have to underline the importance of security features that



1000 Dinara
 J-417
 P. 118
 B. 200.
 B.V. 103

1000 Dinara

2-9-30

Fig. 6

protects them from counterfeiting. Identifying image or pattern in paper that appears as various shades of lightness/darkness when viewed by transmitted light is watermark. Regarding the manufacture of the Bank's 2nd edition of 1000-dinar banknote, the General Manager submitted a request to produce a watermark with the visage of His Majesty the King. The development of the drawing with the visage of the



Fig. 7

king was entrusted to Đorđe Đoka Jovanović,²⁶ for a price of 10,000 dinars. However, His Majesty was not satisfied with the result, meaning that a new photograph had to be made, based on which Đoka Jovanović would draw and sculpt medallion (Figure 7) for a new watermark. Milivoje Obradović believed that Đoka Jovanović should be rewarded with 5,000 dinars. The minutes of the 6th session of the Governing Council of the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia state the following:

“The notice by the General Manager has been received, wherefore the visage is already complete and His Majesty the King deigned to approve it and it has already been sent to Paris to produce the watermark.”²⁷

One month later, Governor Ignjat Bajloni notified the Governing Council that, according to the practice to date, the first copies of new banknotes must be submitted to His Majesty the King. On this occasion, the Governor was granted an audience on 10 March 1930, at precisely 11.30 a.m, in order to hand over to the King the first package of 1000-dinar banknote with the date of issue 1 December 1929.²⁸ Regarding the manufacture of any banknote and nowadays the security paper is the primary protection against the counterfeiting. Furthermore, in this case of a production 2nd edition of 1000-dinar banknote the Company Portals Ltd, Hants form England was selected as the best bidder to produce the watermarked paper. The first order of paper making 5,820,000 banknotes was in January 1932. The first delivered order of paper arrived in Belgrade as early as mid-February 1932. One packet of 1000 sheets (six banknotes on one sheet) cost 8 shillings and 4 pennies.²⁹ The printing of the banknote was carried out at the Institute of Manufacturing Banknotes in Belgrade, which began its operation in 1929. The 1000-dinar permanent 2nd edition banknote was out into circulation on 1 January 1933 and withdrawn from 4 to 11 June 1941.³⁰ At

26 Đorđe Đoka Jovanović was advisor and emissary of the National Bank during the period 1902–1933.

There are no official documents confirming his employment with the National Bank, but sources of the Archive NB make it clear that Jovanović was permanently engaged as a member of the artistic committee. He drew watermarks, gave opinions on the designs of the banknotes. The French drawer-engraver Georges Duvall, with the assistance of Đorđe Jovanović, developed the concept designs for the 20- and 100-dinar banknotes from 1905.

27 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор, Записник са 4. седнице, тачка 19, од 10.3.1930. [ANB, 1/II, Governing Council, Minutes from the 4th session, item 19, 10. 3. 1930.]

28 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор, Записник са 4. седнице, тачка 20, од 10.3.1930. [ANB, 1/II, Governing Council, Minutes from the 4th session, item 20, from 10. 3. 1930.]

29 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор је послао извештај око производње новчанице од 1000 динара, од 14.9.1931. [ANB, 1/II, Governing Council sent the Report of the project of production of 1000 dinar banknote from 14. 9. 1931.]

30 Ž. Stojanović, *Papirni novac Srbije i Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1996, 108.



Fig. 8

beginning of World War II in occupied Serbia, it was replaced by a banknote of the Serbian National Bank. The largest share of the cash turnover in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was carried out with this 1000-dinar banknote.³¹

LAST DRAWING OF PAVLE PAJA JOVANOVIĆ FOR THE PRODUCTION OF THE REVERSE OF THE 10-DINAR BANKNOTE FROM 1939 WAS INSPIRED BY MEDIEVAL HEROINES

As 1941 drew closer, there were fewer and fewer data on the artistic designs for the banknotes. The development of the drawing for the production of 10-dinar banknote was entrusted again to Paja Jovanović. He accepted the Bank's offer to produce detailed drawings for a reimbursement of 100,000 dinars.³² Drawing was reviewed by the Executive Committee of the National Bank on 25. May 1939, when they adopted in principle, with instructions provided for certain changes. This banknote was released in circulation on 8 of April 1941, two days after the *Unternehmen Strafgericht*³³, German bombing of Belgrade. However, this banknote bears the date of permanent edition – 22 September 1939. In line with Jovanović's artistic preaching of the revival of medievalism in modern art, the right side of the composition drawn in pencil for the reverse of the 10-dinar banknote featured young woman dressed in medieval Serbian costume with a veil and a diadem on her head, holding a sword in her right hand and book leaning on her chest (figure 8). It is notable also in this case female figure has a likeness to Muni. However, Paja Jovanović found the inspiration among the prominent Serbian women of the middle Ages, the appear-

31 J. Хаџи Пешић, *Новац Србије 1918–1941*, Београд, 1995, 133.

32 АНБ, 1/II, Управни одбор, Записник са 6 седнице, тачка 20 од 25.5.1939. [АНБ 1/II, Governing Council, Minutes from the 6th session, item 20, from 25. 5. 1939.]

33 Operation *Retribution*, also known as Operation *Punishment*.

ance (personality) and activity of Princess Milica,³⁴ later known as nun Eugenia. She was royal consort of medieval kingdom of Serbia and author of “A Mother’s Prayer”.³⁵ As mentioned earlier in this research paper, the NB was viewed as a “Monetary Temple” – the Bank’s economic power was in conjunction with the Karađorđević dynasty, which caused codification of the national style in arts that reflected through creation and production of banknotes. Therefore, this design of the banknote also can be considered as a symbol of statehood, and the visage of Princess Milica Hrebeljanović née Nemanjić, as a substitute for the personification of Motherland – Kingdom of Yugoslavia and as a symbol to attempt in the renewal and sustainability of the national style.

CONCLUSION

During its long history, the Bank has been and it remains a pillar of government organisation and one of the key government institutions. Ever since its beginnings, the Bank, understandably, made it one of its priorities to design, manufacture and issue banknotes. Active cooperation was immediately initiated with fine and applied artists and science working on the production of conceptual and applicable designs for the Bank’s banknotes. The concept designs for the National Bank’s banknote hold a modest place in the history of applied arts, since they were never a subject of research. Research and interpretation of banknote concept designs are important both for understanding the state-building activities of the Bank, as well as for the history of money in circulation. The shaping of the visual culture of artistic designs for the National Bank’s banknotes was conditioned primarily by the matrices created by the National Bank in cooperation with the central banks of Belgium and France, followed by the various ideological templates, and finally, with contemporary needs that relate the Bank’s needs for designs produced by renowned artists-associates and executors of the Bank’s needs for issuing banknotes. In its rich history, the National Bank cooperated with some of the most renowned intellectuals, scientists and artists. In addition to one of the key persons, not just for the Bank, but for Serbian culture and European applied science in general, the Governing Council for cooperation with artists also included Pavle Paja Jovanović, Đorđe Đoka Jovanović and Rudolf Archibald Raiss. Despite the necessary prescribed standards and criteria mandatory for the conception of each banknote, Pavle Paja Jovanović gave these artistic designs his own personal mark. The influence of a style, such as that of academic realism, would be retained in a large number of examples of National Bank’s banknotes. The established structure of the designs, despite stylistic changes, remained constant. The personification of the state of Serbia (later Yugoslavia) was often modelled after the French “Marianne”. In addition to the dominant character, the personification of Serbia, national heroines could be found among renowned, as well as anonymous women. They were represented as mothers, saints, rulers, women ready to defend their home and homeland, etc. During historical moment there was insistence to place the emphasis on political propaganda in the visual message of the banknote – during the 1930s the emphasis was on portraits of Queen Marija Karađorđević (as a symbolic and visual replacement for the personification of Serbia), including the portrait of Aleksandar I Karađorđević and other members of the dynasty. On several occasions the memorial character of Princess Milica Hrebeljanović née Ne-

34 И. Борозан, “Уметничка прерада средњовековне историје и репрезентативна култура српске/ југословенске монархије у првој половини XX века”, *Замишљање прошлости и рецепција средњег века у Српској уметности XVIII–XXI века, византијско наслеђе и Српска уметност*, I–III, Београд, 2016, 119–133.

35 D. Јећменица, *Sources and manifestations of power and influence of Princess Milica, Princess Milica – nun Eugenia and her age*, Tsrtenik, 2014, 17–26.

manjić the design was emphasized primarily on banknote entering circulation before the World War II began. It was also necessary to emphasize the key economic activities in the country – agriculture, farming, fruit-growing, cattle breeding, etc. and the vital products – wheat, corn, apples, plums, and show the land as fertile and prosperous, as well as present the national identity through national costumes and dress on the banknotes. The canonical standards thus established (with the mandatory national and monetary designations – coat of arms, crown, watermark, etc.) were applied, with various changes to the stylistic designs. However, the multi-layered nature of meaning made it possible, just like in fine arts in general, for everyone to understand and recognise, in part or fully, and in accordance with their level of knowledge, certain visual representations or messages on banknotes, as well as to ensure mass communication of these visual messages, meanings and symbols, thus making them part of the everyday visual culture of the population. Therefore, both directly and indirectly, they influenced in forming the visual awareness of ordinary people and played a secondary, but important role in promoting visual literacy.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1: Pavle Paja Jovanović, First preparation drawing obverse and revers for 2nd edition of 1000 dinars, 20.2.1929., pencil on paper, (Archive of Banque de France)

Павле Паја Јовановић, Први припремни цртеж аверса и реверса за друго издање новчанице од 1000 динара, 20.2.1929. оловка на папиру (Архив Народне банке Француске)

2: Pavle Paja Jovanović, Second preparation drawing obverse and revers for 2nd edition of 1000 dinars, (Archive of Banque de France)

Павле Паја Јовановић, Други припремни цртеж аверса и реверса за друго издање новчанице од 1000 динара, оловка на папиру, (Архив Народне банке Француске)

3: Pavle Paja Jovanović, Head of Queen Marija Karađorđević, 1925–1927, pencil on paper, 34,8x 27,3 cm, inventory number 63. Legacy of Pavle Paja Jovanović

Павле Паја Јовановић, Глава краљице Марије Карађорђевић, 1925–1927, оловка на хартији, 34,8 x 27,3 цм, инв. бр. 63, Легат Паје Јовановића

4: Pavle Paja Jovanović, Cardboard preparation drawing of obverse and revers for 2nd edition of 1000 dinars, around 1930, combined technique – pencil, colour pencil, wax pastel and white gouache, 63 x 101 cm (Collection of drawings for the banknotes of National Bank – Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins in Topčider)

Павле Паја Јовановић, Припремни цртеж на картону за аверс и реверс за друго издање новчанице од 1000 динара, око 1930., комбинована техника – оловка, дрвене бојце, воштани пастел и бели гваш, 63 x 101 цм (Збирка ликовних решења за новчанице Народне банке – Завод за израду новчаница и кованог новца Топчидер)

5 and 6: Four photographs of preparation test prints of obverse and revers for 2nd edition of 1000 dinars (Archive of Banque de France)

Четири фотографије пробних отиска аверса и реверса за друго издање новчанице од 1000 динара (Архив Народне банке Француске)

7: Photo of king Aleksandar I Karađorđević, photo plaster medallion sculpted by Đorđe Đoka Jovanović – process of watermark production (Archive of Banque de France)

Фотографија краља Александра I Карађорђевића, фотографија гипсаног медаљона вајара Ђођра Ђоке Јовановића – процес израде воденог жига (Архив Народне банке Француске)

8: Pavle Paja Jovanović, Drawing of reverse of 10-dinar banknote from 1939, May 1939. (Collection of drawings for the banknotes of National Bank – Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins in Topčider)

Слика 8: Павле Паја Јовановић, цртеж реверса за новчаницу од 10 динара из 1939, оловка на папиру, мај 1939. (Збирка ликовних решења за новчанице Народне банке – Завод за израду новчаница и кованог новца Топчидер)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archive of the National Bank of Serbia (ANBS)

National Bank of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, (NBKSCS) Kingdom of National Bank of Kingdom Yugoslavia (NBKYU)

National Bank (NB)

National Bank of Serbia (NBS)

Гордана М. Јауковић

САРАДЊА НАРОДНЕ БАНКЕ И ПАВЛА ПАЈЕ ЈОВАНОВИЋА: 1928–1939. СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА: ЛИКОВНО РЕШЕЊЕ ЗА НОВЧАНИЦУ ОД 1000 ДИНАРА СА ПОРТРЕТОМ КРАЉИЦЕ МАРИЈЕ КАРАЂОРЂЕВИЋ

Резиме: У овом раду се објашњавају карактеристике у процесу дизајнирања и израде новчаница Народне банке током тридесетих година XX века, као и учешће Народне банке у оквиру поменутих процеса и начина на који је Банка конципирала једну од њених примарних функција – издавање новца. Истакнута је и методолошка сложеност у истраживању, која се заснива на развоју базе података, на основу које се могу изводити поређења између визуелне репрезентације различитих државних трансформација које су утицале на промене у иконографији током дизајнирања и производње новчаница. Наиме, на основу анализе откривено је да су чланови Савета/Управног одбора Народне банке, академски сликар Павле Паја Јовановић, форензичар и професор др Рудолф Арчибалд Рајс (Rudolf Archibald Raiss), гравер Емил Делош (Emile Deloche) и господин Шилер (Schiller), директор Завода за производњу новчаница Банке Француске, били одговорни за кључне механизме у оквиру званичне репрезентације иконографије на новчаницама у Краљевини Југославији. Ликовна решења за новчанице од 1000 и од 10 динара потичу из збирке Завода за израду новчаница и кованог новца у Топчидеру. Драгоцени извор података представљају записници са састанака Управног одбора Народне банке, који се чувају у Архиву Народне банке Србије. Захваљујући њима, прате се процедуре и одлуке које су биле неопходне приликом израде ликовних решења за новчанице. Стога је утврђено коришћење стандардизованих симбола који су били неопходни на ликовним решењима, а касније и на оптицајном новцу.

Кључне речи: Павле Паја Јовановић, ликовна решења новчанице, Народна банка, Краљевина Југославија, Банка Француске