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Milan Vujović

Ekspert saradnik Beogradske
Bankarske Akademije
milan.r.vujovic@gmail.com

Prevod
obezbedio
autor

RAZVOJ BANKARSTVA U HERCEGOVINI ZA VREME AUSTROUGARSKE OKUPACIJE

Rezime

U radu je dato istraživanje o razvoju novčanih zavoda i banaka u Hercegovini pod Austrougarskom okupacijom. Prioritet u razvoju Austrougarska vlast je dala svojoj privredi i bankama, posebno bankama sa stranim kapitalom u odnosu na osnivanje i razvoj domaćih banaka u Hercegovini. Nova vlast se posebno angažovala na izgradnji vojnih kasarni, upravnih zgrada, popravci puteva i drugih objekata, što je povećalo zapošljavanje, promet novca i potrebu osnivanja banaka. Nasuprot tome, represivnim merama i podelama po verskoj i nacionalnoj pripadnosti, okupaciona vlast sputavala je brži privredni, društveni, kulturni i sportski razvoj domaćeg stanovništva. Inicijativom srpskog i drugih naroda u Hercegovini su osnovane privredne, bankarske, kulturne i sportske organizacije i udruženja koji su aktivno uključila u razvoj zemlje. Na tim osnovama razvijena je mreža bankarskih organizacija i novčanih zavoda, koji su doprineli većem prometu novca i napretku privrede, zanatstva, trgovine i drugih delatnosti u zemlji.

Ključne reči: banke, novčani zavodi, novac, kapital, kredit, privreda, trgovina, zanatstvo, Bosna i Hercegovina, Austrougarska

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DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING IN HERZEGOVINA DURING THE AUSTRO- HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION

Milan Vujović

Expert Associate at the Belgrade
Banking Academy
milan.r.vujovic@gmail.com

Summary

This paper gives an overview of the development of cash offices and banks in Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian occupation. Priority in development was given to its economy and banks by Austro-Hungarian authorities, especially banks with foreign capital in relation to the founding and development of domestic banks in Herzegovina. New authorities were especially active in building military barracks, headquarters, fixing the roads and other infrastructure, which increased employment, cash flow and the need to found banks. On the other hand, by repressive measures and divisions according to religion and nationality, occupying authorities were holding back a faster economic, cultural and sports development of the domestic population. At the initiative of the Serbian and other nations in Herzegovina, they founded economic, banking, cultural and sports organizations and associations which were actively involved in the country's development. That was the foundation for the development of a network of banking organizations and cash offices, which contributed to larger cash flow and the advancement of economy, crafts, trade and other activities in the country.

Key words: banks, cash offices, money, capital, loan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austro-Hungary

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Za vreme vekovne Otomanske okupacije Hercegovine stanje u privredi je bilo na veoma niskom nivou razvoja i realno nije bilo mogućnosti ni uslova za organizovanje finansijskih organizacija kao što su banke, novčani zavodi, štedionice i druge organizacije (Vujović, 2012, str. 488.). Privredu je činila usitnjena zanatska i esnafska proizvodnja, sitno zanatstvo, stočarstvo i zemljoradnja. Bankarsko-novčani i robni poslovi među seljacima, trgovcima i zanatlijama i drugim sitnim posednicima bili su nerazvijeni i zaostajali za zemljama iz okruženja (Stojanović, Mihić, 2010, str. 565.).

Na prostorima pokrajina Bosne i Hercegovine za vreme Otomanskog carstva postojali su primitivni oblici kredita, među kojima je dominirao robni kredit. Kao novčarski poverioci javljali su se još pre četiristotine godina vakufi, crkvene opštine, manastirske uprave, imućni sveštenici i građani i menjači novca sarafi. Iako hrišćanstvo ni islam nisu dozvoljavali davanje novca pod interes (kamatu), novčarskim poslovima, pored Jevreja krišom su se bavili i hrišćani i muslimani i njihove ustanove. (Marković, 1938, str. 4.). Pre pojave bankarskih organizacija ključnu ulogu u prevazilaženju problema nedostatka novca u carskoj državnoj blagajni imali su bazrđan-sarafi, koji su bili glavni kreditni oslonac osmanskih državnih finansija (Gnjatović, 2012, str. 18). Za vreme vladavine Miloša Obrenovića u Srbiji najpoznatiji sarafi koji su se tim poslovima bavili bili su Konstantin Stojanović saraf Beogradskog vezira i David Hajim saraf Kneza Miloša.

U istoriji su poznati i aranžmani vojvode Sandalja Hranića-Kosaće, sestrića vojvode Vlatka Vukovića (Tošić, 2002, str. 243.), koji se u Žitnoj komori u Veneciji i prodaji dela Konavla Dubrovniku bavio ulaganjem novca na dobit. Ulaganje novca na dobit je predstavljalo zadržavanje dela sredstava predviđenih za kupovinu Konavala kao garancija Dubrovčanima dok ne uđu u posed kupljene zemlje uz kamatu od 5%. (Kurtović, 2010, str. 9). U ovom poslovnom aranžmanu su učestvovali najviđeniji predstavnici konavoskog kruga, vlasnici Konavala, vojvode Sandalj Hranić i Radoslav Pavlović s naslednicima, te i njihovi glavni zastupnici Pribislav Pavlović i Brailo Tezalović. Ostavljanje novca u depozit

pokazalo se kao preteča savremenih oblika štednje i prenos finansijskog poslovanja evropskog tržišta preko Dubrovnika u Bosnu. Time se Dubrovnik javlja u ulozi bankara koji raspolaže uloženim sredstvima, a štediševlastela u zaleđu-ostvaruju godišnju dobit kao kamatu na uložena sredstva. Međutim s padom Hercegovine u drugoj polovini XV veka i iseljavanjem velikog broja hrišćanskog stanovništva u okolinu Dubrovnika, Mletačku republiku i Smederevski sandžak gotovo da je prestalo poslovanje sa Otomanskim carstvom (Miljković, Bojanić, 2000, str. 297.).

Do polovine devetnaestog veka u Hercegovini je domonirao robni kredit, tako što su trgovci iz manjih mesta i kasaba na proleće dobijali robu od većih trgovaca iz Sarajeva i Mostara s obavezom da je plate u naturi posle žetve. Takvom obliku kreditiranja poslužila je i prva organizacija kredita u Bosni i Hercegovini koju je Turska izvela početkom druge polovine devetnaestog veka kada je nizom reformi državnih finansije uvela instituciju "menafisanduka". (Grdić, 1976, str. 35.). Cilj reformi je bio centralizacija i uvođenje novih oblika finansijskih prihoda radi njihovog uvećanja, pri čemu su sve poljoprivredne dažbine zamenjene novčanim. Kreditiranje seljaka se odvijalo kroz stvaranje rezervi u poljoprivrednim proizvodima za slučaj slabe žetve i gladi. Nakon okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, nova okupaciona vlast Austrougarske nastavila je i dalje da koristi ovaj oblik kreditiranja seljaka. Već 1886. godine u Gacku je osnovana Kotarska pomoćna zaklada, što je bio novi naziv za "manifisanduke". Gatačkom kotaru Zemaljska vlada je stavila na raspolaganje 5.000 forinti za osnivanje pomoćne blagajne s preuzetom obavezom da u narednih pet godina uplaćuje po još po 1.000 forinti u istu blagajnu. Vremenom je kapital porastao na 15.000 forinti, što je bio odgovor Zemaljske vlade gatačkom stanovništvu za dodelu pomoći. Zaklada je pomoć davala seljcima u vidu kredita. Od 1887. godine zaklade su osnovane u Nevesinju i još trinaest srezova.

Međutim, i na tom stepenu razvoja privrede, novac je bio potreban stanovništvu za izmirenje raznih drugih obaveza, kao što su dažbine za harač, glavarinu, globu, kupovinu soli, razna oruđa za rad, posuđe za jelo i dr. Do novca se

During the centuries-long Ottoman occupation of Herzegovina the economy was at a very low level of development and realistically there were no possibilities or conditions for establishing financial organizations like banks, cash offices, savings banks and other institutions (Vujović, 2012, str. 488). Economy was made of small craft and guild production, small craftsmanship, stock farming and agriculture. Banking, cash and goods operations among the peasants, traders and craftsmen and other small owners, were underdeveloped and behind the countries of the region (Stojanović, Mihić, 2010, p. 565).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman Empire there were primitive forms of loans, trade credit being the most dominant one. Waqfs, church municipalities, monastery management, wealthy ministers, citizens and money traders were monetary creditors even four hundred years ago. Even though neither Christianity nor Islam allowed lending money with interest, money business was conducted in secret by Jews, Christians and Muslims and their organizations (Marković, 1938, p. 4). Before the appearance of banking organizations, the key role in overcoming the issues of lack of money in the imperial state treasury was played by money traders, who were the main credit foundation of Ottoman state finance (Gnjatović, 2012, p. 18). In Serbia, during the rule of Miloš Obrenović the most famous money traders were Konstantin Stojanović - money trader of the Belgrade Vizier and David Hajim - money trader of Prince Miloš.

The history also remembers the arrangements of Duke Sandalja Hranića-Kosaće, nephew of Duke Vlatko Vuković (Tošić, 2002, p. 243) who was investing money for profit in the Wheat Chamber in Venice and selling the part of Konavle to Dubrovnik. Investing money for profit meant keeping a part of means for the purchase of Konavle as a guarantee to the people of Dubrovnik until they own the purchased land, with the interest of 5% (Kurtović, 2010, p. 9). These business arrangements involved the most prominent representatives of Konavle region, owners of Konavle, dukes Sandalj Hranić and Radoslav Pavlović with their successors, and their main representatives Pribislav Pavlović and Brailo Tezalović. Depositing money proved

to be the origin of modern forms of savings and transfer of financial trade at the European market from Dubrovnik to Bosnia. This is where Dubrovnik takes the role of a banker who manages the invested means, and the depositors - typically nobility, gain annual profit as interest for the invested means. However, with the fall of Herzegovina, in the second half of the 15th century, and the migration of a large number of Christians to the surroundings of Dubrovnik, Venetian Republic and Smederevo Sanjak, almost all business operations with the Ottoman Empire were stopped (Miljković, Bojanić, 2000, p. 297).

By the half of the 19th century, in Herzegovina, the trade credit was dominant, because in the spring traders from smaller towns and casabas got the goods from the larger traders from Sarajevo and Mostar, along with the commitment to pay in goods after the harvest. This form of crediting was contributed to by the establishment of credit in Bosnia and Herzegovina, done by Turkey in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, when the state used a series of reforms and introduced the institution of "menafisanduk" (Grđić, 1976, p. 35). The goal of the reforms was centralization and introduction of new forms of financial income due to its enlargement, while all agricultural obligations were replaced by money. Lending to farmers was done through the creation of reserves of agricultural products in case of poor harvests and famine. After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the new Austro-Hungarian occupation authorities continued to use this form of lending to farmers. Already in 1886, in Gacko, the Regional Aid Fund was established which was the new name for "manifisanduk". To the district of Gacko, the Provincial government gave 5,000 forints for founding the aid fund, along with the obligation to repay 1,000 forints in the following five years to the same fund. Over time, the capital grew to 15,000 forints, which was the answer of the Provincial government to the population of Gacko concerning the issue of obtaining financial aid. This fund was providing aid to the peasants in the form of loans. Since 1887 the funds were established in Nevesinje and thirteen more districts.

However, at that level of economic development, money was necessary to the

najčešće dolazilo prodajom veoma oskudnih proizvoda i izvozom stoke i stočnih proizvoda, pre svega mesa, sira, kože, drva i građe.

S obzirom na sudbinu srpskog naroda, koji je u pokrajinama Bosni i Hercegovini živeo pod otomanskom vlašću i negativne posledice koje je ta vlast ostavila na njihov ukupan društveni i privredni razvoj, stanje se nije mnogo promenilo ni nakon oslobađanja od Turaka. Odlukama Berlinskog kongresa iz 1878. godine gotovo ista sudbina je pogodila srpski narod i pod Austrougarskom monarhijom. Iako su očekivane značajnije promene na društvenom, ekonomskom, kulturnom i sportskom planu, obe pokrajine i dalje su se suočavale sa velikim problemima u gotovo svim oblastima života. Promene su tekle veoma sporo i ekonomija u pokrajinama značajno je zaostajala u odnosu na druge delove monarhije. Za okupacionu vlast pokrajine su činile jedinstvenu celinu i prema njima je vođena posebna politika. To se odnosi i na novčane i bankarske organizacije, njihovu poslovnu politiku, organizaciju, strukturu vlasništva i upravljanje.

Nastanak prvih banaka sa stranim kapitalom

Potrebe za novčanim zavodima, bankama i kreditima nastaju tek nakon oslobođenja ovih

pokrajina od turske vlasti posle Berlinskog kongresa, kada Austrougarska pokreće značajnije poslove u privredi, izgradnji puteva, trgovini i zanatstvu (Tasić, 1992. str. 26.). Radi izvršenja preuzetih obaveza na Berlinskom kongresu, Austrougarska uvodi red na okupiranoj teritoriji putem držanja brojne vojske, žandarmerije i činovništva. Posebno se angažuje na izgradnji vojnih kasarni, upravnih zgrada, popravci puteva i drugim poslovima, koji su od njenog interesa. Na tim radovima angažovan je sve veći broj ljudi, što je dovelo do povećanja priliva i cirkulacije novca, većih zarada po osnovu rada i povećane potrošnje. Sa tim rastu i potrebe za novim, većim i raznovrsnijim poslovima, koje više nije moguće finansirati iz tekućih izvora. Za obavljanje tih poslova potrebna su veća finansijska sredstva. Stoga, Austrougarska sa novom vlašću u okupiranoj državi pokreće aktivnost na osnivanju banaka, novčanih zavoda i drugih finansijskih organizacija koje će za njene potrebe obavljati kreditne poslove. Međutim, privatni sektor u Hercegovini, nerazvijen, usitnjen, neorganizovan i s nedovoljnim kapitalom nije bio ekonomski i finansijski sposoban niti stručno osposobljen da organizuje jednu takvu kreditnu organizaciju.

Od Berlinskog kongresa i međunarodnog priznanja Srbije, Crne Gore i Rumunije



Aloiz Šon, Pijaca u Sarajevu, 1897
Alois Schönn, Market in Sarajevo, 1897

population for settling other obligations, like tribute, head tax and fines, buying salt, various tools, cutlery, etc. Money was usually obtained by selling very rare products and export of cattle and livestock products, first of all meat, cheese, skin, wood and timber.

Considering the fate of the Serbian people, who were in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottoman rule and under the negative influences of the government on their overall social and economic development, the conditions could not be changed even after the liberation from the Turks.

Because of the decisions passed at the Berlin Congress in 1878, almost the same fate was brought upon the Serbian people under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Even though everyone expected more significant changes in social, economic, cultural and sports terms, both provinces were still facing great issues in almost all life areas. The changes were very slow and the economy in the provinces was significantly behind in comparison to other parts of the monarchy. The occupation government functioned as a whole, and the special politics was conducted according to their instructions. This refers to money and banking organizations, their business politics, organization and ownership structure and management.

Appearance of the first foreign capital banks

The need for money offices, banks and loans arose after the liberation of these provinces from the Turks after the Berlin Congress, when the Austro-Hungarian government set in motion more significant operations in the economy, road construction, trade and crafts (Tasić, 1992. p. 26). In order to execute the taken obligations at the Berlin Congress, Austro-Hungary introduced order in the occupied territory by holding numerous army, gendarmerie and officialdom. They were especially engaged in building military barracks, headquarters, road reparations and other business matters which they were interested in. They hired a great number of people to conduct all these operations, which led to the increase of inflow of money, greater earnings based on work

and increased consumption. Along with all of this the increase in the need for new, bigger and more diverse jobs was present, but it was not possible to finance them from the existing sources. For the purpose of conducting these jobs, there was the need for greater financial means. Therefore, Austro-Hungary with the new government in the occupied country set in motion the activities of founding banks, money offices and other financial organizations which would conduct loan-related jobs according to their needs. However, the private sector in Herzegovina, underdeveloped, scattered and unorganized with insufficient capital, was not economically, financially or professionally able to organize one such loan organization.

Since the Berlin Congress and the international recognition of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania, the newly liberated countries tended to base their functioning on European values and economic achievements. With a view to faster development and more efficient usage of their natural resources the Balkan countries expressed interest in getting support when it comes to utilizing the European capital. At the same time, the developed countries showed their interest in expanding business operations with the Balkan countries. This generated room for the developed European countries, most of all France, Germany and Austro-Hungary, to expand and strengthen the economic cooperation and entrance of their capital into the Balkans, along with their participation in the exploitation of woods, mines, especially mines of lead, zinc and copper as well as other natural resources. This is why the foreign capital had an important place in supporting the modern development of the Balkan countries, and it was of interest to the concerned countries and their operations (Mitrović, 2004. p. 35-36).

In 1883 in order to realize the goals in the Balkan countries, Austro-Hungary together with the French capital supported the opening of the first modern banking facility in Serbia - Serbian Loan Bank. It was mainly dedicated to financing the import of certain products from Austro-Hungary (Mitrović, p. 51). In the same year, the Hungarian Trade Bank from Pesta started working in Serbia (Mitrović, p. 43).

новоoslobođene zemlje nastojale su da svoj razvoj zasnivaju na evropskim vrednostima i privrednim dostignućima. Radi bržeg razvoja i efikasnijeg korišćenja prirodnih resursa sa kojima raspolažu, balkanske zemlje su izrazile interes za pomoć u korišćenju evropskog kapitala. Istovremeno, i razvijene zemlje istakle su svoju zainteresovanost za širenje poslovanja sa balkanskim zemljama. Time je otvoren prostor razvijenim evropskim državama, pre svega Francuskoj, Nemačkoj i Austrougarskoj za proširivanje i jačanje privredne saradnje i prodor njihovog kapitala na Balkan, te njihovo učešće u eksploataciji šuma, rudnika, posebno rudnika olova, cinka i bakra kao i drugih prirodnih sirovina. Stoga je strani kapital imao veoma značajno mesto u podržavanju modernijeg razvoja balkanskih zemalja, koji je prevashodno služio interesima svojih poslova i interesima zemalja kojima je pripadao (Mitrović, 2004. str. 35-36).

Radi ostvarivanja svojih ciljeva u zemljama na Balkanu, Austrougarska je zajedno sa francuskim kapitalom 1883. godine podržala otvaranje prve moderne bankarske ustanove u Srbiji Srpske kreditne banke, koja je prvenstveno bila posvećena finansiranju uvoza određenih proizvoda iz Austrougarske (Isto, str. 51.). Iste godine u Srbiji je počela sa radom i Peštanska mađarska trgovačka banka (Isto, str. 43.).

Širenje mreže stranih banaka

Na zahtev Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu Union banka iz Beča osnovala je 1883. godine u Sarajevu prvi novčani zavod Privilegovano odeljenje Union banke. Time je Austrougarska proširila mrežu novčanih zavoda i banaka i na teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine. Banka je davala zajmove posednicima agara i begovima za potrošnju, a seljacima za otkup kmetovskih selišta i slobodne zemlje muslimana, koji su se iseljavali u Tursku. S obzirom da zavod sa svojim kapitalom nije mogao da zadovolji sve potrebe za novcem, bosanska vlada iz Sarajeva je 1889. godine osnovala "Bosansko-hercegovački hipotekarni zavod" (Marković, 1938. str. 8.).

Austrougarska monarhija je težište razvoja u Bosni i Hercegovini prvenstveno usmerila na širenje privredne aktivnosti u Sarajevu i

pojednim većim gradovima, što je povećalo potrebe za kreditima, naročito u trgovini i zanatstvu. Vlada je osnovala još nekoliko zavoda i štedionica i u drugim gradovima-Banja Luci, Brčkom i Bijeljini. Pored Vlade akcionari u ovim bankarskim organizacijama bili su i gradske opštine, činovnici i poneki građanin iz svake konfesije. Međutim, ekonomska politika okupacione vlasti i Zemaljske vlade potpuno je ignorisala interese i potrebe najvećeg broja stanovnika koji su živeli po selima. Njihov ekonomski i materijalni položaj je i dalje bio veoma težak i neizvestan.

Na teritorijama na koje se proširila Austrougarska monarhija važili su njeni trgovački zakoni, koji su pravno uređivali odredbe i o akcionarskim društvima u privredi i bankama (Vujović, 2002. str. 48.). Poslovna aktivnost novoosnovanih zavoda i banaka isključivo je bila usmerena na finansiranje poslova koji su od interesa okupacione vlasti. Mere koje je austrougarska vlast na početku okupacije preduzimala u privredi, bankama i drugim oblastima nailazile su na nepoverenje i indiferentnost kod domaćeg stanovništva, posebno kod srpskog življa, koje se držalo po strani. Međutim i pored otežanih uslova rada i poslovanja kod svih naroda koji su živeli u jednoj državi, iako duboko razjedinjeni, jačale su potrebe za bržim razvojem i boljim životom, a time i za organizovanje nacionalnih privrednih jedinica, pre svega u bankarstvu. U odsustvu brige države za njihove probleme, šansu su videli u samoorganizovanju i predizimanju akcija koje će poboljšati njihov položaj u društvu.

Pionirski značaj za osnivanje bankarskih ustanova na prostorima gde su živeli Srbi imali su članci objavljeni u Srpskim novinama novembra 1845. i januara 1847. godine u kojima se ukazuje na novčanu krizu u Srbiji i potrebu stvaranja nacionalne poslovne banke na akcionarskoj osnovi (Mitrović, 2004. str. 9.). Nosio te ideje bili su sitni trgovci i studenti, koji su trgujući i studirajući na univerzitetima u Evropi sticali nova znanja i iskustva iz bankarstva, trgovine i rada njihovih udruženja i organizacija. Iako je ova ideja bila daleka tadašnjem mišljenju i poslovanju u Srbiji, ona je na radikalna način otvorila novi pogled u razmišljanju i sučeljavanju sa vremenom koje prolazi i ukazala na potrebu stvaranja novih vrednosti kao što su banke.

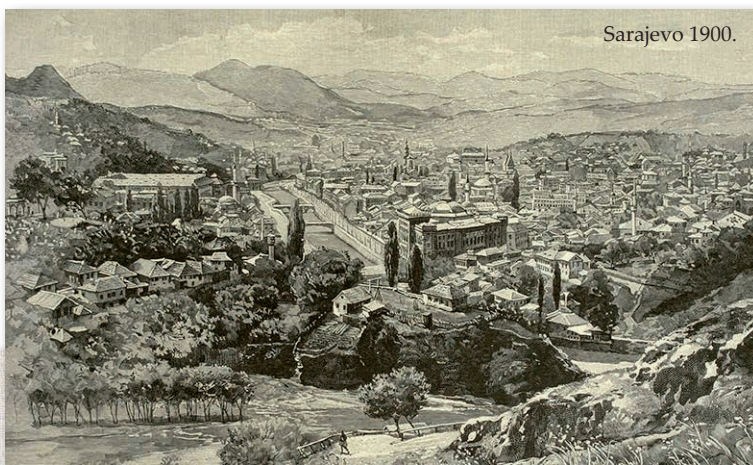
Expansion of foreign banks network

At the demand of the Provincial Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1883 the Union Bank from Vienna founded the first money office, i.e. the Privileged Department of Union Bank in Sarajevo. This is how Austro-Hungary expanded the network of money offices and banks at the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bank was giving loans to owners, aghas and bays for the purpose of consumption, and to peasants to buy serf land and free land of the Muslims, who moved to Turkey. Considering that this office with its capital could not satisfy all needs for money, the Bosnian Government from Sarajevo founded the „Bosnia and Herzegovina Mortgage Office“ (Marković, 1938. p. 8).

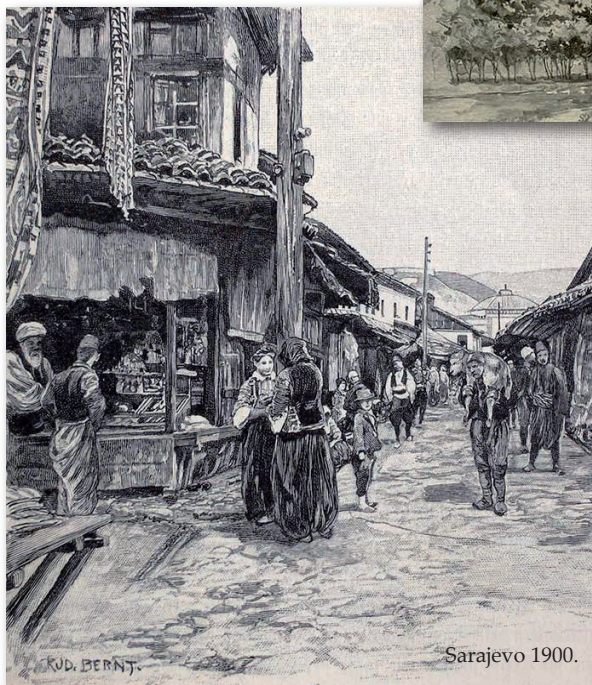
The Austro-Hungarian monarchy directed the centre of development in Bosnia and Herzegovina towards the expansion of economic activities in Sarajevo and in certain larger cities, which increased the needs for loans, especially in trade and craftsmanship. The government founded several more offices and savings bank in other cities - Banja Luka, Brčko and Bjeljina. Besides the government, the shareholders in these banking organizations were also city municipalities, officers and some

citizens from every confession. However, the economic policy of the occupation government and the Provincial Government completely ignored the interests and needs of the majority of the population who lived in the countryside. Their economic and material position was still very difficult and uncertain.

In the territories to which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy expanded, their trade laws were in force, legally determining the provisions on joint stock companies in the economy and banks (Vujović, 2002. p. 48). The activity of newly founded offices and banks was strictly directed towards financing of jobs which were of interest to the occupation government. The measures which the Austro-Hungarian government took in the beginning of the occupation in the economy, banks and other areas were met with distrust and indifference of the domestic population, especially the Serbian people, who kept their distance. However, besides the difficult working conditions and business operations with all people who lived in



Sarajevo 1900.



Sarajevo 1900.

one country, even though they were profoundly separated, the need for a better life and faster development grew stronger, and thereby also the need for organizing the national economic units, first of all in banking. Despite the state's lack of care for their issues, they saw a chance in self-organization and taking over the action which would improve their social position.

Articles published in the Serbian papers in November 1845 and January 1847 which pointed to the money crisis in Serbia and the need for establishing the national commercial bank on a shareholding basis, were of pioneer significance for founding the banking institutions in the

Međutim, nedostatak organizovanog kredita pogodovao je razvoju zelenaštva (Kovačević, 2011. str. 19-20.).

Prvi novčani zavod Upravu fondova u Srbiji osnovala je država 1862. godine, u koju su akumulirani svi dotadašnji državni fondovi: crkveni, manastirski, školski, pupilni i depozitni novac kod sudova i šumski fond (Kršev, 2007. str. 202-203.). Novac iz fonda je odobran za hipotekarne kredite kao i za pozajmice za elementarnu štetu i za pokretanje trgovine i radinosti. Pored toga, za privredu i nastanak banaka sa domaćim kapitalom na okupiranim prostorima gde su živeli Srbi, značajno je osnivanje Prve srpske banke 1869. godine u Beogradu (Privilegovana narodna banka Kraljevine Srbije 1884-1909, 1909., str. 2.) i Narodne banke Kraljevine Srbije 1884. godine (Narodna banka 1884-1934., 1934. str. 5.). Narodna banka je ustanovljena kao privilegovana privatna ustanova tipa akcionarskog društva, sa jakim nadzorom države nad njenim radom. Njeno osnivanje u javnosti je primljeno kao izraz visoke nacionalne svesti i smisla za privredni interes (Vujović, 2010. str. 113.). Učešće u akcionarskom kapitalu Prve srpske banke imali su i akcionari iz Beča i Pešte, što ukazuje na interes stranog kapitala za ulaganje i na ova područja. Akcije ove banke smatraju se prvim akcijama koje je emitovala jedna srpska banka. Iako je banka postojala svega četiri godine i otišla u stečaj zbog obavljanja brojnih poslova bez prethodnog sagledavanja poslovnog rizika, naročito se baveći berzanskim spekulacijama i građenjem železnica u inostranstvu (Privilegovana narodna banka Kraljevine Srbije, isto, str. 3), njen rad se može

smatrati kao važno finansijsko iskustvo na ovim prostorima (Cvijetić, 1964. str. 97-121.).

Osnivanje Srpske banke d.d. u Zagrebu 1895. godine, gde je među osnivačima bilo i sedam viđenijih Srba iz Sarajeva, Mostara, Tuzle i Brčkog predstavlja korak dalje u razvoju bankarstva na ovim prostorima. Za srpsko stanovništvo to je značilo jačanje njihove pozicije u društvu, podsticaj za ulaganje kapitala u banku i veći pristup kapitalu u ostvarivanju svojih ciljeva. Istovremeno, to je predstavljalo podsticaj za stvaranje bankarskih organizacija i na drugim teritorijama, pre svega pokrajinama Bosni i Hercegovini. Za razvoj tržišta kapitala značajno je i osnivanje Beogradske berze 1894. godine kao akcionarskog društva, na kojoj su se kotirale akcije preko 140 novčanih zavoda, banaka, zalagaonica, štedno-kreditnih zadruge i oko 40-tak industrijskih, trgovačkih, osiguravajućih, rudarskih, transportnih i drugih društava (Beogradska berza, 1994. str. 25-26.). Sa društvom Privrednik to je predstavljalo značajan faktor u jačanju srpskog bića za nacionalno oslobođenje okupirane zemlje.

Međutim, u aktivnostima srpske zajednice na ekonomskom planu, Austrougarska vlast je videla veliku opasnost za svoj položaj u Bosni i Hercegovini, pa je stoga Zemaljska vlada u Sarajevu veoma brzo preduzela određene mere, kojima će parirati delovanju Srpske banke i time umanjiti njen uticaj u narodu. Na inicijativu Vlade, a po sporazumu između Vinerbankferajna i Ugarske banke za industriju i trgovinu iste godine kada je osnovana i Srpska banka, u Sarajevu je osnovana Privilegovana zemaljska banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu sa kapitalom od četiri miliona forinti i dodatnim

kreditom u istom iznosu i znatnim drugim privilegijama, kao što je korišćenje jeftinog kapitala iz depozita zemaljske vlade, te sudskih, opštinskih, činovničkih i oficirskih depozita. To je banci omogućilo da sa tako obilnim sredstvima već na samom početku rada razvije jaku privrednu aktivnost. Naredne godine, banka preuzima i druge banke i proširuje mrežu filijala u Mostaru i Tuzli, upravo u mesta odakle su osnivači



areas where the Serbs lived (Mitrović, 2004. p. 9). The bearers of this idea were small traders and students, who, while trading and studying at universities in Europe, acquired the knowledge and experience in banking, trade and work in their associations and organizations. Even though the idea was distant from the opinions and business practices in Serbia of that time, it provided, in a radical way, a new way of thinking and was opposing the past times, thereby pointing to the need of creating new values such as banks. However, the lack of organized loans was favourable for the development of usury (Kovačević, 2011. p. 19-20).

The first money office, i.e. the Administration of Funds in Serbia was founded by the state in 1862, and all current state funds were accumulated in it: church, monastery, school, trust and deposit money in courts, and the forest fund (Kršev, 2007. p. 202-203). Money from the Funds Administration was granted for mortgage loans and loans for covering the damage caused by natural disasters and establishing trade and industry. Besides this, what was very significant for the economy and the appearance of banks with domestic capital in the occupied territories where the Serbs lived was the establishment of the First Serbian bank in 1869 in Belgrade (Privileged National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbia 1884-1909, 1909, p. 2) and the National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbia in 1884 (National bank 1884-1934, 1934. p. 5). The National Bank was established as a privileged private establishment similar to joint stock company, with a strong monitoring by the state. Its establishing was received by the public as an expression of high national awareness and sense for economic interest (Vujović, 2010. p. 113).

Participation in joint stock capital of the First Serbian bank was handed to shareholders from Vienna and Pesta, which suggests the interest of foreign capital for investing in these areas. The shares of this bank are considered to be the first shares issued by a Serbian bank. Even though the bank existed for four years and went bankrupt because of doing numerous jobs before understanding the business risks, especially dealing with stock market speculations and building railroads abroad (Privileged National Bank of the Kingdom of Serbia 1884-1909, p.3) its work can be considered an important

financial experience in these areas (Cvijetić, 1964. str. 97-121).

Establishing of the Serbian Bank d.d. in Zagreb in 1895, with 7 prominent Serbs from Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla and Brčko among the founders, represented a step forward in banking development in this region. For the Serbian population this meant strengthening of their position in society, encouragement for investing of capital in the bank and greater approach to the capital in realizing their goals. At the same time this presented encouragement for the establishment of banking organizations in other territories as well, first of all in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Significant for the development of capital markets was the establishment of the Belgrade Stock Exchange in 1894 as a joint stock company, with the listed shares of over 140 financial institutes, banks, pawnshops, savings and loan associations and about 40 industrial, commercial, insurance, mining, transport and other companies (Belgrade Stock Exchange, 1994. p. 25-26). With the association Privrednik, this was a significant factor in the strengthening of the Serbian existence with the purpose of the national liberation of the occupied territory.

However, the activities of the Serbian community in the field of economy were perceived by the Austro-Hungarian government as a great danger for its position in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is why the Provincial government in Sarajevo very quickly took certain measures, reflected in the actions of the Serbian Bank, all of which diminished its influence on the people. At the initiative of the government, and according to the agreement between Wiener Bankverein and Hungarian Bank for Industry and Trade in the same year when the Serbian Bank was founded, the Privileged Land Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded in Sarajevo, with the capital of four million forints and additional loan in the same amount and significant other privileges, like using cheap capital from the deposit of provincial government, along with the court, municipal, clerk and officer deposits. This enabled the bank to develop a strong economic activity with such large means at the very beginning. In the following year, the bank took over other banks and expanded the

Srpske banke i vođe srpskog autonomnog pokreta. Isto tako, Ugarska preko Mađarske banke d.d. iz Budimpešte osniva filijale u Mostaru, Sarajevu i Banja Luci. Širenjem mreže bankarskih organizacija i na teritoriju Hercegovine Austrougarska je povećala svoj uticaj na privredni život u pokrajini. Osnivanjem akcionarskih banaka ubrzan je raspad esnafskog načina rada i otvoren proces za razvoj naprednijih oblika organizovanja privrede. (Vujović, 2010. str. 113.).

Za ostvarivanje svojih ciljeva na okupiranoj teritoriji Austrougarska vlast je prema domaćem življu, posebno srpskom preduzela razne represivne mere. Naročito je negativno na Srbe uticalo ukidanje crkvenoškolske autonomije, koja je ostala još od Turaka, te zatvaranje gimnazije i postavljanje komesarijata po školskim i crkvenim odborima. To je uticalo na jačanje pokreta Srba na stvaranje autonomije, pre svega kroz osnivanje kulturno prosvetnih, pevačkih i sportskih društava. Te aktivnosti su proširene i na druge oblasti društvenog i privrednog života u zemlji, pre svega na razvoj ekonomije u oblasti novčarstva i kreditne politike. Ima mišljenja (Marković, isto, str. 10), da je domaće bankarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini niklo iz političkih razloga i uklopilo se u opšti narodnooslobodilački pokret. Iz istih pobuda i sa istim ciljevima nastali su hrvatski, muslimanski i mešoviti novčani zavodi. Preduzimanjem ovih i drugih mera, srpski narod na okupiranim teritorijama je na svaki režimski udar odgovarao protivudarom u svim oblastima i time sačuvao svoj identitet i opstao na prostorima na kojima vekovima živi.

Osnivanje banaka sa domaćim kapitalom

Prva banka u Hercegovini sa domaćim kapitalom bila je Trgovačka banka i štedionica, koja je osnovana 1903. godine u Mostaru. Naredne godine banka je promenila ime u Srpsku banku (Marković, isto, str. 10.). Kapital banke u iznosu od 180.000 forinti bio je srpski. Mostar je u to vreme bio trgovački i prosvetni centar sa dosta obrazovanih i imućnih trgovaca i zanatlija, koji su održavali prijateljske i poslovne veze sa osnivačima Srpske banke u Zagrebu. Osnivanje banke i njen poslovni uspeh

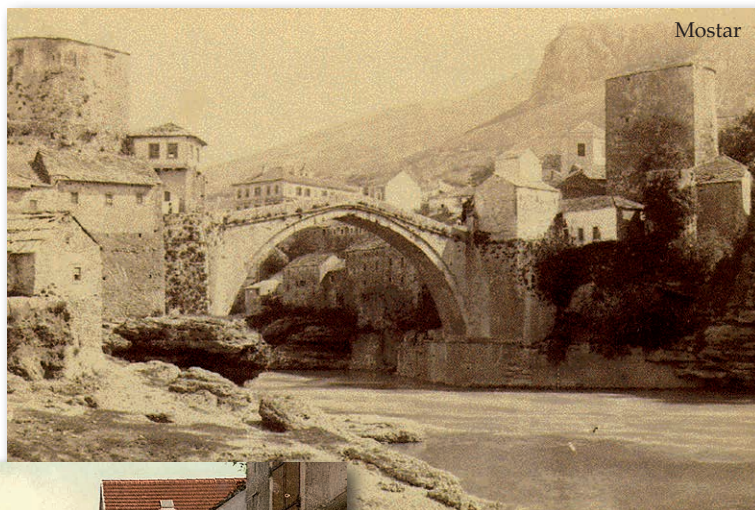
pokrenuli su mnoge imućnije ljude i u drugim mestima u Bosni i Hercegovini na mobilisanje svojih sredstava i osnivanje sličnih novčanih zavoda (Grđić, 1976, str. 36.). Tako su u Hercegovini osnovane Srpska banka i štedionica d.d. u Trebinju (AJ fond 65, 1910.), Trgovačka banka d.d. u Trebinju, Srpska štedionica d.d. u Gacku, i Zadruga sa ograničenim jemstvom u Gacku. Širenje mreže banaka i drugih novčanih zavoda u Hercegovini doprinelo je ubrzanju razvoja sitne proizvodnje, zanatstva i trgovine i njihovom bržem povezivanju sa okruženjem.

Osnovna funkcija novoosnovanih nacionalnih banaka, koje su osnivane u veoma zaostaloj i usitnjennoj privrednoj aktivnosti, uglavnom se zasnivala na praksi stranih banaka, pre svega austrougarskih. Delokrug poslovanja banaka bio je široko postavljen i težište rada je stavljeno na obavljanje poslova primanja novca na nedeljnu štednju sa kamatom (priplod), otvaranje tekućih računa, eskont i reeskont menica, davanje zajmova na državne papire i druge papire od vrednosti, davanja zajmova po tekućem računima na osnovu hipoteke ili državnih i drugih papira od vrednosti, kupovinu i prodaju svakovrsnih papira od vrednosti, devize, kovani i razni strani novac, robu, sirovine i druge predmete za tuđ i sopstveni račun, vršenje svih bankovnih i menjačkih poslova, kupovinu i prodaju nepokretnosti, posredovanje kod sklapanja trgovačkih poslova za tuđ račun i u tuđe ime, posredovanje u poslovima konzorcija za pojedina privredna preduzeća, kreditiranje prema njihovoj kreditnoj sposobnosti po posebnom pismenom sporazumu i zadržavanje pravo nadzora, naplate i isplate računa, te osnivanje i rukovođenje stovarištima i skladištima za robu i sirovine, na proizvode zemljoradnje, industrije i obrta, davanje zajmova na zaloge na robu, zlato, srebro i dragocenosti, primanje zastupstva industrijskih preduzeća i drugih većih firmi, na prodaju i kupovinu svakovrsne robe, kao i zastupstva osiguravajućih društava za svakovrsna obezbeđenja.

Prema istraživanjima V. Ristića i Lj. Kosijera pre prvog svetskog rata pod Austrougarskom okupacijom u Bosni i Hercegovini postojale su sledeće banke i novčani zavodi (Ristić, Kosijer, 1924. str. 22-23.):

1. Zemaljska banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (1895), Sarajevo,

network of branches in Mostar and Tuzla, in the places where the founders of the Serbian Bank and the leaders of the Serbian autonomous movement came from. Likewise, through the Hungarian Bank d.d. from Budapest, Hungary founded branches in Mostar, Sarajevo and Banja Luka. By means of the expansion of banking



organizations at the territory of Herzegovina, Austro-Hungary increased its influence on the economic life in the province. By founding joint stock banks they speeded up the disintegration of the artisan way of working and launched the process of developing more advance forms of economic organization (Vujović, 2010. str. 113).

With the aim of realizing goals in the occupied territory the Austro-Hungarian authorities took various repressive measures against the domestic population, especially the Serbian. The abolition of ecclesiastical school autonomy, inherited from the Turks, in particular had a negative impact on the Serbs, accompanied with the closing of high schools and establishing the commissariat in school and church boards. This influenced the strengthening of the Serbian movement aimed at gaining the autonomy, through the establishment of cultural and educational, singing and sports associations. Those activities were expanded to the other areas of social and economic life in the country, first of all the development of economy in the area of money and loan policy. There are opinions (Marković, same, p. 10) that

domestic banking in Bosnia and Herzegovina was established due to political reasons and was adapted to the general National Liberation Movement. It was for the same reasons and goals that the Croatian, Muslim and mixed money offices were established. By taking these and other measures, the Serbian people in the occupied territories replied to every regime strike by a

counterstrike in all areas and thereby kept their identity and managed to survive in the region in which they had lived for centuries.

Founding of domestic capital banks

The first bank in Herzegovina with the domestic capital was Trade and Savings Bank, founded in 1903 in Mostar. The following year the bank changed the name into the Serbian Bank (Marković, same, p. 10). The Bank's capital in the amount of 180,000 forints was Serbian. At that time Mostar was a trade and educational centre with many educated and wealthy traders and craftsmen who maintained friendly and business connections with the founders of the Serbian Bank in Zagreb. The founding of the Bank and its business success inspired many wealthy people in other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina to mobilize their means and establish similar money offices (Grđić, 1976, p. 36). That is how the Serbian Bank was established in Herzegovina, the Savings Bank d.d. in Trebinje (AJ fund 65, 1910), the Trade Bank d.d. in Trebinje, the

2. Srpska centralna privredna banka d.d. (1912), Sarajevo,
3. Banka za trgovinu i obrt d.d. (1911), Banja Luka,
4. Srpska štedionica d.d. (1906), Bijeljina,
5. Srpski kreditni zavod d.d. (1907) Bosanska Gradiška,
6. Srpska banka i štedionica d.d. (1912), Bosanska Krupa,
7. Srpska štedionica, d.d. (1911), Bosanski Novi,
8. Prva muslimanska banka d.d. (1908) Brčko,
9. Srpska trgovinska banka d.d. (1905) Brčko,
10. Muslimanska banka d.d. (1911) Foča,
11. Srpska banka i štedionica d.d. (1911) Foča,
12. Srpska štedionica d.d. (1911) Gračanica,
13. Hrvatska trgovačka banka i štedionica d.d. (1906) Livno,
14. Srpska štedionica d.d. (1911) Sanski Most,
15. Muslimanska trgovačka i poljodjelska banka d.d. (1912) Tešanj i
16. Trgovačka banka d.d. (1910) Trebinje.

Prema istraživanjima V. Smoljana samo na području okruga Mostara u 1910. godini postojali su sledeći novčani zavodi (Smoljan, 1996, str. 298-300):

1. Kotar Gacko - Srpska štedionica u Gacku (zadruga s. o. j.),
2. Kotar Ljubuški - Podružnica Trebinjske trgovačke, obrtničke i poljoprivredne banke (zadruga s. o. j.) u Ljubuškom, Hrvatska seljačka kasa za zajmove i štednju u Klobuku, Hrvatska seljačka kasa za zajmove i štednju u Vitini, Srpska zemljoradnička zadruga u Čapljini,
3. Kotar Mostar - Srpska banka d.d., Hrvatska seljačka kasa za zajmove i štednju, zadruga sa neograničnim jemstvom u Širokom Brijegu, Filijala Mostar Die Privilegierte Landesbank für Bosnien und Hercegovina, Mađarsko trgovačko d.d. Filijala Mostar, Srpska zemljoradnička zadruga u Bijelom Polju kod Mostara,
4. Kotar Trebinje - Srpska banka i štedionica d.d. u Trebinju, Trgovačka, obrtnička i poljoprivredna banka, zadruga sa ograničenim jemstvom u Trebinju,
5. Okrug Travnik - Hrvatska trgovačka banka i štedionica d.d. Livno i Srpska štedionica d.d. Livno.

Od stranih novčanih zavoda sa stranim

kapitalom u Hercegovini je postojala samo filijala Austrougarske banke u Mostaru sa prometom od 27,6 miliona kruna u 1912. godini, od toga mjenični promet i promet vrednosnih papira iznosio je 3,3 miliona kruna, što je znatno ispod rezultata koje su ostvarivale domaće banke (Grđić, 1976. str. 73.). Banke su osnovane kao deonička društva sa zadatkom da primaju na priplod kapital, unapređuju štednju, da organizovanim kreditom vrše bankarske poslove, da eskontuju i reeskontuju menice, daju zajmove na državne papire i druge papire od vrednosti, da olakšaju saobraćaj i podižu privredu, obrt i industriju (AJ fond 65, 1910, čl. 1. i 7.). Nerazvijeno bankarstvo sa oskudnom mrežom bankarskih organizacija u Hercegovini posledica je dugogodišnjeg ropstva ove oblasti pod Otomanskim carstvom, nerazvijene trgovine, zanatstva, zemljoradnje i nepovezanosti sa razvijenim zemljama iz regiona i njihovom privredom i niza ograničenja koje je sprovodila austrougarska vlast na okupiranoj teritoriji. Sitni i razjedinjeni sitnosopstvenici nisu imali dovoljno novca za veće udruživanje u novčane zavode, niti su austrougarske banke pokazivale veći interes za ulaganje kapitala u ovu oblast. Pored toga, nerazvijeno novčarstvo kao i privreda u celini za vreme turske vladavine na ovim prostorima nisu ostavili gotovo nikakvo iskustvo, koje je moglo predstavljati polaznu osnovu za brži ekonomski razvoj zemlje.

Austrougarski režim nastojao je na svaki način da osujeti napredak privrednog života i zemlji i stavi ga pod svoju kontrolu. Posebno je težio stvaranju što većeg razdora među „jednokrvnom braćom“, uvodeći plemenske i verske podele, sprovodeći izbore za sabor, kotarska veća i opštine po verskom ključu. Po tom osnovu su formirana kulturna, prosvetna, humana i viteška društva. To je predstavljalo jedinstven primer u Evropi da pod uticajem režima gotovo sva privredna društva, novčani zavodi, banke i zemljoradničke zadruge dobijaju plemenska i verska obeležja. Tako su nastali srpski, hrvatski i muslimanski novčani zavodi, banke, privredna, kulturna i sportska društva. Umesto ekonomskog jačanja i razvijanja integrativnih veza u svim oblastima društvenog i privrednog života, koje će doprineti bržem ekonomskom razvoju zemlje režim je podsticao dezintegracione procese, koji su vodili još većem apsolutizmu i centralizmu u upravljanju zemljom.

Serbian Savings Bank d.d. in Gacko and the Limited Liability Cooperative in Gecko. The expansion of the network of banks and other money offices in Herzegovina contributed to the acceleration of development of small manufacture, craftsmanship and trade and their faster integration into the environment.

The primary function of newly founded national banks, established in a very underdeveloped and small economy, was mostly based on the practice of foreign banks, commonly Austro-Hungarian. The scope of bank operations was wide and emphasis of work was set on receiving money means for weekly savings with interest, opening of accounts, discounting and rediscounting of bank bills, giving loans on state documents and other securities, giving loans on the accounts based on mortgage or state and other securities, buying and selling of various securities, foreign currencies, forged and various foreign money, goods, raw materials and other subjects for own and others account, doing all banking and exchange operations, buying and selling real estate, intermediation in the conclusion of transactions for the account of third parties and in someone else's name, intermediation in the business of consortiums for certain enterprises, crediting according to their credit rating based on the special written agreement and maintaining the right to monitor, billing and payment of accounts, founding and managing the storages for goods and raw materials, the products of agriculture, industry and trade, lending to stock up on goods, gold, silver, and precious things, receive representations of industrial companies and other major companies, sale and purchase of all kinds of merchandise, as well as the representation of insurance companies for all sorts of security.

Before the World War I under the Austro-Hungarian occupation in Bosnia and Herzegovina the following banks and money offices were active (Ristić, Kosijer, 1924. p. 22-23):

1. The National Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1895), Sarajevo,
2. Serbian Chamber of the Central Bank d.d. (1912), Sarajevo,
3. The Bank for Trade and Crafts d.d. (1911), Banja Luka,
4. Serbian Savings Bank d.d. (1906), Bijeljina,

5. Serbian Credit Bureau d.d. (1907), Bosanska Gradiška,
6. Serbian Bank and Savings Bank d.d. (1912), Bosanska Krupa,
7. Serbian Savings Bank, d.d. (1911), Bosanski Novi,
8. The First Muslim Bank d.d. (1908), Brčko,
9. Serbian Trade Bank d.d. (1905), Brčko,
10. Muslim Bank d.d. (1911), Foča,
11. Serbian Bank and Savings Bank d.d. (1911), Foča,
12. Serbian Savings Bank d.d. (1911), Gračanica,
13. Croatian Commercial Bank and Savings Bank d.d (1906), Livno,
14. Serbian Savings Bank d.d. (1911), Sanski Most,
15. The Muslim Merchant and Agricultural Bank d.d. (1912), Tešanj and
16. Trade Bank d.d. (1910), Trebinje.

According to the researches of V. Smoljan only in the area of Mostar in 1910 there were the following money offices (Smoljan, 1996, p. 298-300):

1. District Gacko - Serbian Savings Bank in Gacko (cooperative),
2. District Ljubuški - Branch of Trebinje Commercial, Craft and Agricultural Banks (cooperative), Ljubuški, Croatian Peasant Cash Office for Loans and Savings in Klobuk, Croatian Peasant Cash Office for Loans and Savings in Vitina, Serbian Agricultural Cooperative in Čapljina,
3. Mostar District - Serbian Bank d.d., Croatian Peasants' Cash Office for Loans and Savings, Unlimited Liability Cooperative in Siroki Brijeg, Branch Mostar der Privilegirten Landesbank fur Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary Commercial dd Mostar Branch, Serbian Agricultural Cooperative in Bijelo Polje, near Mostar,
4. Trebinje District - Serbian Bank and Savings Bank d.d. in Trebinje, Commercial, Craft and Agricultural Bank, Unlimited Liability Cooperative in Trebinje,
5. District Travnik - Croatian Commercial Bank and Savings Bank d.d., Livno and Serbian Savings Bank d.d., Livno.

From the foreign money offices with foreign capital in Herzegovina there was only the branch of Austro-Hungarian Bank in Mostar with the turnover of 27.6 million crowns in 1912,

Osnivanje banaka po nacionalnoj osnovi

Ubrzo nakon što su Srbi osnovali svoju banku, s istim ciljem osnivaju se hrvatski, muslimanski i ređe mešoviti novčani zavodi. Mreža banaka, štedionica i novčanih zavoda sa nacionalnim predznakom proširila se i na druga područja. Među njima je najveći broj banaka sa srpskim kapitalom. Procesi organizovanja, koncentracije i jačanja nacionalnih interesa u bankarskom sektoru najbolje se pokazuju kroz razvoj Srpske banke iz Mostara, koja je udružujući se sa Srpskom narodnom bankom iz Sarajeva osnovala Srpsku centralnu banku za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, te zajedno sa Srpskom kreditnom bankom iz Dervente i Srpskom privrednom bankom 1911. godine osnovana je Srpska centralna privredna banka u Sarajevu. Banka se razvijala kao nosilac srpskog novčarstva akcionarskog i građanskog zadružnog tipa i banka zemljoradničkog zadrugarstva. Po osnivanju banka je pomogla zemljoradnike sa 800.000 kruna. Slični procesi spajanja i koncentracije bankarskih organizacija odvijali su se i kod drugih etničkih grupa, Hrvata i Muslimana. Međutim, nacionalno bankarstvo u celini po kapitalu, organizaciji i mreži bankarskih organizacija i dalje je bilo nedovoljno za finansiranje većih preduzetnika i privrednih društava. Nešto povoljnije stanje je bilo kod udruživanja i organizovanja seljaka u zemljoradničke zadruge kojih je kod Srba bilo 98 a kod Hrvata 60. sa oko deset hiljada zadrugara. Tek, nakon Prvog svetskog rata dolazi do veće koncentracije bankarskog kapitala fuzijom dvadesetak srpskih banaka u

Srpsku Centralnu Privrednu Banku sa sedištem u Sarajevu, koja postaje jak novčani zavod, koji će doprineti podizanju i snaženju privrednika i privrednih društava u zemlji (Ristić. Kosijer, isto, str. 22. i 38.)

Osnivanje novčanih zavoda po etničkoj pripadnosti sastojalo se u sledećem: 1904. godine osnovana je Srpska štedionica u Sarajevu; 1905. osnovano je novih 5 srpskih i 1 hrvatski zavod; 1906. - 5 srpskih i prvi muslimanski zavod; 1907. - 3 srpska i 1 muslimanski; 1908. - 2 srpska, 1 hrvatski i 1 muslimanski; 1909. - 1 srpski i 1 muslimanski; 1910. - 2 hrvatska; 1911. - 6 srpskih, 2 hrvatska i 2 muslimanska; 1912. - 1 srpski i 1914. godine 1 srpski (Marković, 1924. str. 10.). U istom periodu osnovano je 5 domaćih novčanih zavoda sa mešovitim srpskim, hrvatskim i muslimanskim kapitalom, pri čemu je u nekim od njih učestvovao i jevrejski kapital i nešto austrijskog kapitala iz Beča.

Osnovni zadatak banaka podeljenih po nacionalnoj i verskoj pripadnosti sastojao se u tome da se poslovnom i kreditnom politikom doprinese privrednom jačanju i razvijanju svojih sunarodnika i njihovih privrednih jedinica. Svi su težili da doprinesu razvoju svojih gradova i sela, jačanju bankarskog kapitala kroz upis akcija i udela u okviru svojih interesnih grupa, obezbeđenju članstva u upravnim i nadzornim odborima i većoj ličnoj nadoknadi za rad u njima, te osposobljavanju za samostalno upravljanje privredom. Takva politika banaka se smatrala rodoljubivom dužnošću i patriotskim činom prema sopstvenom narodu i njegovim interesima. Pored toga, sve te aktivnosti imale su za cilj razvoj, jačanje, samostalnost i nezavisnost svake nacionalne zajednice i njenih privrednih jedinica u odnosu na uticaj bečko-peštanskog kapitala.

Poslovna aktivnost novčanih zavoda uglavnom se odnosila na depozitne i kreditne poslove, dok se manji broj banaka bavio i davanjem komunalnih i hipotekarnih zajmova. Prema poslovnoj politici banaka aktivna kamatna stopa iznosila je od 6 do 8% sa prvoklasnim pokrićem, a kod većih zavoda kamata se kretala i do 12%, dok je pasivna kamata iznosila 4%, nekad i



out of which the bill turnover and the turnover of securities amounted to 3.3 million crowns, significantly below the results realized by domestic banks (Grđić, 1976. str. 73). The banks were founded as joint stock companies with the task to receive capital for multiplication, to develop savings, to do banking business in terms of organized loans, discount and rediscount bills, loans based on government securities and other securities, to facilitate traffic, and develop the economy, trade and industry (AJ fund 65, 1910, art. 1 and 7). The underdeveloped banking with a small network of banking organizations in Herzegovina is the consequence of many years of slavery of this area under the Ottoman Empire, along with the underdeveloped trade, craftsmanship, agriculture and disconnectedness with the developed countries of the region and their economies as well as many limitations which were caused by the Austro-Hungarian government in the occupied territory. Small and disunited entrepreneurs did not have enough money for larger associations in money offices, nor did the Austro-Hungarian banks show larger interest for investing capital in this region. Besides, the underdeveloped banking as well as economy on the whole during the Turkish rule in this region left almost no experience that could serve as the foundation for faster economic development of the country.

The Austro-Hungarian regime wanted to ruin every advancement of economic life in the country and put it under its control. They especially wanted to create a major gap between „one blooded brothers“ by introducing tribal and religious divisions, conducting elections for the synod, district chambers and municipalities according to religion. On these grounds they constituted cultural, educational, humanitarian and chivalrous societies. This was a unique example in Europe that under the influence of the regime almost all economic societies, money offices, banks and agricultural associations acquired tribal and religious characteristics. That is how the Serbian, Croatian and Muslim money offices, banks, economic, cultural and sport societies were established. Instead of economic development and integrated connections in all areas of social and economic life, which would contribute to the faster

economic development of the country, the regime encouraged disintegrative processes, which led to greater absolutism and centralism in the management of the country.

Founding of banks on national grounds

Soon after the Serbs founded their own bank, the Croatian, Muslim and rare mixed money offices were founded with the same cause. The network of banks, savings bank and money offices with the national mark was expanding to other areas. There was a larger number of banks with the Serbian capital. The processes of organizing, concentration and strengthening of national interests in the banking sector were best shown through the development of the Serbian Bank from Mostar, which joined forces with the Serbian National Bank of Sarajevo and founded the Serbian Central Bank for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then together with the Serbian Loan Bank from Derventa and Serbian Commercial Bank in 1911 founded the Serbian Central Commercial Bank in Sarajevo. The bank was developed as the bearer of the Serbian banking, shareholding and retail loans and the bank of agricultural cooperatives. Upon its establishing, the bank helped farmers with 800,000 crowns. Similar processes of merging and concentration of banking organizations were done with other ethnical groups as well, the Croats and Muslims. However, the national treasure overall according to the capital, organization and network of banking organizations was still not enough to finance larger entrepreneurs and business companies. A somewhat more favourable conditions were present when it came to the associations and organizations of peasants into agricultural cooperatives, which the Serbs had 98 and the Croats 60 with around 10 thousand co-operators. Only after the war came a greater concentration of the banking capital with a fusion of twenty Serbian banks into the Serbian Central Commercial Bank with the headquarters in Sarajevo, which became a strong money office, contributing to the empowering of business companies in the country (Ristić, Kosijer, same, p. 22 and 38).

The establishment of money offices according to the ethnical origin took place as follows:

niže. Najveći deo kapitala, pre svega bečkog i peštanskog plasiran je u industrijska preduzeća, koja su se nalazila u vlasništvu stranog kapitala. Pored toga, novčani zavodi povlačili su kredite od njihovih filijala iz Mostara, Sarajeva i Banja Luke. U tome je značajnog udela imao i reeskont kredita od novčanih zavoda iz Beča, Pešte, Trsta i Graca.

Sa razvojem privrede, zanatstva i trgovine i izgradnjom puteva i javnih poslovnih i stambenih objekata širilo se i razvijalo bankarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, posebno u bosanskom delu i Sarajevu. Austrougarska vlast vodila je posebnu politiku jačanja i razvijanja grada Sarajeva kao centralnog, kulturnog, privrednog i upravnog grada na račun drugih gradova u zemlji. Okupaciona vlast je smatrala da će jačanjem i ratvijanjem samo jednog centra u zemlji kao što je Sarajevo lakše i efikasnije upravljati zemljom.

Prema istraživanjima V. Ristića i Lj. Kosijera (Ristić, Kosijer, Isto, str. 12.) neposredno pred Prvi svetski rat u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo je 54 samostalna novčana zavoda, verski podeljena i organizovana:

- 26 srpskih zavoda sa oko K 10.000.000 glavnice, 5.000.000 rezerve i 8.000.000 uloga - svega 23.000.000 kruna,
- 10 hrvatskih sa oko K 3.000.000 glavnice, 600.000 rezerve i 3.000.000 uloga - svega 6.600.000 kruna,
- 8 muslimanskih sa oko K 4.000.000 glavnice, 800.000 rezerve i 3.500.000 uloga - svega 8.300.000,
- 6 mešovitih sa oko K 1.500.000 glavnice, 500.000 rezervi i 3.200.000 uloga - svega 5.200.000
- 4 bečko-peštanska sa K 20.000.000 glavnice, 8.000.000 rezervi i 60.000.000 uloga - svega 88.000.000.

Podaci pokazuju da je 50 domaćih zavoda raspolagalo sa 43,1 milion kruna, dok su četiri bečko-peštanska zavoda raspolagala sa 88 miliona kruna, što ukazuje da su sa više od dve trećine ukupnog kapitala u novčanim zavodima raspolagali bečko-peštanski zavodi. Stranom kapitalu to je omogućilo veće kreditiranje privrede, a time i veći uticaj na ukupan privredni i društveni život u zemlji.

Zakonskim odredbama okupacione vlasti aktivnost nacionalnih banaka, normativno i

organizaciono bila je isključivo ograničena samo na unutrašnji teritorij Bosne i Hercegovine. Bankama nije bilo omogućeno širenje mreže svojih organizacionih delova na teritorije drugih država. Nasuprot tome, stranim bankama u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo je dozvoljeno da bez ograničenja i uslovljavanja mogu širiti mrežu svojih filijala i ekspozitura i na teritorije drugih država. Time je Austrougarska vlast nastojala da izolovano drži politički život, privredu, posebno bankarstvo od prirodne veze ove teritorije i njenog stanovništva sa Srbijom, Hrvatskom, Dalmacijom i Vojvodinom. Pored toga, režim je težio svim merama da jača i razvija Sarajevo kao jedan jak privredni i kulturni centar i time umanja značaj ostalih delova zemlje. Takva politika centralne vlasti i pored određenog napretka privrede, uticala je na veliko raslojavanje u društvu i stvorila vidne razlike u društvenom, privrednom i regionalnom razvoju, posebno zaostajanju gradova i sela u unutrašnjosti zemlje, pa i same države u odnosu na druge delove monarhije. Negativne posledice te politike posebno su nepovoljno delovale na razvoj bankarstva, odnosno ukupan privredni i ekonomski napredak Hercegovine.

Iako je monetarnom reformom u Austrougarskoj, tokom 90-tih godina devetnaestog veka ostvareno vezivanje nove valute krune za zlatni francuski franak i podstaknuto osnivanje velikog broja banaka i štedionica, što se smatra zlatnim dobom bankarstva u ovoj zemlji, to nije promenilo odnos prema domaćim bankama na okupiranoj teritoriji (Pal, 1998. str. 55-56.). Tim promenama broj banaka i štedionica sa 1207 u 1905. godini povećan je na 2001 u 1910. godini, a od toga u Bosni i Hercegovini sa 4 samo na 21 banku i štedionicu (Istorija bankarstva u Vojvodini, 2001. str. 190.). I ovi podaci ukazuju na diskriminatornu politiku Austrougarske prema razvoju domaćeg bankarstva na okupiranim teritorijama u Hercegovini i intenzivnom širenju mreže svojih bankarskih organizacija, koje su u funkciji ostvarivanja njenih interesa.

Međutim, predratni uticaj bečkih i budimpeštanskih kreditnih ustanova na banke u pokrajinama koje su pre Prvog svetskog rata bile u sastavu Austrougarske monarhije ostao je jak i kada su te pokrajine postale deo jugoslovenske

1904 - Serbian Savings Bank was founded in Sarajevo; 1905 - 5 new Serbian and 1 Croatian cooperatives were founded; 1906 - 5 Serbian and 1 Muslim; 1907 - 3 Serbian and 1 Muslim; 1908 - 2 Serbian, 1 Croatian and 1 Muslim; 1909 - 1 Serbian and 1 Muslim; 1910 - 2 Croatian; 1911 - 6 Serbian, 2 Croatian and 2 Muslim; 1912 - 1 Serbian and 1914 - 1 Serbian (Marković, 1924. p. 10). In the same period 5 domestic money offices were founded with mixed capital, Serbian, Croatian and Muslim, some of which involved the Jewish capital and some of which the Austrian capital from Vienna.

The primary task of the banks divided according to the national and religious grounds was to implement their business and loan policy with the aim of contributing to the economic strengthening and development of their people and their economic units. Everyone tended to contribute to development of their cities and villages, strengthen the banking capital through shareholding and shares within their interest groups, provide memberships in managerial and monitoring boards and greater personal earnings in them, and provide independent management of the economy. Such policies of the banks were considered to be the patriotic duty and patriotic acts towards their own people and their interests. Besides, all these activities had the goal of development, strengthening, autonomy and independence of every national community and their economic units in relation to the influence of the capital from Vienna and Pesta.

Business activities of money offices mostly referred to deposit and credit business, while a smaller number of banks dealt with providing utility and mortgage loans. According to the banks' business policy, active interest rate ranged from 6% to 8% with the premium coverage, and in larger offices the interest rate went up to 12%, while the passive interest rate amounted to 4% and sometimes even lower. The largest amount of capital, mostly from Vienna and Pesta, was placed in industrial enterprises, which were in the ownership of foreign capital. Moreover, money offices withdrew the money for credits from their branches in Mostar,



Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Rediscounting of loans by money offices from Vienna, Pesta, Trieste and Graz had a significant part in this.

With the development of economy, craftsmanship and trade, road construction, public business and residential buildings, banking in Bosnia and Herzegovina expanded, especially in the Bosnian part and Sarajevo. The Austro-Hungarian government led a special policy of strengthening and building the city of Sarajevo as the central, cultural, economic and managerial city at the expense of other cities in the country. The occupation government thought that, by strengthening and developing only one centre in the country, such as Sarajevo, it would manage the country more easily and more efficiently.

According to the researches of V. Ristić and Lj. Kosijer (Ristić, Kosijer, same, p. 12), just before the World War I in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 54 independent money offices, divided and organized by religion:

- 26 Serbian offices with about 10,000,000 of principal, 5,000,000 reserves and 8,000,000 deposits - total of 23,000,000 crowns,
- 10 Croatian with about 3,000,000 of principal, 600,000 reserves and 3,000,000 deposits - total of 11,000,000 crowns,
- 8 Muslim with about 4,000,000 of principal, 800,000 reserves and 3,500,000 deposits - total of 8,300,000 crowns,
- 6 mixed with about 1,500,000 of principal, 500,000 reserves and 3,200,000 deposits -total of 5,200,000 crowns,
- 4 from Vienna and Pesta with about 20,000,000 of principal, 8,000,000 reserves and 60,000,000 deposits - total of 88,000,000 crowns.

države Procenjeno je da je početkom posleratnog perioda učešće austrijskih i mađarskih banaka u jugoslovenskim novčanim zavodima iznosio u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji 40%, Slavoniji 20%, Vojvodini 43% i Bosni i Hercegovini 35%. Međutim, kada su te banke izgubile vodeći privredni položaj i našle oslonac u inostranstvu, zapadnoevropski kapital je uspostavio jaku vezu s jugoslovenskim bankarstvom (Tasić, isto, str. 198.).

Zaključak

Za vreme Otomanske vladavine u pokrajinama Bosni i Hercegovini sa nerazvijenom privredom, sitnim zanatstvom, trgovinom i esnafskim i kmetovskim odnosima u društvu nisu postojali novčani zavodi ni druge finansijske organizacije. Prvi oblici novčanih zavoda, štedionice i banaka u oblastima Bosne i Hercegovine javljaju se nakon Berlinskog kongresa i pod okupacijom Austrougarske monarhije. Osnivanje i njihov rad se zasnivao na zakonima Austrougarske, koji su važili na njenoj celoj teritoriji. Prve banke su osnovane krajem devetnaestog veka sa stranim kapitalom - austrijskim i ugarskim.

S obzirom na nerazvijenu, razjedinjenu i usitnjenu privredu, zanatstvo i trgovinu u Hercegovini nije bilo dovoljno novčanih sredstava ni mogućnosti za osnivanje banaka. Tek nakon više od dvadeset godina od vladavine Austrougarske 1903. godine domaći kapital osnovao je prvu banku Trgovačku banku i štedionicu d.d. u Mostaru. Time je otvoren prostor za osnivanje i drugih bankarskih organizacija u zemlji. Banke sa domaćim kapitalom uglavnom su se bavile kreditnim i depozitnim poslovima, dok su banke sa stranim kapitalom obavljale i robne poslove.

Podela privrednih, bankarskih, kulturnih i sportskih organizacija i drugih društava po verskoj i nacionalnoj osnovi, koju je sistematski sprovodila Austrougarska vlast na okupiranoj

teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine, nepovoljno je delovala na mobilnost i koncentraciju ionako nedovoljnog kapitala i brži privredni razvoj zemlje. To se odnosi i na ukupan društveni razvoj zemlje i njeno povezivanje sa zemljama iz okruženja. Umesto integracionih vlast je nizom mera sprovodila dezintegracione procese, koji su sputavali brži razvoj zemlje, uključujući i težnju za nacionalnim oslobođenjem.

Stvaranje novčanih zavoda i bankarskih organizacija, pre svega osnivanje Srpske banke i štedionice d.d. u Mostaru, kao i drugih banaka otvorilo je nove mogućnosti za veće kreditiranje privrede i drugih delatnosti, što je doprinelo bržem razvoju ovog regiona. Osnivanje Srpske banke u Zagrebu, gde je među osnivačima bilo i viđenijih Srba iz Hercegovine, podsticajno je delovalo na razvoj bankarstva. Iako pod veoma jakim nadzorom Austrougarske vlasti, aktivnosti koje su preduzimali Srbi snažno su doprineli jačanju nacionalne svesti o potrebi stvaranja svoje države sa razvijenim privrednim, bankarskim, kulturnim i drugim organizacijama.

Po oslobođenju zemlje i njenim ujedinjenjem u novu državu Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca trgovina, bankarstvo i sitno zanatstvo u Hercegovini predstavljali su polaznu osnovu za brži privredni napredak ovog područja. Jačanjem bankarskog sektora kroz fuziju i koncentraciju kapitala i relativno bržim razvojem privrede putem stvaranja industrijskih preduzeća, otvoreni su novi procesi u razvoju hercegovačke privrede (Grđić, isto, str. 45). Time su stvoreni uslovi i za veće korišćenje rudnih nalazišta uglja, gvožđa, aluminijuma, eksploataciju šuma, razvoj drvnoprerađivačke industrije, uzgoj stočarstva i zemljoradnje. Takođe, u novoj državi otvoreni su putevi za proširivanje privredne, tehničke, trgovinske i kulturne saradnje sa drugim delovima države, pre svega sa Bosnom, Srbijom, Dalmacijom i Crnom Gorom.

The data show that 50 domestic offices had 43.1 million crowns at their disposal, while the four offices with capital from Vienna and Pesta had 88 million crowns, which suggests that more than two thirds of the total capital in money offices was at the disposal of Vienna and Pesta offices. This enabled higher crediting by means of the foreign capital, and thereby a higher influence on the overall economic and social life in the country.

By laws and regulations of the occupation government the activities of national banks were normatively and organizationally limited only to the inner territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Banks were not enabled to expand the network of their organizational parts to the territories of other states. As opposed to that, foreign banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina were allowed to expand the network of their branches on the territories of other states without limitations or conditions. This is how the Austro-Hungarian government wanted to keep the political life, economy, and especially banking isolated from the natural connections of the territory and its population in Serbia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Vojvodina. Moreover, the regime wanted to strengthen and develop Sarajevo as a strong economic and cultural centre and, by doing so, to diminish the significance of other parts of the country. Such policy of the central government, despite certain economic progress, caused a major layering in the society and created noticeable differences in social, economic and regional development, especially the falling behind of cities and villages in the inland, and the country as a whole in relation to other parts of the kingdom. Negative consequences of such policy were especially unfavourable for the development of banking, i.e. the overall economic growth of Herzegovina.

Although with the monetary reform in Austro-Hungary, during the 1890s, the new currency crown was pegged to the French franc and the establishment of numerous banks and savings banks was encouraged, which is why this period is considered to be the golden age of banking in this country, this did not change the relation towards the domestic banks in the occupied territory (Pal, 1998. p. 55-56). Due to these changes, the number of banks and savings banks from 1,207 in 1905 increased to 2,001 in 1910 and in Bosnia and

Herzegovina only from 4 to 21 banks and savings banks (*The History of Banking in Vojvodina*, 2001. p. 190). These data show the discriminatory politics of Austro-Hungary towards the development of domestic banking in the occupied territories in Herzegovina and a more intense expansion of the network of their banking organizations, which were in the function of achieving their interests.

However, the impact of pre-war Vienna and Budapest's credit institutions on banks in the provinces which, before the World War I, were a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, stayed strong and when these provinces became a part of the Yugoslav state, the estimated participation of Austrian and Hungarian banks in the Yugoslav money offices in the beginning of the post-war period was as follows: in Croatia and Slovenia 40%, Slavonia 20%, Vojvodina 43% and Bosnia and Herzegovina 35%. However, when those banks lost the leading economic position and found the support abroad, the western European capital established a strong connection to the Yugoslav banking (Tasić, same, p. 198).

Conclusion

During the Ottoman rule in the Provinces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to the underdeveloped economy, small craftsmanship, trade and artisan and serf relations in the society, there were no money offices or other financial organizations. The first forms of money offices, savings banks and banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared after the Berlin Congress and under the occupation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Their establishment and activity was based on the laws of Austro-Hungary, which were in force on its entire territory. The first banks were founded at the end of the nineteenth century with the foreign capital from Austria and Hungary.

Considering the underdeveloped, disunited and fragmented economy, craftsmanship and trade in Herzegovina there was not enough money, means or possibilities to found banks. After more than twenty years of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1903 the domestic capital founded the first Trade Bank and Savings Bank d.d. in Mostar. This opened space for the establishment of other banking organizations

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in the country. Banks with domestic capital were dealing with credit and deposit business, while banks with foreign capital also conducted various operations with goods.

The division of economic, banking, cultural and sports organizations and other associations on the religious and national grounds, which was systematically incited by the Austro-Hungarian government in the occupied territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, negatively influenced the mobility and concentration of the insufficient capital and faster economic development of the country. This refers to the overall social development of the country and its connection with the neighbouring countries. Instead of supporting integration, the government performed various disintegration processes by a set of measures, which held back the development of the country, including the tendency for national liberation.

The creation of money offices and banking organizations, first of all the establishment of the Serbian Bank and Savings Bank d.d. in Mostar, along with the other banks, generated new possibilities for larger crediting of the economy and other activities, thereby contributing to the faster development of this region. The founding of the Serbian Bank in Zagreb, with prominent Serbs from Herzegovina among the

founders, was encouraging for the development of banking. Even though they were under the strong monitoring of the Austro-Hungarian government, the activities undertaken by the Serbs strongly contributed to the strengthening of the national awareness about the need for creating their own country with developed economic, banking, cultural and other organizations.

Upon the liberation of the country and its unification in the form of the new state, i.e. the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, trade, banking and small craftsmanship in Herzegovina was the starting point for a faster economic progress of this area. By strengthening the banking sector through fusion and concentration of capital and relatively faster development of economy by creating industrial enterprises, new processes were launched in the development of Herzegovina economy (Grđić, same, p.45). This created conditions for a bigger utilization of ore deposits of coal, iron, aluminium, and exploitation of forests, the development of wood-processing industry, breeding livestock and agriculture. Moreover, the new state acquired new ways to expand economy, technical, trade and cultural cooperation with other parts of the country, first of all Bosnia, Serbia, Dalmatia and Montenegro.