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CLIMBING UP THE SOCIAL LADDER?

SOCIAL MOBILITY OF ELITES IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE LONG 19TH CENTURY

Edited by Vlad Popovici, Alice Velková and Martin Klečacký

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Contents

Vlad Popovici, Alice Velková, and Martin Klečacký

Social Mobility of Elites in East-Central Europe in Historical Perspective. Introductory Study

The study of social mobility in pre-World War II periods has garnered increasing attention and experienced a marked surge in research activity worldwide during recent decades. A constellation of factors has converged to propel this development, with the most prominent being: the bedrock provided by the legacy of social mobility and historical social mobility research in the latter half of the twentieth century[1]; conceptual and methodological advancements, coupled with the emergence of innovative research tools in the field of historical sociology[2]; technological progress that has facilitated faster scholarly communication, enhanced access to a diverse range of sources, and boosted computing capabilities; and, lastly, the increasingly evident social disparities in contemporary society, which have kept the issue of social mobility at the forefront of discourse and demanded rigorous epistemological examination into the historical roots of the phenomenon.

Nevertheless, one of the main lingering challenges remains the uneven geographical distribution of research, even within the North-Western hemisphere, with a predominant focus on Western, Northern and (more recently) Southern Europe, and North America,[3] and fewer studies on Central and Eastern Europe.[4] Notably, the subfield of research encompassing the social mobility of elites has received even less attention under this particular label and from this perspective.

Note: This study was supported by the project of the Czech Science Foundation, no. 20–19463X, "Social mobility of elites in the Central European regions (1861–1926) and transition of imperial experience and structures in nation-states."

1 Selectively: Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*; Lipset and Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*; Parry and Parry, *The Rise of the Medical Profession*; Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union*; Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility*; Kaelble, "Eras of Social Mobility"; Kocka, "Family and Class Formation"; Kaelble, *Social Mobility in the 19th and 20th Centuries*; Shumsky (ed.), *Social Structure and Social Mobility*; Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Social Mobility in a Dutch Province"; Miles, *Social Mobility.*

2 van Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles, *HISCO*; van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS*; Lambert et al., HISCAM.

3 Selectively, from among more recent literature: O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence*, esp. 111–57; Dribe, Helgertz, and van de Putte, "Did social mobility increase"; Hertel, *Social Mobility in the 20th Century*; Modalsli, "Intergenerational Mobility in Norway"; Breen and Müller (eds.), *Education and Intergenerational Social Mobility*; Todd, *Snakes and Ladders.*

4 See the references to national literature on social mobility included in most of the chapters.

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As some of the chapters in this volume clearly illustrate, in the East-Central European regions social mobility research has primarily been the purview of sociologists and, in more recent periods, political scientists, while historians have engaged with the subject rather timidly and mainly within the interdisciplinary framework established by sociology. Within the literature dedicated to elites, while the social origins of those who comprise this conceptual category are addressed in numerous biographical and prosopographical works, studies explicitly grounded in the concept of social mobility, particularly intergenerational mobility at the group or social strata level, are also scarce. The present book, born out of the project "Social mobility of elites in the Central European regions (1861–1926) and transition of imperial experience and structures in nation-states,"[5] aims to provide an overview of contemporary perspectives, advancements, and adaptations in the research of elites' social mobility in Central and Eastern Europe from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries.

The book's overarching objective is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to expand historical knowledge of elites in Central and Eastern Europe by focusing on an aspect that has received less attention in existing literature: the mechanisms associated with the social mobility of individuals, and by extensions of groups, who constituted the upper echelons of society and/or specific professional fields. To achieve this aim, the studies compiled encompass some of the main categories of elite research: traditional elites (aristocracy), political elites (including parliamentary elites and representatives of distinct ethnic groups), administrative elites, and intellectual elites.

Secondly, from a methodological standpoint, the publication aims to illustrate how historians of modern-time elites in Central and Eastern Europe conceptualize and approach social mobility in conjunction with the more conventional research methodologies employed in this field (e. g., biography, prosopography, institutional history). Upon establishing these foundations, we aim to provide a comparative macro-zonal framework to better contextualize the findings of the underlying research project as well as future ones.

1 The Under-charted Borderland: Historical Social Mobility as Approached by Social Scientists, Political Scientists and Historians

The historical study of social stratification and mobility, as well as the examination of elites, constitute distinct yet intertwined branches within the field of social history. Social mobility, broadly defined, encompasses the movement of individuals, groups, or

5 Project EXPRO 2020 No. 20-19463X supported by the Czech Science Foundation. The current volume includes a selection of papers delivered at the conference "Political and administrative elites in Europe – Theory and Practice in Historical Perspective," in Prague and online, November 10–12, 2020.

sets of values across the social hierarchy, either vertically, signifying upward or downward social mobility, or horizontally, indicating a shift within the same social stratum but to a different faction or socio-professional domain.[6] The concept of elite (élite), referring to persons and groups characterized by superior attributes or abilities, positions of power and influence, or widespread recognition and prestige, remains a subject of debate among scholars. There is no consensus on using the term "elite" (with particular reference to the "power elite"), or "elites" (e.g., Vilfredo Pareto's view of the existence of elites in every professional field),[7] nor on regarding it as a distinct class or simply a social stratum.[8]

The concepts of social stratification, social mobility, and elites are closely intertwined, as elites are the product of a social hierarchization, and access to elite status, except in cases of inherited privilege, entails vertical social mobility – which may, but not always (as underlined by H. Kaelble in his overview of the field),[9] involve the displacement or decline in the status of others. Despite the inherent connection and overlap in social reality, research on these topics has exhibited a somewhat limited and imbalanced intersection. Perspectives, interests, and methodological approaches to social mobility vary among scholars from different disciplines, including social scientists, historians, and political scientists. While researchers of elites (historians and political scientists) generally demonstrate a higher interest in the social mobility of their subjects, scholars of social mobility (mainly social scientists) seem to pay less attention to elite groups or individuals.[10]

The divergence in perspectives and the distinct origins of these research fields play a significant role in this phenomenon. While the term "elite" itself is multifaceted and lends itself to diverse interpretations, the study of elites has traditionally centered on well-defined socio-professional groups occupying the upper echelons of the social hierarchy, wielding influence and exercising decision-making power.[11] The attention of elite scholars has only extended to other social strata when representatives of those strata interacted, individually or collectively, with elite spaces and, more notably, when they became part of them. One of the classic theories proposed by Pareto, the circulation of elites, hinges on the very description of a process of social mobility whose dynamics vary depending on the individual's starting point and which, as it manifests itself closer to the pinnacle of the social or professional hierarchy, exerts

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6 Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, 133–37. A synthetic overview of the main concepts and indicators by Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility*, 113–24.

7 Hartmann, *The Sociology of Elites*, 12–21; Pakulski, "Classical Elite Theory"; Higley, "Continuities and Discontinuities."

8 Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class?"

9 Kaelble, "Social Mobility," 428.

10 The trajectory of this subfield of research bears a resemblance to the decline observed in studies examining the impact of social mobility on electoral preferences and behavior following its transfer from the domain of sociology to political science. See Ganzeboom et al., "Comparative Intergenerational Stratification Research," 281.

11 Higley, "Continuities and Discontinuities," 25–39.

a more profound impact on society as a whole through its function of selecting those in positions of power. In Pareto's view, the survival of the elite as a group, particularly the ruling elite, is contingent upon the tempo of social mobility; a stagnation or, conversely, an excessively rapid flow can trigger "revolutions," resulting in the displacement of the entire ruling bloc.[12]

For scholars of historical elites, social mobility serves as a crucial concept, both valuable and unavoidable, as analyzing elites over time necessitates examining two concurrent processes: their circulation and reproduction. The first process, elite circulation, is fully integrated into the broader flow of social mobility, while the second, elite reproduction, partially intersects with it, along with its corollary, social immobility. Tracking the social mobility of elites in a historical context also presents another challenge; many of the sources typically employed for prosopographical studies (i. e., lists of elite group members and their characteristics at a specific historical moment) suffer from a paucity of information about the outflow from elite strata to other social spheres,[13] leading to a better understanding of upward social mobility than downward mobility. Consequently, centripetal factors, which propel individuals and groups towards elite status, receive more intense scrutiny and are more extensively documented than centrifugal factors, which contribute to elite decline (a fact easily observable in this volume, too).

In contrast to studies on elites, which focus on the upper societal strata, society-wide social mobility studies have emerged from a concern with exploring social inequalities and the expansion of equal and social opportunities amidst occupational diversification, technological advancements, and the social transformations of modernity. Their focus extends to the entirety of society, encompassing groups that were previously relatively immobile (e. g., agricultural or industrial workers) or those with status dependency (e. g., women).[14] Their researchers, particularly social scientists, utilize the concept of social mobility to debate and explain the underpinnings of macro-social processes, within which the majority of factors shaping social mobility operate outside the elite sphere. If we were to analogize social mobility to a railway line (a quintessential symbol of modernity), then the elite would represent just one of the stations along the route, the most distant and challenging to reach, yet also the least populated, least socially diverse, and most exclusive in comparison to all others. Within this context, the reduced interest in elites among social mobility scholars is understandable, especially considering that the former already benefit from a clearly defined research area and specialized practitioners. Notably, researchers of social mobility are not the only representatives of social science history to exhibit less interest in elites; a similar phenomenon exists among anthropologists.[15]

12 Nielsen, "Economic Inequality," 629 – 30.

13 van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 432.

14 Kaelble, "Social Mobility," 426.

15 Gusterson, "Elites, Anthropology of," 386 – 99.

Furthermore, disparities in methodology that depend on the typology and accessibility of sources, as well as differing viewpoints, impede interdisciplinary cooperation. Studies of the elites' history show a preference for two distinct methodological approaches: biographical (including genealogies and family monographs) and prosopographical, along with related historiographical sub-species. Sometimes, an institutional history perspective is also employed. The examination of social mobility, irrespective of the historical timeframe investigated, has chiefly been connected to the sociological viewpoint and depends on sophisticated statistical analysis.

Biographies and family histories offer the benefit of facilitating in-depth analysis of one or multiple life courses (though limited in number), along with tracing social mobility within and across generations at a micro-social level, incorporating various qualitative factors. Research in these sub-fields, sometimes bordering on microhistory, relies heavily on the unpredictable existence and preservation of primary sources. Generally, it examines the elites and the upper echelons of the middle class, who typically generated more evidence, but also occasionally focuses on individuals who established themselves in particular professional contexts, such as public intellectuals or cultural figures with fleeting political careers.[16] The studies that emerge from a small number of research subjects and a narrow pool of elites, who prioritize social mobility as a secondary issue, are useful but insufficient in their representation of the elite social micro-group, especially as social mobility analysis generally does not encompass biographies and family histories.[17]

When exploring beyond individual or familial contexts, late modern elite historians typically concentrate on pre-selected groups or micro-groups based on structural or functional criteria. These criteria may comprise of high-ranking positions in institutions, such as governmental (including the military), economic, intellectual,[18] but also church-related, and could also include representatives of an entire social class, such as the aristocracy.[19] In cases like these, historical explanations concentrate on structural modifications grounded on individual data. Social mobility is primarily studied at the group level by analyzing the progression of the background and social status of varying members or sub-groups over an extended period of time.

The primary basis for this approach is rooted in the traditional methodologies employed by the elite-studying historians, which make heavy use of the prosopographical method – a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis. [20] The former are conducted on small to medium-size datasets, encompassing a few dozen to a few thousand individuals and employing a restricted number of variables attributed to data source limitations and biographical data collection procedures. They also rely on more basic

16 Buchen and Rolf, *Eliten im Vielvölkerreich*; Fasora et al., *Elitenforschung*; Řezník and Velek, *Adelsgeschichte als Elitenforschung*; Stekl and Wakounig, *Windisch-Graetz.*

17 Kaelble, "Social Mobility," 426.

18 Bottomore, *Élites and Society*, 52–71.

19 Chaussinand-Nogaret, "Introduction."

20 Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography*; A recent overview of the field: Keats-Rohan, "Prosopography."

statistical analyses, whose methodology and results are easily understandable and contextualized by general public,[21] with the latter, whenever feasible, anchored on an in-depth understanding of the biographies of a select number of research subjects. The extensive information provided allows for the validation of some quantitative analysis results through individual examples, particularly in scenarios where it is hard to quantify indicators like status, prestige, and subjective personal choices, however, it does not sufficiently tackle the overarching issue of biographical knowledge imbalance in the micro-group under examination. Most of the historical studies in this volume adhere to the perspective that social mobility shapes the composition of predefined elite groups. These studies are based on datasets that contain information on numerous individual biographies and career categories, which are analyzed in varying degrees and combinations as mentioned before.

Unlike studies devoted to elites and in particular to their history, social mobility research *per se*, usually conducted by social scientists, focuses on much larger demographic samples, grouped into cohorts based on various criteria, in the investigation of which they apply, almost without exception, advanced statistical analysis at a national or transnational level.[22] By choosing cohorts over pre-defined socio-professional groups, the quantitative sociological approach provides a stronger explanation for the individual subject and life course compared to prosopographical examination. This is partly attributed to the ability of individuals to belong to multiple cohorts simultaneously, allowing for their analyses to be cross-referenced and verified.

Another significant distinction is that sociologists have made strides in establishing a common analytical framework for examining social mobility using universally comparable indicators. For the post-World War II period, Donald J. Treiman's occupational prestige model and the social stratification research tools stemming from it, along with the cross-national comparative studies they enabled, remain the benchmark.[23] From a historical perspective, within the Western context and the modern period, the expansion of population databases compiled from censuses and civil registers from the eighteenth century to World War II has facilitated the development of a historical model of occupational stratification and classification[24] and, subsequently, several models of social hierarchy, with increasingly compelling results in recent decades.[25]

The breadth of sociological samples, which tend towards big data, is challenging to replicate in datasets compiled by historians, particularly those focused on elites. However, another contributing factor to historians' reluctance to engage with theoretical models from sociology lies in the difficulty of establishing universally comparable indicators of social mobility across time, even within major social groups. The most com-

21 Kaelble, "Eras of Social Mobility," 489.

22 Ibid.

23 Treiman, *Occupational Prestige*; Erikson and Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux*; Breen (ed.), *Social Mobility in Europe.*

24 van Leeuwen, Maas and Miles, *HISCO*; van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 443.

25 van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS*; Lambert et al., HISCAM.

monly employed indicator of social position and mobility remains occupation, but its value for historical societies is far more subjective than for contemporary ones, which necessitates incorporating a broader range of complementary variables into the analysis, such as income sources beyond the primary profession or positions within networks and other social structures (i.e., multipositionality).[26] Although these traits are characteristic of elites and could potentially facilitate the engagement between these two broad research areas, it is precisely the inherent difficulty of objectively identifying, quantifying, and comparing such indicators, largely due to the limitations of historical sources, that renders the study of social mobility more challenging as one approaches the upper echelons of society. Furthermore, when examining social mobility within elite groups, the explanatory power of objective, quantifiable, and comparable variables tends to diminish, giving way to quintessentially qualitative and subjective factors such as status, prestige, or cultural milieu. For instance, the same "elite" profession or position (e.g., clerical professions) may hold a varying degree of significance in the same geographical area, political system, and time period, depending on factors such as race, ethnicity, or confession/religion.

Given these differences, even the sophisticated sociological instruments designed to explore social mobility from a historical vantage point, as mentioned above, become less efficient when applied to the study of elites. While these tools incorporate a range of standardized qualitative indicators aimed at highlighting status disparities within the same occupational domain or on a macro-social level (e.g., prestige measures or different types of social relations), they only partially capture the distinctions between elites and other social strata in their immediate vicinity. This limitation arises from subjective elements such as forms of status or prestige that are challenging to incorporate into a straightforward taxonomy, hierarchical stratification within the same professional environment, combinations of professional positions and informal statuses that defy categorization, the fluctuating social relevance of professions over time, and occupational multipositionality prevalent among nineteenth-century elites. It is thus no surprise that, as H. Kaelble rightly observed four decades ago, "these two theatres of the history of social mobility [n.n., the one run by historians and that of the sociologists] have no actors and very few spectators in common."[27]

If we consider that historians typically identify elite socio-professional groups in conjunction with the context and social stratum within which they operate, even the initial step (i.e., identifying elite individuals based on professional stratification) becomes fraught with challenges. For example, the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO) model provides a single professional code for clerical professions (14120), to which status codes can be associated in order to define top positions in the field. However, the latter do not allow for precise differentiation between positions such as that of archpriest (hierarchically superior to a parish priest, but to be

26 van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies", 443; Kaelble, "Social Mobility," 426–27.

27 Kaelble, "Eras of Social Mobility," 489.

associated at most with the local elite) or that of bishop (hierarchically superior to the archpriest, and definitely part of the regional or state elite, almost regardless of historical conditions). Using the same example, when the HISCO code is transferred to the International Historical Class Scheme (HISCLASS) system (i. e., placement in a major social class according to profession and other status indicators), either the priest and the archpriest will be assigned to HISCLASS 2, and the bishop to HISCLASS 1 (in which case the difference in professional and social status between the first two is blurred), or the archpriest will also jump to HISCLASS 1 (because he has been coded with a status code higher than the basic profession indicated by the HISCO code), which will place him alongside his much more prestigious hierarchical superior, the bishop. Assuming we opt for the first variant, which is closer to historical reality, we run into another problem; the archpriest (HISCLASS 2) is placed in a lower social class than a headteacher (HISCO 13940, HISCLASS 1 – like the bishop), even though during late modernity, at least in Central Europe, the two enjoyed roughly the same social status, and moreover, if the headteacher was running a religious school, the local archpriest was actually his administrative superior. In addition to the aforementioned challenges, if we also incorporate the variances in legal standing between religions and confessions, perpetuated in Central and Eastern Europe until the mid-nineteenth century, it becomes evident that, from the perspective of elites' historians, the implementation of an otherwise highly refined and valuable historical sociological model presents, in practice, a myriad of challenges.

Historians' traditional inclination towards qualitative approaches and their partial reluctance to sophisticated statistical methods are also rooted in the specificity of the evidence they typically employ. Historical sources, even those related to elites, rarely offer information as detailed, consistent, accurate, and pertinent to the research questions as that derived from questionnaires specifically designed to address social scientists' research inquiries. The hurdles presented by the substantial distinctions between the information on political and administrative elites provided by pre- and post-interwar sources are aptly reflected in the research conducted by political scientists. Their interest in political and administrative elites, coupled with the employment of advanced statistical methods and a greater focus on biographical details and qualitative sources compared to social scientists, has fostered their keen interest in the social mobility of elites.

However, political scientists' research on this topic seldom extends to any period before 1900, typically commencing with the 1930s and 1940s. This is exemplified by one of the most recent syntheses on political elites, which primarily focuses on the twentieth century and barely mentions social mobility as a pathway to elite access. Instead, the authors predominantly utilize the term "elite recruitment,"[28] emphasizing the active and deliberate involvement of elite members in shaping the social mobility process and influencing the composition of their own socio-professional group. Works

28 Best and Higley (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook.*

studying the period from before 1914 are fewer in number and rarely cover East-Central Europe, due to specific conditions of biographical data gathering. The analyses focus on geographical mobility and to a certain degree on the occupational profile of the representatives, and less on social mobility (it is true that they do highlight the important part played by the emergence of political parties).[29] Hungary represents an exception in this regard, being the best covered country in East-Central Europe, owing to the works of Gabriella Ilonszki, whose datasets are integrated into the above mentioned European-scale research. Still, Ilonszky's conclusions on the topic of professionalization – a closely linked concept to social mobility – were questioned by historian Andras Cieger, who identified, using qualitative methods, several factors signaling the professionalization process of the political class in Hungary since the end of the nineteenth century, and not only after 1989, as Ilonszky suggests.[30]

To sum up, the study of social mobility among elites remains a cross-disciplinary frontier, embraced by historians, sociologists, and political scientists, yet hindered by challenges in communication and establishing a shared framework. Political scientists typically restrict their investigations to periods post-WWI (mainly due to the difficulties of gathering reliable data) and focus solely on political and administrative elites, while sociologists and historians employ disparate methodologies mirroring their divergent epistemic perspectives and choice of sources. Consequently, examining the social mobility of late modern elites presents obstacles stemming from the methodological and analytical distinctions between research on overall social mobility across macro-groups or social classes and the more nuanced examination of social mobility within the same socio-professional group[31] or social stratum composed of the top representatives of multiple professions.

It is also essential to keep in mind the disparities in historical knowledge regarding elites across various regions, even within Europe, and, more significantly, the absence of a shared analytical framework. Focusing specifically on the instance of political elites, particularly the parliamentary type, which has garnered the most scholarly attention, the common analytical framework covering all of Europe developed under the guidance of Heinrich Best and Maurizio Cotta seems to be used only by political scientists and mainly for the post-World War II era.[32] In the context of the late modern period, despite the publication of a considerable number of national or imperial parliamentary prosopographies, there is neither a formally recognized common framework of reference nor a transnational database, not even in the region of the former

29 Best and Cotta (eds.), *Parliamentary Representatives*; Cotta and Best (eds.), *Democratic Representation.*

30 Cieger, "Politics as a Profession."

31 See the debate around the employment of the "micro-class" approach, among others: Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Hällsten, "No Way Back?," and Ruggera and Barone, "Social Closure."

32 Semenova, Edinger and Best, "Parliamentary Elite Formation."

Habsburg Monarchy.[33] Transnational comparative studies, in turn, have only been undertaken for Western Europe.[34] Instead, there exists a multitude of datasets, which have expanded exponentially due to the extensive digitization of primary sources over the past two decades, but these datasets typically evolve into prosopographical websites[35] rather than aggregated databases. The situation is largely analogous for university graduates (multiple national prosopographies and datasets built using different techniques) and administrative elites, particularly imperial bureaucracies.

The challenges mentioned above limit, for the time being, the scope of research on the social mobility of late modern elites in East-Central Europe, as well as on other aspects of their social history. Studies are constrained to the level of the state (either national or imperial) and establishing a symmetrical dialogue with historical sociology and political sciences remains challenging, which hinders the calibration of macro-social analysis tools to align with the epistemological expectations of historians. In what follows, based on the case studies presented in this volume, we will discuss two central issues related to investigating this topic: the main factors underlying the social mobility of elites in late-modern East-Central Europe and the limits of the social mobility process among and towards upper social strata.

2 Social Mobility of Elites in Central and Eastern Europe During Late Modernity

The chapters in this collection center on Central and Eastern Europe during the late modern era – a region where the investigation of social mobility has only recently garnered research attention, primarily from sociologists[36] – and on socio-professional groups often associated in historical studies with the concept of "elite": members of parliament, aristocracy, high bureaucracy, and academics. Nevertheless, this homogenizing label fails to capture the structural and functional distinctions that exist between and within these groups. The aristocracy is a form of traditional elite, rooted in early modern or even medieval times, whose status stems from the accumulation of tradition and prestige over generations. In their endeavor to adapt to modernity, some members of the aristocracy have successfully transitioned into the ranks of the emerging professional and political elites (Pál),[37] with academics (Urbanitsch, Po-

33 Selectively: Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen*; Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism*; Ilonszki, *Képviselők és képviselet*; Luft, *Parlamentarische Führungsgruppen*; Adlgasser, *Die Mitglieder*; Pap et al., *Képviselők és főrendek.*

34 Best and Cotta (eds.), *Parliamentary Representatives*; Recker, *Parlamentarismus in Europa*; Cotta and Best (eds.), *Democratic Representation.*

35 For example, https://www.parlament.gv.at/WWER/NR/ABG/#.

36 Most research on the topic still comes from the field of sociology. Selectively: Lippényi, Maas, and van Leeuwen, "Intergenerational Class Mobility"; Sopóci et al. *Social Stratification.*

37 References in round brackets refer to chapters in the volume.

povici) and bureaucrats (Vladimirov, Klečacký et al.) representing two professional categories that have undergone profound transformation since the late eighteenth century. They have become agents of modernization in both nation-states and multinational empires, and until the twentieth century, exhibited greater openness to social mobility.[38] In a sense, representatives of these two professions epitomize the concept of "imperial biographies,"[39] even though, due to the nature of their profession, the work of bureaucrats was typically less transnational or even trans-imperial than that of academics.

Members of parliament (Adlgasser; Vranić and Marić; Sima and Eppel) constitute a highly diverse group whose elite status, collectively, derives from the amalgamation of the powerful symbolism associated with their official representative role and the decision-making authority and influence, both formal and informal, vested in political positions. However, as several contributions in this collection illustrate, the advent of universal suffrage and the concomitant democratization of the political landscape significantly transformed not only the professional but also the social makeup of parliaments during the early twentieth century, paving the way for social mobility to permeate even the upper echelons of the political elite. In some instances, these reconfigurations were so profound that they challenged the very public perception and elite standing of the institution itself (Vranić and Marić).

Each of the aforementioned groups, typically regarded as elite within the broader society, exhibits internal hierarchies, distinctions, and its own apex elite. As we ascend the ranks of a social or professional hierarchy, upward mobility becomes increasingly intricate to discern historically, demanding finer tuning to the historian's interpretative framework and measurement tools. These challenges are compounded by the phenomenon that, as we approach the early twentieth century, on the background of increased professionalization in state-supported occupational fields, the formal distinctions between various positions or even professions tend to diminish, and intangible factors such as prestige, public perception, and contextual details play a more prominent role than in lower social strata, rendering quantification more challenging.

The analysis of social mobility among elites is further complicated by the intricate web of interdependencies that exist between various occupational categories which have proven instrumental in facilitating both professional and social advancement and serving as a recruitment pool for other professions. One notable example is the relationship between bureaucrats and politicians, where a dynamic interplay of subordination (political loyalty being in many cases a prerequisite for career advancement) and interdependence has emerged, particularly with the professionalization of political organizations and the rise of party bureaucracy.[40] In many regions of Central and Eastern Europe, electoral success has traditionally relied heavily on the support of local of-

38 Lipset and Bendix, *Social Mobility*, 72–4; Surman, *Universities.*

39 Rolf and Tondera, "Imperial Biographies Revisited"; Buchen and Rolf, *Eliten im Vielvölkerreich.*

40 Dogan, "Les professions"; Marton, "Becoming Political Professionals."

ficials, who in turn executed tasks assigned by political superiors. However, a significant portion of future members of parliament were drawn from this same pool of civil servants,[41] many of whom sought to enter parliament solely to ensure their re-entry into the bureaucracy at a higher level of authority.[42] This career advancement, while significant at individual level, may not necessarily constitute actual vertical social mobility.

The concept of social mobility in the study of elites cannot be applied universally, merely by relying on the overarching notion of "elite." Instead, it requires contextualization within specific socio-professional milieus, taking into account their unique characteristics and the social and historical realities that shape their dynamics. This is one point in which the historians' view challenges the large-scale sociological and even social science history analyses. For instance, in predominantly rural societies or ethnic groups within the Habsburg Monarchy, a substantial portion of what might be regarded as the local/ group elite during the first half of the nineteenth century consisted of clergymen and lower-level intellectuals, extending down to the rank of archpriests or even village priests.[43] The subsequent two generations witnessed a shift towards domination by civil servants and various types of jurists, particularly lawyers, many of whom hailed from clerical families (Sima and Eppel), however, the representation of clergy among parliamentary elites of the nationalities remained significant (Vranić and Marić). At the macro-societal level, on the other hand, few representatives of these ethnic elites could be considered truly provincial elites. The majority were simply members of the middle class, often from the petty bourgeoisie, who were associated with the concept of "elite" due to their political activism within their respective ethnic groups or, less commonly, due to public prominence garnered through their involvement in various social or cultural initiatives.

From a methodological standpoint, the studies adopt a generational approach in various forms, complemented by prosopographical datasets encompassing hundreds or even thousands of individuals spanning multiple decades. While the contributions rely primarily on prosopography and refrain from employing more advanced statistical methods, the discernible shifts in elite composition driven by social mobility allow a few overarching observations. One of the most significant insights concerns the impact of generational turnover at the elite level; the rise of representatives from a new generation to leadership positions brings about a relatively rapid transformation of the elite's composition, as it incorporates members of the same generation who are closely

41 Pap, *Parliamentary Representatives*, 124–5; Marton, "Becoming Political Professionals." National findings are by and large consistent with the wider European trends identified by Cotta and Tavares de Almeida, "From Servants of the State," although national specificities might increase the share of public employees and especially civil servants among representatives.

42 Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine*, 99–105; Iudean, *The Romanian Governmental Representatives.*

43 Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 101–10; Hučko, *Sociálne zloženie.*

aligned with and supportive of the new leaders. This phenomenon has the potential to trigger a wave of social mobility, at least in the associated micro-environments.[44]

2.a Factors Influencing Social Mobility

Among the factors influencing social mobility identified in the literature, the studies in this volume focus on occupation and available career paths, education, geographic area of origin, ethnicity, religion, and, to a lesser extent, social background and related family networks, prestige, and public visibility. All of these, however, depended, in whole or in part, on the most important agent of elite social mobility of the time: state policies. The state's objectives, expressed through legislation, contributed decisively to the successive reconfiguration of several elite occupational categories, including the metamorphosis of the political elite. The latter was dependent on electoral legislation (Adlgasser; Pál), on the need of the state to cooperate with the regional elite (Vladimirov), or, in exceptional situations, even on subjective momentary decisions of the group in power (Vranić and Marić for the situation in Croatia in 1918).

Although less addressed in the individual chapters, the process of professionalization also played its part in the social mobility of elites. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the selection of political elites has involved occupational groups that became overrepresented in parliamentary institutions. Therefore, in the given historical context, certain professions such as lawyers, journalists, civil servants, writers, and members of the clergy – most of them fully or largely professionalized and institutionalized – became vehicles for social ascension to elite status, even if the profession or position of the respective individuals in their professional circles were not elite *per se* (Adlgasser; Vranić and Marić; Sima and Eppel). The situation is very similar to what was defined in the early 1970s as "collective social mobility," i. e., the social advancement of a whole professional field, due to specific historical factors, bestowing upon its practitioners a rather uniform status. At the time, scholars saw the process as intertwined with the "embourgeoisement,"[45] with university professors falling into the same category (Urbanitsch). Interestingly enough, most of these professions are directly related to the functioning of public authority or can exert a strong influence in this regard (e. g., journalists and public intellectuals).

The transition from "professionals involved in politics" to "professional politicians" started a few decades later, towards the end of the nineteenth century. Traditionally, based on Max Weber's work, the process was seen as rooted in democratization and the emergence of mass political parties. Weber's vision was to be confirmed by the historiography in the 2000s through analyses which underlined the increasingly impor-

44 On the topic of "generation" and related historical changes in the former Habsburg lands, see also Fasora et al. (eds.), *Generationen.*

45 Parry and Parry, *The Rise*, 3–19, 76–103.

tant (although far from exclusive) role played by mass political parties in the recruitment of the representatives, especially after 1918.[46]

Education, supported by the state, was a key vehicle for social mobility and played a crucial role in the rise of modern elites.[47] In the field of politics, this was especially true until the introduction of universal male suffrage, but in other fields it became apparent as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Even traditional elites adapted to the new requirements, as specialized training became increasingly important for career advancement (Vladimirov). Education created new professional elites, including academic ones, broadening the spectrum of top societal occupational categories (Urbanitsch), with many new members of the political elite gaining the right to elect and be elected due to their studies (Adlgasser). Finally, the period of study, including pre-university education, became crucial for the socialization process of individuals from lower social strata and for the formation of future networks, often achieved through participation in pupils' or students' reading societies. Another important aspect reflecting the role of education in social mobility is the institutionalization of various occupational fields and subfields based on specific qualifications.[48] Although less discussed in the enclosed chapters, such professional associations also flourished in Central Europe supporting their members' networking, mediating the relation with the public authority, and impacting their occupational and social mobility.[49] Even so, throughout the period, there were also exceptions, people for whom education played little to no role in their political ascent. They came initially from the traditional elite and later, after the extension of the right to vote, from representatives of the lower social classes who assumed a political role (Adlgasser; Vranić and Marić).

In some cases, normative changes and new state expectations led to a generational succession of emergent professions or forms of education within the elite category. Such is the case of the transition of the provincial bureaucratic elite in Russian Poland from a predominantly military to a civilian one, with specialized university education (Vladimirov), or the transition from a priestly to a legal career path of the Romanian ethnic political elite in Transylvania (Sima and Eppel).

Geographical location was another factor that impacted the composition of the elite and, consequently, social mobility. The disparities between urban and rural regions, which can be understood in terms of center and periphery,[50] were evident in the over-representation of cities, particularly the capital, in parliament (Adlgasser). This was due to a combination of demographic growth – largely through migration – and higher living standards, which contributed to the formation of an upper-middle

46 Fiers and Secker, "A Career through the Party," 136 – 59; Cotta and Verzichelli, "Paths of Institutional Development," 471.

47 Cohen, *Education and Middle Class Society*; Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility*, 81 – 112; Kaelble, *Social Mobility in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 34 – 41.

48 Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations*, esp. 120 – 30.

49 For Germany see McClelland, *The German Experience*, esp. 73 – 127.

50 For a recent overview of this conceptual binomial, see Kaps and Komlosy, "Introduction," esp. 251 – 3.

class that was interested and engaged in politics (Vranić and Marić) and civil service (Klečacký et al.). In some regions, the socio-professional profile is characterized by slow development in certain occupational branches, inevitably influencing the political elite representing the region, such as Croatia and Transylvania, where technical professions were still underdeveloped. However, the social composition of the "elite" also reflects the differences between the center and periphery. For instance, in the central parliament of Austria, industrial and agricultural workers remained absent even after the universal franchise (Adlgasser). In contrast, the Croatian parliament included representatives of peasants and smallholders as soon as the franchise was enlarged (Vranić & Marić).

Even for MPs who come from "privileged" social categories in terms of political representation, access to the central parliament often becomes available only after years of activity in regional or local representative forums (Adlgasser). The transition from regional parliaments or municipal assemblies to the central one can be seen as both geographical (i. e., from the periphery to the center) and vertical mobility (i. e., local, regional, and central/ state), with both processes representing social ascension and individual success, with associated symbolic and practical benefits. The relationship between the regional and central levels is evident in the bureaucracy of the Russian Empire, where certain positions in specific provinces were temporary but necessary steppingstones to other bureaucratic offices at the central level (Vladimirov).[51] Despite criticisms, the methodological perspective based on the center-periphery relationship retains sufficient explanatory power, particularly when integrated with specific factors.[52]

In some instances, new state-level legislative rules led to variations in political representation, resulting in changes to the composition of the political elite. These changes occurred amidst economic and developmental imbalances, as well as material differences between the traditional elites of different regions. For example, the reform of the House of Magnates in the Hungarian Parliament in 1885 impacted the Transylvanian aristocracy heavier than the Hungarian one (see Pál). Other examples of the geographical factor's impact refer to the rotten boroughs, with these small-scale parliamentary constituencies enjoying their status based on the perpetuation of early modern privileges, forming solid electoral bases for the ruling party for decades, due to the small number of voters and the low financial investment required to buy votes.[53] Geography's influence was evident not only in the parliamentary elite but also in the leadership structure of the political parties of the time, with the proximity of the leaders' residence to the official party center strongly influencing the parties' board membership.[54]

51 See also Rolf, *Imperial Russian Rule*, 29 – 57, esp. 53; for the Austrian case: Urbanitsch, "The High Civil Service Corps."

52 See also Kaps and Komlosy, "Introduction."

53 Pál, "Parliament," 15 – 44, esp. 35 – 40.

54 Popovici, *Studies*, 30 – 1.

Even the new elites were subject to geographical conditioning, which is evident in the changing structure of the teaching staff at the University of Vienna over time (Urbanitsch). It is also apparent in the increased chances of professional advancement enjoyed by Russian bureaucrats in the vicinity of provincial centers (Vladimirov). In certain cases, local elite networks may have had an advantage over representatives and networks from more geographically distant areas that were less connected to the power dynamics and expectations of the center. This advantage may have been due to the geographical location and the role as an economic and cultural hub (Popovici, the case of Brașov/ Kronstadt/ Brassó). Geographical centrality, rather than just symbolic centrality, appears to have been a factor that promoted professional advancement and, consequently, social mobility.

Attaining elite status often required a standardized career path, whether for university professors (Urbanitsch), civil servants (Vladimirov; Klečacký et al.), or politicians. This career path involved transitioning through a geographical area or a proxy institutional position before entering the elite, even its lower layers. It was a way of gaining experience and becoming acquainted with the rules of the professional field, as well as receiving ideological validation (see Vladimirov: superintendents). Even within the elite, certain positions functioned as mandatory steppingstones for higher or more lucrative offices; Andrei Sora highlighted in his works how the institution of prefect in modern Romania was often the easiest path for retired law magistrates and senior army officers to perform their political socialization before advancing into a more prestigious and lucrative seat of parliamentary representative or mayor of a large city.[55]

Ethnicity and denomination also played a role in occupational and social mobility. They influenced identity and loyalty choices,[56] imposed limitations or glass ceilings on representatives of certain ethnicities or religions (Vladimirov; Urbanitsch; Popovici), and perpetuated power positions (see Adlgasser for the ethnic German dominance of the *Reichsrat*'s presidency). Some national or religious minorities embraced careers in the liberal professions to a greater extent due to their political position in relation to the state and the lower chances of being integrated into public services (Sima and Eppel; Vladimirov). Geographical distribution of professional body members also reveals religious or ethnic discrimination, which overlaps with center-periphery differences. However, discrimination appears to be less prevalent at the top of the professional hierarchy (Vladimirov).

The chapters in the volume also highlight that professional ascension and related social mobility are often accompanied by prestige markers, such as titles, orders, and medals, which are usually regulated and offered by the state (Urbanitsch; Vladimirov). The latter, which were equivalent to the prestige markers of the traditional elite, did not influence social mobility; rather, they identified it and contributed to strengthening

55 Sora, *Servir l'État roumain*, 361–3.

56 Iudean, *The Romanian Governmental Representatives.*

the members' sense of belonging, and loyalty to the state, and to the professional and elite group they were part of.

2.b Limits of Social Mobility Among the Elite

During late modernity, an increased number of people attained positions that could be considered part of the "elite." However, this process was limited by various factors, including the material conditions of the starting social stratum, the immobility of the traditional elite, differences in occupational status and income, and the structural and functional changes of the political elite. Not to be overlooked remains the mere fact that, even if we agree to the perspective of "collective social mobility," not everyone exercising a social mobility-supporting profession necessarily got to climb up the social ladder due to the increasingly competitive nature of such occupational fields.[57]

Even among the "privileged" professions (such as the legal and medical ones),[58] material support remained crucial for social advancement. This was true not only during studies, when needs and expectations were comparatively lower and scholarships were available, but also during the period of professional debut, which was often associated with minor hierarchical positions and lower wages. Immediate professional opportunities sometimes hijacked a virtual career that required financial investment, effort, and hardship in the medium and long term, limiting social mobility but offering day-to-day security and the possibility of supporting a family. In this situation, representatives of the local elite chose to remain in their original social environment, sometimes perpetuating their parents' professions and foregoing ascension to the upper strata of the elite (Vladimirov). The choice was all the more present because, in practice, social mobility rarely involved a linear upward path, but more often a succession of horizontal segments aimed at reaching a key position/hub from which vertical advancement could take place, but which did not exclude stages of regression (Urbanitsch; Vladimirov).

For traditional elites, social mobility was typically a slow and mostly horizontal process, involving gradual metamorphoses and adaptations, but rarely fundamental changes, as they were already at the societal apex. For those coming from below, access to these levels required the accumulation of experience and a long period of professional activity, as well as integration into and assumption of a specific community of values (Vladimirov; Pál). Research suggests that 100 years later the situation was (and probably still is) largely the same in terms of the need for a mandatory period of pro-

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57 The situation appears to be true even in highly specialized occupational fields, such as medicine, where only a small number of practitioners actually get into the elite societal layers, while on the other hand, some percent even experienced downward mobility. See Ackroyd et al., *Advancing with the Army*, esp. 257–94; Tomkins, *Medical misadventures.* For the situation in Hungary in the first half of the nineteenth century see Simon, "Mesterségből hivatás", esp. 94–5.

58 Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations*, 6–7.

fessional socialization which was essential for building a sense of belonging to the high bureaucracy.[59] Back in late modernity, this additional filter generally favored the self-reproductive tendencies of the elite, particularly its peaks, by maintaining narrow criteria or a limited selection pool (Adlgasser), or even family promotion (Pál; Vladimirov; Urbanitsch, Popovici).

Situations where members of the traditional elite reached top positions without meeting standard characteristics of their colleagues from other social strata (Adlgasser), or where they continued to dominate political life of a region for decades despite changes in franchise and overall social and economic metamorphoses, only strengthen the argument. Until the turn of the century, the combination of wealth, networks, and a solid grasp of the local institutions served as a lifeline for the deferential society (Pál).

In certain instances, the preservation of the status and legitimacy of the traditional elite was aided by their identification with, or even leadership in, the process of nation- and state-building, as was the case in Hungary. Here, not only did the share of nobility among parliamentary representatives remain high until World War II,[60] but the economic association with key symbolic elements, such as land ownership (i. e., national territory, *Vaterland*), led to the belief that the economic survival of the traditional elite was necessary for the survival of the state, which was also openly supported by members of the new elite.[61] Additionally, the prestige of the position was closely tied to that of the person occupying it. Until the turn of the twentieth century, the interdependence of the two perpetuated, which attracted members of the traditional elite to important administrative positions, which in turn, given their limited number, narrowed the chances of candidates from other social layers to accede into high public services offices, especially in those under direct political influence. As a result, the pace of social mobility towards elite professional positions was reduced (Pál).

After the systemic changes at the end of the First World War, the situation was reversed. The traditional elite was well-defined both socially and culturally, and access and integration into it often involved a transgenerational process of identity and cultural reconstruction. The formation of modern nations in Central and Southeastern Europe overlapped with the latter and inevitably diluted the supra-national character of the aristocracy, which led to ethnic associations that often affected the political position and, partly, the prestige of the pre-1919 traditional elite in the successor states (Pál). However, the political setback of certain traditional elite groups, such as large landowners (many of whom were aristocrats) or politically active intellectuals, during the early twentieth-century electoral reforms did not necessarily result in a social demotion. Their status and prestige remained largely unaffected, demonstrating that social mobility is "not a zero-sum game,"[62] illustrated by how the economic elite in pre-

59 Kerrouche, "L'apprentissage."

60 Rush, "The Decline of Nobility," 30, Figure 2.1.

61 Ballabás, "Entailed Lands."

62 Kaelble, "Social Mobility," 428.

1918 Transylvania, primarily composed of Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, maintained their position and social status in post-1918 Romania.[63]

The deceleration of social mobility at the upper echelons of society was not limited to the traditional elite. The upper structures, whether social or professional, such as the aristocracy (Pál), the bureaucratic elite (Vladimirov), or parliamentary leaders (Adlgasser), were considerably less permeable and more resistant to change than those at the bottom. Therefore, social mobility among elites is merely a reflection at scale of the entire societal mobility process.

In addition, the old elites tended to be self-reproducing, managing through informal methods to circumvent the meritocratic norms imposed by the state. The mid-nineteenth century saw the emergence of new elites that were more open and meritocratic, such as the intellectuals which showcased reduced dependence on the old elite networks, including higher rates of marital social exogamy, at least in the initial phases. However, even within this group, over time, there were tendencies towards exclusivity; professional endogamous marriages and dynasties, as well as other strategies for reproducing social status, began to increase (Urbanitsch; Popovici). The overall trend was to restrict the vertical movement towards and within the elite.[64]

The phenomenon was also apparent in the fact that, even within elite professional or social milieus, the overall profile of the members (rather permeable and open to circulation) differed quite conspicuously from the peak (characterized by a much more pronounced and long-lasting immobility). In the Austrian parliament, before the introduction of universal suffrage, social mobility was more visible within the same professional groups than between them, which occurred without significant changes in the leadership of the parliament (Adlgasser). Furthermore, traditional elites are not the only ones to impede mobility; older and established bourgeois political leaders can slow down mobility processes until their physical departure, as visible in some ethnic parties.[65] Only then can a generational turnover in party leadership create the conditions for representatives of social strata that are not typically associated with the term "elite" to ascend to the top.

The combination of various factors, particularly profession, education, and geographical setting, imposed limitations on social mobility, which were evident in the political arena even after democratization through universal male suffrage. While representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and wealthier farmers were able to enter the political elite, agricultural and industrial workers faced greater obstacles in reaching parliamentary positions. Even when they did succeed, it was often only after changing professions, either by pursuing a career in politics or by first joining the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and agricultural landlords (Adlgasser). In the successor states of the

63 Rigó, "The Long First World War."

64 See also the theoretical model and the discussion of demographic vs. social factors by McFarland, "Circulation of Elites," 152–67.

65 Popovici, *Studies*, 71–89.

monarchy during the interwar period, their numbers increased (Vranić and Marić),[66] without achieving, however, satisfactory representation. The vast majority of the proletariat, especially the rural kind, was represented by middle-class MPs,[67] and the beginning of the twentieth century brought, alongside the electoral reforms, the ascent of populist politicians and parties, whose public rise was based on the demagogic exploitation of the social and national discontent and the expectations of an electorate with little political experience.[68] The same process is evident in the case of members of the Romanian Academy from Transylvania; the number of those from agricultural families remained small, and quite a few among this minority became members only due to their status as church hierarchs (Popovici).

One issue that raises interpretative difficulties is the extent to which the concept of social mobility can be applied to the particular case of members of representative institutions. The role of education in political ascendancy has partially decreased due to successive enlargements of the franchise and the introduction of universal suffrage, which has paved the way for the emergence of professional politicians.[69] In the early twentieth century and the interwar period, an increasing number of individuals began to enter public life before pursuing a professional career, a trend visible among those who had previously considered both basic professions and public representation roles (Adlgasser). For many, politics became a means of social mobility, often based on prestige, and public recognition and trust, rather than economic strength or professional training. The formation of modern political parties, hierarchically organized in a territory and supported by social, economic, and ideological networks, played an important role in this respect,[70] while the socio-political context of the early-twentieth century sometimes brought high numbers of representatives from the lower classes into the Parliament, yet their influence, impact, and status could hardly be compared with that of the "professional," top-level politicians (Vranić and Marić).

The transformation of political office from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the First World War presents a compelling case for analyzing political elites, their status, and social mobility in a nuanced manner, distinct from the approach used for professional or traditional elites. It is important to consider that the group commonly referred to as the "political elite" is rather diverse, more heterogeneous than other elite categories, and that it undergoes rapid internal changes under the influence of various social and natural factors. The extent to which access to the ranks of the parliamentary political elite results in real social mobility, whether horizontal or vertical,

66 Schultz and Harre (eds.), *Bauerngesellschaften*; Kubů et al., *Agrarismus und Agrareliten in Ostmitteleuropa*; Moga, "The Road," 295–328; Iudean, "The Romanian Parliamentary Elite."

67 Dogan, "L'origine sociale."

68 For the effects of the rising nationalism during this period, with special regard to the Habsburg Monarchy, see also Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, esp. 254–72.

69 Offerlé (ed.), *La profession politique.*

70 See also Duverger, *Political Parties*, esp. 4–205.

or merely signals a temporary increase in visibility and prestige generated by the representative office, is a question that should be asked.

Regarding the traditional elite, the concept of social mobility, at least in its vertical meaning, is barely applicable, as they are already at the top of the pyramid. However, two reasons prompted them to enter the political arena. Firstly, the tradition of leadership and political involvement was considered an honorable duty. Secondly, it was a practical means of maintaining their prestige and elite social status by associating themselves with public office and the material benefits that come with it. The double impulse had the consequence of perpetuating the public role of the traditional elite until the First World War, and sometimes even afterwards (Pál). The situation is consistent, by and large, with the general evolutions in Europe, where, before World War I, the nobility was over-represented not only in politics (both in parliaments and ministerial offices), but also in other vital components of the state, such as the high bureaucracy or the senior officers' corps.[71]

In what concerns the new elite, an analysis of Croatian parliament members who continued their careers after 1918 suggests that holding political office did not result in genuine social mobility; instead, it was at most a temporary symbol of prestige (Vranić and Marić), with the high turnover rate of MPs from lower socio-professional backgrounds in the Viennese parliament, compared to those from the upper-middle strata, also supporting this conclusion (Adlgasser). Most of the national minority MPs in the Hungarian Parliament had already reached the middle-class or even upper middle-class professional plateau before they won their seats (see Sima and Eppel for the case of Romanians). They did not experience any changes in social or professional status before the First World War, regardless of their parliamentary mandate. The conditions for genuine professional and social mobility were created for them only after the regime changes of 1918, strongly supported by the needs of the successor states to create a 'national elite' in the newly acquired territories.

3 Conclusions

The contributions in this volume, centered primarily on elite samples from Central and Eastern Europe and employing primarily a prosopographical approach, corroborate, for the most part, the prevailing observations in the literature of the past four decades regarding the trajectory of social mobility in nineteenth-century Europe and North America. Since the early nineteenth century, the composition of various elite groups has undergone gradual transformations, largely driven by the influx of individuals from the middle and, to a lesser extent, lower social strata. These shifts stem from either the professionalization of diverse fields (including politics), the acquisition of educational qualifications, or the accumulation of material wealth. Spatial positioning

71 Rush, "The Decline of Nobility," 43–8.

and the hierarchical organization of elites based on geographical administrative criteria appear to have played a crucial role in this process, and the impact of these factors on the likelihood of social mobility, while examined from a broader perspective, remains relatively unexplored in the context of elite studies in East and Central European regions.

Across the various elite categories examined, a shift towards a more professionalized and meritocratic mode of recruitment is evident, however, the pace of this transformation gradually diminished as one ascended the intra-elite hierarchies, with this deceleration primarily attributed to two significant factors. Firstly, the traditional elite exhibited a resistance to change, adapting to the prevailing norms of education and training while leveraging their established informal networks and material and symbolic capital to maintain their social standing. Limited elite membership, despite the sectoral diversification and numerical expansion of late modernity, enabled these adaptive traditionalists to retain a foothold, particularly in "traditional" elite sectors like politics and top-tier bureaucracy. Secondly, resistance arose from the second or third generations of representatives of the new elite, individuals who were developing a heightened consciousness of their own social and professional standing. This burgeoning awareness manifested in the development of endogamous tendencies, as these individuals sought to perpetuate their elite status within the confines of their familial and social circles.

The early twentieth century elite landscape exhibited early signs of a trend identified by H. Kaelble, wherein the extensive social mobility characteristic of the late modern era gradually waned as professions and social structures became more rigid and formalized.[72] Periods of heightened openness and social mobility alternated with periods of consolidation and restriction (Klečacký et al.), suggesting that upward mobility was not always a linear trajectory at the elite level, though it never ceased altogether. This dynamic was partly attributed to the ability of elites, including emerging ones, to rapidly adopt or develop mechanisms to regulate social mobility and maintain control over their ranks. Traditional tactics like occupational endogamy and professional dynasties persisted, but new strategies emerged as well. In the political arena, which seemingly offered the quickest path to elite status between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, political parties emerged as a crucial tool for regulating access and imposing professionalization.[73] This was achieved through building a party bureaucracy, but also through the implementation of party-list voting systems, which replaced direct franchise (Adlgasser, Vranić, and Marić).

The contributions in this volume clearly demonstrate that the state played a pivotal role in generating and, to some extent, regulating social mobility among elites during this period. The state's expanding needs necessitated the enlargement of some profes-

72 Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility*, 110–1.

73 Fiers and Secker, "A Career through the Party"; Cotta and Verzichelli, "Paths of Institutional Development," 471.

sional fields associated with the elite and their diversification, both horizontally and vertically, in alignment with administrative regional hierarchies. As a corollary, other occupational fields benefited from less attention, which impacted the social status and mobility of their practitioners, despite the latter's best efforts to balance the scales.[74] The state fostered and supported the education system that facilitated social mobility and, through its regulation of professionalization, established a more meritocratic framework for competition between the new and traditional elites, forcing the latter to adapt. Moreover, the state provided a platform for the new elite to gain a voice and political influence at all levels, stimulating their initiatives while simultaneously allowing them to consolidate their status and impede social mobility. Finally, driven by its statistical requirements, the state created the essential tools for understanding and documenting the emerging professional and social hierarchies, including handbooks and schematism, which form the foundation for contemporary research on these topics.[75]

However, the state also played a role in limiting social mobility, by failing to adequately staff its civil service (Klečacký et al., Vladimirov), neglecting to adhere to bureaucratic career advancement procedures (Vladimirov), or postponing suffrage expansion, in some cases until its own collapse (e. g., Hungary). The imbalance between the growing number of freshly-educated professionals and the job availability in the field also brought in limitations,[76] especially as the state did not place a cap on the number of students, which by 1920s resulted in the opposite of social mobility: extended unemployment of university graduates and the increase in number of "intellectual proletariat."[77] Given the state's pivotal position in this dynamic, it raises the question whether the deceleration of social mobility among elites in the early twentieth century, alongside other objective economic and social factors, can be attributed to the inherent tendency of the new elite (which by then was not so "new" anymore and already held a great deal of decision power at state level) to wield its power and resist the pressures of radical liberalism (social, political, or nationalist), which was prevalent throughout Central and Eastern Europe at that time, posing a threat to the state's political foundations – a scenario that eventually unfolded across most of Europe during the interwar period.

While the studies in the volume only provide a limited glimpse into the socio-professional diversity and hierarchies of elites in Central and Eastern Europe, they represent a greater contribution to understanding the impact of late modernity on the upper echelons of society in a region characterized by distinct historical traditions, social structures, and economic development than those in which social mobility was mainly

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74 McClelland, *The German Experience*, 212.

75 Göderle, "De l'empire des Habsbourg."

76 For the situation in the field of historical scholarship in the U.S. during late modernity see Townsend, *History's Babel*, 82 – 3; for Germany in the late nineteenth century see McClelland, *The German Experience*, 64 – 5.

77 McClelland, *The German Experience*, 176; Sdrobiș, *Limitele meritocrației*, esp. 9 – 87.

researched until now. In the context of the project that this volume supports, these studies serve as both a comprehensive overview and a basis for comparative analysis, laying the groundwork for further research that will have to dig deeper and employ a more elaborated methodology to examine the social mobility of elites in the region.

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Franz Adlgasser

Old and New Parliamentary Elites: Education, Professional, and Social Profiles of the Members of the Austrian Parliament, 1867 – 1918

In recent decades, the interpretation of the late Habsburg monarchy has undergone major changes. The focus has shifted away from a view *ex post*, that is, why it collapsed and how was this – basically unavoidable, so it seemed – victory of the nation-state over the multinational empire destined and foreshadowed in its history. Recent studies center upon the empire's resilience and its capability to adapt to a changing world,[1] which also includes a re-interpretation of the parliamentary institutions of the monarchy, as it developed in its western "Austrian" or "Cisleithanian" part in 1848 and with an interruption since 1861.[2] This chapter, as part of an ongoing research towards a collective biography of these parliaments, focuses on its leader- and membership and the changing composition in regard to education, professional background, and social and regional representation within the top representatives and the members of parliament at large.

The members of parliament were an elite in political respects, given their role as elected representatives of their peers as well as forming a body, which acted as the legislative, even though under the supervision of the emperor holding an absolute veto power, and the controller of the executive, again restricted through the emergency clauses of the constitution.[3] But they were also members of other, ever changing elites, regarding their educational, economic, or social background, as academics, industrial-

1 Two examples are Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, and Osterkamp, *Vielfalt ordnen.* See also the multivolume series *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848 – 1918* and Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa.*

2 It was only in 1915 that Austria became the official designation for the western half of the monarchy as it was created in the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, while the official term used until then was "Die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder" (Kingdoms and Countries represented in the Imperial Council). As a way out of this dilemma that "Austria" had no official name, it was referred to as Cisleithania as opposed to Transleithania (for the Hungarian lands), named after the border river Leitha east of Vienna. In this chapter, both the term Austria and Cisleithania are used for the Western part of the monarchy after 1867.

3 See the Austrian constitution of 1861 and its slightly adjusted provisions in 1867 in this regard, which remained unchanged until 1918: *Grundgesetz über die Reichsvertretung, Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (*RGBl.*) 20/1861 I. Beilage (§§ 12 – 13), and 141/1867 (§§ 13 – 14).

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ists, aristocrats, social servants, clerics, and so on, struggling to move up or stay on top.[4] The composition of this group was affected by societal changes and mobility in a number of ways. As the Austrian society changed, with sizable changes in the period covered, the electorate changed as well.[5] Economic boom increased the number and composition of voters, as did the new opportunities through the expansion of the educational system and the growth and development of old and new economic centers. In contrast, the economic crisis following the crash of Vienna's stock exchange 1873 and the impact of the ongoing industrialization fueled and intensified the fear of disenfranchisement in parts of the petty bourgeoisie. Even more important were the changes brought upon by the electoral reforms until the eventual abolition of all privileges for property, wealth, income, and education. These reforms were in themselves reactions to internal and external challenges and national and international crises, but these had their limits, excluding major groups of the population from direct and indirect political participation. The age restrictions for the active and passive franchise remained unchanged high, the tightened residence requirements deprived high numbers of industrial and agricultural workers of the right to vote, while the active military, officers and enlisted men, were (from 1896) explicitly excluded from the franchise. The same held true for all persons who received public funds as they were officially poor, incarcerated, under bankruptcy proceedings, or considered alcoholics under the law, next to a number of other restrictions. Above all, the right to vote and being elected was restricted to men, and the final "democratic" reform of 1907 even disenfranchised the few privileged women who could until then vote, but not be elected, through their status as estate owners.[6]

Social mobility on the side of the electorate therefore was a given, as it can be seen in the changes in Cisleithanian society reflected in the results of the decennial censuses as well as the numbers of eligible voters in the general elections.[7] But the focus of this study is not on the mobility of the electorate, but on the consequences these changes, in society at large and in the voting public, had on the composition of the elected members of parliament.[8] As will be shown, the composition changed, both in numbers and in qualifications, but not as fast as one might suggest. Traditional elites still flourished within the parliament and its leading functions, while changes were greater in number and visible earlier in the rank and file. This holds true for the aristocratic representation in the house, as well as for the educational elites of university educated and espe-

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4 See f.e. Holste et al., *Aufsteigen und Obenbleiben in europäischen Gesellschaften des 19. Jahrhunderts.*

5 For an overview on the social history of the Habsburg Empire, see Rumpler and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Vol. 9. Part 1.*

6 For the voting restrictions, see RGBl. 41/1873 (§ 20), 169/1896 (§§ 20 and 20a), and 17/1907 (§§ 6–8). On the restricted franchise of women in the voting group of the great landowners, RGBl. 41/1873 (§ 9).

7 Eligible voters in millions: 1.25 (1873), 1.67 (1885), 5.02 (1897), 5.53 (1907), 5.77 (1911); male population of voting age (24 and older) in millions: 5.5 (1880), 6.7 (1910).

8 For a recent discussion of the influence of social mobility on voting patterns, based on British data, see Dewan et al., *Class, Social Mobility, and Voting: Evidence from Historic Voting Records.*

cially law trained representatives.[9] But over the course of time, these traditional, when it comes to the political system, elites were reduced in favor of other groups, representing much more the changes in the electorate and society at large: employees of the modern political mass parties, their newspapers, unions and co-operations, as well as farmers and tradesmen from urban and rural areas, who were active members and leaders of the new professional and trade organizations of their peers.

1 The Presidents – Stability in a Changing House

When in 1867 the house of representatives of the Viennese *Reichsrat*, the Cisleithanian central parliament, re-convened after a two year suspension and in December elected for the first time its president, it turned to Karl Giskra, a 47-year-old German-liberal attorney and mayor of the Moravian capital Brünn/Brno.[10] He held philosophical and juridical doctorates from Vienna University, had served in the German parliament of 1848/49, and was a member of the house as well as the Moravian diet since their establishment in 1861. When Giskra became minister of the interior just days after his election as president, the house turned to the nine years older Styrian estate owner Moriz von Kaiserfeld, like Giskra a German-liberal, veteran of the Frankfurt National Assembly, and a member of both the *Reichsrat* and the regional diet since 1861. Kaiserfeld was also a jurist, had graduated from Graz University, and was a former attorney.[11] When the old Austrian parliament met for the last time on November 12, 1918, the farewell-words were spoken by Gustav Groß, a 61-year-old German-progressive and 27-year veteran delegate at the time of his election as president, also a jurist with a doctorate from the University of Vienna where, as a distinguished scholar, he held a professorship in political economy. His father, the German-liberal railroad manager Gustav Robert Groß, had been, like Giskra and Kaiserfeld, a member of the revolutionary German parliament and the *Reichsrat.*[12]

9 On the first, see Tönsmeyer and Velek (eds.), *Adel und Politik in der Habsburgermonarchie und den Nachbarländern zwischen Absolutismus und Demokratie*, esp. 215–316. On the latter, see Rumpler, "Die Intellektuellen in Cisleithanien," esp. 1120–25 (Elitenforschung in Österreich).

10 From 1861 until 1867, the president was appointed by the monarch. All data and biographic information are derived, if not otherwise mentioned, from Adlgasser, *Die Mitglieder*, and the database of the author. Updated versions of the biograms can be found at the homepage of the Austrian parliament, https://www.parlament.gv.at/recherchieren/personen/parlamentarierinnen-ab-1848/parlamentarier-1848-1918/ (24.7.2024).

11 While there exists no modern biography of Giskra, on Kaiserfeld's background see recently Kwan, "The Formation of the Liberal Generation in Austria."

12 As for so many leaders of the German-Liberals and German-Progressives, there are no modern biographies of father and son Groß.

Table 1: Structure of the Presidents, House of Representatives of the Viennese *Reichsrat*, 1867 – 1918.

Period	Jurists	Non-Academics	Germans	Non-Germans	Non-Noble/ Lower Nobility	Aristocracy
1867-1873	3	-	3	-	3	-
1873-1896	3	1	3	1	3	1
1897-1907	3	1	3	1	3	1
1907-1918	4	-	4	-	4	-
Total	13	2	13	2	13	2

Therefore, not much had changed at the top of the house in the more than 50 years of its existence. In between Kaiserfeld and Groß, 11 of 13 presidents were Germans. The exceptions were Franciszek Smolka, president from 1881 until 1893, and Dawid von Abrahamowicz, who served for two weeks in 1897, who were also long-time members of the house. The 70-year-old Smolka had served on the constitutional assembly of 1848/49 and was its president, and had entered the house for the first time in 1861, while the 58-year-old Abrahamowicz was a representative since 1881 and remained a member of the house, with a short interruption, until 1918.[13] All presidents were between 45 and 69 years of age at the time of their election with an average age of 55 and a median age of 57, and all but two had graduated from a law school; the other non-jurist next to Abrahamowicz was Count Franz Coronini-Cronberg, an estate owner and long-time member of the house and the diet of the southern province of Görz/Gorizia/Gorica and Gradisca/Gradiska, who had dropped out of law school to start a military career.

Six presidents were attorneys and another six were estate owners. While the estate owner and retired high civil servant Johann von Chlumecký, president from 1893 until 1897, was a former minister for agriculture and commerce, Richard Weiskirchner, president from 1907, headed as city manager the administration of the imperial capital Vienna and left the presidency in 1909 to become minister of commerce for two years and mayor of Vienna from 1912 until 1919.[14] Thirteen presidents were from bourgeois background or belonged to the lower nobility, while Coronini-Cronberg and the Moravian estate owner and former civil servant Count Moritz Vetter von der Lilie, president from 1901 until 1907, were aristocrats.[15] With the exception of these two aristocrats, all presidents were members of the house either from its introduction in 1861 or for more than ten years at the time of their election; Coronini-Cronberg had entered the house eight years before becoming president, and Vetter was re-elected for the first time in 1901. All but one were long-time members of the regional diets; only Julius Syl-

13 There are no modern biographies of Smolka and Abrahamowicz. On the former, see Olszewski, "Franciszek Smolka – polityk i parlamentarzysta"; on the latter, recently Szymczak, "Ekscelencja Dawid Abrahamowicz," and Skoczek, "Dawid Abrahamowicz."

14 On Weiskirchner, see Mertens, *Richard Weiskirchner (1861 – 1926).*

15 Count Vetter had received his law degree from Prague University in 1880 and served in the Bohemian, Moravian, and Viennese central administration for almost 20 years. He started medical studies in Vienna in 1897, at the same time he was elected to the house, and received his medical doctor in 1907.

vester, attorney in Salzburg and president from 1911 until 1914, did not sit in his province's diet, but he had been a member of the city council and vice-mayor of Salzburg before entering parliament in 1897.[16] Three presidents had served in the revolutionary parliaments of 1848/49, and the fathers of another three had been members of parliament, one in 1848/49 and two in the years since 1861.

2 The Vice Presidents – Minor Reflections of Change

One might conclude by looking at its leadership that not much had changed in the *Reichsrat* from the times of the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian compromise until the end of the monarchy. The presidents came from the upper strata of society, in economic, professional, and educational aspects, and they were members of the established parliamentary elite. However, analysis of the vice-presidents of the house shows a slightly different picture. The 38 vice-presidents between 1867 and 1918 were, at the time of their election, with an average and median age of 53, slightly younger than the presidents. The youngest member elected as vice-president was 37-year-old Karel Kramář, a leading Young-Czech, in 1897, while the oldest was Smolka, who was 69 when elected as vice-president in 1879.[17] Twenty-two vice-presidents had graduated from law school, four had received their degree from a philosophical faculty, and one from a technical college. Three more vice-presidents had not finished their university studies, while five had finished some form of secondary education. Twenty-seven vice-presidents came from bourgeois background or the lower nobility, while five members of the higher nobility were elected as vice-presidents. Nine attorneys and notaries public served in this capacity, as well as eight estate owners, eight active or retired higher civil servants, but also five writers and journalists and five farmers. While 34 percent were Germans and 18 percent Poles, 21 percent, starting in 1879 with the estate owner Prince Jiří Kristián Lobkowicz, were Czechs.[18] The other ten vice-presidents were Italians (3), Slovenes (3), Romanians (2), Croat (1), and Ukrainian (1). While 34 vice-presidents (89 percent) had at least five years of previous parliamentary experience, four were in their first term when elected. All but two vice-presidents were – mostly long-time – former, current, or future members of the regional diets.

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16 See his memoirs Sylvester, *Vom toten Parlament und seinen letzten Trägern.*

17 Kramář, the first Czechoslovak prime minister, was like Smolka sentenced to death for high treason, but pardoned, Kramář in 1916, Smolka as a young Polish nationalist in 1845. On Kramář, see lately Winkler, *Karel Kramář (1860–1937),* and Bílek, *Karel Kramář (1860–1937).*

18 Lobkowicz, the long-time president of the Bohemian diet (1871–1872, 1883–1907) was a delegate for four years before becoming a hereditary member of the House of Lords in 1883. See Hlavačka, "Sketch of a Political Biography of Jiří Kristián Lobkowicz."

Table 2: Structure of the Vice-Presidents, House of Representatives of the Viennese *Reichsrat*, 1867 – 1918.

Period	Jurists	Academics	Non-Academics	Germans	Non-Germans	Non-Noble/ Lower Nobility	Aristocracy
1867 – 1873	5	-	-	3	2	4	1
1873 – 1896	9	-	2	3	8	9	2
1897 – 1907	5	1	3	3	6	9	-
1907 – 1918	5	3	8	4	12	16	-
Total	21	4	13	13	25	35	3

Note: Three vice-presidents served in more than one period, therefore reducing the total numbers.

While the group of the vice-presidents was also dominated by well-educated men over 50 from the upper professional strata from a bourgeois or noble background with a long career in the central and regional parliaments, the group was in certain aspects more diverse than the presidents. Starting with the election reform of 1897, and enhanced after 1907, representatives from the smaller nationalities gained access to this leadership function, and the educational and professional background changed. In 1898, the house elected Ioan Lupul, a 12-year veteran to the house who had served since 1866 on the Bucovinian diet, which he headed as president since 1892, as the first Romanian vice-president. Together with Lupul, the Slovene judge Andrej Ferjančič, an 11-year veteran, was elected; he was the first Slovene in this function since Hermann von Gödel-Lannoy (vice-president 1879 – 1885), who after a distinguished career as a civil servant in Italy, Hungary, and Vienna retired in 1880 and returned to his native town of Marburg/Maribor in Southern Styria (now Slovenia). He was the first vice-president who had no previous parliamentary experience on the national or provincial level.

Of the 23 vice-presidents elected after the (at first only partial) opening of the parliament to the general male franchise in 1897, ten had not graduated from a university. Four writers and journalists were elected in this period, while all farmers were elected after 1907. At the same time, only one of the vice-presidents elected after 1897 was an estate owner, and he was one of the delegates with the longest tenure. Baron Valeriano Malfatti, vice-president in 1913 and 1914, an Italian from the Trentino, had entered the house in 1885 and remained there until 1918; he was not only the leader of the Italian-liberal parliamentary group since 1897, but also a member of the Tyrolean diet for 26 years and mayor of his home-town Rovereto for almost 30 years.[19] The only Italian to serve in this position before was Francesco Vidulich (vice-president 1870 – 1879), a notary public from the island Lussin/Lošinj; he had been a member of the Austrian parliament in 1848/49 and a member of the house since 1867 and the Istrian diet since 1861,

19 Malfatti's father Cesare (1805 – 1879) had also been mayor of Rovereto and a member of the Tyrolean diet.

presiding over the provincial parliament from 1868 until his death in 1889.[20] The only Croat to serve in this capacity, the 56-year-old Istrian attorney Matko Laginja, elected in 1909, was a perfect example of a traditional parliamentarian: law graduate, member of the house since 1891 (but not re-elected in the term 1901–1907), and a member of the regional diet since 1883.[21] The sole Ukrainian, 68-year-old Julijan Romančuk, also represented the traditional type of parliamentarians, even though his career path was slightly different. After graduating from the University of Lemberg/Lwów/L'viv and working for 35 years as a secondary school teacher in the Galician capital, he resigned in 1899 to concentrate full-time on politics and journalism. A member of the house from 1891 until 1897 and since 1901 and the Galician diet from 1883 until 1895, he led the Ukrainian club of the house for the most part of his tenure in parliament. Romančuk's career was pretty similar to Antonín Otakar Zeithammer's, being vice president from 1888 to 1891. Zeithammer was also a university graduate and secondary school teacher who quit his teaching job to become a professional politician and journalist, but he made this move much earlier in life than Romančuk, and not entirely voluntarily. He left the civil service in 1863 at the age of 36 after being reprimanded for his political activities, continued to be a member of the Bohemian diet for the next 32 years, and served for ten years as vice-mayor of Prague and for 13 years on the Bohemian provincial government.[22] While Zeithammer had a more distinguished career on the provincial level than Romančuk, he served for only 12 years in the central parliament, a difference which can be best explained with the diverging political situation in Bohemia and Galicia. While Zeithammer was victorious in all elections since 1870, he did not enter the central parliament until 1879 due to the Bohemian Czech boycott, but served in the Bohemian diet and Prague city hall. The Ukrainians, though, were in an absolute minority position in the Galician diet and Lemberg city hall, but had always taken part in the parliamentary work in Vienna.

Zeithammer and Romančuk had chosen the career as freelance writers after some time in the civil service to be able to concentrate full-time on political activities. Kramář and the first Social Democrat elected vice president, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, were also professional politicians, but while Kramář was financially independent as the heir of a textile factory and started his journalistic and political career after successful legal and economic studies in Prague, Berlin, and Strassburg, Pernerstorfer's background and career was different.[23] He represented the transition from the older type of delegates who were elected to parliament when well established in their pro-

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20 On Vidulich, who considered himself an Italian politically and ethnically, see Strčić, "Irendetizam Dr. Francesca Vidulicha."

21 On Laginja, see Klaić, *Matko Laginja.*

22 On Zeithammer's role in the negotiations about a Bohemian compromise, see his memoirs Zeithammer, *Zur Geschichte der böhmischen Ausgleichsversuche (1865–1871).*

23 Surprisingly, given his long and prominent career as a politician, journalist, and publisher, there is no modern biography of Pernerstorfer since Fliszar, "Der Reichsratsabgeordnete Engelbert Pernerstorfer."

fessional life to the modern professional politicians who entered the political field before being established in the professional life or without even starting a non-political career. Pernerstorfer, who grew up as an orphan, had studied philosophy at the University of Vienna but did not graduate, and concentrated early on journalism and politics. He was elected to the house for the first time in 1885 at the age of 35 as a German-nationalist and re-elected six years later as an independent candidate on a progressive ticket, but never held a mandate in the Lower Austrian diet or the city council of Vienna. He joined the workers movement in 1896 and was elected as a social-democrat in 1901, later becoming vice president of the house in December 1908 and remaining in this function until the end of the monarchy.

Together with Pernerstorfer, the first farmers were elected as vice presidents in December 1908: Jožef (since 1912 Ritter von) Pogačnik, a Slovene from Carniola, and the Bohemian Czech Antonín Zázvorka. Both were long-time members of the house, Pogačnik since 1897, Zázvorka since 1901, and also of the respective provincial diets, Pogačnik from 1901 until 1918, and Zázvorka from 1901 until 1907. However, while Pogačnik, who also served as postmaster in his hometown of Podnart, had studied law at Graz University but did not graduate, Zázvorka had attended an agricultural secondary school. Both were 42 years old when elected as vice-president and, like Kramář and Pernerstorfer, represented a change in the parliamentary representation. Pogačnik was the traditional local dignitary who had inherited an extensive property and was active in the established agricultural and cultural organizations in Carniola, dominated by estate owners, nobles, and academics; Zázvorka had taken over the family farm of his father-in-law and was involved early on in the new farmers movement which intended to create independent and self-organized economic and political institutions.

3 The Delegates at Large and their Political Leadership – Between Transition and Persistence

While the leadership of the parliament suggested a strong, but in the later years diminishing, homogeneity in terms of education, professional, and social status, an analysis of the delegates at large arrives at a different result. The *Reichsrat* was until 1907 elected under a rather complicated and restricted franchise that was gradually expanded but kept certain distinct features.[24] In general, there were restrictions according to citizenship, sex, age, wealth, and income (male, 24 years of age for the active, 30 years for the passive franchise, land and company ownership or direct income tax payments), which varied from province to province and within each province according to the eco-

24 Ucakar, *Demokratie und Wahlrecht in Österreich*, 113 – 370, and Kretschmer, “Die Ausbildung des Wahlrechts in Cisleithanien.” For a comparative view, see Bader-Zaar, “Politische Partizipation,” 203 – 56, and Bader-Zaar, ’Die “grande affaire”’, 13 – 35.

nomic situation.[25] But certain groups of male citizens were exempt from the income restrictions, and these exemptions were largely linked to education and public functions. Again with regional variations, local and higher clergy, civil servants with the status of *Beamter*, retired military officers, teachers at primary and secondary schools as well as professors at colleges and universities, lawyers, notaries public, doctors of all faculties, and pharmacists had the right to vote and the eligibility to be elected, regardless of their wealth and income. However, while the election reform of 1896 opened the active, but not the passive,[26] franchise to all male citizens over 24 years of age, it heavily restricted the influence of the new general voting class. It elected only 72 new representatives, while the existing 353 seats remained reserved for the privileged constituency, which also received a double vote both in their privileged group and in the general voting class. The election reform of 1907 finally abolished all active and passive voting privileges by wealth, income, public function, and education, while the restrictions according to citizenship, sex, and age remained in place, with those regarding local residency even exacerbated.[27]

Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that for a long time certain professional and social groups, similar to those dominating the presidency, were over-represented and even dominated the House of Representatives as a whole: estate owners, attorneys and notaries public, civil servants with academic degrees, (mostly catholic) clergymen, industrialists, and in general men with university degrees or a diploma from a professional or technical college. On the other hand, certain other professional groups were highly under-represented, like family farmers, artisans, and small business owners, or totally absent, like clerks and workers in trade, industry, and agriculture.

In the first directly elected house of 1873 – until then the delegates were sent to Vienna by the diets and had to be members of these regional parliaments – 91 of the 319 occupied seats[28] were held by estate owners (including heirs-apparent and husbands of female owners) and estate tenants, while 61 delegates worked in the liberal professions, the majority of them attorneys and notaries public.[29] Thirty-nine deputies were academically trained civil servants including secondary school teachers, university professors, and judges. Forty-four deputies were engaged in industry, trade, and banking, either as owners or managers, and twenty-nine were clerics, while only twelve were family farmers or owned a farm-related rural business. At the same

25 On the concept of the multi-layered construction of the Habsburg monarchy, see recently Osterkamp, *Vielfalt ordnen.*

26 Since the passive franchise depended on the eligibility to vote for the regional diet, similar election reforms in certain provinces came too late to be relevant for the central parliament.

27 On this reform, see still Jenks, *The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907.*

28 Since the elected Bohemian Czech deputies considered the parliament unconstitutional and boycotted it, 32 seats were empty. On the election reform of 1873, see Vocelka, "Das Wahlrecht und die Wahlreform der liberalen Periode."

29 All calculations rest upon the author's database.

time, almost 60 percent of all members of parliament entering the house in this legislative period had successfully completed their studies at a university, and almost 50 percent held a law degree.[30] Since another eight percent were either clerics without a theological doctorate or retired army officers without an academic degree, at least 65 percent of all deputies profited from the special privileges of the franchise regulations, despite most if not all of them also fulfilling the requirements on property ownership and tax payments. On the other hand, a minimum of 20 percent did not fall into these privileged groups, and only twenty deputies (5 percent) had just completed primary school, while the rest had dropped out of university, completed or attended a technical college, or at least finished secondary school.[31]

The leadership of the political groups in the house, in Austria called clubs, was in line with this general profile. They were mostly attorneys or estate owners, and almost all held a law degree. Typical for the first group was Alois Pražák, the leader of the Moravian Czechs; he had a distinguished professional career as an attorney in the Moravian capital Brünn/Brno, while his political career was as outstanding. He was a member of the constitutional assembly of 1848/49 as well as the Moravian diet since 1861 and had entered the *Reichsrat* in the same year. Leaving the parliament like the other Czech deputies in 1864, he returned in 1874, when the Moravian Czechs ended their boycott of the central parliament. In 1879, he became minister in the new conservative-led Taaffe government, in 1882 he received the baronate, and in 1892 he was appointed a peer for life in the House of Lords.[32] The other leading figures in the parliamentary groups were mostly equally distinguished members of the political elite: former ministers, attorneys, and estate owners. Even the sole agriculturist in the group was a doctor iuris. Eduard von Grebmer was more an estate owner and entrepreneur than a family farmer; he had taken over the family business of postmaster and hotelier in the Tyrolean city of Bruneck, and was a member of the regional diet since 1861, serving as its vice-president for two years and another two years as its president. With the exception of Count Karl Hohenwart, the leader of the conservative Club of the Right Center, all club leaders were members of the regional diets. Although Hohenwart was new to the parliament, he could hardly be seen as not belonging to the political elite of the monarchy. After a distinguished career in the civil service as governor of

30 The numbers might be slightly higher since the educational status for 13 percent of the members is unknown, many of them estate owners and industrialists. Included are only deputies entering the house, not those being elected but boycotting the parliament.

31 Again, the numbers might vary because of the rather high number of deputies with an unknown educational background. Most of them come from professional groups where at least a formal or informal level of education in or above secondary school level can be expected.

32 Pražák is included in a recent publication on the rulers of Moravia: Vikoupil, “Vládcové Moravy – Alois Pražák,” 165–75. His son Otakar followed in his footsteps as attorney and long-time member of the Austrian parliament and the Moravian diet.

Carinthia and Upper Austria, he served as prime minister and minister of the interior in 1871.[33]

Table 3: Educational background (highest degree) – structure of all members of parliament (in %).

Year	Jurist	Academic	Techn./Profess. College	Secondary School	Primary School	Unknown
1867	44	9	13	14	6	14
1879	47	9	12	11	6	13
1897	36	13	14	11	21	3
1907	27	12	13	12	38	1

Table 4: Educational background (highest degree) – structure of party leadership.

Period	Jurist		Academic		Techn./ Pro-fess. College		Secondary School		Primary School		Unknown	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1867 – 1873	11	92	1	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1873 – 1896	31	65	6	13	5	10	4	8	1	2	1	2
1897 – 1907	20	41	7	14	7	14	8	16	7	14	–	–
1907 – 1918	37	55	7	10	6	9	7	10	10	15	–	–

The next legislative periods showed no significant changes in the professional and educational structure of the house of representatives. The effects of the minor franchise reform of 1882, which lowered the minimum income requirement for the active, but not the passive, franchise, regardless of regional restrictions, to five florins of direct annual tax payments, had no major effect on the professional and educational composition.[34] The greatest shift came within, and not between, established groups. In the professional group of industry, trade, and banking, there was a significant shift away from big industry towards owners of smaller urban businesses, whose voting base in the urban and industrial centers of the monarchy had profited the most from the election reform of 1882. At the same time, almost 60 percent of all deputies entering the parliament in the legislative period 1885 – 1891 held a university degree,

33 Hohenwart is considered one of the leading conservative politicians in Austria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Haviar, "Carl Siegmund Graf Hohenwart," 199 – 224.

34 On this reform, which also broke up the singular Bohemian great landowners voting group, electing 23 deputies, into regional sub-districts, and changed the regulations for the Bohemian chambers of commerce to guarantee a Czech-conservative majority in the Bohemian delegation, see Jenks, *Austria under the Iron Ring, 1879 – 1893*, 104 – 21.

and 44 percent had finished law school, while only seven percent had just completed primary school.[35]

The leadership of the political clubs of the house was also still dominated by the same groups as twelve years before. Sixteen out of twenty chairmen held a university degree, and two had quit law school to become army officers. 85 percent of the club leaders were either estate owners, worked in the liberal professions, mostly as attorneys, or were active or retired academically trained civil servants, with all but one current, former, or future members of the regional diets. But the factor of the parliamentary experience had changed; thirteen club leaders had entered the house for the first time after the election reform of 1873 and one was in his first term. So next to the long-time leaders like the Galician estate owner Kazimierz von Grocholski, the former university professor and retired minister Eduard Herbst, or František Ladislav Rieger, the leader of the Czech Club,[36] who had all entered the house in 1861, there was a new type of politician in the club leadership: still academically trained, but entering parliament at an earlier stage in their professional career. While Malfatti, who was 35 at the time of his first election, represented the older type of the noble estate owner, Ernst von Plener and Otto Steinwender represented the shift towards the professional politician.[37] The German-liberal Plener, son of a former high civil servant, minister of finance and commerce and member of parliament from 1861 until 1873, entered the house in 1873 at the age of 32, when he won the seat of the chamber of commerce of the Western Bohemian region of Eger/Cheb. Not only had his father represented the Bohemian chambers of commerce in the *Reichsrat* until 1873, but the younger also inherited the elder Plener's seat in the Bohemian diet.[38] Ernst von Plener, who lived most of his adult life in Vienna, had quit the diplomatic career in 1873 to devote his life to politics. But while Plener was born into the political elite of the monarchy, Steinwender came from a different background[39]; born in the Carinthian capital Klagenfurt as son of a tax officer of lower rank, he attended Vienna University on a

35 The figures become more accurate over time since the numbers of deputies whose educational status is unknown declines steadily.

36 Rieger, the "leader of the nation," had been a member of the Austrian parliament in 1848/49 and became a member of both the Bohemian diet and the Reichsrat in 1861, but had boycotted the central parliament since 1863 before returning to Vienna together with the other Bohemian Czechs after the elections of 1879. He had been successful in all elections in Bohemia since 1861. See recently Pavlíček and Velek, *Vůdce národa.*

37 But there was an asynchronicity in these developments. Rieger had also been, like many delegates who had started their career in 1848/49 and returned in 1861, just over 30 years of age when elected to the constitutional assembly. Economically independent, he had built early on a reputation as a political writer and, after marrying the daughter of the "father of the nation" František Palacký, he basically inherited the throne as leader of the Czech bourgeoisie.

38 On the relationship between father and son, see Werner, "Die beiden Plener: Zwei Generationen des österreichischen Liberalismus," and Klein, "Ernst von Plener: Sein Weg zum Politiker." See also the son's memoirs Plener, *Erinnerungen*, 3 vols.

39 For an introduction, see the brochure Höbelt, *Otto Steinwender: Porträt eines Nationalliberalen.*

state scholarship and was a leading member of a German-national fraternity. He received a doctorate in philosophy and worked as a secondary school teacher in the imperial capital when he was elected to parliament in 1885 by the smaller Carinthian towns, a district he represented in Vienna until 1918, and also in the regional diet since 1890. When he entered parliament at the age of 38, he took a leave of absence from his teaching job which lasted until his official retirement in 1918, to concentrate on his political career in the new German-national movement.

Table 5: Professional background – structure of all members of parliament (in %).

Year	Estate Owner	Liberal Profe-ssion	Civil Servant	Industry/ Trade/ Commerce	Private Income	Cler-ic	Farmer/ Farm Related	Journa-list	Party/ Interest Group Employee
1867	28	22	14	16	6	9	4	2	–
1873	30	20	13	14	7	10	4	2	–
1897	24	17	13	13	4	8	12	6	2
1907	6	15	15	6	4	10	23	12	9

Table 6: Professional background – structure of party leadership.

Profession	Period							
	1867–1873		1873–1896		1897–1907		1907–1918	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Estate Owner	2	17	15	31	9	18	5	8
Liberal Profession	6	50	12	25	12	25	17	26
Civil Servant	3	25	12	25	5	10	15	23
Industry/ Trade	1	8	2	4	3	6	3	5
Private Income	–	–	4	8	5	10	5	8
Cleric	–	–	3	6	2	4	3	5
Farmer/ Farm-related	–	–	–	–	4	8	6	9
Journalist	–	–	–	–	8	16	11	17
Party Employee	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	2
Total	12	100	48	100	49	100	66	100

The elections of 1897, which introduced the general but unequal active male franchise, brought a significant shift in the professional and educational background of the deputies. In absolute numbers, this shift was not massive, but it marked a departure from traditional voting patterns in certain aspects. Owners and tenants of estates remained the dominant professional group within the whole house elected in 1897, but only nine estate owners represented one of the 72 new districts of the general franchise. Therefore, just 13 percent of these new seats were represented by estate owners, compared to one fourth of the 353 privileged seats. Representatives of the liberal professions were also affected by the changes, but not as dramatically as the estate owners. 13 percent of the general franchise deputies belonged to the liberal professions, while they held 17 percent of the privileged seats. In a similar way, the educational background of the deputies was affected by the changes in the voting laws. 49 percent of the deputies elected during the shortened and troubled legislative period from 1897 until 1900 held a university degree and 36 percent were jurists, while the numbers of representatives who had only finished primary school rose to 21 percent, a development which went hand in hand with a significant increase in the numbers of farmers and owners of rural businesses. Fifty members of parliament in 1897 belonged to this professional group, more than doubling their share compared to 1885 from 5 to 12 percent.

The increase in the number and proportion of farmers was not caused by the expanded franchise, where with 10 percent of all new seats they were even less represented than in the privileged mandates with 12 percent. But the educational shift was felt stronger in the new than in the old seats; while only 36 percent of the representatives elected in the general franchise held a university degree, and 23 percent had attended law school, half of all privileged seats were held by academics and 38 percent by jurists. The opposite was true for representatives who had only finished primary school; while 40 percent of the seats in the general franchise were held by members of this educational group, only 18 percent of the privileged members of parliament had no degree of secondary or higher education.

These shifts in the professional and educational status of the representatives went hand in hand with a development that started in the early 1880s, where newly elected delegates tended to be less privileged economically and educationally than re-elected deputies. In the election period 1897 to 1900, 30 percent of first-time delegates had only attended primary school and 39 percent held a university degree, compared to 14 and 57 percent, respectively, in the group of the veteran parliamentarians.

These trends are also reflected in the leadership of the political fractions of the house. While the established groups of liberals and conservatives were still led by academically trained delegates, estate owners, or industrialists and the new groups of the Christian-socials and catholic people's parties also relied on jurists as their leaders, the social-democrats established a new type of politician in the parliamentary leadership. The chairmen of the club were professional politicians without academic training working full-time for the party and its press or the trade unions. The only member of the socialist club with at least formal secondary education was the 30-year-old Ignacy Daszyński, who had studied philosophy and law, but had not graduated, while early on he started a career as party agitator and journalist. At the same time, the membership in the regional diets was still high, but had clearly declined throughout the house and also in the leadership of the clubs. While still half of the chairmen were current or former regional representatives in 1897, only four of the fourteen chairmen not holding a regional seat entered a diet in the following years.

The trend away from economically and educationally privileged groups continued and was accentuated in the first house of the general and equal male franchise, elected in 1907. The number of owners and tenants of estates dropped sharply to only 28 (6 percent) of the 516 delegates, while 71 (15 percent) of the seats were taken by representatives of the liberal professions. At the same time, the numbers of family farmers and rural businessmen and artisans reached 109 (23 percent), while two other professional groups also showed significant increases: writers and journalists on the one hand, and employees of political parties and interest groups like trade unions, economic organizations, or co-operations on the other. They were, with the exception of a few lobbyists for big industry and agriculture and top employees of the chambers of commerce, basically unknown on the parliamentary scene before 1897, while after the elections of this year, the two groups combined for 8 percent of all seats. Ten years later, they were, together with the farmers, the dominant groups in the parliament. Sixty delegates (12 percent) were writers, journalists, or editors, and most of them worked for the press of the political parties on all sides of the political spectrum. Another 44 deputies (9 percent) were in the employ of political parties or interest groups.

The educational status of the deputies also changed significantly in the election period starting in 1907 as, while the share of university graduates fell to 39 percent and the proportion of jurists to 27 percent, the number of deputies with only primary education rose to 208 (38 percent). Again, this shift in the educational background is even more visible by a differentiated look at veteran delegates and newly elected representatives. Still, 52 percent of the veterans held a university degree and 36 percent had graduated from law school, but the numbers were significantly lower in the group of first-time delegates. Just one third of the newcomers were university graduates, and 22 percent were jurists, while the numbers were reversed respective to deputies without a formal secondary or higher education. 27 percent of the veterans had just finished primary school, but this was the case for 45 percent of first-time delegates.

These trends were reflected on a reduced scale in the leadership of the parliamentary groups. While 71 percent of the parliamentary leaders held a university degree and 57 percent had graduated from law school, the professional profile of this group had changed significantly. The long-time parliamentarians Abrahamowicz, who retired from the leadership of the Polish Club just months after the legislative period started, and Malfatti were the only estate owners in this group. And while active or retired attorneys (36 percent) and active or former academically trained civil servants (21 percent) still dominated the club leaderships, writers and journalists made up 25 percent of the leadership of the political fractions. Only five of the parliamentary leaders in 1907 had been elected before the franchise reform of 1896, while more than two-thirds had been elected for the first time in the years between 1897 and 1907, and four were new to the parliament.

In general, the elections in 1907 and the following by-elections during the legislative period until 1911 brought in a significantly higher number of first-time parliamentarians than the previous elections with and without a prior franchise reform, a higher number of newcomers which can only in part be explained by the increase in seats from 425 to 516. In the 1907 general elections, 320 (62 percent) of all successful candidates entered the house of representatives for the first time, while 196 delegates (38 percent) had held a parliamentary seat before. In previous general elections without an increase in the number of delegates, the proportion of newly elected deputies was never higher than one third, while even in the elections with an increase of seats in 1873 and 1897, the percentage of first-time delegates was significantly lower than in 1907, with 56 percent and 45 percent, respectively.[40] After the last elections in 1911, one third of all deputies were new to the parliament, while two-thirds were re-elected, bringing the proportions back in line with previous elections without prior franchise reforms.

4 Representing the People? Professional, Educational, and Regional Shifts

Even with this reduced representation in parliament after 1907, privileged professional groups like lawyers and notaries public, civil servants, or clergy were highly over-represented in relation to their proportion in the adult male population. According to the census data, lawyers and notaries public and their employees never made up more than 0.03 percent of the male population aged 30 and older, the group fulfilling the age and sex requirement for the passive franchise.[41] While this discrepancy is extreme – such a small professional group filling between 11 and 18 percent of all seats in the period covered – it is definitely not unique. The proportion of clergymen, another professional group quasi designated to represent its flock, within the delegates varied between 5 and 7 percent of all deputies, while their representation within the theoretically electable age group was always below 0.5 percent. But the disproportional representation of the male population in parliament did not necessarily disappear or even diminish with the election reforms and the changing professional composition of the parliament. While the 1910 census lists only 3,300 male writers and journalists, adding up to just 0.05 percent of the adult male population, 12 percent of all representatives in the last house of 1911 belonged to this professional group.

Privileged professional status and higher education among delegates were not the only factors which changed over time. Regional aspects were also important, both in the sense of urban and rural representation as well as in a center-periphery perspective. In general, the urban centers of the monarchy were over-represented in parliament regarding the place of residence of the delegates. After the franchise reform of 1873, the city of Vienna and its non-incorporated suburbs sent 14 representatives into parliament, and the provincial capitals (including Cracow) plus their suburbs

40 The elections of 1879 were an exceptional case, since formally they did not bring an increase in seats, but the 34 Czech Bohemian delegates who had boycotted the parliament before now entered the house for the first time. The proportion of newcomers increased to 37 percent, the highest in elections without a previous franchise reform.

41 The data of the decennial censuses were published by the state census bureau (Statistische Zentralkommission) in its series Österreichische Statistik. For the results of the last census of 1910, see Rumpler and Seger, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Vol. 9. Part 2.*

27.[42] The franchise reform of 1897 increased the representation of Vienna to 19 and of the provincial capitals to 32, while the reform of 1907 finally allocated 33 seats to Vienna and 53 to provincial capitals; therefore, between 4 and 6 percent of all delegates were elected in Vienna and between 8 and 10 percent in provincial capitals.[43] But in the legislative period starting in 1879, at least 18 percent of all delegates lived in Vienna at the time of their election, and 25 percent in provincial capitals including Cracow. In 1897 the importance of Vienna and the provincial capitals as place of residence had decreased, but still remained well above their share in parliamentary seats, with 13 and 25 percent of all delegates, respectively.[44] These relationships remained basically unchanged in the first election period under the general and equal male franchise, with 14 percent of all representatives living in Vienna at the time of their election, and 27 percent in provincial capitals.

Not only was the number of representatives living in urban centers significantly higher compared to the delegates elected from these cities; the educational background was different in comparison to the delegates at large. While in the legislative period starting in 1879, the percentage of delegates with a university degree was 56 percent and 47 percent had finished law school, this was the case for 64 percent and 57 percent of the delegates living in Vienna and 80 percent and 63 percent for deputies living in provincial capitals. While after the elections in 1897 and 1907, the percentage of university and law school graduates dropped in general, the numbers for residents of Vienna and the provincial capitals remained significantly above those for the parliament as a whole. In 1897, the percentage of jurists among the delegates living in Vienna and in the provincial capitals was similar (47 and 43 percent compared to 36 percent overall), but after 1907, the numbers reversed. In the following legislative period, 42 percent of all delegates living in provincial capitals held a law degree, while this ratio had dropped to 36 percent for deputies living in Vienna and 27 percent overall.

Table 7: Structure of place of residence of representatives at time of election (in %).

Year	Vienna	Provincial Capital	Circuit Court seat	County/County Court Seat	Town/Market Place	Rural Community
1867	17	33	6	15	–	29
1879	18	25	10	15	1	31
1897	13	25	11	17	1	33
1907	14	27	10	18	2	30

42 Cracow is included in the list of the provincial capitals because of its importance as the second Galician center next to Lemberg. Not included are the deputies of the regional Chambers of Commerce which included Vienna (two) and the provincial capitals (nine).

43 Including the respective Chambers of Commerce deputies, the ratio for Vienna was 5 percent and for the provincial capitals 10 percent of all seats until the reform of 1907.

44 These numbers do not include aristocratic estate owners who tended to live at least parts of the year in their palaces and mansions in Vienna or the provincial capitals.

The major reason for this discrepancy was the different voting pattern in Vienna and the provincial capitals compared to other districts which elected delegates residing in metropolitan areas; basically, all delegates elected in Vienna and its suburbs also resided in the city. In the election period starting in 1879, eight of nineteen delegates (42 percent) elected in the imperial capital held a university degree and six (32 percent) were jurists, five working as attorneys. In addition, six more Viennese deputies had attended a technical college, including Eduard Sueß, professor for geology at Vienna University, Wilhelm Franz Exner, director of the technical museum, and the prominent industrialists Alfred von Lenz and Alexander Friedmann. In the legislative period 1897–1900, the numbers of university graduates and attorneys among the Viennese deputies dropped, despite the increase in seats; seven of nineteen delegates (37 percent) were university graduates, all of them jurists, who were accompanied by two alumni of technical colleges. Only two attorneys were elected in Vienna in this period, and the sole academic elected in the city's five districts of the general male franchise was Mayor Karl Lueger, a retired attorney. In the first election period under the general and equal male franchise, the city elected 40 percent university graduates and 31 percent jurists, again only two of them attorneys. In the last election period starting in 1911, only four of fourteen first-time delegates (29 percent) from Vienna had an academic degree.

On the other hand, delegates living in the imperial capital, but being elected from non-Viennese districts, were in disproportionately higher numbers academically trained and belonging to professional groups associated with a university degree, like attorneys or civil servants, including active and retired ministers. In the election period 1879–1885, university graduates accounted for 73 percent of delegates residing in Vienna but not elected there, and 61 percent of them held a law degree. This proportion increased after the elections in 1897 to 80 and 70 percent, and in 1907 to 95 and 68 percent, respectively. In 1897, about 30 percent of these delegates were attorneys, with this number decreasing after 1907 to 13 percent, which was still significantly higher compared to the proportion of attorneys among the delegates elected in Vienna (6 percent).

Table 8: Educational background of representatives living in Vienna (in %).

Year	Elected in Vienna	Elected Elsewhere	Elected in Vienna	Elected Elsewhere	Elected in Vienna	Elected Elsewhere
	Jurists		Other Academics		Primary School	
1867	71	71	14	19	–	–
1879	29	69	19	7	–	–
1897	32	55	5	19	27	10
1907	32	35	6	23	44	26

The constituents in the provincial capitals also overwhelmingly elected delegates who resided in the respective cities. In 1879, 13 percent of all deputies elected in provincial capitals or its suburbs did not reside in the respective city, and all but one of them lived in Vienna. However, in 1907, only three out of sixty (5 percent) delegates did not live in the provincial capital they were elected in. All of them were jurists, and in most cases the delegates were former residents of the respective cities who had moved to Vienna for professional reasons as judges, civil servants, attorneys, or ministers, or remained in the imperial capital after their term expired. In 1879, these members included Rudolf Alter, a former attorney in Prague who was appointed as judge to the new Administrative Court in 1876; Ludwik Wolski, who had moved his law firm in the same year from Lemberg to Vienna; and Johann von Chlumecký, who had stayed in Vienna after his dismissal as Minister of Commerce and was elected by the Moravian capital Brünn/Brno, where he had spent most of his professional life as a judge and civil servant before being appointed minister. In 1907, the two ministers Julius von Derschatta and Josef Fořt were elected by their hometowns Graz and Prague, Derschatta a former attorney and Fořt secretary of the chamber of commerce before being appointed as top civil servant in the Railroad Ministry in 1905 and Minister of Commerce one year later. Rather atypical were Emil Sax and Josef von Schneid, both elected in 1879, the former in the Silesian capital Troppau/Opava/Opawa, the latter in Laibach/Ljubljana. While Sax was born and raised in Troppau, he had studied law in Vienna and spent his professional life there before being appointed in 1879 as professor of political economy at the University of Prague. Schneid was born and raised in Vienna and spent his entire career as a civil servant there, but had acquired an estate just 20 kilometers north of the Carniolan capital one year before the election and moved there after his retirement and resignation as deputy in 1882.[45]

Regarding the educational and professional background of delegates living in provincial capitals, there are similar trends to Vienna in a comparison between those elected in these cities and those elected in other districts. In the legislative periods starting in 1879 and 1897, the number of academics was lower under deputies elected in the capitals[46] as compared to representatives elected outside.[47] In 1879, 65 percent of the first group were academics and 55 percent jurists, compared to 77 percent and 57 percent in the second group. In 1897, the numbers were 56 percent and 40 percent in the first, and 70 and 44 percent in the second group. But while in 1907 this trend intensified for the Viennese-based deputies, it reversed for those living in the provincial capitals. While in this legislative period, 61 percent of all delegates elected in the capitals and also living there were academics and 47 percent were jurists, the numbers for capitals-based representatives elected elsewhere were 54 and 36 percent. While the percentage of attorneys elected in both groups was almost equal in 1879 and 1897 and sig-

45 Schneid was elected to the Carniolan diet in 1883, but died one year later at the age of 44. On the controversy about his election as a non-native and alleged candidate of the governor, see the anonymous article ***, Laibach 7. Juli (Lügengewebe der "Deutschen Zeitung").

46 Included are all districts of the capitals and Cracow and their immediate suburbs, and the chambers of commerce districts which had their center in a provincial capital.

47 Not included are the delegates elected in the group of the great landowners.

nificantly higher in the group of the city-elected delegates (26 to 13 percent), the major discrepancy throughout was the number of academically trained active and retired civil servants, including judges and university professors, elected in both groups. The percentage for this professional stratum was between 20 and 25 percent in the group of the delegates elected in the cities, but it was between 30 and 45 percent in the second group. Also, in the legislative period starting in 1907, more journalists living in provincial capitals were elected elsewhere compared to in the cities themselves (28 to 16 percent).

Table 9: Educational background of representatives living in provincial capitals (in %).

Year	Elected in a Capital	Elected Elsewhere	Elected in a Capital	Elected Elsewhere	Elected in a Capital	Elected Elsewhere
	Jurists		Other Academics		Primary School	
1867	62	86	3	14	3	–
1879	55	57	10	20	3	–
1897	40	44	16	26	14	9
1907	47	36	14	18	15	26

Opposing trends can be seen in the group of delegates elected by the rural districts. After 1879, one third of these deputies lived in Vienna, the provincial capitals, or other urban and industrial centers of the monarchy, while two-thirds resided in smaller urban and rural communities. Of these representatives living in urban centers, 86 percent held an academic degree and 70 percent were jurists, while this was only the case for 30 and 25 percent of the deputies living in smaller communities. One third of these deputies were estate owners, and 22 percent family farmers or owners of farm-related rural businesses. After 1897, the percentage of deputies elected in rural districts residing in urban centers had decreased to 25 percent, and the proportion of them holding an academic or law degree to 62 and 36 percent. Of the delegates living in smaller communities, 30 percent held an academic degree and 18 percent a law degree. The number of farmers and rural trades- and businessmen had increased significantly, while the proportion of estate owners had declined in this group; 38 percent of all deputies living in smaller communities belonged to the former, while the latter had decreased to 18 percent, with this trend strongest in provinces where the movement to found new farmers associations and rural co-operations was well under way. For example, six of the eight rural seats in Upper and Central Styria were held by farmers or rural professionals, and four of them became leading members of the (German) Catholic-Conservative Farmers Association founded in 1899. In Lower Austria, another center of the new farmers movement, eight out of fourteen rural representatives became founding members of the Lower Austrian Farmers Association.

The effects of the election reform of 1907 did not significantly change the relationship of rural deputies living in urban centers and smaller communities, but their educational and professional composition changed significantly. The proportion of rural deputies holding an academic or law degree was twice as high under delegates residing in urban centers (33 percent) than under those living in smaller communities (17 percent). On the other side, one-half of the latter deputies had only finished grade school, while this was the case for just one fifth of the former group. While more than half (52 percent) of all rural delegates in the new house of the general and equal male franchise were farmers or farm-related professionals and businessmen, only twenty-three estate owners (7 percent) represented rural districts after 1907. Only thirteen of these deputies were traditional aristocratic or judicially trained estate owners like the German-Bohemian Hans Damm, or Princes Andrzej Lubomirski and Karl Auersperg, who had taken the chance offered by the election reform to suspend their seat in the House of Lords for the time of their mandate as a representative. Eight estate owners were holdovers from the previous restrictive franchise.

5 Conclusion

While the Austrian house of representatives in its early years was a body composed primarily of delegates from certain upper strata of society (estate owners, many of them from the higher nobility, university educated urban professionals, mostly independent lawyers, civil servants, industrialists and clerics) and remained this way in its leadership, the house as a whole gradually changed until it showed a different picture after the introduction of general and equal male suffrage in 1907. The leading role, at least in numbers, was now played by two other professional groups: farmers and farm-related rural crafts- and businessmen and urban professional politicians, employed by the political parties themselves, their newspapers, or organizations closely connected to the parties like labor unions or co-operations. However, throughout the whole period, two professional groups are basically absent: industrial and agricultural workers. These professions can only be found in the biographies of delegates who had changed profession before they entered parliament, by entering into the employ of political parties and their press or related organizations, or by taking over farms or small rural and urban businesses.

The house changed from a body dominated by members with an academic degree into a parliament where university education, especially a law degree, was not the norm any more. But while the social, professional, and educational profile of the parliament changed, it remained leaning strongly towards the urban centers, which were highly over-represented, even though the numbers of delegates living in smaller towns and rural communities increased over time.

Membership in parliament went hand in hand with parliamentary activities on the regional and local level. Even after 1907, 44 percent of all delegates and one quarter of the first-time representatives held a seat in a regional diet or were elected into one during the term. The decline in 1907 was not caused by a loss of identification with or involvement in regional or local politics, but by continued franchise restrictions to the regional and local representations. In provinces which had introduced a group of deputies elected through universal male suffrage, the numbers of delegates also holding a seat in the regional parliaments were significantly higher and close to the numbers before the 1907 reform. Many delegates were also involved in local politics as mayors or members of county, city, and town councils. Here also, as on the regional level, the percentage after 1907 was much higher in the group of delegates representing rural areas and small towns, while in the urban centers, the franchise restrictions kept many delegates from being able to run successfully for a seat in the city councils. The parliamentary careers did not necessarily end in 1918; more than 200 former delegates were elected into the central parliaments of the successor states after 1918.

The leadership of the revolutionary provisional national assembly of the (German-)Austrian republic, composed of the ethnically German members of the house elected in 1911, nevertheless showed a different picture. The composition of its membership was reflected at the top: three of its four presidents were non-academics, and only one a jurist. The other three were a primary school teacher on leave since he had first entered the parliament in 1901, a family farmer and leading agricultural organizer, and a priest, who held top positions in regional politics. But these changes in the leadership did not last; while the parliaments of the first Austrian republic were elected under different principles, changing from a system of majority voting in single member constituencies to a proportional representation based on party lists, and opening up the active and passive franchise to women, its leadership resembled much more the old house of the monarchy than the provisional national assembly. All members of the presidency were men, and it took until 1986 for the first woman to be elected as vice-president and until 2004 for a female representative to head the parliament. Four of the five presidents in the First Republic were academics and three of them jurists, including the only president who was not a holdover from the old house, while five of seven vice presidents were academics, four of them jurists, including those three elected for the first time after 1919. The only non-academics in these groups were two social-democrats, one a teacher turned professional politician in 1901, the other a top functionary of the self-governed health insurances.

Therefore, social mobility in the electorate was reflected in the rank and file of the parliament, but much less in its leadership, where traditional concepts of political elites – seniority and formal education – remained the leading criteria for selection to these positions.

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Igor Vranić and Leo Marić

Metamorphosis of Parliamentarian Elites in Croatia, 1910 – 1925

1 Introduction

The research on the transformation of various social groups from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to its successor states has seen a significant increase in recent years with new inspiring approaches.[1] Scholars have been interested in a broad range of social groups, such as bureaucracy and civil servants, public administration, military, war veterans, etc. while, surprisingly, political elites, especially parliamentarians, attracted less scholarly interest. A valuable starting point for further research on political elites is *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848 – 1918)*, edited by Judit Pál and Vlad Popovici. However, the volume is focused only on political elites until the end of the First World War, and therefore it does not deal with the transformation of political elites into new states after the collapse of the Austria-Hungary.[2]

Croatian historiography paid less attention to the topic of political elites and social mobility than its counterparts in other countries of the Central and Eastern Europe. However, there are some notable exceptions. Already in the 1970s, renowned Croatian historian Mirjana Gross published a study about political, economic, and social trajectories of Croatian nobility at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth century.[3] Later, limited interest in the social structure and mobility of the elites arose in the last two decades of the century, with Nives Rumenjak's work on the political elite of Croatian Serbs at the end of the nineteenth century published in 2005 still probably the most ambitious example of comparative prosopography in Croatian historiography.[4] Social structure and mobility of the political elites was also one of the topics of Branko Ostajmer's monograph about the National Party in Slavonia and Syrmia in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the second part of the monograph, Ostajmer analyzed the social structure of the National Party, as well as entanglement between the political and social interests of Slavonia's influential aristocratic families. Lastly, he also presented biographies of the notable National Party politicians.[5]

1 Becker et al., *Hofratsdämmerung*; Adlgasser and Lindström, *The Habsburg Civli Service and Beyond*; Cornwall, *Treason in an Era of Regime Change*, 124 – 49; Newman, Croats and Croatia, 165 – 81.
2 Pál and Popovici (eds.), *Elites and Politics.*
3 Gross, "O položaju plemstva," 123 – 48.
4 Rumenjak, "Politička i društvena elita Srba."
5 Ostajmer, "Narodna stranka."

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A certain breakthrough in the history of elites and elites' social mobility was represented in the scientific project *The Transition of Croatian Elites from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Yugoslav State* (2017–2020), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation. The project's result were several academic papers dealing with transition of various parts of Croatian political, economic, administrative, and academic elites from the Danube Monarchy into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, where the issue of social mobility of elites was covered, too. As part of the project, Iskra Iveljić analyzed the issue of the downward social mobility of Croatian nobility after 1918,[6] while Iveljić and Žarko Lazarević together published a paper about social and political trajectories of Croatian and Slovenian economic elites after 1918.[7] Among others, the project included Božena Vranješ-Šoljan's studies about administrative elites,[8] as well as Branimir Janković's and Nikola Tomašegović's analysis of the transition of the Croatian academic elite into the new Yugoslav state.[9]

Our research focuses on the transformation of parliamentary elites from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (Central, North, and East parts of contemporary Croatia) from the last three convocations of the Austro-Hungarian era (1910, 1911, and 1913) to the first three convocations of the newly-established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1919, 1920, and 1923).[10] By studying the social structure of parliamentary representatives, our aim is to confirm whether there was continuity or rupture in the transformation of parliamentary elites once the new state was founded. Beside a prosopographical study of the parliamentary elite in general, we also provide a few biographical sketches in order to illustrate how regime change affected the social mobility among Croatian parliamentarians. Furthermore, how the new legal system allowed certain political ideologies to develop is discussed, whilst some ideologies and parties lost their significance due to the widening of political participation.

2 Historical Context of Croatia-Slavonia

Before presenting the main arguments of our research, we provide a brief political overview for an easier understanding of the subject. In the nineteenth century, the Croatian lands were divided into several parts: the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Military Frontier, which was abolished in 1873 and incorporated into the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in 1881. Like elsewhere in Europe, the nation-building process intensified throughout the Croatian lands in the nineteenth cen-

6 Iveljić, "Prezrena elita," 135–52.

7 Iveljić and Lazarević, "The transition of Croatian and Slovenian economic elites," 143–204.

8 Vranješ-Šoljan, "Veliki župani," 269–82. Vranješ-Šoljan, "Tranzicija hrvatske upravne elite," 89–104.

9 Janković, "Povjesničari u tranziciji," 205–22. Tomašegović, "The Many Faces of Yugoslavism," 127–39.

10 The state's official name between 1918 and 1929 was Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, being renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in October 1929, upon the establishment of king Aleksandar's dictatorship. However, we will use the term Yugoslavia in order to avoid language confusion.

tury and numerous nation-builders appeared in different regions of Croatia, most of whom called for the reunification of the Croatian lands into a single state-administrative unit. In 1867, when the Habsburg Empire was divided into the Hungarian and Austrian part, the Croatian lands were formally divided between the two, with Dalmatia and Istria remaining part of Austria whilst the rest became part of Hungary.[11] The Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia would now be governed by the *Ban* (viceroy), who was responsible to the Croatian *Sabor* (Parliament), with the *Ban* appointed by the Hungarian minister president and confirmed by the king. Despite the historical impact, Gábor Egry has rightly noticed that the imperial status and policies of the Hungarian part of the monarchy have been insufficiently researched.[12]

In 1867, like most of Europe, Croatia was not industrialized, and its economy was based mostly on agriculture, with only 10 % of its population living in cities and only 5.5 % of the population working in industry.[13] Hungary was also mainly an agricultural land that was led by nobility and large landowners. Moreover, Croatia-Slavonia, including the Military Frontier, had only 20 towns and eight gymnasiums.[14]

The Croatian *Sabor* consisted of 77 elected representatives during the 1870s and 88 afterwards, as well as non-elected representatives (*virilists*) whom the Ban appointed from the groups of church dignitaries, magnates, and county chiefs. The maximum number of non-elected representatives was half the number of elected representatives. Only 2 % of the population had voting rights, although after a new electoral law in 1910, this number grew to 7 %. Voting rights were granted to all men over 24 years of age who paid between six and 15 crowns of taxes depending on their region, in addition to those with academic degrees and Hungarian clerks working in Croatia-Slavonia.[15] However, the last few decades of the nineteenth century saw a rapid growth in population and urbanization in most regional capitals of the Habsburg monarchy. The population of Zagreb grew from 20,000 in 1868 to 40,000 in 1890 and 75,000 in 1910.[16] Such changes led to new ways of living and to the creation of a new upper-middle class that started gaining a greater political and economic influence in a predominantly rural country.[17]

11 Čepulo, "Entwicklung Der Regierungsinstitutionen"; For more on political culture of Parliamentarism in Dualist Hungary, see Cieger, "New Models and Old Traditions."

12 Egry, "Regional Elites," 336.

13 Šidak et al., *Povijest hrvatskog naroda 1860 – 1914*, 7; Matković, *Geografsko-statistički*, 180.

14 Matković, *Geografsko-statistički*, 175.

15 Ibid., 62, 186.

16 Šidak et al., *Povijest hrvatskog naroda 1860 – 1914*, 139.

17 Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Povijest novca u Hrvatskoj*, 130.

3 Parliamentary Elite of Croatia-Slavonia, 1910 – 1918

The elections for *Sabor* in 1910 were the first ones after the aforementioned electoral reform. The Croat-Serb coalition, that is, the coalition of Croatian Party of Right and Serbian Independent Party that emerged in 1906 with a program of cooperation of Croats and Serbs, won the elections with 35 representatives being elected to the Parliament,[18] with the National Party following with 18 MPs. The Pure Party of Right (*Frankovci*) and its split-off, Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*), received 15 and nine MPs, respectively. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the number of voters grew from approximately two to seven percent of the population. The comparison between 1908 and 1910 elections shows that the number of voters and parliamentary seats remained mostly the same, with a significant change only in the rise of political power of the Croatian People's Peasants' Party, which won nine seats, being unrepresented in the 1908 convocation of Sabor. The Croat-Serb Coalition lost 18 seats to the state-sponsored and briefly renewed National Party,[19] while factions of the Party of Right kept 24 representatives even after the split, and the Serbian People's Radical Party retained its single seat in the Sabor.

The next elections in 1911 were a major disappointment for the state-sponsored Party of National Progress (former National Party) which won 20 seats, whilst the briefly reunited Party of Right won 27 seats and the Croat-Serb Coalition 24 seats. Former Croatian Ban Károly Khuen-Héderváry, at the time Hungarian Prime Minister, introduced a commissariat in Croatia-Slavonia after the rumors that the Party of Right and the Croat-Serb Coalition agreed to cancel the Croatian-Hungarian *Nagodba* and stop sending representatives to the common parliament in Budapest. Khuen-Héderváry was also under pressure from Hungary's opposition that criticized his agreement with the Croat-Serb Coalition as a sign of weakness and the success of Austrian imperial interests in Croatia.[20] Elsewhere, the Croatian People's Peasants' Party won eight seats, reaffirming itself as a noteworthy new political force, and the Serb Radicals grew from a single to three representatives in Sabor.

The last elections for the Sabor in the Austria-Hungary in 1913 resulted in the increase of political power of the Croat-Serb Coalition, which won 39 % of votes and 48 seats. The state-sponsored *Old Magyarones* or Independent Unionists won 12 seats, followed by Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*) with 11 seats and the Christian-Social Party of Right (*Frankovci*) with nine seats. The Croatian People's Peasants' Party won

18 Some minor political parties were also shortly part of the Coalition, such as Croatian People's Progressive Party, Social Democrats, and Serbian People's Radical Party. For more on the Coalition see Gross, *Vladavina Hrvatsko-srpske koalicije.*

19 The state-sponsored Constitutional Party won zero seats in 1908 elections, which led to the autocratic rule of Ban Pavao Rauch with the help of the Party of Right and without parliamentary assemblies.

20 Šidak et al., *Povijest hrvatskog naroda*, 267– 68.

only three seats, whilst the Serbian People's Radical Party remained without representatives.

The broadening of political participation with a new electoral law in 1910 changed the political spectrum in Croatia-Slavonia. The national party that had dominated Croatian politics since 1870s lost its significance after its main supporter, the Hungarian Liberal Party, collapsed. The two political forces that emerged on the brink of the disrupted Dualist system were the Croatian People's Peasants' Party and the Croat-Serb Coalition. The Croatian People's Peasants' Party advocated agrarian populism based on radical egalitarianism and the notion of peasantry as the main representative of the nation, while their rhetoric depicted elites as corrupted, denationalized, and uprooted.[21] The Croat-Serb Coalition, on the other hand, focused on the improvement of Croatian and Serbian political status within the monarchy. They based their political influence on balancing between imperial circles in Vienna and Budapest, whilst some of their members held an anti-Habsburg stance and were accused of secretly collaborating with the Serbian government.

The majority of MPs in the last three convocations of the Croatian parliament were educated intellectuals, mostly lawyers and priests (see Table 1). Considering there were approximately 300 lawyers and 1,000 priests in Croatia-Slavonia in the early twentieth century, these two professions seemed like an ideal career path for young, ambitious people with interest in politics.[22] Lawyers were a preferable social group for entering politics since they enjoyed both social and financial capital, without being dependent on state or local authorities like most workers in civil service.[23] In general, the large share of members of free professions (i.e., lawyers, physicians, pharmacists, journalists, and writers, etc.) in Sabor was a relatively new phenomenon in the 1910s, being the result of electoral reforms and wider social modernization efforts in the preceding two decades.[24]

Table 1: Socio-professional structure of parliamentarian elite from Croatia-Slavonia (in %).

Profession	1910	1911	1913	1919	1920	1923
Lawyers	36	34	37	37	21	19
Priests	17	16	16	12	9	7
Professors	7	6	6	8	4	4
Health professionals	6	5	7	7	0	0
Justice and public administration	2	3	2	3	3	2

21 For an overview of intellectual sources of ideology of Croatian People's Peasants' Party, see Kljaić, *Nikada više Jugoslavija*, 84 – 90; Aralica, *Kmet, Fiškal, Hajduk*. For an overview of populism, see Taggart, *Populism.*

22 *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije*, 133.

23 Iudean, "From Budapest to Bucharest," 385. For a detailed debate on professionalization of political elites, see Marton, "Becoming Political Professionals," 267.

24 For an overview of the social restructuring of the parliamentary elite, see Matković, "Modernization."

Table 1 *(Continued)*

Profession	1910	1911	1913	1919	1920	1923
Publicists	9	6	8	15	13	9
Industrialists	2	2	2	2	1	0
Large landowners	6	5	13	7	1	2
Small landowners and peasants	11	9	2	2	36	47
Industrial workers	0	0	0	0	1	0
Tradesmen	2	3	3	0	1	4
Craftsmen	0	0	0	0	4	5
Other	1	1	3	2	4	2
Unknown	0	9	0	7	1	0

4 Croatian Parliamentary Elite in Yugoslavia, 1918 – 1925

The end of the First World War witnessed great political changes in Croatia. In October 1918, political representatives of the South Slavic nations of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy proclaimed the short-lived State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, which encompassed most of today's Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and northern Serbia. The central representative institution in the country was the National Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs in Zagreb (*Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*, hereinafter National Council), an *ad hoc* body created in October 1918 by politicians advocating the national unity of South Slavs. Members of the National Council were not elected but delegated by their respective regional representative bodies based on quota, which was established by the Preparatory Committee of National Council. Specifically, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia had the right to 27 members in the common representative body, with those members appointed by the political parties represented in *Sabor*.[25]

Nonetheless, not all Croatian political parties gained representation in the National Council. The Party of Right (*Frankovci*) and the unionist MPs were not invited since they were not considered loyal to the idea of South Slavic national unity.[26] Consequently, approximately 28 % of the pre-war electorate in Croatia was devoid of parliamentary representation, and therefore did not have any say in national politics during the first years of the Yugoslav state.

By November, the National Council of Slovenes started negotiations with the Kingdom of Serbia about the creation of a greater South Slavic state, which reached their

25 Škalić and Matijević (eds.), *Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata*, 78.

26 Matijević, "Stranka prava (frankovci)," 1110 – 13.

end on the first day of December 1918, when royal regent Aleksandar Karađorđević proclaimed the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The new state did not have the question of its political system resolved, but conflicts with neighbors over state borders and political turmoil in the country made it impossible to immediately organize elections for Constitutional Assembly. Accordingly, at the end of February 1919, royal regent Aleksandar Karađorđević called for the Provisional National Representation (*Privremeno narodno predstavništvo*) to convene on March 1, 1919. Similar to the National Council in Zagreb, members of the Provisional National Representation, with the exception of those from Southern Serbia, were appointed by national and provincial representative bodies. The National Council, as an institution representing the majority of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs in the former Austro-Hungarian territory, was allocated 152 places in the provisional parliament of the new state, of which 62 were to be from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (including Istria, Rijeka, and Međimurje region).

The delegation of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, as already mentioned, counted 62 parliamentarians. The strongest political grouping among them was the Yugoslav Democratic Party (*Jugoslovenska demokratska stranka*) with 26 MPs, established in February 1919 as a fusion of several liberal-democratic parties and groups advocating Yugoslav nationalism. The most important parts were the Croat-Serb Coalition, previously the ruling political coalition in Croatia-Slavonia, and the Independent Radical Party, the second strongest political party of the pre-war Kingdom of Serbia.[27] A small portion of Serbian members of the Croat-Serb Coalition led by Bogdan Medaković, the influential pre-war Serbian politician from Croatia, left the Democratic Party and existed as an independent group of five MPs for some time, before they joined the People's Radical Party. Until then, the People's Radical Party was represented in the delegation of Croatia-Slavonia with only two MPs from Syrmia who were representatives of a smaller pre-war Serbian People's Radical Party that was united with its larger counterpart from the Kingdom of Serbia after the creation of the common state. On the other side, some Croatian members of the Croat-Serb Coalition together with the members of Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*) founded the National Club (*Narodni klub*), which initially included 15 MPs. The following year they then organized the Croatian Union (*Hrvatska zajednica*), the political party representing the interests of the Croatian bourgeoisie and advocating a federalist solution for the new state. Aside from them, the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia was represented by three MPs in the Croatian delegation, whilst the Catholic clerical Croatian Popular Party had two MPs. Lastly, the Croatian People's Peasants' Party of Stjepan Radić had two MPs, but they did not take part in the work of the Provisional National Representation

27 For a history of the Yugoslav Democratic Party, see Gligorijević, *Demokratska stranka.* It is interesting to note that the merger of the Croat-Serb Coalition into the Yugoslav Democratic Party, the most radical representative of the Yugoslav nationalism on the political scene of the young state, leaves certain doubts about the pre-war political loyalties of its leading politicians and accuracy of their defense's arguments at the Zagreb Trial of 1909.

since they were not willing to take an oath of loyalty to the king Petar I Karađorđević. Their abstinence from parliamentary activity and the radical approach they took against the Belgrade regime proved to be crucial in the following course of events.

The term of the Provisional National Representation ended in November 1920 with the elections for the Constitutional Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which were the first after the new Electoral Law had been introduced in September 1920. The electoral law instituted universal manhood suffrage and secret voting, as well as a proportional electoral system,[28] while the electoral results caused radical changes in political representation and upturned the political scene of the Yugoslav state.

The winner of the election on the territory of Croatia-Slavonia was Stjepan Radić's party, renamed the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party in 1919, which soared from only two MPs to 51 MPs, occupying 55 % of parliamentary places from Croatia-Slavonia. The Yugoslav Democratic Party's parliamentary representation in Croatia was halved to 20 %, but it retained its strong second place in Croatian politics due to the Serbian minority's voting bloc. The third party in terms of MPs was the People's Radical Party, which managed to broaden their voting appeal beyond Syrmia to the Serbian population in other parts of Croatia-Slavonia. A new actor in the political arena was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which won seven seats for Croatia-Slavonia. On the other hand, the Croatian Union was the main loser of the elections, with only two MPs elected, down from 15 MPs in the provisional assembly; once the loudest Croatian voice in parliamentary politics, the party was now downgraded to a marginal political group. Apart from them, only the Croatian Popular Party and the renewed Croatian Party of Right managed to enter the Constitutional Assembly with three MPs and one MP, respectively.[29]

The next parliamentary elections were held in March 1923 according to the modified Electoral Law, which raised the electoral threshold and lowered the number of elected MPs with the intention to decrease the number of MPs of smaller parties and thus fortify political stability in the country.[30] Although in May 1921 the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party, the Croatian Union, and the Croatian Party of Right established the Croatian Bloc as a coalition of parties representing Croatian interests, the coalition did not last until the parliamentary elections in March 1923 due to internal disagreements. The Croatian Party of Right was expelled in November 1922 and competed independently, whilst the Croatian Union left the coalition in February 1923 and decided not to take part in the elections. The result was a further strengthening of the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party, which won 75 % of all MPs from Croatia-Slavonia. The Democratic Party won ten MPs (15 %), whilst the Radicals managed to elect six MPs

28 Đorđević, "Istorijat izbora u Kraljevini," 298 – 99.

29 Izabrani poslanici, no. 272 (1920): 8, ibid., no. 273 (1920): 4 – 5; ibid., no. 275 (1920): 5, ibid., no. 276 (1920): 4; ibid., no. 281 (1920): 3.

30 Đorđević, "Istorijat izbora u Kraljevini," 301 – 02.

(9%). Aside from the aforementioned parties, no other party entered the National Assembly from Croatia-Slavonia.[31]

The Croatian Republican Peasants' Party became *de facto* the only Croatian voice in the parliament of Belgrade, as their rivals either did not take part in the elections (Croatian Union) or failed to win any MPs (Croatian Popular Party, Croatian Party of Right). Democrats and Radicals also lost the majority of their Croatian voters, being left only with the Serbian minority voters in Croatia-Slavonia.[32]

5 The Political and Socio-professional Structure of the Croatian Parliamentary Elite after 1918

The transformation of parliamentarian elites in Croatia-Slavonia after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the establishment of the new Yugoslav state illustrates an interesting example. Only 13 pre-war MPs managed to retain their place in parliamentary politics – 12 in the 1920 convocation and seven in the 1923 convocation. These representatives can be divided in two groups. The first one consisted of former members of the Croat-Serb Coalition who joined the Yugoslav Democratic Party, whilst the second group was composed of members of the former Croatian People's Peasants' Party founded by Stjepan Radić. Out of 12 representatives that managed to keep their parliamentary seats after the 1920 elections, four were part of the ruling majority before the war, whereas the rest came from Radić's party. In the 1923 convocation, out of five MPs, two were from Radić's party.

A strong performance by the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party and a poor one by the bourgeoise parties (i.e., the Croatian Union, the Croatian Popular Party, and the Croatian Party of Right) in the 1920 and 1923 parliamentary elections can be attributed to universal manhood suffrage introduced in 1920. The populist messages and peasant-oriented policies of Stjepan Radić's party, naturally, received a great interest among the Croatian electorate with more than 80% of rural voters.[33] However, even if the new electoral rules can explain the victory of the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party, they cannot account for the extent of the bourgeois parties' defeat. For example, the Croatian Union, which gathered politicians of the pre-war Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*) and a part of Croatian members of the Croat-Serb Coalition, received less than 20,000 votes in Croatia-Slavonia in 1920, compared to 58,000 votes for their pre-

31 Kostić, *Statistika izbora narodnih*, 86 – 108.

32 Matković, "Stjepan Radić," 267 – 75.

33 The post-war years witnessed emergence of agrarian populist parties across the East Central and Southeastern Europe. For detailed analysis of agrarian parties, ideologies, and political strategies in the period, see Toshkov, *Agrarianism as Modernity in 20th-Century Europe*, 21 – 151; Brett, "Indifferent but Mobilized: Rural Politics during the Interwar Period in Eastern and Western Europe," 65 – 80; Trencsényi, "Transcending Modernity," 119 – 45.

war predecessors. The Croatian Party of Right faced an even greater defeat, receiving the support of mere 10,000 voters, down from 15,000 in 1913.

Although it remains unclear what caused voters' distrust in the aforementioned parties, it seems that the reasons for such electoral behavior lay in voters' dissatisfaction with the positions these parties had in relation to the Yugoslav state and Belgrade regime. Namely, the Croatian Union's collaboration with the People's Radical Party and Yugoslav Democratic Party, which already enjoyed an extremely negative perception among Croatian public because of political repression and an inability to establish order in the country, was probably the main reason for its disastrous results in the November 1920 elections.[34] In a similar way, the Croatian Popular Party, albeit not joining Radicals' and Democrats' governments, also failed in resolving the problems faced by Croats in the first years of the common state, espousing instead a specific type of Catholic Yugoslavism and supporting the idea of South Slavic national unity.[35] Contrary to them, the Croatian Party of Right advocated a strict anti-Yugoslav position, but its insistence on Croatia's independence and past connections to the Austro-Hungarian military regime may have estranged potential voters.[36] Lastly, the factor that might have been a crucial difference between the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party on one side, and the Croatian Union, the Croatian Popular Party and the Croatian Party of Right on the other, and which contributed to the victory of the former, was the willingness of Radić's party to use new political methods and strategies in the process of creating the party's infrastructure and attracting voters. In other words, the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party proved to be more capable of adapting to the new realities of mass politics than their rivals.[37]

The relation of the Belgrade regime to the political situation in Croatia-Slavonia is quite indicative of their visions for the new state. Even though some parties representing Croatian electorate accepted the new Yugoslav political framework and were open to cooperating with the Serbian elite (i. e. Croatian Union and Croatian Popular Party), the Belgrade regime did not make an effort to support them and, thus, to jeopardize

34 The Croatian Union took part in two coalition governments together with Radicals and Democrats between February and November 1920, whilst its member Matko Laginja served as Croatian Ban during the period. For more on the activities and policies of the Croatian Union in 1919 and 1920, see Matković, "Hrvatska zajednica," 34 – 66.

35 About the Yugoslav ideology of the Croatian Catholic Movement before and during the First World War, see Krišto, "Katoličko priklanjanje," 25 – 44. On the activities of the Croatian Popular Party during the first years of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, see Matijević, Providencijalna politika, 162 – 65.

36 Politicians of the Party of Right (*Frankovci*) were involved during the First World War in several attempts at establishing military regime or civil commissariat in Croatia-Slavonia. They hoped that the possible government imposed by the Vienna royal court (i. e., bypassing parliamentary majority consisting of Croat-Serb Coalition) would give them greater say in political decision-making in Croatia and, thus, help them to change the direction of Croatian politics. See Gabelica, "Između Scile i Haribde," 9 – 41.

37 Leček, "Priča o uspjehu," 27 – 48.

the dominance of the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party. Furthermore, the modified Electoral Law of 1922 even strengthened the position of Radić's party in Croatia in the 1923 elections. One of the potential explanations for such behavior of the Belgrade regime was its unwillingness to find a common ground with Croatian representatives regarding their political requests. Instead, the Serbian elite in the first half of the 1920s, in the formative period of the young state, ruled over the Croatian lands with the help of the Yugoslav Democratic Party, which represented the interests of Croatian Serbs and an insignificant group of Yugoslav nationalists among Croatian bourgeoisie.

The socio-professional structure of members of the Provisional National Representation (1919 – 1920) from Croatia-Slavonia mostly reflected the structure of the pre-war *Sabor.* The largest group still consisted of lawyers with 36 % among MPs, whilst professors, priests, and medical doctors also mostly retained their numbers. The only significant changes in the professional structure were publicists and large landowners, with the number of publicists rising from less than 10 % in pre-war convocations of *Sabor* to 15 % in the Provisional National Representation. The reason behind such an increase lies in the fact that publicists played a relatively important role in the creation of provisional political institutions of the future Yugoslav state in Croatia-Slavonia, i. e., the National Council. Apart from Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*) and the marginal Social Democratic Party of Croatia-Slavonia, the only participants of the informal group that prepared the founding of the National Council were groups of individuals around the journals *Novine* and *Glas S.H.S.*, joined later by the those gathered around the journal *Male Novine.* Consequently, those groups were granted the right to appoint members in the National Council in October 1918, despite not being organized into political parties.[38] On the other side, the number of large landowners originating from Croatia-Slavonia represented in the *Sabor* dropped from 11 elected in 1913 to only four in the Provisional National Representation. Their destiny in parliamentary politics was, too, the result of their role, or rather lack thereof, in the 1918 revolutionary events. Nearly all of the large landowners represented in the previous convocation of *Sabor* had been unionists (see Table 1).

However, large changes in political structure of the parliament after the 1920 elections were followed by equally large changes in the socio-professional background of elected MPs. The percentage of lawyers nearly halved to 21 % among the MPs from Croatia-Slavonia. Being the largest socio-professional group, the peasants replaced them, as now they constituted 35 % of MPs. Their high numbers in the new convocation of the National Assembly were, of course, the consequence of the victory of the Croatian Republican Peasants' Party. Publicists also kept their strong presence in the parliamentary life, with 13 % of MPs coming from the professional circle. Health professionals, however, completely disappeared from the group of Croatian MPs, whilst only one large landowner from Croatia-Slavonia was elected to the National Assembly. The new group among parliamentarians were craftsmen, four of whom were elected as MPs.

38 Matijević, "Narodno vijeće Slovenaca," 43 – 45.

The 1923 elections saw the percentage of elected peasants grow, which now constituted 47 % of the MPs from Croatia-Slavonia. Lawyers retained a distant second place with 19 % of MPs, whilst both the number and percentage of publicists plummeted for the first time after several electoral cycles; they now numbered only five MPs, 9 % of the MPs from Croatia-Slavonia, while other socio-professional groups (priests, professors, craftsmen, etc.) mostly kept their percentages in the National Assembly. The transformation of the socio-professional structure of the parliamentary elite and the influx of a large number of peasants in the parliament led to changes in political dynamics and the balance between executive and legislative power. The parliament lost the prestige it had had in the pre-war Croatian politics, whilst parliamentarians were reduced to the voting hands of their party leaders. In the new political reality, executive power was significantly more influential than it had been before the Great War.

6 Social Immobility in a Time of Social Mobility

As mentioned previously, a relatively small number of the pre-1918 MPs managed to retain their parliamentary seat in the new political circumstances. A look into the political biographies and social status of those that did can therefore help us to understand the interesting position in which the Croatian elite found itself during the interwar period. We examine the biographies of seven MPs, representing different socio-professional groups (aristocracy, professors, lawyers, and publicists) and political camps, with the main common characteristic of the seven that they managed to survive tectonic changes in the parliamentary politics that 1918 brought about.

The most interesting MP was Count Miroslav Kulmer Jr. (1860 – 1943), born in Šestine, near Zagreb, from a noble family. His father was Count Miroslav Kulmer, Sr. (1814 – 1877), notable military officer and the first commander of the Royal Croatian Home Guard (1869 – 1875). From his mother's side, he was offspring of an old Croatian high nobility, the Erdődy family, who gave several Bans of Croatia and was linked to the Hungarian noble families Széchényi and Palffy.[39] Miroslav Kulmer Jr. inherited a large agricultural estate, whilst during his life he also invested in the industrial and banking sector.

Kulmer was also involved in party politics throughout his life. He was appointed to Sabor as a virilist between 1884 and 1892, firstly as a member of relatively small centrist group and later as a member of the Independent National Party. He returned to national politics in 1906 as a member of the Croat-Serb Coalition and as a parliamentary representative from 1906 to 1911, and again between 1913 and 1918, as well as in the Hungarian Parliament. In 1919, he joined the Yugoslav Democratic Party and served

39 Végváry and Zimmer, *Sturm-féle Országgyűlési almanach, 1910 – 1915*, 73 – 74.

in the Provisional National Representation of 1919 – 1920. Four years later, he left the party together with Svetozar Pribićević and joined his Independent Democratic Party.[40]

Kulmer's political activities were largely intertwined with his economic interests. Between 1902 and 1925, he was president of the Croatian-Slavonian Economic Society, a prestigious organization gathering hundreds of agricultural cooperatives and co-ordinating agricultural production in Croatia-Slavonia. The society, which also represented interests of the wealthy business class of the country, welcomed the creation of the Yugoslav state with the words: "Croatia was never so great, as it will be from now on."[41]

The Croatian-Slavonian Economic Society experienced several successful years in the first half of the 1920s, but the rise of the competitor association established by Radić's Croatian Republican Peasants' Party, the political downturn of the Independent Democrats (which held control over the Society), and the fiscally conservative policies of the minister Milan Stojadinović in 1924 – 1925 led the Radicals-dominated Belgrade government to move away from crediting the Society and rather demand it repay its debts to the government. Since the Society did not have enough funds, Kulmer offered and repaid its debts, however, afterwards he retained a relatively strong position in the political and economic elite of the country, serving as a vice-governor of the National Bank of Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1930 – 1931.[42] Among other duties in numerous associations he held throughout the interwar period, he was also a president of the *Jadranska straža* (Adriatic Guard), a Yugoslav nationalist organization promoting Yugoslav maritime traditions and anti-Italian propaganda.

Personal trajectories similar to Kulmer's are not hard to find among other members of the Croatian political elite. Another example is Milan Rojc (1855 – 1946), born in Zagreb as a child of Antun Rojc, royal public notary and professor at the Law Academy in Zagreb. After finishing law studies in Vienna and Zagreb, Milan Rojc opened a law firm in Bjelovar in 1879. During the 1900s and the 1910s, he was a distinguished member of the Croat-Serb Coalition, serving as a head of Department of Religious Affairs and Education in the government of Croatia-Slavonia from 1906 to 1908, and again from 1917 to 1918. As such, Rojc was credited with establishing several high schools across Croatia, starting the construction of the University Library and the National Museum in Zagreb, and helping in opening the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb. After the establishment of Yugoslavia, Rojc became member of the Yugoslav Democratic Party, was appointed to the Provisional National Representation in 1919, and then was elected to the Constitutional Assembly in 1920. In 1919, he published a collection of works about the Eastern Adriatic coast with the goal to demonstrate to foreign diplomats at the Paris Peace Conference that the new South Slavic state had the sole rights to the region based on historical and ethnic principle.[43]

40 Kukić, "Kulmer, Miroslav ml."

41 Dimitrijević, "Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko," 266.

42 Ibid., 256, 278 – 85.

43 Karaula, "Prilozi za biografiju Milana Rojca," 321 – 29. Cf. Végváry and Zimmer, *Sturm-féle Országgyűlési almanach*, 495 – 96.

However, Rojc soon became highly critical of the regime and its policies in Croatia. In Rojc's opinion, the royal regime's lack of will to compromise and settle the political situation in Croatia only had as a by-product the strengthening of Radić's movement and the weakening of moderate Croatian opposition. Disappointed in his ideals, Rojc retired in 1924, but continued to publish political comments in the press.[44]

Unlike Kulmer and Rojc, Đuro Šurmin (1867–1937) was born into a peasant family but soon managed to climb the social ladder during his early professional career in Austro-Hungarian era. After finishing his studies in Slavic languages and classics at the University of Zagreb, Šurmin worked as a teacher in gymnasiums in Zagreb and Sarajevo.[45] In 1897, he received a doctorate from the University of Zagreb, and was employed as a university assistant two years later.[46]

Šurmin entered political arena in the 1900s with his pro-Yugoslav and anti-government writings in daily newspapers. The most popular of these was Šurmin's attack on his older colleague and art historian Izidor Kršnjavi, whom he accused of enacting Hungarian politics in Croatia for editing the *Kronprinzenwerk* (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture) volume on Croatia-Slavonia. Despite being a mediocre scholar, whose job application at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb received negative reviews from the academic committee in 1901, Šurmin was nevertheless hired on a political basis and promoted to associate and full professor within a few years and served as a Dean of Faculty of Philosophy during the 1907–1908 academic year, before being retired in 1908 by Ban Pavao Rauch, who tried to suppress Yugoslav nationalist movement in Croatia. After Rauch's fall, Šurmin was appointed back to his previous workplace at the university, where he remained until retirement. Later, Šurmin was arrested in 1914 for treason after coded telegrams were found in his possession, but he was released soon afterwards, as he managed to prove that those telegrams dated to 1909 had been used to finance students from Sarajevo Gymnasium who were exiled for their pro-Yugoslav stances.[47]

Šurmin was elected to Sabor in 1906, 1908, and 1913 on the list of the Croat-Serb Coalition and appointed to the Provisional National Representation in 1919 as a member of the Progressive Democratic Party, which soon was incorporated into the Croatian Union.[48] Šurmin served as Minister of Social Policies in 1920, and as Minister of Commerce and Industry in 1924–1925. Later, during the 1930s, Šurmin remained close to the royal regime during King Aleksandar's dictatorship (1929–1934), taking part in many government committees and even being chairman of Supervisory

44 Karaula, "Prilozi za biografiju Milana Rojca," 329–31. Cf. Jareb, "Hrvatska u prvim," 11–26.
45 Végváry and Zimmer, *Sturm-féle Országgyűlési almanach*, 498.
46 Kruljac Sever, "Neki prilozi k životopisu," 316–19.
47 University of Zagreb Archives, Personal files collection, Personal file Đuro Šurmin, box f24 k2.
48 For more about Đuro Šurmin's political activity before and during the First World War, see: Matković, "Đuro Šurmin i njegovo saborsko djelovanje," 99–214; Gabelica, "Političko djelovanje Đure Šurmina," 219–36.

Board of Četniks Association.[49] From 1925 to 1935, he was president of People's Savings Bank for Savings and Loans.

Većeslav Wilder (1878 – 1961) was an example of a member of parliamentary elite allied to the Belgrade regime. Born in Litomyšl/Leitomischel, Bohemia, his father was a Czech geodesist who moved with his family to Zagreb due to a new job position when Većeslav was seven years old. He studied law in Zagreb and Prague, but never practiced it afterwards; instead, he pursued a career in journalism, writing for various liberal and pro-Yugoslav newspapers and journals in the 1900s and the 1910s.[50]

Wilder was a founding member of the Croat-Serb Coalition, as well as editor-in-chief of its journal, *Pokret.* He was elected in Sabor on its list in 1913. In the years before the First World War, he maintained contacts with nationalist and expansionist organizations in Serbia and was involved in the attempt of assassination of Croatian ban Ivan Skerlecz in 1914 but was acquitted thanks to his political connections.[51] In 1919, he joined the Yugoslav Democratic Party and became one of its representatives in the Provisional National Representation. In 1920 and 1923, he was elected to the National Assembly on the list of the Yugoslav Democratic Party but, in 1924, he followed Svetozar Pribićević to his newly founded Independent Democratic Party. Wilder remained one of the leading members of Independent Democrats until the Second World War, when he emigrated to Great Britain following the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1941.[52]

On the other side, unlike Kulmer, Rojc, Šurmin, and Wilder, there was a group of pre-1918 MPs who remained in opposition to the Belgrade regime throughout the 1920s. The most significant among them was Josip Predavec (1884 – 1933), who was born in a poor peasant family in Rugvica, a village near Zagreb. Despite this, he managed to acquire a reputable education by graduating at the Academy of Economy in Tábor/Tabor, Bohemia.[53]

Predavec was one of the founders of the Croatian People's Peasants' Party, and later its secretary and vice-president. He was particularly active in the party's logistics and was instrumental in creating a network of economic organizations for peasants. He was sentenced to two years in prison in a staged trial for financial malversations in 1930[54] and was assassinated in 1933 by Tomo Košćec, who was most probably instigated to do so by circles close to the royal dictatorship.[55]

Dragutin Hrvoj (1875 – 1941) was born into a family of impoverished lower nobility in Prilipje, near Jastrebarsko, in Zagreb County.[56] He studied law at the University of

49 Kruljac Sever, "Neki prilozi k životopisu," 337– 38.

50 Wilder, *Bika za rogove*, 188.

51 Gabelica, "Političke prilike u banskoj Hrvatskoj," 186 – 87.

52 Wilder, *Bika za rogove*, 188 – 90.

53 Brajdić, *Josip Predavec*, 7– 9.

54 For a detailed view into Predavec's activities on that matter, see Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Gospodarstvo kao sredstvo političke prisile," 203 – 24.

55 Janjatović, "Hrvatska 1928.–1934.," 241 – 243.

56 Duišin, *Zbornik plemstva u Hrvatskoj*, 328.

Zagreb and afterwards worked in Mile Starčević's law firm in Zagreb. Hrvoj started writing for journals connected to the movement of the Christian Socials and the Party of Right in the 1900s. He was elected as a member of Sabor in 1910 as a candidate of the Josip Frank's Party of Right, in 1911 as a candidate of the united Party of Right, and in 1913 as a candidate of the Mile Starčević's Party of Right. During the First World War, he tried to secure the support of Entente powers for Croatian cause, particularly of Russia. Although he supported the efforts of the Starčević's Party of Right (*Milinovci*) during the 1917 and 1918, directed towards the disintegration of Austria-Hungary and establishment of the South Slavic state on its ruins, at the end of 1918 he became critical of the prospects of the union with Kingdom of Serbia. Disillusioned with his party comrades, who supported the Yugoslav integration at the moment, he joined Croatian People's Peasants' Party in December 1918 and during the 1919 actively worked on the rapprochement between Radić's party and the remnants of the Party of Right. However, he competed in 1920 as head of the united rightist electoral list in Lika region, managing to get elected to the Constitutional Assembly. In later years, Hrvoj joined the Croatian Party of Right, but was never again re-elected to parliament. In 1926, he opened a law firm in Klanjec, a small town north of Zagreb, which he operated until 1940.[57]

The cases of Kulmer, Rojc, Šurmin, Wilder, Predavec, and Hrvoj, albeit being examples of radically different life trajectories, have one particular trait in common; none of them experienced social mobility after 1918, neither upward nor downward. Kulmer, Rojc, Šurmin, and Wilder were part of the political and social elite before 1918 (Kulmer also being one of the wealthiest men of pre-1918 Croatia), and they remained part of the elite afterwards too. Contrary to them, Predavec and Hrvoj belonged to the counter-elite before 1918, coming from the intellectual circles associated with Radić's and Starčević's protest movements. Just like the former, neither Predavec nor Hrvoj experienced change in their social status after 1918.

The fact that all of them had relatively long careers as members of the parliamentary elite did not help their ascent on the social ladder. Their social status and political influence were determined mainly by their relation (or lack thereof) to the center of political power (dynasty, government, or the ruling party), underlining the overwhelming role played by politics and state administration in everyday life in Croatia both before and after 1918.

7 Conclusion

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the formation of the new Yugoslav state had several repercussions for the parliamentary elites. In the first years after the war, the majority of the pre-war parliamentary elites either avidly supported the new state and enthusiastically took part in Belgrade governments (i. e., the Yugoslav Demo-

57 Matković, "Opsjenuti pravaš," 154–64.

cratic Party) or accepted the new reality with certain reservations, whilst cautiously collaborating with some Belgrade governments (i. e., Croatian Union, Croatian Popular Party). The ideas of South Slavic solidarity and Yugoslav national unity were strongly rooted in Croatian bourgeoisie, including both intellectual and political elites.[58] However, the average Croatian voter obviously shared less enthusiasm than the old elites for the new Yugoslav state and was inclined towards punishing any political collaboration with the Serbian elite. Therefore, the 1920 parliamentary elections, and the 1923 elections even more so, resulted in a nearly complete disappearance of the old parliamentary elite. The introduction of the universal male suffrage in 1920 and the inability of the bourgeoisie political parties to employ modern methods and approaches of mass politics certainly provided insignificant help to the pre-war parliamentarians in retaining their positions in politics.

These political changes resulted in the marginalization of the moderate Croatian opposition to Belgrade regime and the advent of the agrarian populist Croatian Republican Peasants' Party, which led the struggle for a radical redefinition of the Yugoslav state and establishment of Croatian autonomy during the next two decades. The old Croatian economic, social, and cultural elite was practically expelled from the political life of the nation due to the breakthrough of Radić's party and the establishment of a new predominantly peasant parliamentary elite. Furthermore, the nobility, large landowners, and industrialists were completely erased from the parliament.

However, despite these important structural changes, the reshuffling of the Croatian parliamentary elite in the early interwar years did not signal an actual and enduring shift in social mobility among elites. Contrary to what might seem logical, the position of MPs in interwar Croatia did not include a particularly high level of political influence and did not bring about substantial upward social mobility. The parliamentary elite was, rather, divided in two groups: those that sided with the center of political power and the counter-elite siding with the opposition. The social immobility of the parliamentarian elite in Croatia-Slavonia was most probably caused by the state-permeated economy and the total domination of politics over economic and civil society, which was underdeveloped and financially weak. In hindsight, the lack of political influence and social mobility of the parliamentary counter-elite might have been one of the reasons for the allure of the revolutionary politics in the interwar Yugoslavia. Therefore, the transformations of the parliamentary elite of Croatia-Slavonia after 1918 and its actual social immobility despite political mobility seems to be a fair starting point for explaining the turbulent political events in the following decades, namely the rise of the Croatian and Serbian nationalism and the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1941.

58 For an overview of Yugoslav ideology among Croatian intellectual elite during Austria-Hungary and the interwar years, see Kljaić, *Nikada više Jugoslavija*, 152 – 66.

Appendix

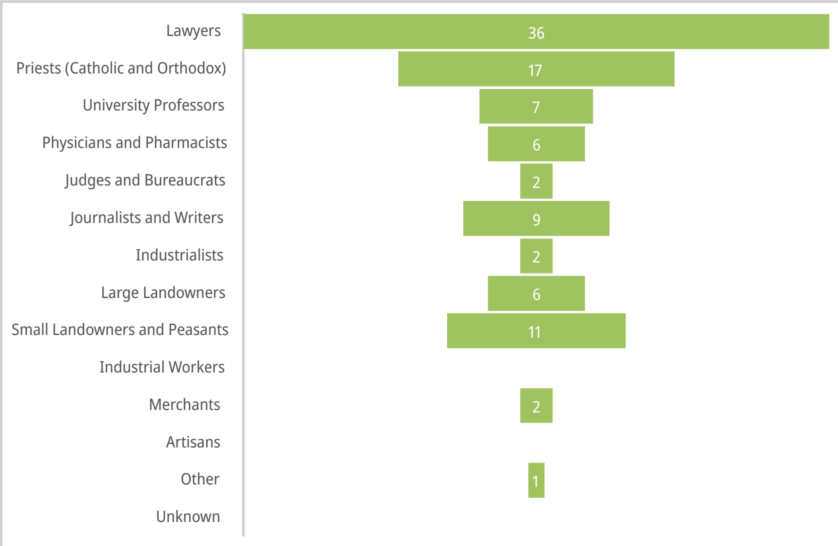

Figure 1: Croatian *Sabor* 1910 – 1911, socio-professional structure (in %).

Figure 2: Croatian *Sabor* 1911 – 1913, socio-professional structure (in %).

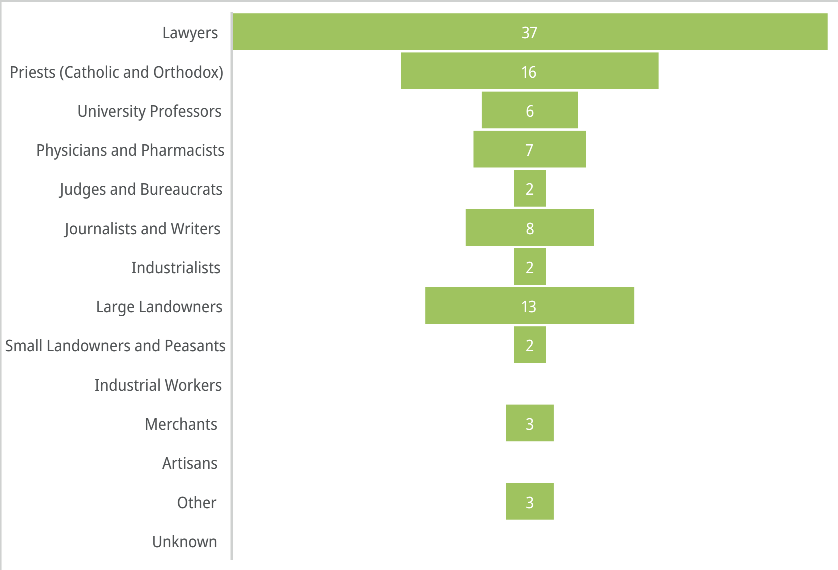

Figure 3: Croatian *Sabor* 1913 – 1918, socio-professional structure (in %).

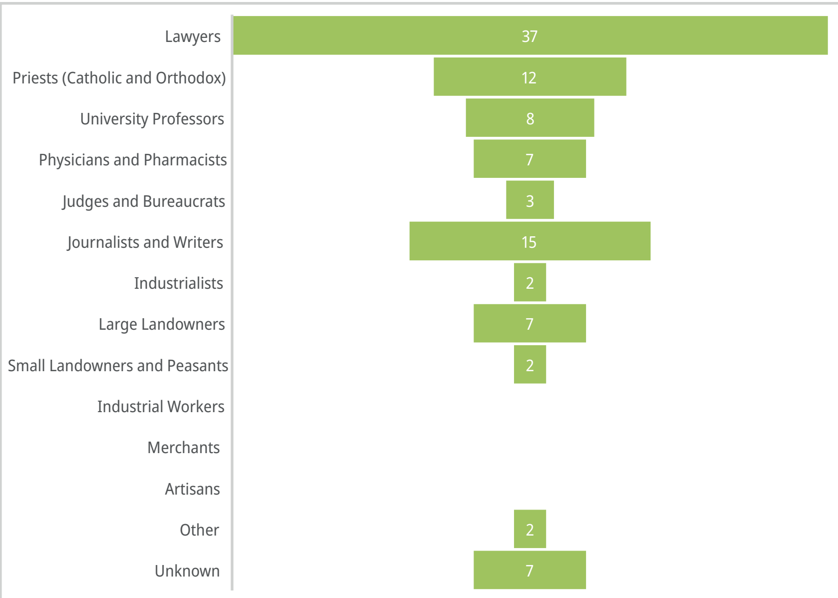

Figure 4: Provisional National Representation (Yugoslavia) 1919 – 1920, socio-professional structure (in %).

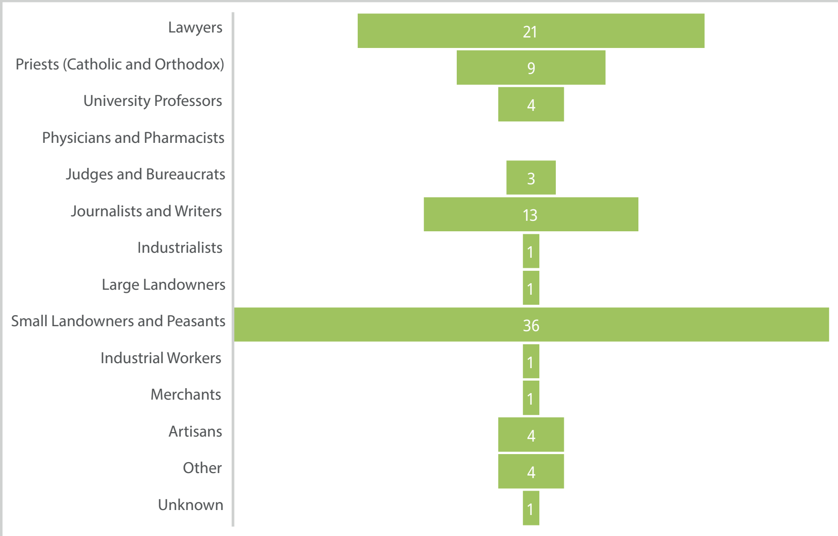

Figure 5: National Assembly (Yugoslavia) 1920 – 1923, socio-professional structure (in %).

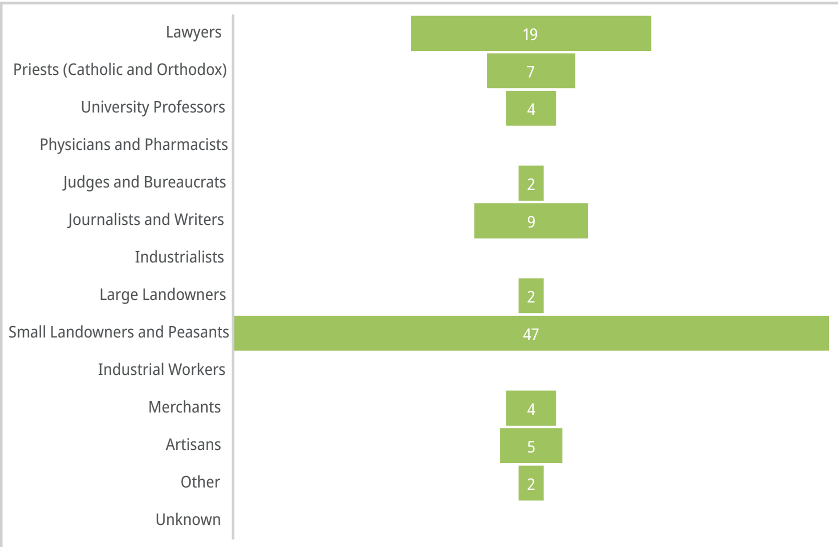

Figure 6: National Assembly (Yugoslavia) 1923 – 1925, socio-professional structure (in %).

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Ana Victoria Sima and Marius Eppel

Social Origin, Denominational, and Family Networks Among the Romanian Political Elite in Transylvania. Case Study: Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Politicians (1861 – 1918)

1 Introduction

For Transylvania, a province of the Danube monarchy, the period 1861 – 1918 was an era of two distinct political experiments. The first, inaugurated by the Diploma of October 1860 and the Imperial Patent of February 1861, offered Romanians the recognition of their equality as a political nation alongside the other consecrated nations of Transylvania for the very first time in modern history. The second, brought about by the dualist pact (1867), annulled the autonomy of the province and the previously granted concessions by consecrating its union with Hungary. Diametrically opposed, the two political formulas profoundly impacted the behavior of the Romanians' leaders, forcing them to continually adapt to the political changes imposed by Vienna and Budapest, but without losing sight of their national goals. The enthusiasm and cooperation with which they had greeted the "liberal era" of the 1860s were abandoned after the conclusion of the dualist pact, being replaced with disapproval and skepticism towards the applicability of the new political regime. The biggest dissatisfaction was seeing Transylvania losing its autonomy and, with it, the political rights the Romanians had obtained in the Diet of Sibiu in 1863. In this context, most of them chose to fight passively against the dualist regime. While many strove to advance their culture, economy, and education, only a small part of them chose to actively participate in Hungarian political life. The decades that followed were marked by ceaseless adaptation to the new political frame, and it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the Romanian political elite resigned itself to dualism, adopting activism as a political tactic. It did so from the position of a new generation of politicians, whose ranks had begun to grow and assert themselves timidly since the seventh decade of the nineteenth century. They became much more vocal in the years that followed.

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However, the political tactic change had been fueled and preceded by a structural one, which had penetrated deep into the capillaries of the Romanian political elite. It had begun with the first lay people (lawyers, bankers, teachers, doctors, writers, officers) who entered politics at the same time as the leaders of the two Romanian Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches, and who gradually replaced them as men who were in charge of the political destiny of their nation. We are talking about three successive generations of politicians who became political and national leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians between 1861 and 1918, whose attitudes and behaviors bore the unmistakable mark of their social origin and the fluid political climate in which they were forced to operate.

2 Why is an Analysis of the Social Origin, Family, and Confessional Relations of the Romanian Political Elite in Transylvania Necessary?

The Romanian political elite in nineteenth-century Transylvania[1] is a vast, insufficiently covered research topic. Many prosopographic studies and socio-professional analyses have focused on this elite segment but, despite the rich findings of the past few decades,[2] the topic is still open to such research approaches. Aspects regarding the socio-professional background of individuals, their families, the cultural and confessional environments in which they grew up and developed their careers pose many research questions, the answers to which can illustrate and quantify the social mobility of this elite group and, not infrequently, their political behavior.

In Romanian historiography, the theme of social mobility has been seldom addressed and relatively recently dealt with in a few studies dedicated to the population of Transylvania and its socio-professional structures, from the second half of the nine-

1 Conceptually, the phrase "Romanian political elite" has a wide range of meanings, referring to the political leaders of the Romanian National Party, the members of the Sibiu Diet (1863), and the members of the Budapest Parliament. In this study, we will refer only to the members of the Romanian parliamentary elite, that is, to the politicians who were active in the Transylvanian Diet and the Parliament of Budapest (1866–1918).

2 Hitchins, Afirmarea Națiunii: Mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania 1860/1914, 96–104; Popovici, Acte și documente privind Elita politică românească din Transilvania (1869–1896), 11–37; Popovici, Studies on the Romanian Political Elite from Tranylvania and Hungary (1861–1918); Popovici, "Family relations and Group Mobilisation within the Romanian Political Elite in Transylvania (1861–1900)," 106–18; Popovici, "Elita politică românească din Transilvania (1869–1881). O perspectivă alternativă," 213–27; Onojescu, "The Romanian administrative Elite from Transylvania in the Liberal Period (1861–1867)," 873–87; Iudean, The Romanian Governmental Representatives in the Budapest Parliament (1881–1918).

teenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] Their contribution lies in the fact that they offer a general perspective and some case studies on the intergenerational changes recorded in Transylvanian society against the background of economic and social modernization policies which affected, in different proportions, all strata of society to varying degrees and in different proportions. The use of the Hisco and Hisclass tools, borrowed from Social Science History and historical demography, gives these studies the value of pioneering research in the Romanian historiography concerning social and occupational mobility in Transylvanian society at the end of the nineteenth century. According to their conclusions, education and the socio-economic status of the family of origin are two of the most important factors of social mobility recorded in Transylvania in the period 1850 – 1918. These two factors have outlined the portrait of the social mobility of Romanians from Transylvania, which can also be characterized by a certain inertia among clerical families, perhaps precisely because of the prestige that the priest enjoyed in the community. However, as Transylvanian society developed and emancipated itself, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, we also encounter intergenerational mobility among the clergy.[4]

In addition to the aspect of social mobility, we should also mention that of priestly dynasties. The few studies that have been carried out in this area have highlighted some interesting aspects. In the Orthodox environment, there were many parishes where members of the same clerical families served at the altar for more than two centuries.[5] The same situation was found in the Greek-Catholic environment, where the phenomenon of clerical dynasties was observed for several generations, leading to the creation of very deep family ties, which in Romanian society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were intertwined.[6]

It should be noted that studies conducted by sociologists, demographers, and historians have identified the existence of several factors favoring the social mobility of individuals. Family was, indisputably, among those factors. Through the socio-economic resources at its disposal and the networks created through marriage and adoption, it influenced the social mobility of its members for many generations.[7] A second factor was school, seen as a training and cohesion-shaping environment. Seen from this perspective, the school was the place where affinities were discovered and friends were made, friendships which would later be exploited by individuals in their own careers.[8]

3 Holom, "Transformări"; Botoș, "Education as a Vehicle for Social Mobility"; Botoș, "Comunități în schimbare"; Haiduc, "The Use of Some Digital Instruments in the Study of the Greek Catholic High School in Beiuș."

4 Moga, "Social mobility in Transylvania at the end of the First World War."

5 Vesa, Episcopia Aradului.

6 Popa-Andrei, "Priestly dynasties."

7 See some of the studies authored by Milles, "How Open was Nineteenth-Century British Society? Social Mobility and Equality of Opportunity, 1839 – 1914"; Long and Ferrie, "Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and United State since 1850"; Mare, "A Multigenerational View of Inequality."

8 Onojescu, "The Romanian Administrative Elite from Transylvania in the Liberal Period (1861 – 1867)," 877.

Confession also played a significant role in strengthening group cohesion, with its importance lying in the image capital that the Church and its representatives held in society; it also resided in the intra-confessional support that could be received in inter-confessional disputes. In the Romanian Transylvanian society of the nineteenth century, these factors charted the individual paths of the Romanian political leaders to varying degrees and in ways specifically suited to each of them.

That is why, in this study, we set out from the lack of an analysis that would comparatively examine the Romanian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies in the Diet of Transylvania and in the Parliament of Hungary during the years 1861–1918. Based on research prior to this study, we could see that there were a number of similarities between the two elite groups, starting from their ethnic and linguistic background or their political projects but also including a number of differences, given their belonging to different denominations, their embracing of different attitudes and political positions, or their social and professional origin. Because of this, in the present study, we shall resort to a comparative analysis in order to draw relevant conclusions.

Starting from these findings, we try to understand to what extent the social origin and the family and confessional networks influenced the social mobility of the Romanian political elite in Transylvania in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

3 Sources and Methodology

The sample we have considered for this analysis consists of 79 Romanian deputies, 50 Greek-Catholics, and 29 Orthodox, out of a total of 82 who participated in the Transylvanian Diet and the Chamber of Deputies of the Hungarian Parliament between 1861 and 1918 (the remaining three have not been included due to insufficient data). The choice of this sample was determined by the existence and accessibility of the sources with a view to conducting a socio-prosopographical analysis focusing on confession, education, and family relationships.[9]

The sources we have used are civil parish registers (in part), the register of deceased priests in the Greek-Catholic diocese of Gherla, obituaries, encyclopedias, dictionaries of personalities, correspondence, collections of documents, memoirs, notes, and biographies of the individuals included in the sample.

From a methodological point of view, we have followed some aspects of the history of the Romanian political elite in Transylvania, which has provided us with essential information for understanding these people's social ascent and behavior in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. More precisely, the main topics

9 See Tables 1 and 2 regarding the Romanian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies from 1861–1918. Most of the sources employed for the analysis, the tables, and the graph projections have been referenced in footnotes throughout the paper.

we have addressed are: a) the identification of the main social categories to which the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies from Transylvania belonged during 1861–1918; b) the reconstitution, based on several case studies, of the family networks of which they were part; and c) the evaluation of the role of their confessional affiliation to the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox Church as a factor of solidarity and promotion of their political-national interests.

4 Professional, Social Strata, and Family Background

An overview of their professional profile shows that of the 79 Romanian deputies of Greek-Catholic and Orthodox faiths, whose biographical data allowed the reconstruction of their profile, 44 were lawyers, 17 were clerics, seven were civil servants, three were teachers, three were landowners, two were doctors, one was an officer, one was a writer, and one was an engineer. By comparison, out of the total of 79 Romanian deputies, 50 were Greek-Catholics, representing a percentage of 63.29%, while Orthodox deputies made up only 36.7%. Proportionally by denominations, lawyers were the most numerous category, totaling 45 deputies (29 Greek-Catholics and 16 Orthodox), followed by 17 priests, of which eight were Greek-Catholics and nine Orthodox. There were also seven civil servants (all Greek-Catholics), three teachers (two Greek-Catholics and one Orthodox), two landowners (Greek-Catholics), two doctors (one Greek-Catholic and one Orthodox), one officer (Greek-Catholic), one writer, and one engineer, both of whom were Orthodox.

If we comparatively analyze the choice of profession among the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies, we can see numerous similarities. Thus, over half of them (71% Greek-Catholics, 55% Orthodox) chose to pursue a degree in the legal field. Out of the Orthodox representatives, 31% turned to theology, thus a higher percentage than the Greek-Catholics, who amounted 20%. Only 4% of the Orthodox had a teaching career, compared to 9% Greek-Catholics. Medicine was the fourth option for both denominations, their percentage relative to all of the members being almost identical, 4% among Orthodox and 2% among Greek-Catholics. Engineering and military careers ranked last in their career choices.

Regarding the preference of the Romanian elite for legal studies, it should be noted that a law degree was the most frequented university degree from the mid-nineteenth century to the interwar period. The explanation lies, on the one hand, in the political context of the nineteenth century, in which national claims and vindications had to be legitimized by legal arguments, and on the other, in the different career opportunities such a degree could offer. It was unanimously acknowledged that law graduates could be more easily assimilated into the administrative-legal system of the state; from there, they could later contribute to supporting the nation's goals. At the same time, the absorption capacity of these graduates into the labor market was much higher in areas

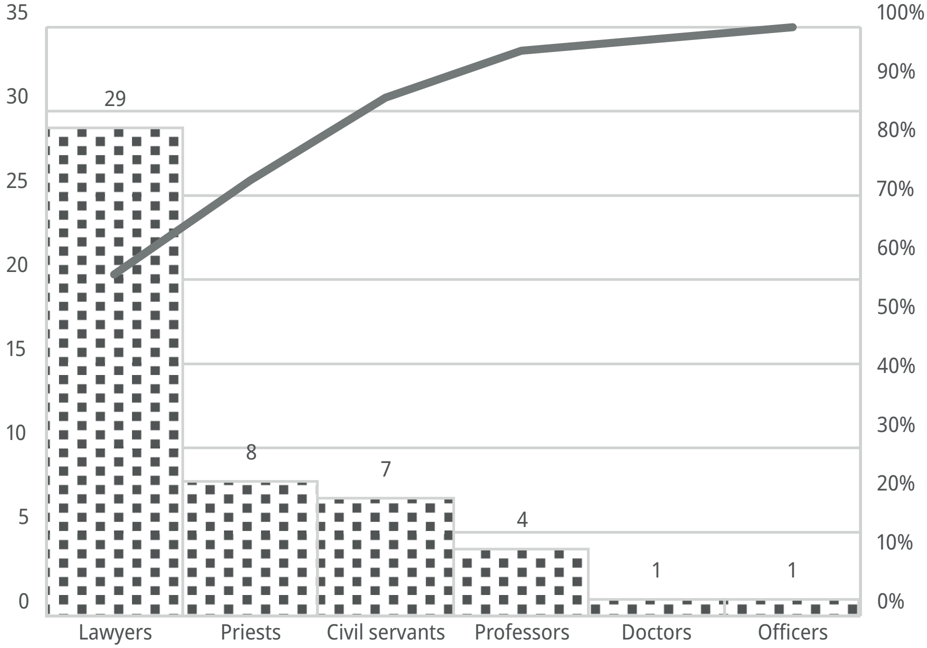

Figure 1a: Professional profile of the Romanian Greek-Catholic deputies.

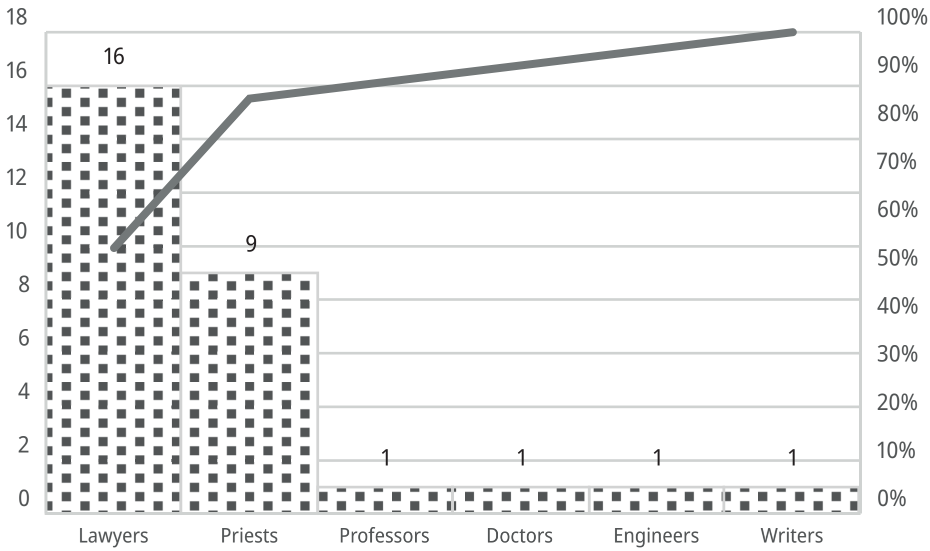

Figure 1b: Professional profile of the Romanian Orthodox deputies.

like the economy, civil service, and banking.[10] The cases of the Romanian deputies Vasile Ladislau Pop (Greek-Catholic) and Mihail Orbonaș (Orthodox) are illustrative,[11] as for both, it was their legal careers that propelled them to the highest positions in the state. For example, although he initially studied law in Cluj and then theology in Vienna, Vasile Ladislau Pop was urged by his priestly family to give up his ecclesiastical career in favor of a legal one. Thanks to this, he became Vice-President of the Government and President of the Supreme Court of Transylvania in the 1860s.[12]

The fact that legal studies were the most coveted choice in one's career is proven by the large number of deputies – lawyers by profession – who came from priest families. For example, out of 38 % of Greek-Catholic deputies from priestly families, 57.89 % studied law, while out of the 36.7 % Orthodox deputies, 7 % came from families of priests, with the majority of them pursuing a legal career. It is interesting to note that, because of their legal careers, some of them put a permanent end to entire priestly dynasties, families in which the priesthood had been passed down from generation to generation, along the male line. It is true, however, that sometimes the "priestly tradition" of the family was carried on by their sisters through marriages with priests.[13] Regardless, it was clear that the ranks of this social category were slowly but steadily diminishing. In reality, a world was slowly dying out: the world of the Romanian Transylvanian villages in which the priests had been the only spokesmen of the population, whose place and role would be gradually taken over by new representatives, such as lawyers, judges, civil servants, doctors, engineers, officers, etc. For example, Ioan Alduleanu, whose father was a priest in Moeciu de Jos (Brașov County), chose or was encouraged to study law in Târgu Mureș, where he obtained his first position as a lawyer at the Court of Appeal. After completing his studies, he settled in Brașov, as a lawyer. His legal career was an impressive one if we consider the fact that over the years, he became counsellor of the Court of Făgăraș (1852) and then of Brașov (1854), president of the Urban Tribunal for the area of Brașov (1858), gubernatorial counsellor (1861), vice-president of the Court of Appeal (Royal Board) in Mureș, counsellor in the Ministry of Justice (1867) and judge at the Court of Appeal in Pest.[14] Alexandru Bohățiel,[15] Ioan Flo-

10 Sigmirean. Formarea intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă, 64, 78 – 79, 108.

11 Obituary of Mihail Orbonaș, 83.

12 Dăianu, Al doilea președinte al Asociațiunii: Vasile L. bar. Pop 1819 – 1875; Ploeșteanu, "Canceliști târgumureșeni în revoluția de la 1848 (XII). Vasile Ladislau Pop (1819 – 1875)," 183 – 93; see Obituary of Vasile Ladislau Pop, 71; Vasile Ladislau Pop was married to Elena Olteanu, from the family of the Enlightenment thinker Petru Maior, see Obituary of Anna Olteanu, née Popp Maioru, 371 – 72.

13 Sima, "Intergenerational Heritage, Kinship, and Social Prestige among the Greek-Catholic Archpriests of Transylvania (1856 – 1948)," 173 – 93.

14 Obituary of Ioan Aldulianu, 217– 18.

15 Moisil, "Alexandru Bohățel 1816 – 1897," 578 – 607; Moisil, Alexandru Bohățel; Vaida, "Pagini din viața lui Alexandru Bohățel," 128 – 56; Teodor Buhățel, Din "Panteonul" marilor patrioți români ardeleni. Alexandru Bohățiel; Buhățel, Neamul Bohățelenilor în căutarea obârșiei heraldice, 162 – 67.

rian,[16] Paul Dunca de Sajo,[17] and others had relatively similar professional paths. Of course, this transfer of power and political representation was not immediate but took considerable time. The priests continued to hold, for many decades, a significant capital of power and trust, which explains their high percentage among Romanian deputies. The case of the Orthodox bishop Andrei Șaguna is emblematic. Although born in a family of Aromanian merchants, he followed his clerical vocation from a young age and, in 1846, was appointed vicar general in Sibiu by the Serbian metropolitan of Karlowitz. Without going into the details of the prodigious political and ecclesiastical activity of Andrei Șaguna, we should only mention that he was responsible for reactivating the Romanian Orthodox metropolitanate of Transylvania in 1864, for drafting the constitution of the Romanian Orthodox Church, known as the Organic Statute (1868), and for boosting the ecclesiastical, scholarly, and cultural life between 1846 and 1873.[18]

We find many similarities between the elite route of Șaguna and other Orthodox deputies, who discovered their clerical vocation along the way. We refer here especially to those who first began their activity in administrative positions, only later embracing a priestly calling. An example is Nicolae Popea, who came from a family of priests from Săcele (Brașov County), studied theology in Vienna and held various positions in the provincial administration during the first years of his career. After 1854, he became the closest collaborator of Andrei Șaguna, assuming the position of secretary of the diocese of Sibiu in 1854, and, in 1856, becoming a monk. Through him, Metropolitan Șaguna prepared the generation of Orthodox bishops who succeeded him. Popea was elected bishop of Caransebeș in 1889, a position he held until 1908.[19]

Regarding the political involvement of the Romanian deputies recruited from among teachers, the findings show that their number remained relatively low, both among Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, with slightly higher numbers among the former. A possible explanation for this could be the small number of Romanian gymnasiums and high schools functioning at the time, compared to those of other ethnic groups in Transylvania, but also the disinterest of Romanian teachers to become involved in the political life of dualist Hungary. The teachers' social background was not inconsequential for their lack of political involvement; of the three teachers, one came from a priestly family,[20] another from a teacher's family,[21] and the third had unknown origins.

16 Moisil, "Ioan Florian Câmpianu," 608–24; Grama, "Familia sibiană a lui Ioan Florian (1829–1894) președinte al Tribunalului regesc din Odorheiul Secuiesc," 77–94.
17 Diaconovich, Enciclopedia română II, 239.
18 See Hitchins, Ortodoxie și naționalitate. Andrei Șaguna și românii din Transilvania 1846–1873.
19 Păcurariu, Dicționarul teologilor români, 373–74.
20 Katalin, Kultúra és filológia a Román Tanszék történetének tükrében, 86; Iudean, The Romanian Governmental Representatives in the Budapest Parliament (1881–1918), 143–44; Pop, O personalitate mai puțin cunoscută.
21 Iudean, The Romanian Governmental Representatives in the Budapest Parliament (1881–1918), 109–14; Buzilă, "Autobiografia preotului Ioan Chita din Mintiu și genealogia familiei sale," 58; Tomi, "Ion Ciocan la 90 de ani de la trecerea în neființă," 285–91.

Table 1: The correlation between the members of the political elite and the profession of their parents, by denomination.

Parents' profession	Deputies		
	Greek-Catholics	**Orthodox**	**Profession**
Clergy			Jurists (lawyers, judges, etc.)
Jurists	8	3	
Owners	0	2	
Peasantry	3	2	
Unknown	8	4	
Total	**29**	**16**	**45**
Clergy	7	1	Greek-Catholic clergy (7 canon capitulars were priests and teachers, 1 vicar)
Jurists	-	-	
Peasantry	1	1	Orthodox clergy (2 bishops, 1 archpriest)
Unknown	-	3	
Total	**8**	**5**	**13**
Priesthood	1	-	Civil servants
Unknown	6	-	
Total	**7**	-	**7**
Peasantry	1	-	Landowners
Civil servants	1	-	
Total	**2**	-	**2**
Clergy	1	-	Teachers
Teachers	1	-	
Unknown	-	1	
Total	**2**	**1**	**3**
Peasant owners	2	-	Others (writers, doctors, engineers, officers)
Total	**2**	**0**	**2**

Regarding the noble origin of the Romanian deputies, we find that the Orthodox had a share of only 10.8 % compared to the Greek-Catholics (with a percentage of 48 %). The process of ennobling Romanians had begun in the Middle Ages, however, it took place especially during the reign of the Transylvanian princes, from Ioan Sigismund Zápolya (1556 – 1571) all the way to Mihail Apafi I (1661 – 1690).[22] More widespread among Greek-Catholics than the Orthodox, ennoblement had visibly improved their economic situation, giving them access to education and, thus, to a higher station in life. The handiest example of an Orthodox deputy who came from a noble family is that of the writer Ioan Codru Drăgușanu, whose family was ennobled during the time of the Transylva-

22 Dumitran and Gúdor, "Înnobilarea românilor în epoca principatului autonom al Transilvaniei și semnificațiile sale religioase," 28 – 33.

nian Consort Princess Zsuzsanna Lorántffy (1600–1660); he first attended the German Border Guard School in Viștea de Jos (Brașov) and then St. Sava College in Bucharest. The prosperous economic situation of his family allowed him to embark on numerous pilgrimages through Transylvania, Romania, and other countries in Europe. From 1863 to 1880, he held the position of vice-captain of the Făgăraș district, while he was also deputy of Hațeg in the Sibiu Diet from 1863 and author of various works and articles published in the periodicals of the time. In the literary world, he was known for his work *The Transylvanian Pilgrim*, which is, in fact, a travel diary.[23]

Table 2: The parents' profession over the course of three generations.

The parents' profession	G 1 (born before 1831)		G 2 (born 1831–1860)		G 3 (born post-1861)		Total	
	GK	O	GK	O	GK	O	GK	O
Clergy	14	6	3	-	2	1	19	7
Jurists	5	2	1	-	-	1	6	3
Peasantry	3	2	2	1	-	1	5	4
Large landowners	2	3	-	-	1	-	3	3
Owners	2	1	-	1		1	2	3
Teachers	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
Total	27	14	7	2	3	4	50	29

Note: G = Generation; GC = Greek-Catholics; O = Orthodox.

The social background of the deputies also provides important clues for the job profiles of the analyzed sample. Thus, when it comes to the deputies of Greek-Catholic denomination, we can see that out of 50 individuals, 50 % of them were of noble origin, a quality that some held simultaneously with the titles of priest, lawyer, teacher, etc. Beyond the noble status, 38 % came from families of priests, as second or third generation; 16 % from families of civil servants and lawyers; 10 % from families of simple peasants; 6 % from families of large landowners; and 4 % from families of teachers. The social origin of 26 % of the deputies could not be established. Regarding the 29 Orthodox deputies, their origin is largely similar to that of the Greek-Catholics; 17.24 % were of noble origin, 17.24 % came from families of priests, 6.89 % from families of civil servants, 10.34 % from landowning families, and 13.79 % from families of simple peasants. The origin for 34.48 % of them could not be exactly identified.

The extent to which family influenced the choice of profession is evidenced by the data below. According to this, out of 19 Greek-Catholic deputies from priestly families, seven had followed the family tradition, becoming priests, while another 12 pursued legal studies, building careers in the local or national administration. Two of the deputies chose a teaching career (one came from a teacher's family and another from a

23 For more details, see Sasu, Dicționarul biografic al literaturii române, 364.

priest's family). Seven deputies from the families of lawyers and civil servants had followed their father's profession. The rest of the lawyers came from landowning families or the families of wealthy peasants. In the case of the two families of teachers from which two of the deputies came, only one had followed his father's profession, while the other had studied law; the doctor and the officer came from wealthy peasant families. For the Orthodox, the situation was significantly different in the sense that only two of those from priestly families chose to become priests, most of them (four) opting to pursue a law degree. To these were added the sons of lawyers (three) who had chosen careers similar to their parents', except for one who became a writer. The preferred careers of the deputies who came from peasant families were lawyers (two), priests (one), and doctors (one).

It is important to note that we are dealing with social mobility that was both upward and horizontal (within the same professional category). In the case of the families of priests, which formed the largest recruitment pool of Greek-Catholic deputies, there was upward mobility, as 12 out of 19 deputies did not stick to their father's profession but went on to a legal career. The greatest mobility was registered among the sons of peasants, who chose to study law, medicine, or pursue military careers, which allowed them to climb the social ladder and be accepted into the upper strata of society. Lawyers and civil servants were the only social categories with a relatively linear mobility, given that their descendants mostly chose to follow in their parents' footsteps. Among the Orthodox deputies, we can see a higher mobility for those who came from peasant families and stagnant occupational preferences in the case of the sons of lawyers.

Education also played a significant role in the social mobility of Romanian deputies. Most of them studied in gymnasiums and high schools chosen according to their religious affiliation and proximity to their birthplaces. If Greek-Catholics primarily attended schools in Blaj, Beiuș, and Năsăud, the Orthodox opted especially for schools in Brașov and Sibiu, without overlooking the Greek-Catholic ones in Blaj and Beiuș, while there were some who attended Roman-Catholic or Reformed schools, such as those in Cluj, Târgu Mureș, Baia Mare, Sighetu Marmației, Orăștie, and Sibiu. With regards to higher education, the confessional differences faded so much that, aside from those who preferred theological studies, many studied law, medicine, or polytechnics in the same academies or universities in Sibiu, Târgu-Mureș, Pesta/Budapest, Vienna, Graz, and Padua. Beyond their formative frame, the years spent in gymnasiums and academies/universities offered them the opportunity to form friendships and connections in different environments, which later proved useful in their professional and political careers. For example, Cluj, Sibiu, and Târgu-Mureș were, at first, the main centers where most of the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies studied law. In the 1830s, the young Alexandru Bohățiel, Alexandru Buda, Simion Balomiri, and Vasile Ladislau Pop met at the royal high school in Cluj, and their political careers intersected later in the second half of the nineteenth century. A few years later, this time in Sibiu, two other students, Ioan Florian and Ioachim Mureșanu, formed a lasting friendship, which was validated during the Diet of 1863, when both were among the deputies elected by the Romanians.[24] Thanks to their childhood friendships and affinities, some of them later fought on the same side of the political barricade,[25] however, this did not prevent others from siding with different camps and political orientations that suited them better. In any case, school was indisputably a factor that influenced, to varying degrees, the socio-political trajectory of all individuals in the analyzed sample.

5 Family Networks as Strategies for Social Maintenance and Ascent

Another aspect which we focused on concerned the family and family networks as support for upward social mobility. In the absence of complete quantitative data, we chose to focus on a few case studies, starting from the biographical literature and the existing correspondence.

A preliminary analysis of the existing data indicates that for most of the deputies in the sample, the families from which they came or entered through the marriage alliances had a major influence on their career path. Along with education, marriages proved to be the lever through which social status could be preserved or access to the upper strata of society was granted. The cases of Vasile Ladislau Pop and Alexandru Bohățiel are eloquent examples, both Greek-Catholics who reached some of the highest positions in local and state administration in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Both came from families of priests with a noble tradition, whose kinship networks placed them near the cultural center of Blaj. Alexandru Bohățiel was the maternal nephew of the Greek-Catholic bishop of Blaj, Ioan Lemeni, and was related to many families of Romanian priests and small nobles from Transylvania. Through his marriage to his cousin Ana Pop Lemeni,[26] he remained in the same family network until his only daughter, Ana Bohățiel, married Dionisie Vaida, a wealthy, militant Romanian politician, who also descended from an old noble family; Alexandru Vaida Voevod, a well-known politician and deputy of the Pest Parliament, was born into their family. Through the alliance with the Vaida family, the network of the Bohățiel family expanded even more in the following years, when one of the descendants of the Vaida family, Viorica Vaida, married Teodor Mihali, a well-known Romanian Transylvanian politician.[27] Another branch of the Vaida family, also related to the Bohățiel family through one of Alexandru's sisters, Ludovica, would beget, at the beginning of the twentieth

24 Grama, "Familia sibiană a lui Ioan Florian (1829 – 1894) președinte al Tribunalului regesc din Odorheiul Secuiesc," 77– 94; Raus, "Ioachim Murșanu – Juristul Districtului autonom al Năsăudului," 53 – 65.
25 Popovici, "Family Relations and Group Mobilisation within the Romanian Political Elite in Transylvania (1861 – 1900)," 107– 18.
26 Buhățel, Neamul Bohățelenilor în căutarea obârșiei heraldice, 165 – 66; Vaida, "Pagini din viața lui Alexandru Bohățel," 128 – 56.
27 Vaida-Voevod, Memorii, i–iv.

century, the great Romanian politician Corneliu Coposu.[28] This is how during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bohățiel family formed marriage alliances that led to the birth of four politicians: brothers Alexandru and Mihai Bohățiel (first generation) and grandchildren Alexandru Vaida Voevod and Teodor Mihali (third generation).

The case of the politician Vasile Ladislau Pop deserves to be noted here because of his marital choice. In his case, we are dealing with an option shared by many of the deputies in this sample: marriages to the daughters of small entrepreneurs, merchants, and county officials, as these would allow them to enter different social and political circles. For example, Vasile Ladislau Pop married Anastasia Oltean, the daughter of a Romanian merchant from Reghin, who was maternally related to the family of the Enlightenment thinker Petru Maior.[29] Joining the Oltean family enabled the young lawyer Vasile Ladislau Pop to consolidate his social position through new economic, social, and political connections; thanks to them and the education he received, Ladislau Pop reached the highest public dignities held by any Transylvanian Romanian in 1861–1862: those of vice-president of the Government and president of the Supreme Court of Transylvania.[30] The lawyer Ioan Florian did the same, marrying Anastasia Matei, the daughter of a great Orthodox merchant from Sibiu. By joining this family, Florian, although he was Greek-Catholic, got closer to the Orthodox group around Bishop Andrei Șaguna, with whom he worked in the Diets of Sibiu (1863) and Cluj (1865).[31] Similar marital options could be found among other deputies in the analyzed sample (see the cases of Ioan Axente Sever,[32] Teodor Mihali,[33] Alexandru Vaida Voevod,[34] etc.). This in-

28 SJCJAN, EGCG, item 686, Register of Deceased Priests, 1856–1948, fol. 3; Pop, "Din viața și activitatea protopopului Gavril Vaida de Glod (1830–1918) I," 45–47.

29 Dăianu, Al doilea președinte al Asociațiunii: Vasile L. bar. Pop 1819–1875; Vasile Ladislau Pop married Elena Olteanu, from the family of the Enlightenment intellectual Petru Maior; see the Obituary of Anna Olteanu, née Popp Maioru, 371–72.

30 Dăianu, Al doilea președinte al Asociațiunii: Vasile L. bar. Pop 1819–1875; Ploeșteanu, "Canceliști târgumureșeni în revoluția de la 1848 (XII). Vasile Ladislau Pop (1819–1875)," 183–93.

31 Grama, "Familia sibiană a lui Ioan Florian (1829–1894) președinte al Tribunalului regesc din Odorheiul Secuiesc," 77–94.

32 Lacea, Amintiri despre Axente Severu, 427–35; Gabor, Ioan Axente Sever. Un nume pentru neuitare (1821–1906); Pascu, Ioan Axente Sever 1821–1906. Viața și activitatea militantă; Balog, "Axente Sever sau ipostaza revoluționarului militant la 1848," 46–73; Ioan Axente Sever was married twice: the first time to one of the daughters of George Csergedi, a post office clerk in Miercurea Sibiului, and the second time to Eufrosina Blebea, the daughter of Stan Blebea, a wealthy merchant from Brașov; see Tăslăuanu, "Ioan Axentie Severu," 95–96.

33 Vaida-Voevod, Memorii, I–IV; Teodor Mihaly was married twice, the first time to Viorica Vaida. According to some sources, Viorica Vaida was the sister of the politician Alexandru Vaida-Voevod; see Lazăr, "Dr. Teodor Mihali. (I) Repere privind obârșia și începuturile afirmării (1855–1890)," 817–26. In reality, Viorica Vaida came from a branch of the Vaida family, but was not the sister of Alexandru Vaida-Voevod; see Vaida-Voevod, Memorii, I–IV. Teodor Mihali's second wife was Eleftera Porescu, director of the Regina Elisabeta Asylum in Bucharest; see [Marriage Announcement], "Hymen."

34 Vaida-Voevod, Memorii, i–iv; Maior, Alexandru Vaida Voevod. He was married to Elena Safrano.

dicates the importance of economic support in the social ascent of individuals and in the polarization of political groups.

The Orthodox deputies followed the same guiding principles as the Greek-Catholics. Family background, economic status, confessional cohesion, and social position were the main factors that influenced their elite path. Therefore, as shown above, in the case of the 29 deputies, we find the same preference for important professions in society, such as priests, lawyers, doctors, and professors. As a general trend, it can be noted that marital alliances were taking into account these things. The case of Iosif Hodoș seems to be quite relevant. He came from a family of priests, with his father Vasile Hodoș and his mother Teodora Tell from Bandu de Câmpie, Mureș County. Having a noble ancestry and good financial status, he married Ana Balint, the daughter of Simion Balint, the revolutionary priest from 1848, with this family also having noble and clerical ancestry from Vima Mică, Maramureș County. The marriage of the two resulted in three boys, future great philologists, Enea, Alexandru, and Nerva, with the marital routes of the first two brothers the most interesting. Eneas married Zotti Secula, who also came from a family with clerical ancestry and a significant political past (the Revolution of 1848); she was the daughter of George Secula (1839 – 1884), a lawyer, and Judith Secula (born Truția,[35] from the family of the Greek-Catholic deputy Petru Truția). We can notice, therefore, that the Orthodox could marry into Greek-Catholic families, while the reverse was equally true – Alexandru Hodoș pursued a literary career, but in terms of marital preference, he joined a family of wealthy people when he married Constanța,[36] daughter of the first praetor Constantin Taloș and Amalia Vida. The Hodoș family is one of the largest Romanian families, with descendants to this day.

Another example is that of Lazăr Petco. He came from a wealthy family, as his father, Lazăr Petco, was the owner of gold mines in the Apuseni Mountains. Like his parents, he followed the same tradition, marrying a girl of similar social status, Veronica de Almássy, who came from a family of Romanians ennobled in 1608 by Prince Gabriel Báthory for military merits earned in the battles against the Ottomans in Ineu, Arad County. Petco was a college friend of the two leaders of the national movement, Atanasie Marian Marienescu (Orthodox) and Ioan Rațiu (Greek-Catholic). When they met in Arad in 1862, Atanasie Marienescu, nephew of Medicine Professor Atanasie Șandor, met Ana Șandor, the latter's 16-year-old daughter, whom he married that year; through this marriage, he joined two influential families from Arad, the Șandor family (Aromanians) and the Frușa family, as Ana Șandor's grandmother was the wife of Petru Frușa, former mayor of Arad. This last aspect is not to be neglected, because family relations later helped Petco in his legal career; shortly after the wedding, he was appointed judge at the County Court in Zarand, and then became a lawyer in Deva. Another common point of interest with his father-in-law, Professor Șandor, was the Arad National Asso-

35 Vesa, Clerici cărturari arădeni de altădată, 266 – 69.

36 Sasu, Dicționarul biografic al literaturii române, 724.

ciation for Culture and Conservation of the Romanian People,[37] where he held several leadership positions. Petco's joining the ranks of Arad's high society was facilitated by his father-in-law, who promoted him on every occasion of the various cultural and political movements of the Romanians in Arad. Besides ethnic solidarity, Lazăr Petco was also guided by confessional solidarity because one of his two daughters, Aurelia, joined a Greek-Catholic family and was married to Alexandru Hossu-Longin, the brother of lawyer Francisc Hossu-Longin.[38]

Less investigated so far at the level of this elite segment, interfaith marriages were an undeniable reality. The most common were between Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, but there were also those between Greek-Catholics and Roman-Catholics or Protestants. We should mention here some of the Greek-Catholic deputies married to Orthodox women: Sigismund Pop (Greek-Catholic) married Rozalia Dragan (Orthodox)[39]; Vasile Buteanu (Greek-Catholic) married Carolina Orbonaș (daughter of the Orthodox deputy Mihail Orbonaș)[40]; Ioan Florian (Greek-Catholic) married Anastasia Matei (daughter of an Orthodox merchant from Sibiu); Ioan Rațiu (Greek-Catholic) married Emilia Orghidan (daughter of the Orthodox priest from Brașov, Dumitru Orghidan)[41]; and Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (Greek-Catholic) married Elena Safrano (daughter of a Greek merchant from Brașov, Orthodox by faith). The above examples indicate the existence of confessional permeability, in which the boundaries between denominations could be overcome by marriage, especially when individuals came from the same ethnic group. There were also, albeit less numerous, marriages to people belonging to other Hungarian or the Transylvanian Saxon denominations: Alexandru Pop (Greek-Catholic) married Boitner Katalin (Roman-Catholic)[42]; Alexandru Lazăr (Greek-Catholic) married Brencsan Johanna (Roman-Catholic)[43]; and Alexandru Bohățiel (Greek-Catholic) married Iulianna Csoma (Protestant).[44]

All of this shows clearly that in the case of the Romanian political elite in Transylvania, ethnic solidarity prevailed over confessional solidarity. This explains why, in many of the studied cases, contracting a marriage between a Greek-Catholic and an Orthodox was not seen as an impediment but as an individual or family choice. This was part of the general trend of Transylvanian society at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. The Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Churches did not

37 Bolovan, Asociația Națională Arădeană, 19, 29, 84, 101.

38 Demșa, Avocatul Lazăr Petco, 399 – 21.

39 Obituary of Sigismund Victor Pop de Șomcuta-Mare, 491; Cordea, "Deputați români în dieta de la Pesta (1848 – 1849 și 1861)," 166 – 185. M. Sigismund Victor Pop was married to Rosalia Drăgan.

40 Obituary of Vasiliu Butean, 412; see also the Obituary of Vasiliu Butean de Șomcuta Mare; Diaconovich, Enciclopedia română, I, 644; Vasile Buteanu was married to Maria Orbonaș, who came from the noble Orbonaș family of Vajda Hunyad; see the Obituary of Carolina Butean.

41 Ioan Rațiu was married to Emilia Orghidan, the daughter of the priest Dumitru Orghidan and Revia; see the Obituary of Dr. Emilia I. Rațiu, 161 – 69.

42 Obituary of Boitner Katalin.

43 Obituary of Brencsan Johanna.

44 Vaida Voevod, Alexandru, Memorii, I, 239.

encourage such mixed marriages, but neither prohibited them. In addition, the Orthodox attitude proved more permissive in granting the exemptions necessary for marriage between partners of different denominations.[45]

Whether mixed or mono-confessional, the marriage alliances encountered in the case studies presented above illustrate the major role that the family and the kinships and friendships created around it had in the social ascent of the Romanian political elite.

6 Confessional Solidarity: A Mechanism for Social Promotion

Another research question that we tried to answer was whether, along with the small or extended family and its socio-economic support, there were other factors that could have influenced the upward mobility of these individuals. The data obtained so far indicate the episodic presence of confessional solidarity, Greek-Catholic or Orthodox, bearing the role of a driving force in different circumstances. We have chosen to dwell on some distinct moments in which confessional solidarity functioned as a catalytic mechanism, meant to bring to the fore either an individual or a general Romanian national goal.

One of the most obvious manifestations of this confessional solidarity was found in the early 1860s, amid the political liberalization of the Austrian Empire, when the old local institutions were reactivated in Transylvania, among them the Aulic Chancellery and the government of Transylvania, where Romanians wanted to be represented.[46] This political change had generated a serious support movement among the Romanian Greek-Catholic intellectuals and clergy in the Năsăud area, who wished to be appointed to key administrative positions.[47] The result of their repeated interventions at the Viennese Court led to the appointment of Vasile Ladislau Pop as Aulic councillor in 1861, and as vice-president of the Transylvanian Gubernium in 1862; it was the highest state dignity that a Greek-Catholic Romanian had secured at that time.

The same confessional solidarity can be seen in the case of the appointment of Alexandru Bohățiel, in 1861, to the position of supreme captain of the Năsăud district, which he held until 1876, when the district was abolished. The correspondence between the intellectuals of that period attests to the numerous interventions and pleadings in

45 Bolovan and Eppel, "Churches and Interfaith Marriages in Transylvania: From 1895 to the present," 252–85.

46 Retegan, Reconstrucția politică a Transilvaniei în anii 1861–1863; Hitchins, Afirmarea Națiunii: Mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania 1869/1914, 52–74; Popovici, Studies on the Romanian Political Elite from Transylvania and Hungary (1861–1918), 9–16.

47 Onofreiu, Corespondența dintre Vasile Nașcu, Ioachim Mureșan și George Pop (1861–1866), 439–67; Moisil, Ioachim Mureșianu, 441–52.

favor of the appointment of Bohățiel, which resulted in a remarkable success for Greek-Catholics.[48]

The third relevant moment for this type of solidarity occurred in 1866, when a petition was addressed to the emperor by Transylvanian Romanians protesting against the loss of their province's autonomy. Written as a collective document, on behalf of all the Romanians in Transylvania, the petition did not receive the support of the Orthodox metropolitan Andrei Șaguna or the open support of the Greek-Catholic metropolitan. Therefore, it was assumed by the lay intellectuals of Greek-Catholic faith and was lobbied to the emperor by the politician Ioan Rațiu. Its drafting and sending to Vienna generated a wide movement of solidarity among the Greek-Catholic clergy, securing 1,495 signatures of priests, teachers, and cantors from all over Transylvania. On this occasion, the entire instructional network of the Greek-Catholic Church was activated, from the dioceses and archdioceses to the most distant parishes.[49] This was one of the clearest proofs of ethnic solidarity, which had taken shape in confessional frameworks, offering support and representation to a national desideratum. Although the petition (memorandum) of 1866 ended in failure for the Romanians, the signatures obtained on its behalf were the expression of exemplary solidarity, which led in the following period to greater visibility of some of this project's advocates. We are talking in part about Ioan Rațiu who, thanks to the confessional networks and the support he received at local level, assumed the presidency of the Romanian National Party a few years later.

Confessional solidarity was also present among the Transylvanian Orthodox who followed their leaders. A few moments are edifying, one of which took place in 1881, when a decision was made to establish the Romanian National Party. A political program was adopted, providing, among other things, for Transylvania being granted autonomy. This idea was met with resistance from the Orthodox leaders who initiated it, through Metropolitan Miron Romanul, who established the Romanian Moderate Party in Budapest in 1884, with their own periodical, *Viitorul.* In fact, in 1881, 1884, or 1910, when the Orthodox vicar Vasile Mangra became a Labor Party deputy, all attempts to form a pro-government party came from Orthodox circles.[50]

From the above, we can see that, besides ethnic cohesion, there was confessional solidarity among both Greek-Catholics and Orthodox. Often, the promoters of this type of solidarity were the ecclesiastical leaders who, in addition to serving at the altar, also assumed the role of opinion formers and political leaders of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania.

48 Moisil, Alexandru Bohățel 1816 – 1897, 578 – 607; Moisil, Alexandru Bohățel; Buhățel, Din "Panteonul" marilor patrioți români ardeleni. Alexandru Bohățiel, 30 – 68.

49 Hitchins and Maior, Corespondența lui Ioan Rațiu cu George Barițiu, 1961 – 1892, 117, 121 – 22.

50 Eppel, Politics and Church in Transylvania 1875 – 1918, 20 – 21.

7 Conclusions

The case studies analyzed here, starting from the sample of 79 Greek-Catholic and Orthodox deputies, capture, sequentially, some particular and consistent traits of the Romanian political elite. The first finding shows the diverse socio-professional structure of this elite group, a structure that is representative of the middle class (priests, teachers, lawyers, civil servants, doctors, engineers, landowners). As a peculiarity of this, it should be noted that most of these deputies lived in villages or, at most, in the boroughs and small towns of Transylvania. For example, the statistics of the 79 studied deputies show that out of 50 deputies (Greek-Catholics), 34 were first generation, 25 resided in a rural environment, four came from villages, and two from small towns; out of ten Greek-Catholics of the second generation, seven lived in villages; out of five of the third generation, four resided in rural areas, while for seven, the place of residence was unknown. Regarding the 29 Orthodox deputies, we may notice that 17 were first generation: nine resided in a rural area, seven in an urban area, while for one we could not identify their place of origin; of five who were second generation, two lived in villages and two in the city, while for one their residence could not be found. Three of the seven deputies from the third generation lived in a village, three in the city, while for one we could not identify their residence. As the above data shows, the profile of this parliamentary elite was a prevalent rural one, which brought its members closer to (sometimes to the point of merging with) the world of the Romanian Transylvanian villages, whose political and cultural spokesmen they were.

By referencing their father's profession, their social mobility proved to be predominantly ascending, especially in the case of those who came from families of priests, peasants, and teachers. The mobility of those who came from families of lawyers and civil servants was rather linear, horizontal. This was an elite group with flexible social boundaries, which allowed individuals to move from one social class to another.

Their social ascent was influenced by three essential factors: education, family, and the networks of family/friends created around them. The five case studies we have analyzed show a peculiar formative and behavioral path, according to which a professional degree was followed by matrimonial alliances with families of at least the same social standing, if not with families belonging to a higher class.

Last but not least, despite its largely secular character, the behavior of the political elite proved to be sometimes influenced by the confessional solidarity formed around the two Romanian Churches. The analysis of this sample indicates the existence of latent confessional solidarity at group or regional level, which was activated whenever circumstances required it. Their interventions prove that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, confession continued to forge invisible links among the Romanian political elite. In addition, they show that in a vastly rural Romanian society, the Churches, through their structures in the territory (dioceses, vicariates, archdioceses, parishes), could activate the Romanian electorate around certain leaders and their political projects.

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Martin Klečacký, Klára Hulíková Tesárková, and Alice Velková

Senior State Officials – a Uniform Administrative Elite? The Example of Prague Crown Land Offices and Their Highest-Ranking Public Servants, 1868–1918

1 Introduction

Public service in the nineteenth century is an ideal milieu for studying social mobility. Particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, in the context of the various modernization processes (industrialization, urbanization, the intensification of agriculture, the development of education, including the extension of the right to vote), the tasks that the state assigned to its public servants were constantly increasing, as were the numbers of those who were required to carry them out. As the number of offices and officials grew, the composition of public service gradually became differentiated, the demands placed on the various levels of public careers became more clearly defined, and the career models applied to the various areas of the public service became more stable. Their general validity within the centrally managed public service created ideal conditions for the social advancement of all aspiring public servants. Their gradually distributed, pre-determined, and predictable promotion paths from lower to higher ranks, along with the guarantee of lifetime employment and the entitlement to a retirement pension, make them an ideal group for research on linear social mobility.[1]

In this chapter we focus on the university-educated public servants who had the widest scope of action and for whom it was possible to reach the highest levels of public administration in a meritocratic state apparatus.[2] From this group, we selected

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1 Cf. Göderle, *State-Building, Imperial Science, and Bourgeois Careers*, 222–49; Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen*; Cohen, "The Austrian Bureaucracy," 49–66.
2 Megner, *Beamte*, 21–6.

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those public servants who in the course of their careers reached a position in the sixth of the 11 ranks of the state bureaucracy and were stationed in a leading office in the provincial capital of Prague. In the Austrian bureaucracy, ascent to the Sixth Rank (*Sechste Rangsklasse*) required several decades of previous service and entailed a high degree of responsibility and involvement in the management of not only the office itself but also the whole public service in the crown land (*Kronland*, i. e., a province within the Austrian Empire).[3] For most public servants, this was the pinnacle of their career, which was attained by only a small number of individuals. For example, in the judicial service in Bohemia, where there were 1,124 posts for university graduates as of January 1, 1901, only 68 were classified as Sixth Rank positions (6%).[4]

Thus, within the administrative elite, which may be considered as the majority of university-educated men working as drafting officials, i. e., those involved in the decision-making process of state power, these selected individuals were the very highest echelon of state administration in the crown land. Given this definition, it can be said to be a relatively stable group, which until the end of the nineteenth century always numbered just a few dozen people at most, even in the largest branches of public service. From 1848, when the administrative remnants of the feudal system were rapidly replaced and state offices were created even at the lowest local level, the Austrian state practiced a highly economical model.[5] It delegated a large part of its tasks to elected local self-government authorities and was very reluctant to create new posts in its own administrative apparatus, especially positions in the highest ranks, which logically entailed more expense. However, the bureaucratization of public life forced the Austrian government to make gradual concessions, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, there were increasing calls for a complete reform of the public administration. There were numerous proposals that were never put into practice, which meant that the administrative burden of the First World War fell on an apparatus that was still operating according to nineteenth-century models, which was generally unprepared and significantly understaffed.[6] Although the state attempted to make up for the inertia of previous years and rapidly increased the number of public servants, it was unable to prevent the gradual disintegration of the administration, which led to the dysfunction of the supply system and the state-directed economy.[7]

In this context, we examine to what extent the social origin of senior public servants changed in three different branches of Austrian public service (political, judicial, and financial administration) and in three different periods of its development (shortly

3 Cf. Urbanitsch, The High Civil Service Corps, 194. Urbanitsch considers officials from the Fifth Class upwards as the "high civil service corps," serving, however, mostly in the central offices.

4 Fiat iustitia, 2.

5 For the administrative building in 1850s, cf. Seiderer, *Österreichs Neugestaltung*.

6 Cf. Deák, *Forging a Multinational State*, 243 – 58; Becker, "…dem Bürger die Verfolgung seiner Anliegen erleichtern," 113 – 38; Becker, "The Administrative Apparatus under Reconstruction," 233 – 58.

7 Redlich, *Österreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkriege*; for the consequences cf. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire.*

after the Austro-Hungarian settlement and the adoption of the December Constitution; at the turn of the twentieth century; and at the very end of the monarchy).[8] As evidence of social origin, we establish the occupation or, where appropriate, the social status of the official's father (in the two cases where the official was of illegitimate parentage, we base our findings on the social status of the mother). To obtain this information, we use primarily the public servant's marriage records, which contain data on the parents of both the groom and the bride while, for officials who never wed, we rely on birth records to determine the occupation of the father. In addition to the father's occupation, we also look at the place of birth, which we categorized in terms of its importance, the year of birth, the year of entry into service, and the year of appointment to the Sixth Rank. The aim of the chapter is to assess, with the use of survival analysis and other statistical methods, whether any of the factors under study (social status of the father or father-in-law, place of birth, branch of service, or belonging to a cohort under study) had an impact on the length of time the official had to wait before being appointed to the high rank in question. These findings help clarify to what extent the behaviors and patterns typical of public servants in the political administration as a key branch of the public service can be considered a universal model that is applicable to other public service groups, and how much variation there was between different branches of public service.

2 Data Sample

To determine the sample, we used the relevant handbooks of Austrian public administration, which were published each year by the government, with minor interruptions in the 1850s and 1860s. They contain details of all the public offices of each crown land, including the names of the assigned officials. In order to compare the career and the influence of the factors under study, we conducted a total of three probes, thus creating the three cohorts. The specific years for which the officials were selected were chosen so that there was a 25-year gap between them, and also so that the final period surveyed was 1918, the year of the dissolution of the monarchy.[9]

The chosen territory was the Crown Land of Bohemia, which was one of the largest and most populous within the Habsburg monarchy and whose administrative apparatus thus constituted a large body of individuals compared to other lands. Using this crown land as an example, we examined the *Statthaltereiräte* (Councillors of the Governor's Office) assigned to the *Statthalterei* (Bohemian Governor's Office) in Prague, the *Oberlandesgerichtsräte* (Councillors of the High Land Court) assigned to the *Ober-*

8 For the development of the Austrian public administration and of the administrative apparatus in the latter half of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, cf. Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine.*

9 *Hof- und Staatshandbuch* […] *1918*, 811, 869, 885–86; *Hof- und Staatshandbuch* […] *1893*, 562, 590, 604; *Hof- und Staatshandbuch* […] *1868*, 396, 410, 416.

landesgericht (High Land Court) in Prague, and the *Oberfinanzräte* (Senior Financial Councillors) assigned to the *Finanzlandesdirektion* (Financial Headquarters) in Prague. In all cases, these were officials of the Sixth Rank who were involved in the management of the office (usually in charge of one of the departments and reporting directly to the head of the office). By virtue of their authority, they also influenced the exercise of state power throughout the land by communicating with subordinate instances at local level and instructing them on how to act. At the same time, the residence of the individuals under study in the capital city of the territory allows for the use of particular sources to establish their family backgrounds; one is the records of Prague Police Headquarters, which registered all the inhabitants of the crown land capital and its suburbs, with another the population records of Prague City Hall.[10] Both types of record contain places and dates of birth, and sometimes also information on marriages, and are therefore useful in determining the occupation of the father or father-in-law of the official.

Table 1: Structure of officials by branch of service and year of observation.

Year	Political administration		Justice		Financial administration		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1868	9	24.3	24	64.9	4	10.8	37	100.0
1893	14	24.1	40	69.0	4	6.9	58	100.0
1918	31	40.8	28	36.8	17	22.4	76	100.0
Total	54	31.6	92	53.8	25	14.6	171	100.0

The selected branches of public service were chosen for the purpose of comparison, as they were key sectors that employed law graduates and which were also sufficiently numerous to include a number of officials in the given rank and based in the crown land's capital; this is why, for example, the postal service and the state construction service (*Baudienst*) were omitted. At the same time, the selected branches were associated with different kinds of expectations and levels of prestige accompanying the different stages of a person's career. The employees of the political administration (Governor's Office) enjoyed the greatest social prestige as direct representatives of the sovereign and the government, and their contribution to the exercise of public authority and the control of public order was the greatest compared to other specialized branches.[11] Given the basic guarantees of judicial independence, the judiciary provided a relatively free platform for those officials who were publicly engaged or publicly active. Unlike the political administration, which required frequent on-the-ground inter-

10 National archives, Prague, Prague Police Headquartes Archive – Conscription (Policejní ředitelství – Praha, konskripce), http://digi.nacr.cz/prihlasky2/; City of Prague Archives, Prague Municipal Authority I (Magistrát hlavního města Prahy I), Register of Prague Inhabitants (Soupis pražského obyvatelstva), http://katalog.ahmp.cz/pragapublica/.

11 Cf. Klečacký, *Poslušný vládce okresu.*

ventions and communication with local self-government and other public officials, service in the courts was purely clerical and often routine while, at the same time, it did not explicitly require a managerial position for the attainment of high rank. Even ordinary members of the chambers of the High Land Court were classified in the Sixth Rank, but after the reform of the judicial procedure in the late 1890s, the number of these posts was significantly reduced in favor of the county courts.[12] The financial administration was relatively less popular, given its agenda, but, because of its division into tax, fees, and customs matters, it allowed for the gradual career advancement of even those officials who entered the public service without a university degree and completed their studies only later.[13]

The career model that gradually developed in all branches assumed that officials would acquire experience both at a local level and in the offices of the second instance in the provincial capital. It was only selected officials who were also able to gain experience in ministries and other central offices in Vienna; such a transfer was considered an honor, and officials thus rewarded usually stayed in Vienna for the better promotion opportunities on offer.[14] For a large part of the public service, the appointment to the second instance office in the provincial capital represented the pinnacle of one's career and, although the costs of living were higher there, such an assignment also brought a number of advantages. First and foremost, the official was in close contact with the office head, who could significantly influence his career, ensure that his merits were recognized, or add a personal bonus to his otherwise fixed salary. Moreover, service in Prague offered better educational opportunities for the children of officials, including university studies, without incurring additional costs. Specialized medical care or cultural activities could also be benefits, the latter of particular interest for the wife of the official.[15]

2a Social Origin

Let us now take a closer look at the individual characteristics of the studied group. Due to the centrally set system of ranks, which was traditionally applied to all public servants and court officials in the Austrian monarchy, it is easy to create comparable sets of officials who were appointed to the Sixth Rank and assigned to an office at the provincial level. However, in some cases, this procedure produces relatively small sets (especially in the case of the financial administration, which was long disadvantaged in terms of the number of higher ranks) whose explanatory value is therefore unfortunately very limited.

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12 Klečacký, "An Independent Judge," 109 – 28.

13 Macková, *Finanční stráž v Čechách 1842 – 1918*, 9 – 31.

14 Vyskočil, "Úřednická kariéra mezi Brnem a Vídní," 127 – 42.

15 Cf. Martínek, K problému struktury, 94 – 103.

We first focus on the social origins of the officials, for which the data were excerpted primarily from parish marriage registers. The reason for this procedure was the desire to obtain the most accurate data on the highest career position attained by the father. The data were analyzed using the HISCO International Occupational Classification and then hierarchically sorted using HISCLASS,[16] with this method using numerical codes assigned to occupations based on various criteria to classify these occupations into social classes and allowing for comparisons across different times and environments. For the purposes of this study, we worked with four social classes: upper class (HISCLASS 1), upper middle class (HISCLASS 2+3), middle class (HISCLASS 4+5), and lower middle class to lower class (HISCLASS 6 and above). The upper and upper middle classes include occupations either requiring a university degree and engaged in specialized jobs of an intellectual or administrative nature, or implying ownership of a larger immovable asset, often a manufacturing plant, in the position of an employer.

Table 2: Structure of officials by social origin and year of service.

Social origin	Year						Total	
	1868		1893		1918			
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Upper class	3	8.1	12	20.7	12	15.8	27	15.8
Upper middle class	14	37.8	24	41.4	18	23.7	56	32.7
Higher classes total	**17**	**45.9**	**36**	**62.1**	**30**	**39.5**	**83**	**48.5**
Middle class	13	35.1	16	27.6	26	34.2	55	32.2
Lower middle and lower class	5	13.5	5	8.6	20	26.3	30	17.5
Unknown	2	5.4	1	1.7	-	-	3	1.8
Total	37	100.0	58	100.0	76	100.0	171	100.0

In Table 2, the relatively low representation of upper-class descendants in the oldest cohort, who mostly entered the public service in the 1830s, may seem surprising. After the takeover of local administration by the state in 1849, the state-paid bureaucracy took on former magistrates and private estate officials, who soon managed to rise to relatively high ranks. These descendants of patrimonial officials, burghers, or artisanal masters can be considered a typical revolutionary legacy, and it was they who, in the wake of the subsequent administrative reforms, also found their way into high official positions that had been mostly reserved for sons of high state bureaucracy officials or aristocratic families in the pre-1848 period.[17] A trend towards the closure of the administrative elite can again be partially observed in 1893; here we observe the offspring of senior public servants (e. g., six of whom had a district captain as a father,

16 van Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles, *HISCO*; van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS.*
17 Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen*, 144 – 96.

while others came from the families of judges at a county or land court), private officials, doctors, or owners of former estates, the proportion of which was almost two-thirds of the studied sample. On the other hand, the proportion accounted for by the lower classes was the smallest in 1893, at only 9 %, which may be related to the continued lack of access to education. By 1918, more than 26 % of the administrative elite included descendants from the lower social classes and together with the middle class accounted for 60 % of all officials surveyed. These results confirm that, given the ever-growing number of systematized positions, the public service had to open up to candidates from the lower social classes.

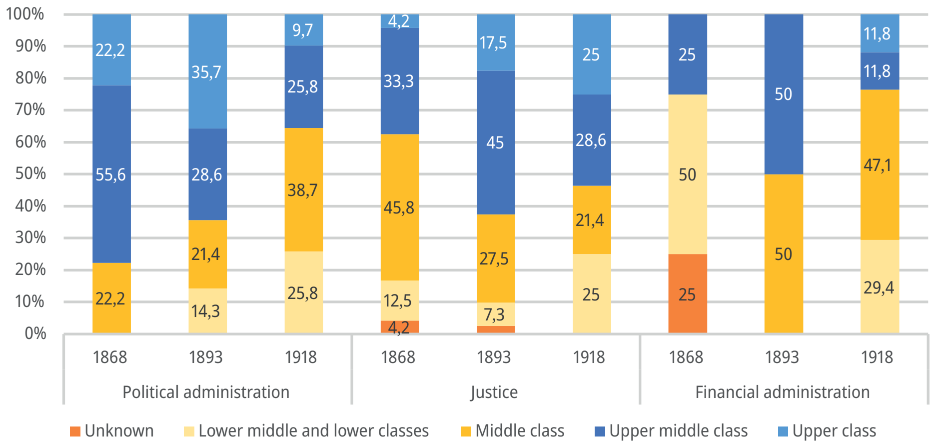

Figure 1: Structure of officials by social origin and branch of service.

When we look at the social background of public servants in more detail and analyze the different branches of service, certain conclusions about the changing nature of a particular public service can be drawn. First, it is clear that the political administration gradually became more open to candidates from all classes. In the cohort of 1868, even with its small numbers, it was a very exclusive service, only accessible – at least in senior positions – to descendants of the middle and upper classes, with offspring from the upper classes accounting for almost one-quarter. Service in the political administration before 1848 was acceptable even for sons of the best aristocratic families, and its prestige was almost equal to that of service in the army which, however, was physically demanding and required a certain amount of self-denial and discomfort. Although this character persisted into the 1893 cohort, when the offspring of high-ranking fathers still accounted for more than a third of the total, by the very end of the monarchy the political administration had turned into a relatively inclusive branch, where sons of the lower classes could also attain the highest ranks, whose representation had reached 25 %. The relatively long period over which this transformation took place shows that the political administration was one of the more conservative branches of public service, which only slowly opened up to the employment of artisanal and rural sons. It was the prestige of a particular branch, of which the political administration was clearly the highest, that may have played a role among the lowest classes, since they had no personal experience of public service and factors other than following the father's career determined the son's path. If parents wanted their son to become a "sir" or "district captain," the political administration was their first choice.

In the case of the judiciary, we partly observe the opposite phenomenon to that of political administration. In 1868, the judiciary already had middle-class descendants in its ranks (accounting for 50 % of the total). This benevolence towards the socially inferior may have been due, on the one hand, to the relatively high number of positions to be filled and, on the other, to the fact that the post of panel member within the High Land Court (unlike the *Statthaltereirat* in the political administration) was not necessarily combined with monocratically conceived decision-making power. Whereas in the political administration an official in the Sixth Rank necessarily held a leading position, in the judiciary he could be a "mere" member of the panel and his "power" was limited to one vote in a senate of three to five other judges. However, this inferior character of the judicial service in terms of social origin of its senior officials gradually disappeared, and in subsequent cohorts, the proportion of judges coming from the upper and upper-middle classes became relatively large. Here the influence of "legal dynasties" can be assumed, which were relatively strong, particularly in the judicial service, and did not necessarily take the form of continuity in service to the state.

In the case of the financial service, given the low numbers of observations and the absence of data for the occupations of the fathers of public servants, no relevant trends can be observed. Only for the 1918 cohort can we conclude that the attractiveness of the financial service to the upper classes was very low, which was clearly related to its prestige. Financial officials collecting taxes or duties, levying excise fees on drinks, or prescribing direct taxes were never popular among the population, and the service itself, consisting of routine administration rather than dealing with people and solving problems, did not make it any more attractive.

In the context of the prestige and inclusiveness of the various branches of service, it is useful to compare the proportion of officials with a noble title in a given year. For the purposes of this study, we do not make a distinction between newly ennobled families and descendants of older aristocratic houses; we consider a noble title to be an attribute of higher social prestige regardless of the degree of nobility and the date of ennoblement. If we ignore the financial service in 1893 where, given the low number of observations, one official with a knighthood was sufficient to account for a quarter, the results are consistent with aforementioned conclusions related to social origin. The judicial service was confirmed as a relatively inclusive one, open at the highest levels to non-nobles and descendants from the lower classes; the proportion of persons from a noble background only increased in 1893, which can be seen as a consequence of the ennobling policy of the Austrian Empire. Until 1884, selected imperial decorations automatically allowed the recipients to apply for ennoblement,[18] which is undoubtedly behind the relatively high proportion of nobles in the political administration. This was both a consequence of the fact that political officials, given their position, were probably the most likely to receive imperial honors and subsequent ennoblement, and further evidence of the attractiveness of the political administration even to the highest social classes. However, this proportion steadily decreased towards the end of the monarchy, as the political offices also opened up to all those interested in the service.[19]

3a Geographical Origin

The observation of an official's place of birth is closely related to the availability of higher education. If a son from a family of small farmers or urban craftsmen was to have a chance of a career as a public servant, he necessarily had to graduate from a grammar school and subsequently from a law university. Officials from the 1918 cohort, who entered public service in the 1880s, could take advantage of the expanding network of secondary schools and, from 1882, of studies at the entirely Czech-language law faculty in Prague. For the purposes of this study, we divided all places of birth into three major categories. The first are supra-regional centers, which include Vienna and the crown land capitals. The next category are regional centers represented by the seats of regional authorities before 1848 and the seats of county courts after 1848, and also by the district seats. The latter municipalities often served as important local centers, administrations of dominions, etc. even before 1848. The third category consists of smaller settlements, including rural villages, where there were practically no opportunities for further education after primary school.[20] The assumption that place of birth significantly influenced the possibilities of the further education of potential future public servants does not, of course, apply to sons of public servant families or military officer families, which were highly mobile within the territory. On the other hand, it is to be expected that the father's career progression took him to settlements of equal or greater importance and that the children's chances of study played an important role in any transfer.

While the proportion of officials born in the crown land capitals or in Vienna does not change significantly, there are shifts in the proportion of officials from rural or purely small-town settlements. While the availability of higher education remained unchanged in rural settlements during the nineteenth century and advanced studies were still determined by the financial possibilities of the family or other factors, the proportion of officials from regional centers increased significantly, which is particularly evi-

18 Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich*, 71–8.

19 Županič, Úřednická šlechta rakouského císařství, 406–532.

20 Cf. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 163–4.

dent when comparing the 1893 and 1918 cohorts (see Table 3), i.e., officials who only entered public service in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Table 3: Places of birth of officials classified by their importance and the year of observation.

Type of place of birth	Year						Total	
	1868		1893		1918			
	Number of	%	Number of	%	Number of	%	Number of	%
Vienna	-	-	2	3.4	2	2.6	4	2.3
Crown land capitals	9	24.3	17	29.3	16	21.1	42	24.6
Total supra-regional centers	**9**	**24.3**	**19**	**32.8**	**18**	**23.7**	**46**	**26.9**
Regional cities	9	24.3	8	13.8	15	19.7	32	18.7
District towns	4	10.8	5	8.6	18	23.7	27	15.8
Total regional centers	**13**	**35.1**	**13**	**22.4**	**33**	**43.4**	**59**	**34.5**
Small towns	5	13.6	3	5.2	14	18.4	22	12.9
Other seats	10	27.0	23	39.7	11	14.5	44	25.7
Total sub-regional centers	**15**	**40.6**	**26**	**44.8**	**25**	**32.9**	**66**	**38.6**
Total	37	100.0	58	100.0	76	100.0	171	100.0

Combined with the analysis of social status, it can be concluded that in these regional centers the proportion of officials who came from the lower social classes, typically descendants of craftsmen, was increasing. By residing in places that had a secondary school, these families made it possible for their sons to go on to study at university, since the son's move to Prague would be less of a burden for the family than if it also had to finance studies at a distant eight-year grammar school. Moreover, it was common for university students to be able to earn money to finance at least part of the cost themselves. For the 1918 cohort, we also observed an increase in the proportion of officials who came from small towns (from 5.2% to 18.4%). They most likely benefited from the significant improvements in the transport infrastructure that occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the connecting of rural settlements to their respective regional centers by rail facilitated easier access to education.

In the context of the analysis of social origin, there was also a relatively strong representation of natives of rural villages in the 1893 cohort which, seemingly surprisingly, shows a higher proportion of upper and upper middle class individuals (see Figure 1). Indeed, of the officials who were from the upper-middle classes and were serving in 1893, half were born in the smallest villages. These were men born between 1829 and 1837 (46) who mostly entered public service in the 1850s and were the descendants of former upper-class officials, administrators, and magistrates who had served in the private administration of estates in the country at the time of their children's birth, but who subsequently entered public service after 1848 and achieved higher social status as district captains or judges of county courts.

Figure 2: Social origin of officials by category of settlement of birth.

However, our analysis revealed another interesting feature that would be worth testing on a larger dataset in the future. Specifically, our data does not show that university studies, and thus access to social mobility, was only available to those members of the lower classes who were born in larger cities that had a secondary school. On the contrary, it turns out that almost half of the members of the lowest social group were born in the smallest localities, which would suggest that families who wanted to provide their children with a better future were able to achieve this despite their adverse social backgrounds, with this result particularly valid for the first two cohorts. While for the 1893 cohort 80 % of officials from the lower classes were born in rural communities, in 1918 only 35 % of officials from the lowest classes had their origins in this category of settlement, and another 35 % had been born in regional centers. This comparison also shows the social movement that was taking place at that time, which compelled parents who were on the lower rungs of the social ladder to move to larger centers in an effort to provide their children with better access to education, thus enabling them to rise socially.

3 Age of Entry into Service, Age of Appointment to the Sixth Rank, and Length of Service

When we look at the average age of the officials in each of the years studied, we find that they were very similar to each other (57.8 years in 1868, 57.5 years in 1893, and 56.3 years in 1918). However, in the 1868 cohort, their appointment to the Sixth Rank occurred on average at 48.9 years after 24.4 years of service, whereas in 1893 and 1918 this period was 27 and 26.2 years respectively. The difference should be seen in the context of the administrative reforms of the 1850s and 1860s, which brought several caesuras and triggered a number of general personnel changes, including the mass appointment of officials to newly introduced positions and ranks. On the other hand, the very similar length of service in the latter two years under study shows the stability of the career patterns in Austrian public service, which at that time was yet to be influenced by the Public Service Act (*Dienstpragmatik*) that was only adopted at the beginning of 1914.[21]

However, this stability does not mean that differences in terms of career progression could not be observed between the different branches of service. When we look at the age of entry into service (Table 4), we find that it was highest in the financial administration (although here there is a low frequency of observations, especially for the first two cohorts). In the political administration, we observe a gradual increase in the age of entry into service, which could have been due to the increasing proportion of public servants coming from the lower strata, as described above. They often completed their university studies at an older age than those who had a more favorable social background and did not have to earn money to finance their studies. This, of course, affected the starting point of their careers.

With regard to the average length of service that was required to reach the Sixth Rank in each branch, across all cohorts, the time required was up to three years longer for judges than for political administration officials. Again, this seems to be connected to the social background of the public servant, and it can be argued that those from families of a higher social status reached senior positions more quickly and at a younger age than those who were from families of lower social status. The fact that the political administration showed a significantly higher representation of officials from upper and upper middle class backgrounds suggests that social origin played an important role in the selection of candidates for promotion. In addition to difficult-to-measure factors such as the abilities and skills of individual candidates, the higher social origins and better connections of the selected officials, as expressed by the choice of a suitable bride, was an important guarantee for the superiors that the influence and power associated with senior positions in the political administration would be maintained within the existing educational and administrative elites.[22] This approach ultimately reinforced the aforementioned conservative nature of the political administration. Just as there were more senior officials in the political administration who for some reason were not selected for a position in the Sixth Rank, there were also more junior judges in the judiciary. However, the longer period of service required for promotion in the justice system demonstrates that other factors weighed more heavily than social origin in the political administration. Primarily, it seems that length of serv-

21 Gesetz No. 15 vom 25. Jänner 1914, 87–112.

22 Cf. the results of Hulíková Tesárková, Klečacký, and Velková, "The Rise of Administrative Elites," 57–88.

ice was formally considered to be directly proportional to the experience a given judge could have obtained and could use in a more important and responsible position.

Table 4: Age structure of officials by branch of service and length of service.

Year of observation	Branch of service	Number of officials	Age of entry	Length of service	Age of appointment	Age in year of observation
1868	Political administration	9	23.1	21.3	44.4	54.4
	Justice	24	24.9	24.9	49.8	58.4
	Financial administration	2	26.0	33.0	59.0	61.8
	Total	35	24.5	24.4	48.9	57.8
1893	Political administration	14	23.5	24.6	48.1	57.6
	Justice	40	23.5	27.5	51.0	57.1
	Financial administration	4	24.3	29.5	53.8	61.3
	Total	58	23.5	27.0	50.5	57.5
1918	Political administration	31	24.2	25.8	50.0	55.6
	Justice	28	23.6	28.2	51.8	56.9
	Financial administration	16	25.0	23.4	48.4	56.4
	Total	75	24.1	26.2	50.3	56.3

Note: Age of entry = average age of entry into service; Length of service = average time from entry into service to appointment to Sixth Rank; Age of appointment = average age of appointment to Sixth Rank; Age in year of observation = average age attained in each year analyzed.

Two cases in which the official's date of entry into service was unknown and one case in which the official's date of birth was unknown were excluded from the analysis.

Only the financial administration, given the low number of observations, is an exception to this general observation. However, the youngest cohort shows a significant decline in the length of service required for promotion, which was probably due to the sharp increase in the number of posts in the rank concerned, to which officials with a lower seniority than was usual in other branches of the public service could suddenly be appointed. In general, it can be concluded that the nature of the public service sector influenced career patterns and the weight of the various factors considered in the selection of candidates for promotion.

At the same time, with the exception of the 1918 cohort in the financial administration, there was a gradual increase in the length of service required for appointment in each branch. Between 1868 and 1918, the length of service required in the political administration increased by 4.5 years, while in the judiciary it rose to a little less than four years. This trend confirms the general phenomenon of extended waiting times between promotions, leading to the gradual failure of a career model based on regular and expected promotion.

4 Marriage as a Factor in Social Ascent

As with fathers, we assessed the social status of the officials' fathers-in-law by their occupation as reported in the relevant marriage register and as scaled by HISCO methodology. We categorized these results into upper, upper middle, middle, and lower class (see above) and compared them with the social status of the father. Depending on whether the public servant's bride came from the same social class as the public servant himself, or from a higher or lower social class, we can speak of stagnant, upward, or downward intragenerational social mobility. For brides of illegitimate origin, we tried to determine, at least approximately, the social classification of the family based on data on the mother; officials who never married and died single, on the other hand, are considered a separate category.

Table 5: Social marital mobility of senior state officials by branch of service and year of observation.

Year of observation	Social status of official's wife (in comparison with the official)						Total	
	Branch of service	Same	Higher	Lower	Unmarried official	Unknown	%	Number
1868	P	44.4	33.3	11.1	11.1	-	100.0	9
	J	12.5	58.3	8.3	8.3	12.5	100.0	24
	F	-	-	25.0	25.0	50.0	100.0	4
	Total	18.9	45.9	10.8	10.8	13.5	100.0	37
1893	P	64.3	21.4	14.3	-	-	100.0	14
	J	30.0	32.5	30.0	7.5	-	100.0	40
	F	-	*50.0*	*25.0*	*25.0*	-	*100.0*	*4*
	Total	36.2	31.0	25.9	6.9	-	100.0	58
1918	P	35.5	48.4	9.7	-	6.5	100.0	31
	J	32.1	21.4	28.6	14.3	3.6	100.0	28
	F	35.3	29.4	29.4	5.9	-	100.0	17
	Total	34.2	34.2	21.1	6.6	3.9	1000	76

Note: P = Political administration; J = Justice; F = Financial administration

These results show, in part, the prestige of the branch, marriage patterns, and the pervasiveness of different social classes, as well as the marriage strategies of the officials. In the 1918 cohort for the financial administration and the judiciary, a relatively large number of public servants chose a bride from a lower social class than themselves (29 %), however, this was not the case for the political administration. Some 48 % of these officials improved their social standing by marriage, while 39 % chose a bride from the same social class, and in only 10 % of cases was their father-in-law of a lower social status than their father. Similarly, for the 1893 cohort, we observe marked differences between judges and political administration officials. In the judiciary, all three variants of marital mobility are roughly equally represented, whereas in the political administration almost two-thirds of officials chose a bride from the same social class as themselves; since they themselves came from upper or upper-middle class backgrounds, marriage further consolidated their social status. The 1868 cohort in the political administration is similar in this respect, as almost half of the public servants did not cross the boundaries of their social background by marriage, while 58 % of judges moved into the upper social classes through their wives which, of course, is undoubtedly related to the fact that in 1868 judges were more often from the lower classes and, given their status of public servant, it was not difficult for them to find a middle-class bride. In 1868, three-quarters of political officials were from the upper or upper-middle classes and were therefore unlikely to find a bride of superior social standing to themselves. This apparent stagnation in marriage mobility may have been due to upper class affiliation, which naturally did not allow for the choice of a bride from a higher social class (see Figure 3).

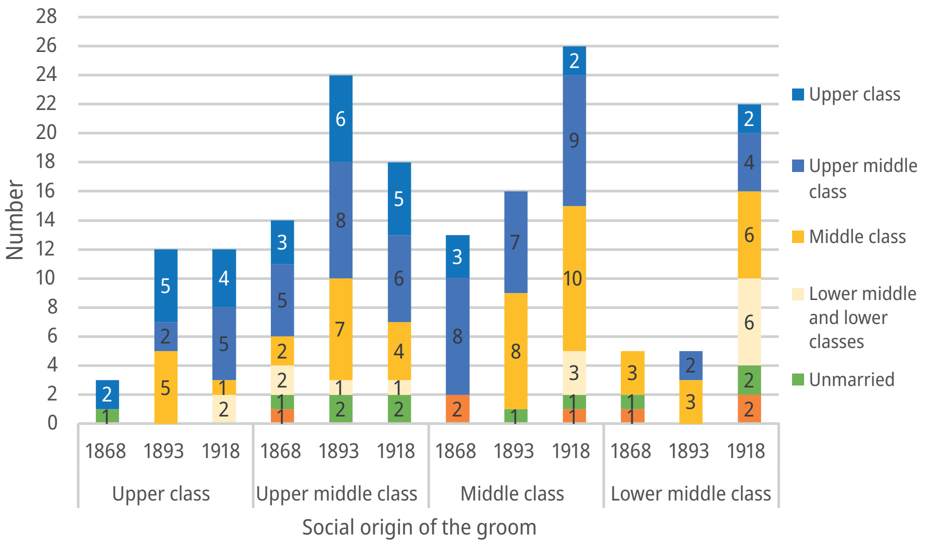

Figure 3: Comparison of social origin of brides with the social origin of the groom.

5 Statistical Data Analysis

5a Input File Editing, Data Categorization

For the statistical analysis of the data, the file was first adjusted in terms of variable coding. We established three categories of place of birth: supra-regional centers (Vienna or crown land capital), regional centers (former regional town, statutory town, important seat: bishopric, secondary schools, seat of district captainship), and sub-regional settlements (other settlements, mostly rural in nature). We established categories for the social status of the father and father-in-law as mentioned previously (i. e., "Upper class," "Upper middle class," "Middle class," and "Lower middle and lower class"; in the case of the status of the father-in-law, a specific category is that of officials who remained single and therefore did not have a father-in-law). The father or father-in-law status categories of "Unknown" (eight cases for father-in-law and three cases for father) are omitted from the models below.

Given that, in line with the stated purpose of the research, the variables being modelled are defined as the ages of entry into service or appointment to the Sixth Rank, and possibly the length of time between these two events, the procedures chosen for the analysis were those appropriate to the data type (Cox regression). In the following, the analysis procedures will be briefly described, followed by the main results.

5b Theoretical Background of the Statistical Analysis

The basis of the data analysis was Cox regression analysis (Cox proportional hazards model)[23] which is based on survival analysis. The essence of this approach is the focus on time durations and the analysis of them, for example, in the context of research, on the age of attainment of a certain condition, or, more generally, the analysis of the time duration from an initial event (birth, entry to service) to the event under study. As with other disciplines, these approaches are increasingly used in research in history and historical demography.[24]

The aforementioned and uniquely defined durations (here age of entry into service, age of appointment to Sixth Rank, and the duration until entry to Sixth Rank) in the Cox regression model represent the modelled (explained) variable. The purpose of the model is then to quantify and statistically test the differences in these durations for

23 Cox, Regression Models, and Life Tables, 187–220; *SAS/STAT® 13.1 User's Guide.*

24 Alter, The Evolution of Models in Historical Demography, 325–62; Fialová, Hulíková Tesárková, and Kuprová, "Determinants of the Length of Birth Intervals in the Past," 127–56; Hulíková Tesárková and Kuprová, "Application of Survival Analysis," 181–201; Hulíková Tesárková, Kuprová, and Pavlík, "Trendy pojetí historické demografie," 235–50; Courgeau and Lelièvre, *Event History Analysis in Demography*; Alter, "L'event history analysis en démographie historique," 25–35.

each category of explanatory variables (introduced in the descriptive analysis above) and thus identify possible categories of variables (characteristics of officials) that may have been related to shorter or longer modelled durations on average.

Hazard functions are the basis of Cox regression estimators. They express the average risk (probability) of the phenomenon (event) under study occurring depending on the time elapsed since the initial event.[25]

The Cox regression model is a semiparametric model where the parameters in the model are used to quantify the effect of the explanatory variables under consideration. Most often (and this will be the case in the following text), the results are presented in the form of hazard ratios[26] which basically indicate how many times greater the average risk of the event under study is, depending on the time elapsed since the initial event (risk function), if the chosen explanatory variable takes on a particular value compared to its reference value.

Thus, a hazard ratio value greater than 1 for the selected category of the explanatory variable versus the reference category means that this category under study is at greater risk of an event occurring at each point in time than the reference category; thus, the events under study for the selected category occur on average sooner (after a shorter duration) after the initial event than in the category selected as the reference.

6 Main results

In the analysis, Cox regression was used and three different durations were successively considered as modelled variables (thus three separate models were constructed):

1) Age of entry into service – i. e., the period from birth to entry into service;
2) Age of appointment to the Sixth Rank – i. e., the period from birth to appointment to the Sixth Rank;
3) The time duration from entry into service to appointment to the Sixth Rank – i. e., the duration from entry into service (the initial event) to appointment to the Sixth Rank.

In accordance with the above theoretical description of the methods used, the results will be presented in the form of hazard ratios, which will make it possible to identify categories of explanatory variables that may have played a crucial role in the timing of the events under study. In the case of all categorical variables considered as explanatory variables, one of the categories is always identified as the reference category, meaning the hazard ratios are related to this reference category (the value of the hazard ratio for the reference category is always equal to one). Again, here, a hazard ratio value statistically significantly greater than the value of 1 means that the examined category has, on average, a shorter duration to the examined event than the reference category.

25 Hendl, *Přehled statistických metod.*

26 For more information, cf. Cox, Regression Models, 187–20; *SAS/STAT® 13.1 User's Guide.*

In all models below, we consider cohort (reference category = 1868), branch of service (reference category = Political Administration), father's or father-in-law's social status (reference category = "Lower Middle and Lower Class"), and the official's place of birth (reference category = "Regional Centers") as potential explanatory variables, unless otherwise stated. At the same time, unless otherwise stated, we consider a 5% level of significance, but we also pay attention to results on the edge of this significance, mainly due to the small sample size and the relatively small representation of each category of variables. For those variables that are confirmed as statistically significant or at least close to statistical significance in the model (around the 10% level of significance), the hazard ratios between categories will be presented in more detail (i. e., individual categories of these variables will be directly compared in a separate table for each model).

6a Age of Entry Into Service – Summary of Results

This model did not include the variable of the father-in-law's social status, as the officials were most often still single at the time of joining the service. Although we cannot rule out a link between entry into service and the social status of the father-in-law or the family of the official's future wife, this is not the focus of the analysis in this chapter. The social status of the official's father appears to be significant for the age of entry into service at the 5% significance level, and the variable effect of place of birth in the model is close to the 5% significance level (for significance level below 10%, see Table 6).

Table 6: Evaluation of the statistical significance of individual variables in the overall model.

Variable	Wald Chi-Square	P-value
Cohort	1.9850	0.3707
Scope	3.4574	0.1775
Position of the father	**8.4100**	**0.0383**
Place of birth	4.8571	0.0882

Note: statistically significant values (5% significance level) are indicated in bold.

The results of the analysis of the duration from birth to entry into service show that significant differences are particularly evident between representatives of the different groups of the father's status. However, given the small number of observations, it is worth focusing attention on other variables that appear to be on the borderline of statistical significance in the model – primarily place of birth. The second table for this model (Table 7) presents details of the hazard ratios for all combinations of values of these variables with significant status in the model under consideration, including the confidence intervals of the hazard ratios for all combinations of the categories of these variables. Although a variable may be statistically significant in the model, this does not mean that there are statistically significant differences between all categories of the variable. In this case, this is the situation for both variables.

In the case of the father's status, there is a significant difference in the age of entry into service between lower-middle and lower class officials compared to higher class officials, with the age of entry into service being significantly higher for lower middle and lower class officials. Another significant difference for this variable is between the category of middle class and upper class officials – again, middle class officials entered the service at a higher age on average compared to upper class officials. In other words, officials from the higher social class entered into service at a statistically significantly younger age than officials from the middle or any lower social class.

In the case of the variable type of the official's place of birth, there is a statistically significant difference for only one pair of the categories compared – it appears that the mean age at entry into service was on average lower in the case of birth in a supra-regional center than in the case of birth in a sub-regional settlement. The difference in mean age at entry into service between supra-regional and regional centers is not significant, nor is the difference between regional and sub-regional settlements.

Overall, for the age of entry into service, the effect of higher-class fathers compared to middle and lower class ones is significant, with the offspring of higher-class fathers showing on average a lower age of entry into service than those of lower class fathers. Birth in a supra-regional center also reduces the age of entry into service on average compared to sub-regional settlements. There are no statistically significant differences between other types of birthplace settlements. Parameters for all variables in this and subsequent models are adjusted for the effect of other variables in the model.

Table 7: Hazard ratios for categories of variables that were at least at the 10 % significance level in the model.

Variable and its category	Estimation of the hazard ratio	95 % Wald confidence limits of the hazard ratio	
Position of the father			
Lower middle and lower class vs. Middle Class	0.918	0.560	1.504
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper Middle Class	0.745	0.450	1.234
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper class	**0.485**	**0.278**	**0.845**
Middle class vs. Upper middle class	0.812	0.544	1.211
Middle class vs. Upper class	**0.528**	**0.323**	**0.863**
Upper middle class vs. Upper class	0.651	0.403	1.052
Place of birth			
Supra-regional vs. Sub-regional settlements	**1.550**	**1.036**	**2.320**
Supra-regional vs. Regional Centers	1.420	0.936	2.154
Sub-regional vs. Regional Centers	0.916	0.623	1.347

Note: statistically significant differences (5 % significance level) between categories are indicated in bold.

6b Age of Appointment to the Sixth Rank – Summary of Results

In the case of the Cox model for the variable age of appointment to the Sixth Rank, none of the variables considered were confirmed as significant at the 5 % significance level. However, it can be said that all variables in the model were close to this level of significance (Table 8).

Table 8: Evaluation of the statistical significance of individual variables in the overall model.

Variable	Wald Chi-Square	P-value
Cohort	4.9983	0.0822
Scope	4.8190	0.0899
Position of the father	6.9956	0.0720
Position of father-in-law	8.0231	0.0907
Place of birth	4.3850	0.1116

Note: statistically significant values (5 % significance level) are indicated in bold.

When we evaluated the differences between the categories of the variables considered, the age of appointment to the Sixth Rank was significantly lower in the case of political administration officials than in the case of the judiciary, while the other branches of activity were not significantly different. Another difference was confirmed in the case of the 1868 cohort, where again the age of appointment to the Sixth Rank was significantly lower than in the 1893 cohort. The other pairs of cohort categories were not statistically significantly different.

In the case of the place of birth, the advantage of being born in a supra-regional center for a lower age of appointment to the Sixth Rank was again confirmed. However, the difference of the supra-regional center was only significant compared to the regional center, not the sub-regional settlement. Other differences between categories were not statistically significant.

In terms of the father's status, the specificity of the upper class is again evident – officials from the upper class reached the Sixth Rank on average at a younger age than officials from all other social classes. In the case of father-in-law status, only one pair of categories confirms a statistically significant difference in the age of appointment to the Sixth Rank – between middle and upper middle class fathers-in-law. Officials with a father-in-law in the upper middle class attained the Sixth Rank at a lower age on average than officials with a father-in-law in the middle class.

In summary, to achieve a Sixth Rank at a younger age, it was advantageous to be a member of the 1868 cohort, to be in the political administration as opposed to the judiciary, and to be born in a supra-regional center rather than a regional center, into an upper social class family, possibly with an upper middle class father-in-law (as compared to middle class).

Table 9: Hazard ratios for the categories of variables that were statistically significant at least at the 10 % significance level in the model.

Variable and its category	Estimation of the hazard ratio	95 % Wald confidence limits of the hazard ratio	
Scope			
Financial administration vs. Political administration	0.699	0.387	1.262
Financial administration vs. Judiciary	1.088	0.646	1.831
Political administration vs. Judiciary	**1.556**	**1.048**	**2.311**
Cohort			
1868 vs. 1893	**1.722**	**1.061**	**2.795**
1868 vs. 1918	1.306	0.824	2.072
1893 vs. 1918	0.759	0.512	1.124
Place of birth			
Supra-regional vs. Sub-regional settlements	1.431	0.942	2.174
Supra-regional vs. Regional centers	**1.537**	**1.000**	**2.362**
Sub-regional vs. Regional centers	1.074	0.716	1.611
The position of the father			
Lower middle and lower class vs. Middle class	0.898	0.536	1.504
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper middle class	0.956	0.575	1.590
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper class	**0.502**	**0.265**	**0.949**
Middle class vs. Upper middle class	1.065	0.709	1.600
Middle class vs. Upper class	**0.559**	**0.333**	**0.937**
Upper middle class vs. Upper class	**0.525**	**0.317**	**0.869**
Position of father-in-law			
Lower middle class vs. Middle class	1.393	0.733	2.648
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper middle class	0.783	0.416	1.472
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper class	1.140	0.554	2.344
Lower middle and lower class vs. Single official	0.836	0.375	1.864
Middle class vs. Upper middle class	**0.562**	**0.371**	**0.852**
Middle class vs. Upper class	0.818	0.487	1.375
Middle class vs. Single official	0.600	0.286	1.259
Upper middle class vs. Upper class	1.456	0.882	2.404
Upper middle class vs. Single official	1.068	0.510	2.235
Upper class vs. Single official	0.734	0.320	1.681

Note: statistically significant differences (5 % significance level) between categories are indicated in bold.

6c Time From Entry Into Service to Appointment to the Sixth Rank – Summary of Results

Given the previous model, the analysis of the age of appointment to the Sixth Rank, it is reasonable to assume that this age may also have depended on the age of entry into service. Therefore, the final Cox regression model presented here was developed to analyze the duration from entry into service (the initial event) to the appointment to the Sixth Rank (the event under study). The explanatory variables considered are again the same as in the previous model, but the age of entry into service also enters the model, so that the estimated effect of the other variables is adjusted for this age.

Table 10: Evaluation of the statistical significance of individual variables in the overall model.

Variable	Wald Chi-Square	P-value
Cohort	**7.0659**	**0.0292**
Scope	5.9439	0.0512
Position of the father	4.5413	0.2086
Position of father-in-law	8.7503	0.0677
Place of birth	3.5530	0.1692
Age of entry into service	**5.0254**	**0.0250**

Note: statistically significant values (5 % significance level) are indicated in bold.

At the 5 % level of significance, the effect of age of entry and cohort is confirmed, and at the borderline of this significance, the branch of service and the position of the father-in-law (up to the 10 % level of significance) are also confirmed.

In the case of the individual cohorts, the specificity of the 1868 cohort compared to the 1893 cohort was again confirmed. Within the former, the time from entry into service to reaching the Sixth Rank was significantly shorter. In terms of the branches of service, in the political administration, not only was the age of attainment of the Sixth Rank lower than in the judiciary but also the duration from entry into service to appointment to the Sixth Rank was on average shorter than in the judiciary.

In terms of father-in-law status, the significant difference between middle-class and upper-middle-class fathers-in-law mentioned earlier was also replicated – officials with an upper-middle-class father-in-law on average reached the Sixth Rank in a shorter time after joining the service compared to officials with a middle-class father-in-law. The other category combinations of this variable are not significantly different from each other, but this is also influenced by the limited number of observations.

In addition, the age at which the official entered service in the first place was confirmed as relevant for the duration from entry into service until reaching the Sixth Rank. Thus, on average, a later entry into service led to a shorter length of time to reach the Sixth Rank.

Table 11: Hazard ratios for the categories of variables that were statistically significant at least at the 10 % significance level in the model.

Variable and its category	Estimation of the hazard ratio	95 % Wald confidence limits of the hazard ratio	
Scope			
Financial administration vs. Political administration	0.778	0.432	1.404
Financial administration vs. Judiciary	1.267	0.747	2.149
Political administration vs. Judiciary	**1.628**	**1.095**	**2.421**
Cohort			
1868 vs. 1893	**1.955**	**1.185**	**3.224**
1868 vs. 1918	1.433	0.890	2.307
1893 vs. 1918	0.733	0.495	1.085
Position of father-in-law			
Lower middle class vs. Middle class	1.425	0.755	2.688
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper middle class	0.824	0.440	1.541
Lower middle and lower class vs. Upper class	1.299	0.630	2.678
Lower middle and lower class vs. Single official	0.716	0.313	1.638
Middle class vs. Upper middle class	**0.578**	**0.383**	**0.873**
Middle class vs. Upper class	0.912	0.541	1.536
Middle class vs. Single official	0.503	0.236	1.072
Upper middle class vs. Upper class	1.577	0.945	2.630
Upper middle class vs. Single official	0.869	0.407	1.856
Upper class vs. Single official	0.551	0.232	1.310
Age of entry into service			
Average hazard ratio for a unit increase in the age of entry into service	**1.123**	**1.015**	**1.242**

Note: statistically significant differences (5 % significance level) between categories are indicated in bold.

In the analyses conducted, the political administration repeatedly emerged as a significantly more prestigious branch of public service, which attracted applicants from the upper and upper middle classes. In this context, the influence of supra-regional centers (typically the capitals of the various crown lands) was also demonstrated; officials who were born in these settlements tended to enjoy faster promotion and it can be assumed that it was the offspring of the upper classes who were more likely to be found in the larger settlements than in the countryside. The prestige of the political administration was also confirmed by the shorter length of time it took to reach the Sixth Rank. With regard to the findings concerning the social status of fathers and fathers-in-law, we can conclude that appointment to the Sixth Rank in the Governor's Office of the provincial capital was considered an extraordinary distinction in the Austrian bureaucracy and at the same time a very important position of power. As such, it therefore tended to be reserved for descendants of the upper classes, who could then attain it in a shorter time than in other administrative branches, which was particularly true of the judiciary. The particular independence associated with the judicial profession was balanced by the longer time it took to reach Sixth Rank. The exclusivity of the political service only began to diminish at the beginning of the twentieth century, and by 1918 officials from the lower classes were serving in the Governor's Office. These individuals could take advantage of the prestige of their position to court a bride from a higher social class than themselves.

In contrast to the political administration, the judiciary was a much more open branch of service for officials from the lower social classes. It is only in the younger cohorts that we observe an increase in the number of upper-class representatives in the judicial offices which, however, can be explained by the relatively rapid development of Czech society and, above all, the numerical growth of the middle class. Once access to education had improved and the transport infrastructure became more developed, education also became more accessible to children from less important regional centers, which was then reflected in the social and ethnic composition of the administrative apparatus. However, we had to omit the originally considered factor of nationality from our analysis due to the lack of relevant sources, especially for the oldest cohort.

The lower exclusivity of the judicial profession was also reflected in the relatively high proportion of downward intragenerational marriage mobility. For judges, a marriage strategy and the consideration of the status of the future father-in-law were not of such crucial importance as they were for political officials. The gradually emerging fixed career model, which considered individual promotions on the basis of seniority and in which kinship favoritism was becoming less important, certainly played a significant role in this trend. Moreover, the prestige of the judicial profession had never reached that of the political administration, which was seen as a civilian counterpart to a military career and whose officials enjoyed the status of direct representatives of the emperor and were thus certainly very attractive grooms for daughters of higher-ranking families. The financial administration was apparently the least attractive of the three branches of public service, but the paucity of observations for this branch makes it difficult to trace relevant developments.

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Katya Vladimirov

The Bureaucracy of Russian Poland, 1870–1905: A Profile of the Elite

The research on the social mobility of the elites remains a marginally researched area, hindered by insufficient communication between various disciplines and by the difficulties of building a common frame of reference. The examination of the social mobility of the end of the nineteenth-century elites harbors challenges arising from the differences in methods and analytical tools, between research on macro-groups or social classes, between views on the deliberation of social mobility within the same socio-professional group, and others.

Historians traditionally prefer qualitative approaches and are reluctant to apply advanced statistical methods. Newly developed software assists in data compilation and its display, yet historians rarely use it. While classic historical methods remain important, it is critical to recognize the significance of dynamically evolving quantitative approaches associated with "interdisciplinarity." Moreover, political scientists contribute little to the field since they rarely study periods before the First World War and focus almost exclusively on political elites, while social scientists investigate social inequalities and study ways of social mobility rather than specifically focusing on elites.

This chapter provides an insight into the social mobility of the administrative elites in Eastern Europe at the end of modernity. The concept of social mobility has been modified to a particular socio-professional milieu, considering its characteristics and the social and historical actuality in which it manifests itself. Additionally, it offers specific methodological approaches based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, bridging the gap between historians and social scientists, with the data collected entered into an interactive database simplifying the search. In agreement with Pareto's concept, the case study also focuses on the generational analysis of the elites tracing generations in power.[1]

The term "elites" is used to define groups of individuals with significant power who, due to their position in society, play a leading role in a particular sphere of public life. Until the nineteenth century, an individual typically became a member of an elite through birth, either into the ruling class or into one of the aristocratic houses. Gradually, however, the increasing importance of education and a more prominent role of the bureaucratic apparatus was accompanied by the rise of social elites, who attained their position thanks to their own achievements linked to career advancement. In the Russian Empire of the late nineteenth century, this elite was exemplified by the provin-

1 Pareto, *The Rise and Fall of Elites*, 24.

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cial administrative elite (i. e. bureaucracy) that assumed authority over 15 *gubernias* (provinces). The elites affirmed their power and shared understanding through the cultural "capital,"[2] with the accumulation of such capital starting with family and educational background and continuing with integration into institutional spaces.[3]

This case study of the local elites is based on an analysis of the provincial officialdom of ten *gubernias* of Russian Poland, namely, Kalisz, Piotrków, Warsaw, Płock, Łomża, Suwałki, Siedlce, Lublin, Radom, and Kielce. The territories of Russian Poland were formed out of the former Congress Kingdom of Poland, a Polish state created in May 1815 as a part of the political spoils at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Later, after the rebellions in the 1830s and in 1863, the Congress Kingdom was transformed into Russian Poland or *Privislianskii Krai* (the Vistula Land) and was completely incorporated into the Russian Empire. Russian Poland remained a part of the Russian Empire until the advent of Polish independence in 1918, yet, although it was part of the newly expanded Russian empire, Russian Poland nonetheless had some laws and regulations that were not shared by other parts of the empire.

The numbers of the administrative elites were small. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the provincial bureaucracy of the Russian Empire was understaffed. Less than 1,500 officials were distributed unevenly through the ten *gubernias* of Russian Poland, with the largest concentration being in Warsaw. In the course of the 35 years from the beginning of the 1870s to the early 1900s, local officialdom increased by only 15 percent[4] while, at the same time, the population of Russian Poland grew an average of 30 percent.[5] Consequently, by the 1900s there were approximately two officials for every 1,000 residents.[6] The governors repeatedly requested an increase, but the Ministry of Internal Affairs would not comply.[7] As a result, the rift between the population and the administrative elites continued to grow.

2 Hulíková Tesárková et al., "The Influence." On the theory of elites see also Charle, *La naissance des élites.* On political and social elites see Svátek, *Politické a sociální elity.*

3 Ellersgaard et al., *Pathways to the Power Elite, 1170–1192*; Kaelble, *Eras of Social Mobility*, 426.

4 *Pamiatnaia Kniga* (henceforth PK). *Pamiatnye Knizhki* (Yearbooks) were published for most *gubernias* of the Russian Empire since the 1830s. *Adresa-kalendari*, published by the Russian Academy of Science from the 1760s to 1867, which contained formal lists of the central and provincial officials, after the 1850s were supplanted by the yearbooks, which became the main source of information about the officials and for the officials. Included lists carried personal information (e. g., ranks, titles, promotions, education, ethnic and confessional affiliation, and family composition). The yearbooks for Kalisz, Piotrków, Warsaw, Kielce, and Suwałki have been preserved entirely, while the yearbooks for Płock, Łomża, Siedlce, Lublin, and Radom were only partially complete.

5 *Trudy Varshavskogo statisticheskogo komiteta* 5 (1891): 56–59.

6 In 1890 in the Suwałki *gubernia* there were 600,000 inhabitants and 400 officials. Therefore, there was one official for every 1,500 inhabitants in this *gubernia.* PK (Suwałki, 1891), 32.

7 "*Otchet general-gubernatora Tsarstva Pol'skogo za 1898 g.*" Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federazii [henceforth: GARF], f. 265, op. 1, d. 18, 11.

1 The Sources

This work is a specific case study that combines a quantitative approach with an emphasis on the individual careers of officials, along with their education, professional distribution, social background, and religious and ethnic affiliation. The data for the chapter is primarily based on the statistical analysis of the personnel files of approximately 3,000 governmental officials.[8] Each personnel file contains 12 characteristics: name, date of birth, religious affiliation, education, marital status, spousal religious affiliation, number of children, rank, title, position, awards, and length of service.[9]

The main group of sources are the *Pamiatnye Knizhki* (Yearbooks), the bureaucratic "Bibles" published in every *gubernia* of the Russian Empire since the 1830s. I have also used the *Adresa-kalendari*, issued by the Russian Academy of Science from the 1760s to 1867, which contains formal lists of the central and provincial officials. After the 1850s these were supplanted by the yearbooks, which became the main source of information about the officials and for the officials. The yearbooks contain a list of the officials with their personal information (e.g., ranks, titles, promotions, education, ethnic and confessional affiliation, and family composition).

The second group of sources came from the archival material on the personnel of the Russian imperial administration: GARF: *Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (the Archive of the Russian Federation) that holds a collection of the records of the *Tsarstvo Pol'skoe* (The Kingdom of Poland) and the *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych* (The Central Archive of Historical Records of Poland) which also has a collection of documents from the *Kancelaria Generalnego Gubernatora Warszawskiego* (The Chancellery of the General-Governor of Warsaw).

2 The Structure and Positions Attainable

The structure of the local government in Russian Poland's *gubernias* was similar to that of the other provinces of the Russian Empire. There was the following distribution of

8 Data processing were originally done using the Concordance software for the Macintosh™ developed by David Rand, CRM, University of Montréal, and Dr. Tatiana Patera, Department of Russian and Slavic studies, McGill University.

9 The Decree from March 10, 1763 ("O Podrobnom opisanii sluzhby chinovnikov, predstavliaemykh k nagrazhdeniyu na Visochaishee usmotrenie") demanded the collection of specific information about every official in case of his promotion or retirement. It was followed by another decree from January 31, 1764 ("O prisylke v Senat iz vsekh prosutstvennykh mest posluzhnykh spiskov chinovnikov cherez kazhdye polgoda po prilozhennoi forme") [*Polnoe Sobranie*, 12030]. During the reign of Nicholas I, there were new categories added including title, full name, position, age, religious affiliation, decorations, salary, prior military service, punishments, retirement, marital status, spousal religious affiliation, the number of children, and their religious affiliation ("O raspisanie dolzhnostei grazhdanskoi sluzhby po klassam") [*Istoriia gosudarstvennoi sluzhby v Rossii XVIII-XX vv.*, 41 – 45].

the civil servants according to their places of service (1870 – 1900): *Uezd* chancellery: 33 %; Magistrates: 22 %; Gubernia chancellery: 20 %; Police department: 10 %; Peasant affairs: 8 %; Governor's chancellery: 7 %; and other: 55 %.

An appointed governor supervised the Governor's Chancellery (*kantseliariia gubernatora*), which on average employed seven percent of the officials, depending on the size of the *gubernia*. The structure of the chancellery was also uniform and consisted of a chairman of the chancellery, his assistants, and a variety of clerks.[10] The *gubernskoe pravlenie* (*Gubernia* Chancellery) was staffed by 20 percent of the officials and was directly subordinate to the vice-governor; it was divided into several departments: general affairs, administration, military and police, judiciary, insurance, medical, veterinary, and construction. A director, dubbed "Councilor," supervised senior and junior clerks, accountants, inspectors, journalists, and archivists.[11]

The vice-governor also supervised the Department of Peasant Affairs, which employed about ten percent of the officials. Each *uezd* (county) had a Commissar of Peasant Affairs, who supervised a small staff consisting of a land surveyor, a secretary, and clerks. The number of the commissars in service depended on the number of *uezds* in each *gubernia*, while the number of people on a staff varied from two to five people, depending on the size of the *uezd.*[12] There were, on average, ten *uezds* in each province, with each *uezd* governed by the chancellery, which employed 33 percent of the entire corps. The head of the chancellery carried the title of *uezd nachalnik* (a chief or a head of *uezd*), with their staff including police and administrative officials, land guards, a physician, an architect or an engineer, an insurance agent, and an inspector of railroads. The size of the *uezd* chancellery depended on the population, location, and the extent of industrial development, and had an average of some 20 state servants.

Magistrates that employed about 23 percent of the provincial bureaucracy governed the cities separately. In larger cities, like Łódź, a president oversaw the magistrates, while burgomasters led smaller cities. The responsibilities of these people were, however, the same, and the difference was only in the job title. The president's staff of a small city consisted of three officials, while larger cities employed from 14 to 20 people.[13]

Contrary to the stereotypical image of "a large police force that brutally ruled over Russian Poland," only ten percent of state officials actually served in the police. Provinces like Piotrków and Warsaw had four police departments with ten people in each department, while the head of police in the city of Łódź, for example, supervised a total of 15 people.[14] The percentage did not change in the course of 30 years. In 1873 in the provinces like Suwałki, for instance, there was only one person responsible for police duties, which only brought the total number of police personnel to ten

10 PK, all.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 PK (Piotrków, 1899), 34 – 35.

people[15]; by 1899, the same *gubernia* had 15 members of the police force. Consequently, this branch of the civil service in the respective provinces was underpowered; there was approximately one police officer for 12,000 residents, even in the largest *gubernias* of Russian Poland.[16]

3 Ranks and Titles as Steps of the Ladder

Bureaucratic elites needed social mobility to secure office positions, which was achieved by moving through ranks with rewarded titles. The limited positions in the hierarchical officialdom were available only to those with ranks and titles. A *shtat* (special schedule) established by the Ministry of Internal Affairs assigned a particular percentage of officials of a given rank to a particular office in every *gubernia* of the Russian Empire; there were 10 percent of officials in ranks 4, 5, and 6; 20 percent in ranks 7 and 8; 25 percent in rank 9; 20 percent in ranks 10 and 11; and 25 percent in rank 12 to 14.[17] For the officials who had started at the lowest ranks, upward mobility was extremely difficult and slow.

In Russian Poland, 20 percent of the lowest ranking bureaucrats (ranks 12 and 14)[18] held positions as entry clerks and assistants.[19] Senior clerks, railroad conductors, secretaries and archival workers staffed ranks ten and 11, which also comprised about 20 percent of the total number of positions. Twenty-five percent were at rank nine, which included accountants of magistrates, senior clerks, land surveyors, and senior secretaries. Chairmen of the chancelleries, chiefs of police, councilors of departments, engineers, physicians, and veterinarians were either at rank seven or eight, which represented another 20 percent. The officials at ranks four and six, like the chairmen of the governor's chancelleries, presidents of the large cities, Commissars of Peasant Affairs, and the chiefs of the *uezds*, constituted another ten percent of the corps. The governor was at rank four and the vice-governor and the medical inspector were both at rank five. In Russian Poland this schedule and corresponding assignments did not change over the course of 40 years.[20]

Rank eight was important in the hierarchy of officialdom since it served as a borderline between those who were eligible to receive nobility status and those who were not. The officials of the rank eight included: police (7%), administration (55%), archi-

15 PK (Suwałki, 1874), 45 – 47.
16 PK, all.
17 Evreinov, *Grazhdanskoe chinovnichestvo*, 110 – 12; Zaionchkovskii, *Pravitel'stvennyi apparat*; Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh.*
18 There was no rank 13.
19 Some clerk positions did not carry rank, that is, they were below rank 14. Some of them eventually went through an apprenticeship and were assigned a rank while others remained outside the system altogether.
20 PK for Orel, Smolensk, and Semirechensk.

tects (13 %), and doctors (25 %). More than half of the bureaucrats at rank eight were professional administrators who served as clerks of various positions of importance with an average age of 37.[21]

Since age is important for the social mobility analysis, all officials included in the study were distributed by their age. The youngest *chinovnik* was 18 years old and the oldest was 70; most officials, consequently, fell into a category between 30 and 50 years of age. State servants over 50 were either very successful, high-ranking officials, like governors, chairmen of departments, and honorary members of committees, or the least successful magistrates and bureaucrats who had not advanced and had little chance to do so because of their age.[22]

The careers of the oldest bureaucrats, who had participated in important transformations in the history of the Russian Empire, indicated amazing longevity. The most successful survived the major transformations of society and state; they witnessed the Decembrist Revolt in 1825 and participated in The Russian-Turkish Wars, the Polish campaigns of the 1830s and 1848, wars in the Caucasus, The Crimean War, the Central Asian campaigns, the Emancipation of the Peasants, and the Polish Rebellion of 1863. They saw emperors rise and fall, starting with Nicholas I and continuing through the reigns of Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II. Many lived through dramatic changes in Poland and served under Viceroy F.F. Berg (1863 – 66), Governor-Generals P. Kotsebu (1874 – 80), G. Albedinskii (1880 – 83), I.V. Gurko (1883 – 94), P.A. Shuvalov (1894 – 96), A.K. Imretinskii (1896 – 98), and M.I. Chertkov (1903 – 1905).[23] It is little wonder that the provincial bureaucracy was described as "immortal."

Chin (or "title") was another essential characteristic of the *chinovnik*, although it was not directly related to either one's official position or salary. An official could be appointed to an office although he did not have a title. A title was, however, a distinct measure of status, both within the bureaucratic world and in society at large. The *chinoproizvodstvo* ("system of awarded titles") was not a system of automatic promotions; indicating that it was a rare possession, a title was called "a decoration" in the official records.

Within the bureaucratic system, a title determined an official's merit. The details of the progress of the main corps of bureaucrats, however, were scarcely evident in their personnel files. To facilitate an analysis of these men, I have collated diverse information and processed it through what I am here calling "the Rank Index." The Rank Index reflects the average rank of an official, which is then used to characterize his career possibilities depending on the place of his service, his age, and his religious affiliation.[24]

21 PK (Piotrków, 1899).
22 Ibid.
23 PK, all.
24 All ranks that were assigned to each title were summarized and then divided by the number of *chinovniki* in this *chin.*

From the time of its inception at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Table of Ranks, which was devised to establish automatic promotions within ranks and assignments of corresponding titles, never worked properly. It is no wonder that by the end of the nineteenth century, an official title did not correspond uniformly to an appropriate rank. The Rank Index corroborates the clear disparity within the existing system of promotions. The ranks from three to five differed by one rank from the official Table; for example, a Privy Councilor was supposed to be at rank three, however, the position was accorded rank four. A State Councilor officially corresponds to rank five but in fact he was accorded rank six.

There was a significantly greater divergence among the lower ranks. Many officials at the same rank had different titles whereas, according to the original scheme, these officials ought to have been at different ranks. For example, a Collegiate Registrar, a *Gubernia* Secretary, and a Collegiate Secretary were assigned to rank ten instead of corresponding ranks 14, 12, and ten. Consequently, there were many state servants whose ranks were much higher than their titles officially allowed.

The length of service also had a limited impact on upward mobility. Officials with the same records were found at both rank six and eight. A bureaucrat who served for more than 17 years could be accorded any one of four titles, namely, Titular Councilor, Collegiate Secretary, *Gubernia* Secretary, or Collegiate Registrar. An official who started to serve at age 17 could be by the age of 40 either at rank nine with the title of Titular Councilor or rank 12 with the title of *Gubernia* Secretary.

As a result of the inconsistency between the rank and the title system, the higher-ranking officials had titles while the lower ranking officials either did not have titles or were not awarded the titles appropriate to their ranks. The very intelligibility of the designation *CHINovnik* was challenged on the grounds that 47 percent of the bureaucracy had not received a *CHIN*. The average age of such an official was 39, and he was in service for an average of 15 and a half years. His average rank was 10.6.[25]

Seven percent of the provincial bureaucracy was comprised of Collegiate Registrars, the lowest title in the Table of Ranks. The Collegiate Registrar was officially at rank 14, however, the average rank of such an official was 9.9, which meant that many served at higher ranks.[26] Consequently, while an official without a title was in service for an average of 15 and a half years, a Collegiate Registrar served for an average of 17 years. Thus, promotions did not follow automatically.

A bureaucrat was often appointed to an office, but he still did not receive the corresponding title, and it was hence possible for a bureaucrat to be appointed to an office position at a rank higher than his title allowed. There were six percent of men who had the title of *Gubernia* Secretary, which corresponded to rank 12. The average rank of *Gubernia* Secretary was, however, 9.6, which indicates that many of them served in positions higher than originally intended by the Table of Ranks. The position of Collegiate

25 PK, all.
26 Ibid.

Secretary carried an average rank of 10.3, while it was officially supposed to correspond to rank ten in accordance with the Table of Ranks.[27] Titular Councilor was at an average rank of 8.5 while it was supposed to be at rank nine.

At the same time, other officials received titles higher than the ranks corresponding to their offices. The bureaucrats who were awarded the title of Court Councilor were at an average rank of 8.1, whereas they should have been at rank seven.[28] Collegiate Councilors were at an average rank running between 6.2 and 7.2, but were all supposed to be at rank seven.[29] State Councilors were assigned to rank six while they should have been at rank five. Consequently, bureaucrats at ranks ranging from eight to four were awarded titles but had to wait for an office position that corresponded to their ranks.

The extremely limited number of openings forced many officials to accept positions at a lower rank and standing. The title, nevertheless, secured their future promotions because it was the only guarantee of future mobility. Titleholders could be transferred to another branch of service, another office, or another geographical location, whereas the rest of the bureaucracy had extremely dim prospects for such upward mobility. This situation was paradoxical; on the one hand, there was a lack of trained bureaucrats while, on the other hand, there were plenty of people ready to be trained. Yet, the high office positions were assigned primarily to the officials from a selected pool of people, while others were prevented from accessing the upper ranks of the system. The system was inefficient and inconsistent, and yet it somehow managed to function. Limited upward mobility did not hamper the desire to be a part of officialdom, and many sought alternative paths to enter the rank system.

4 Office Position and Mobility

The commonly used indicator of social position and mobility had been the profession, and its value for historical analysis implies the accommodation in the analysis of complementary variables, such as income from various sources outside the primary occupation or positions in networks and other social structures (i. e., multipositionality).[30] When researching social mobility within elite groups, qualitative factors such as status, prestige, cultural milieu, geographic area, ethnicity, and religion are complimented by quantifiable and comparable variables.[31]

The production of educated men who aspired to serve the state continued largely unabated, but their job prospects had grown dim, as the local bureaucracy had reached its numerical plateau, and the government was both unwilling and unable to sustain

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Kaelble, *Eras of Social Mobility*, 489 – 90.

31 van Leeuwen and Maas, *Historical Studies of Social Mobility*, 429 – 51.

additional growth. By the end of the nineteenth century, positions in the bureaucracy were scarce and therefore more coveted. The bureaucracy was not a closed-caste system, but rather upward mobility depended very much on the availability of office openings, and this held for both beginners and advanced officials with long service records. In addition, the system of promotions based on merit basically did not work; large numbers of young, skilled men were stranded without the prospect of upward mobility and forced to rely on personal connections, the arbitrary decisions of elders, and pure luck. It is little wonder that this made them extremely resentful of the imperial regime.

Legal proof of holding a governmental position was granted by a title. Only when a name of an official appeared on the list did he indeed become a part of a system. The heads of the departments were selected directly by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and they in turn appointed the lower-level bureaucrats. The period before nomination was similar to an apprenticeship, the length of which depended on both the candidate's education and social origin. Applicants of noble birth, for instance, were eligible for an appointment after two years if they had an elementary school education and after one year if they had a secondary school education. These regulations, however, could be circumvented entirely by one's personal contacts, and some apprentices were nominated for appointment almost immediately.

Although the system was supposed to encourage the rapid advancement of dedicated bureaucrats, in reality, promotions followed a strict one-step progression. An official, regardless of merit, rarely found himself advancing from the sixth to the third level clerk; instead, he tediously moved from the sixth to the fifth and then perhaps to the fourth level clerk. The retirement of colleagues typically presented the possibility of upward mobility, however, only those who had served for 30 or more years were entitled to retire with full salary. Early retirement was available at two-thirds of the current salary, and men who were too old or sick to work could petition for a retirement without pay. Many officials therefore chose to work until death, and many literally died in their offices. In this system, where vacancies were scarce, the death of an official was a welcomed event. The demise of the first clerk meant that each succeeding clerk moved up one notch, with the last slot filled with a new hire.

The personnel files of one *gubernia* provide a comparative analysis of such "cadre reshuffling." Twenty percent of the officials were replaced and of the 100 people who started their service before 1870, 60 percent continued to serve in 1899. Among these officials, 40 were promoted, 16 continued to serve in the same positions, and eight were transferred to other localities with a raise.[32] The bureaucrats who served in the offices closer to the center of the province had more chance to relocate than men who served in more remote locations did; the further from the center, the less change, and therefore the less rotation, that occurred within the system.[33] There

32 PK, all.
33 Ibid.

were also numerous cases of officials who did not advance at all or, if they did, who advanced only barely and after extended service. Some chose positions in offices that were altogether without the prospect of advancement like the postal and railroad offices. The desire or the necessity of some individuals to stay close to their families motivated such career choices; while social mobility may have been limited for such employees, at least they were less dependent on a capricious system for their remuneration.

Many bureaucrats followed the progress of their peers as closely as they did their own advancement and complained when they believed that they had been passed over for promotion, with some blaming their superiors for favoritism, "capriciousness, predilection, and injustice."[34] Increasingly frustrated with the mire that was their professional situation, many bureaucrats desperately resorted to blowing the whistle on their colleagues' misdemeanors or accusing them, sometimes falsely, of hiding questionable backgrounds or past offenses.[35] By throwing dirt at each other, officials did little but demonstrate the severely limited degree of social mobility in Russian Poland.

5 Education as a Strategy

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the administrative elites at all levels had undergone significant social changes, evolving from a state service staffed at the top predominantly by former military personnel of noble status to a bureaucracy of career officials from more diverse backgrounds. As the officials became more educated and differentiated and less militarized, they became in essence "modern bureaucrats."[36] Thus, the professionalization of the bureaucracy that began in the seventeenth century had at last been successfully accomplished.As the relative value of a prospective official's education became increasingly important in recruitment to and advancement within the bureaucracy, the bureaucratic structure, particularly in the middle and upper levels, grew to be characterized by members who had received a university education.

The general rise in the educational level of bureaucrats was, in part, a result of broader increases in the availability of educational opportunities. Additionally, by the second half of the century, the educated classes reviled the military, which suffered from poor funding and diminished prestige.[37] As one official lamented, "Society started to diminish the prestige of the military service under the influence of liberalism. [As a result] the military people themselves disdained their own prestige and the symbolic significance of their uniforms. The power of money became more important and poor-

34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ford and Thompson, *Inherited prestige*, 86 – 98.
37 Fuller, *Civil-Military Conflict in Imperial Russia*, 260 – 63.

ly paid [military personnel] could not fight against it."[38] Such a revolutionary shift was also important because it allowed those interested in service to enhance their career opportunities through a conscious choice.[39]

In Russian Poland in the period from the 1870s to the 1900s, there was the following distribution of the officials according to their educational level: 12 percent graduated from universities, 22 percent had a school diplomas, 11 percent had military education, four percent got gymnasia education, four percent had seminary or teachers' school education, and 47 percent had no formal education.

Officials with a military education constituted only 11 percent of the provincial bureaucratic corps.[40] They were older than the rest of the *chinovniki* because of their prior military careers, which allowed them to transfer their military ranks to state service. The majority were Orthodox Christians who served as police and administrative personnel, senior clerks, assistants to the chairs of departments, and officers in the Department of Peasant Affairs. Secure in their positions, with high salaries and benefits, the members of this group occupied the most privileged positions within the bureaucratic corps of Russian Poland.

Within this group, however, hierarchical distinctions were made according to the educational establishments members had attended. Some were graduates of the Cadet and Pages Corps, such as the Cadet Corps in Saint Petersburg, Mikhailovskii in Voronezh, Orlov-Bakhtin in Brest, or the Pavlovskii Cadet Corps. There was also a group of graduates from the artillery and cavalry schools for officers, such as the Petropavlovsk and Aleksandrov schools in Saint Petersburg, and the Moscow Military School. Graduates from prestigious institutions were guaranteed both higher positions and more rapid advancement.[41] At the same time the former students at the Junker schools were accorded a lower social status and were appointed only as assistants, either to the Commissars of Peasant Affairs or to the chiefs of police.

The percentage of former military men in the bureaucracy had been declining since the eighteenth century. Among those aged 50 and older there were 70 percent with military educations; among those of the age group of 35 to 50, there were 40 percent with military education; in the age group of 29 to 34, there was 25 percent, and there were no officials with military education in the age group below the age of 28. Thus, by the second half of the nineteenth century, none of the younger officials, born between 1878 and 1880 and now 19 or 20 years old, had military educations.[42] Beginning in the 1850s, the bureaucratic ranks began to be infused with the graduates of

38 Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past*, 339.
39 Pintner and Rowney, *Russian Officialdom*, 90 – 227, 227– 50.
40 Ibid.
41 The Pages Corps were established in the second half of the eighteenth century and had distinguished military traditions. Students were primarily from aristocratic families and sons of generals, nominated only by the Tsar himself. Glushko and Kolesnikov, *Shkola Rossiiskogo ofitserstva*, 50 – 51.
42 PK, all.

higher academic institutions like Saint Petersburg University. Although the percentage of these graduates in Russian Poland was still small, the trend was clear.[43]

The growing need of the empire for educated personnel created more opportunities for another group of individuals, namely, professionals such as doctors, engineers, architects, veterinarians, industrialists, lawyers, court assistants, and land surveyors. Both noble and non-noble families took advantage of the opportunity to attend institutions of higher learning, so much so that in Russian Poland members of the professional group accounted for 11 percent of the corps. Most gained their positions with the possession of a diploma from the university or academy, though in the case of specialists such as doctors and architects, graduate degrees were also required. Most physicians in service of Russian Poland, for instance, graduated from the Warsaw Imperial Medical School, while engineers received diplomas from the Institute of Civil Engineers. The education of professionals set them apart from the rest of the provincial bureaucracy, as they did not compete with other groups for promotions.

For aspiring officials, a military education was no longer a fashionable or prudent choice. Similarly, the presence among the ranks of officials who had attended theological seminaries prior to their service was also a relic from the tradition established in the eighteenth century.[44] While the percentage of former seminarians was minuscule, it is worth mentioning because such a background was equated with an ideologically correct and therefore beneficial education. Theological seminaries in Smolensk, Odessa, Warsaw, Moscow, Minsk, Vologodsk, and Kursk supplied the ranks of superintendents who, in their turn, assisted administrative departments and distributed funds, real estate, and provisions. Members of this group were particularly powerful in the borderlands, like Russian Poland, because of their involvement in business and trade transactions that supplied armies.[45] The status of these individuals was high; all of them were Orthodox Christians who reached distinguished ranks at an early age and received salaries often in excess of those paid to others in high-ranking positions.[46]

The degree to which the educational levels of bureaucrats differed was often related to their respective social origins.[47] In the 1890s, nine percent of the bureaucrats were graduates of the local *uezd* schools from Bielsk, Konotop, Starodubow, Lengitsk, Klimovichi, and Drogodinsk, while twelve percent attended city schools in Łódź, Noworadomsk, Pabianice, and Czestochowa, and four percent were former students of *gymnasia* in Radom, Warsaw, Płock, Sandomierz, Czestochowa, and Piortków.[48] These offi-

43 PK (Piotrków, 1899), 21, 43.

44 Raeff, *Understanding Imperial Russia*, 61.

45 PK, all.

46 PK (Radom, 1886), 14.

47 Aleshintsev, *Istoriia gimnazicheskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii XVIII i XIX v.*; Fal'bork and Charnolusky, *Narodnoe obrazovanie v Rossii*; Korf, *Russkaia nachalnaia shkola*; Kornilov, *Zadachi russkogo prosvieshcheniya*; Skvortsov, *Russkaia shkola*; Smorodinov, *Gody sluzhby moei*; Demkov, *Istorii russkoi pedagogiki.*

48 PK, all. *Uezd* schools before 1872 provided only basic elementary education. Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh*, 244; Kornilov, *Kurs istorii Rossii XIX v.*

cials were predominantly from local families, either Russians who had served in Poland and who had sent their sons to these local schools or the sons of Polish bureaucrats who had themselves graduated from those same schools. At the same time, however, this type of education was also in decline, with 24 percent fewer graduates in the 1890s than there had been only two decades before, a trend which may be explained by the growing unpopularity of a classical Gymnasium education, which failed therefore "to prepare students for service and life."[49]

Education became crucial for social mobility. In the 1870s, higher education was not a necessary requirement to enter the service, and indeed the majority of the lower ranks were without a formal education.[50] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the proportion of officials among the lower ranks with a formal education was growing steadily, from 47 percent in the late 1850s to 70 percent in the late 1890s.[51] Still, the provinces lagged behind the center, and by the early 1900s, 47 percent of the officials in Russian Poland were still without a formal education. Not surprisingly, officials without a formal education served in the lower ranks and only a few of them were ever able to climb above rank ten.[52] Although many of them had joined the service between the ages of 16 and 26 and consequently would have had ample time to advance, their lack of a formal education hindered their dreams of ascension. Furthermore, ten percent of the provincial bureaucratic corps had received home schooling and consequently served in lower ranks, with an average rank of 10.7.[53] Seventy percent of them were Catholic Poles who served without titles and rarely received promotions.[54]

Official positions were such a rare commodity that many students interrupted their education to accept a *vakatsiia* (a vacancy) as soon as it became available. This opportunistic 17 percent of the bureaucratic corps were classified as *kursa ne zakonchili* (those who did not finish their studies). Their files did not specifically indicate how many years of formal schooling they had received, but rather simply noted the educational establishments they had attended. Their ranks and religious affiliation, however, do identify their social origins; these *chinovniki* filled the lowest ranks, and 33 percent of them were Orthodox Christians while 67 percent were Catholics, with these officials tending to be sons of local provincial bureaucrats. For them it was a common practice —indeed often the only available choice—to play the percentages and thereby abandon their education, and thus their long-range hopes of upward mobility, in order not to

49 Sinel, *The Classroom and the Chancellery*, 137– 57.
50 There are contradictions on the number of the home schooling. According to some sources in the central parts of the empire, by the 1830s there was only five percent of the officials without a formal education. See, for example, Arkhipova et al., *Istoriia gosudarstvennoi sluzhby v Rossii XVIII-XX*, 104.
51 Pintner and Rowney, *Russian Officialdom*, 190 – 227, 227– 50. The data on Russian Poland from 1870 to 1904 are based on my analysis of ten *gubernias.*
52 PK (Warsaw, 1871).
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.

risk missing out on what might turn out to be their only possible opportunity to join the service.[55] The elites with military, university, and gymnasium educations were clearly at an advantage.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Russian empire saw a growing need for educated, skilled personnel, which increased the percentage of professionals who were in service, i. e., doctors, engineers, architects, veterinarians, industrialists, lawyers, and land surveyors. State regulations, however, allowed only a certain number of educated specialists for each province, and the central administration did not intend to expand this allotment. As a result, in Russian Poland in the period from 1870 to the 1900s, the percentage of professionals in service barely changed, expanding from eight to ten percent, and finally by the end of the century to 12 percent.[56] The requirements were uniform and did not vary from *gubernia* to *gubernia*, regardless of the differences in population, land structure, geographical location, or industry. Despite their small numbers, the professionals were an important part of the governmental machinery and were viewed as such by both the state and society.

While the police and administrators were almost entirely Russian and Orthodox Christians, 99 percent of the professionals (doctors, engineers, architects, veterinarians, and land surveyors) were Catholic Poles. Many of these professionals were born in Russian Poland while a few came from elsewhere in the empire in order to utilize their language and professional skills.[57] They came from Polish gentry and educated classes who saw state service as their only chance for mobility, while others were born into the families of state servants and followed in their fathers' footsteps.[58] The perks of imperial service were seductive. They consciously used their education as a vehicle for advancement within the system; upon graduating from universities or academies like Warsaw Imperial University, the University of Ghent, Saint Petersburg Academy of Arts, or the Institute of Civil Engineers, professionals became eligible to receive an appropriate rank, a good position with competitive pay, a high *chin*, and the privileges accorded a tax-free group.[59] The salaries that rewarded membership in the system as well as educational achievements were disproportionately higher than, for example, the wages of a professional worker or a low-level clerk.[60]

For professionals, regardless of ethnic origin, patriotism paled in comparison to the alluring benefits that the Russian bureaucratic system could offer. They shared many of the same concerns: securing promotions within the system, garnering the decorations and titles that went along with promotion, gaining a better salary, and establishing a stable livelihood unavailable to most commoners. The inscriptions on their

55 Ibid.
56 PK, all.
57 Wandycz, *The Land of Partitioned Poland*, vol. II, 196.
58 Ibid., 209.
59 PK, all.
60 PK (Suwałki, 1902), 45; PK (Łomża, 1879), 67.

tombstones were written in Polish and German, but the inclusion of their high bureaucratic titles distinguished them as servants of the Russian empire.[61]

6 Religious Affiliation and Ethnicity: Obstacles or Assets of Mobility

Although scholars have traditionally portrayed Russian Poland's provincial bureaucracy as dominated by Russians, statistical evidence suggests that its officialdom was predominantly Polish.[62] Only 23 percent of bureaucrats were Russian Orthodox officials while more than 60 percent were Roman Catholic Poles, while the remaining approximately 17 percent of the officials were Lutherans (mostly Germans) and other religious denominations (Muslims and Jews), which further indicated a variety of ethnic backgrounds.[63]

But should such a high percentage of Polish officials be unexpected or even surprising?[64] Studies of bureaucracies at times of dramatic regime change suggest that their survival was the norm rather than the exception.[65] Consistently, a high percentage of officials, mostly at the provincial level, successfully "survived" revolutions and conquests and showed amazing perseverance and even vitality.[66] The multi-ethnic bureaucratic composition also remained largely intact despite social transformations, as can be seen in the examples of the Austro-Hungarian, German, Russian, and Soviet administrations.[67] In a similar fashion, Polish bureaucrats continued to be a part of the state apparatus long after Poland was "swallowed up" by the partitioning powers.

Before the rebellion of 1863, the Polish bureaucracy governed the Kingdom of Poland. Afterwards, in the 1870s, more than 60 percent of the state servants were still Polish bureaucrats.[68] The high percentage of Catholics in the 1890s, however, was even more significant, suggesting that the local administration continued to utilize Polish cadres and that some Poles were inclined to be a part of the imperial service.

Polish and Russian elites shared a common sense of pragmatism in relation to the system. For the Poles in service, nationalist sentiments remained less of a priority when measured against the alluring benefits of the Russian bureaucratic system. Their demands and concerns revolved around a frustration with the limits to promo-

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61 The data is based on my own research of the Moscow and Warsaw cemeteries and the officials' tombstones found therein.

62 See, for example, Wandycz, *The Land of Partitioned Poland.*

63 PK, all.

64 Armstrong, *Administrative Elites in Multiethnic Polities*, 107–28.

65 Weber, "Bureaucracy and Revolution," 35, quoted in Ryavec, *Russian Bureaucracy*, 53.

66 Ryavec, *Russian Bureaucracy*, 48 – 62. See also Suleiman, *Elites in French Society*; Rigby, *Lenin's Government*; Edeen, "The Soviet Civil Service."

67 Hagen, *Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship*; Deák, *Beyond Nationalism.*

68 The calculation is based on all PK from 1870 to 1880s.

tions within the system and the decorations and titles that went along with these promotions. Progress within the ranks of the state service signified a higher personal status, a better salary, and a secure existence surrounded by comforts not available to other members of the population. Bureaucrats were also granted honorary citizenship and personal nobility; they knew that their positions would only improve over time, and they expected awards, benefits, and other forms of compensation in return for their skills and knowledge. Regardless of differences in its confessional, ethnic, and national makeup, officialdom in Russian Poland portrayed itself as "Russian."[69]

Although there was a significant percentage of Polish Catholics in service, their distribution throughout the positions and ranks was uneven, which seems to indicate discrimination. The Catholics were older and had served for a much longer time, while younger Orthodox officials had more opportunities to advance.[70] Without a formal education, a Catholic official had difficulty finding a good position and had even less chance of being promoted. At the same time, Polish Catholics who graduated from universities enjoyed more social mobility.

There was also an element of what might be called geographical discrimination. As we have seen, a better education created the expectation of a better office assignment, and in Warsaw, for instance, there were more people with higher levels of education than anywhere else in Russian Poland. An analysis of other cities, however, produces unexpected results.[71] The educational level of the magisterial officials was much higher in the localities than it was in their respective central administrations. The majority of more educated Polish Catholics, consequently, worked in less prestigious offices at the periphery, while Orthodox *chinovniki*, even those who had no formal education, used their connections and ethnic superiority to attain the more prestigious positions in the central cities. Clearly, the further one was from the metropolitan centers, the more likely it was that one would find Catholics in service.[72] As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century, remote localities were governed by the middle-aged, more educated Polish Catholics, while in the *gubernia* centers, the administration was run either by seniors from the former military contingent or by younger and less well educated Russians.

69 The ambiguity of such a statement can be seen in the religious and national make-up of the policy-makers themselves, not all of whom were Russians or Orthodox. In the mid-nineteenth century, 15 percent of those in service at the central agencies and five percent were imperial subjects of "non-Russian background" (Pintner and Rowney, *Russian Officialdom*, 208). In Russian Poland, eight percent of the "top ranks" were non-Russian. In addition, the composition of high-ranking functionaries shows no indication that the central government preferred to "staff" these territories any differently, since this represented the confessional and ethnic makeup of the highest echelons of the bureaucracy of the Russian Empire.

70 A letter dated November 20, 1903, referring to a secret ruling of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, suggests that there was an established quota for local governments. "*Sekretnoe pis'mo v Ministerstvo Vnuttenykh Del*," GARF, f. 265, op. 1, d. 88, 1–8.

71 PK, all.

72 PK, all.

7 The "Top Ranks" and Networks

The top echelon of the elites was able to provide significant social and educational opportunities (potential resources) which benefited their children in service.[73] Additionally, their networks contribute to our knowledge of inherent connections that improve chances for social mobility. However, the closer study of the top ranks suggests a more complex picture: a transitional period from hereditary rights to more meritocratic nature of the elites' environment.[74]

The top ranking officials constituted ten percent of the total number of all members of provincial officialdom, a number that did not fluctuate during the period in question. The members of that group shared similar social origins; some were born into noble families with traditions of military and state service while others were sons of professional bureaucrats. Their backgrounds were consequently much the same as those of members in the central agencies; they were sons of state servants, who were groomed from childhood to pursue careers in the state apparatus, and by the 1880s bureaucratic position had become a surer path to personal wealth than even land ownership. Analysis of the lifelong career patterns of such bureaucrats indicates that they depended entirely on state service for their livelihood,[75] so much so that by the second half of the nineteenth century, they had evolved into a distinct social group, i.e., the hereditary bureaucracy.[76]

These were the top elites who received promotions and appropriate offices without great delays.[77] Unlike the lower-ranking petty bureaucrats, hereditary bureaucrats served at ranks from four to eight and were awarded corresponding titles according to a scheme that had not deviated much from its original design. Responsible officials served as governors and vice-governors, chairmen of governors' chancelleries and senior clerks, heads of *uezds,* commissars of peasant affairs, and upper police personnel. Functionaries like the governors and vice-governors carried the titles of *tainyi sovetnik* (Privy Councilor) and *deistvitel'nyi statskii sovetnik* (Actual State Councilor) at ranks four and five. Ranks six to seven included *statskii sovetnik (*State Councilor), *kollezhskii sovetnik* (Collegiate Councilor), and *titularnyi sovetnik* (Titular Councilor). Other titles were distributed as appropriate among the relatively high ranks seven and eight.

During the course of the nineteenth century, former military personnel continued to hold distinguished positions in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy in the center

73 Bihagen and Lambert, *Can class and status really be disentangled?* 1–10.

74 Tholen et al., *The role of networks and connections*, 142–54.

75 Ibid., 111.

76 Not all officials relied on state service. Don Rowney argues that even by the beginning of the twentieth century, landholding was also a significant source of income. See Pintner and Rowney, *Russian Officialdom*, 294.

77 Ibid.

of the Russian Empire as well as on its periphery.[78] The appointment of military officers to these positions maintained a tradition established in the eighteenth century based on the assumption that “tried and true military officers were the most loyal, and were capable of giving and taking orders, providing dynamic leadership, and of realizing the importance of military strategy in governing.”[79] The sons of nobility graduated from military schools, served in military regiments, and were then transferred to the intermediate ranks of the state service, contingent upon the strength of their prior records. In due course, many advanced to the elite class and served in an assortment of governmental offices.

An analysis of the older generation demonstrates that almost 100 percent of those born before 1800 had undergone military education and service. [80] By the 1880s–1900, the situation had changed significantly, with ninety percent of those born after the 1820s having already received a university education. Therefore, most of the class of elites were professionally educated and trained.

The class of top-ranking officials in Russian Poland therefore was not homogeneous but rather represented two different generations. For the most senior group, assignments in Russian Poland usually represented a crowning professional achievement resulting from long military service. For most of their professional careers, they had fought in the Balkans: in the Crimean Wars and in the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1879, in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and during the Polish Rebellion of 1863.[81] A record of such military exploits became a springboard able to propel them to prominent positions that would not have been accessible during peacetime. By the 1890s, however, death and retirement had taken a toll on the numbers of this generation, and their places were taken by men who had grown up and had been educated under circumstances considerably different than those of their predecessors.[82] At the same time, the younger men appointed to serve in Russian Poland were typically in their thirties and, since youth was on their side, they were often able to attain higher career goals than had the previous generation.[83]

Another important category that further internally divided the class of top-ranking officials was occupation. The governors, vice-governors, chairs of chancelleries, and commissars of peasant affairs occupied the uppermost level. The officials appointed to serve in Russian Poland aspired to advance eventually to a higher position in the central Russian provinces or Caucasus with the aim of landing a position in the Russian central administration; temporary service in Russian Poland was simply one element

78 The Russian title *otvetstvennye chinovniki* does not have an exact English translation, and hence I use “responsible officials,” “upper ranks,” and “top ranks.”

79 “*Instruktsiia Ministerstva vnutrennikh del o voennom personale na gosudarstvennoi sluzhbe*,” GARF, f. 265, op. 1, d. 12, 3.

80 PK, all.

81 PK, all.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

in a much broader set of career aspirations. By the end of the nineteenth century, one out of every five of the highest dignitaries of the Russian empire had either served in Poland or been associated with it in some significant way.[84]

Many officials were of mixed ethnic origins. Bureaucrats with German roots, for instance, constituted more than 45 percent of the higher echelons of power and a lesser percentage of the provincial bureaucracy.[85] In Russian Poland from 1860 to 1905, many in the top rank were of “a German brew.”[86] Poles and Roman Catholics were also included among the upper echelons of power, and their presence did not indicate a softening of state regulations.[87] Many joined the bureaucracy in the 1870s, less than a decade after the suppression of the Polish rebellion in 1863. Marquis S. Wielopolski, for example, was a part of the entourage of the Viceroy F.F. Berg in 1870, and he continued his service at the time of Governor-General I.V. Gurko until 1894. Elsewhere, members of the Potocki family supervised the financial system of Russian Poland in the 1890s. Count S. Swiatopełk-Czetwertyński joined the bureaucratic ranks in the1870s and by 1894 had achieved the “high” title of *nadvornii sovetnik* (Court Councilor).[88] There were also Polish officials who belonged to the second or third generation of professional bureaucrats; they joined officialdom at a lower rank and were eventually able to climb to high positions.[89]

The class of “upper ranks” was, therefore, divided according to age, occupation, religious affiliation, and social standing. Despite such demarcations, they were *de facto* members of a single top elite.[90] Moreover, 50 percent of the entire bureaucracy in Russian Poland was connected through the male line, which suggests the importance of family networks.[91] The relative lack of sources prohibits any more than speculation on the importance of female networks. Members of the same family were systematically appointed to high positions in different regions of the Russian Empire, thus forming the “*nomenclature*,” or a specific pool of appointees for the entire empire. In 1870, Ivan S. Kokhanov was governor of Piotrków province, while his brother Mikhail S. Kokhanov served as governor of Pskov province.[92] In 1870, N.N. Medem was in charge of the Warsaw *gubernia* and by 1893 had advanced to an assistant to I. Gurko, the Governor-General of Russian Poland. At the same time his brother M.N. Medem was a director of a department in the Ministry of State in Saint Petersburg.[93] Many high-ranking

84 My statistical analysis of 400 personnel files.
85 “*Rossiiskie gosudarstvennye deiaiteli*,” 4 – 6.
86 Sidorov. *Russkie i russkaia zhizn’ v Varshave, 1815 – 1895*, 5.
87 “*Sekretnoe pismo Ministru inostrannykh del*” (May 21, 1914), AGAD f. 45, d. 5076.
88 PK (Warsaw, 1870), 31 – 32; PK (Warsaw, 1894), 24, 34, 65.
89 Ibid, 33.
90 Willerton, *Patronage and Politics in the USSR*.
91 *Adres-kalendar’* (Warsaw, 1870); *Adres-kalendar’* (Warsaw, 1900).
92 Mikhail Semenovich Medem later became a member of the State Council and a member of the Ministry of Finance. “*Russiiskie gosudearsvennya deiately 19-go-20-go stoletiia*,” 17.
93 PK (Warsaw, 1870), 234, 250.

officials had known each other since childhood or had graduated from the same institutions, which was a bond even stronger than family connections.[94]

One of important principles of the top elites' mobility was "rotation." Officials were continuously shifted vertically as well as horizontally, which was a pattern that originated in much earlier periods.[95] Instead of discharging "unfit" officials, their superiors often just transferred them to another office at the same rank. By the same token, the "favorites" were promoted to ever more advantageous positions.[96] Another important principle was the mobile "teams." When an official was transferred, the team accompanied him to his new office, implanting a pre-existing bureaucratic structure; when K.K. Miller, for example, was appointed the governor of Piotrków, he brought with him a chancellery chairman, a medical inspector, and two senior clerks. He also instigated a virtual purge of existing personnel, replacing the older generation with younger and more educated people, mainly Roman Catholics; with his arrival 70 percent of the bureaucrats received new titles contributing to their advancement. This reshuffling secured Miller's position and expanded his network of supporters.[97]

By the 1880s, a new generation of governors, vice-governors, and other "responsible" officials replaced the old elites. Those people were young, educated, exposed to new ideas, and skilled in imperial politics. They were the face of the Russian administrative elites of the twentieth century.

8 Conclusion

The expansion of the Russian Empire over the course of the nineteenth century brought new regions under Russian domination accompanied by the extension of control over that uncharted world and its inhabitants. The most urgent task for officialdom was to organize the Russian Empire with all its multiple territories and national and religious groups under the single umbrella.

The effective operation of an imperial system presupposed a compromise between the empire and the governed. It preserved the status quo of the traditional local elites

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94 Another important aspect of military education was a strong sense of corporate identity. Graduates of the Pages Corps, for example, were decorated with the Malta Cross, which served as an identifying symbol for every former student. A student of any rank and *chin* could have addressed a carrier of the cross using the informal "*ty*" instead of the more formal "*vy*." Military establishments facilitated the development of corporate bonding. Grekov, *Kratkii istoricheskii*, 40.

95 Similar patterns were established for other colonial bureaucracies. Arnold, *Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City*; Chandler, *Social Assistance and Bureaucratic Politics*; Gillis, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis*; Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*; Korosov, *Vysshaia biurokratiia vo Frantsii XVII v.*; Torstendahl, *Bureaucratization in Northwestern Europe*.

96 A. Glottis was the governor of Kaluga. He then served two years in Archangelsk, followed by three years in Tver, and later he became a senator and a member of the Council of Ministers. His success was interrupted by his execution in 1917. *Rossiiskie gosudarsvennye deiateli*, 31.

97 PK (Piotrków, 1889), 3–56.

of the conquered territories and co-opted new forces into its bureaucratic structure. In Russian Poland, the government utilized preexisting Polish cadres, who consequently played an important part in the process of the incorporation of Polish territories into the Russian Empire. Polish officials considered themselves representatives of the imperial establishment first and foremost, with their demands and complaints revolving around the barriers to promotions within the system and attending decorations and titles. The bargain was reached through the expansion of the elite corps, which in turn, co-opted new forces into the existing Polish and Russian bureaucratic structure. The result was a hybrid system that merged the aims of the empire with local constituencies who were committed to their own preservation.[98]

Russian Poland as well as the rest of the Russian Empire was governed by a sundry bureaucratic elite which was divided along ethnic, economic, geographic, and social lines. The members of this bureaucracy, however, belonged to one "elite corporation" with a shared culture and its attending rituals, rhetoric, and symbolism. They were active and complicitous participants in a system desiring its preservation and enhancement; hence, it should not come as a surprise that one of the most striking characteristics of the elite was its capacity to replicate itself with little change from one historical regime to another. It is a mistake to deem the Russian bureaucracy a failure. It was successful since it adapted to changes and survived social and political transformations, revolutions, purges, and wars.

Further research and discussion call for a much broader expansion of the views on social mobility process, including such elements as the influence of the extended family, the role of social institutions, comparative analysis across time and place, and finally consideration of multigenerational mobility processes.[99]

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98 Cohen and Scull, *Social Control and the State*, 54.

99 Mare, *Multigenerational Approaches to Social Mobility*, 121 – 28.

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Judit Pál

An Immobile Society? The Political Role of the Hungarian Aristocracy in the Dualist Era – the Example of Transylvania

The German historian Heinz Reif described the path of nobility in the modern age as a "long farewell to power and honor."[1] In this chapter, I examine the share and the role of the aristocracy within two groups, that of the top office in the local government, the lord lieutenant, and that of the members of parliament, and I compare the picture created in Hungarian historiography with the results of my own research on the Transylvanian political elite in the Dualist Era. I examine the extent to which they succeeded in maintaining their elite positions and what factors played a role in this. With some exaggeration, one can say that the study is less about social mobility and more about social immobility, about the persistence of the aristocracy in positions of political leadership. More exactly, I try to answer the question of how the political leadership manifested in the case of the high nobility in Hungary, and especially in Transylvania,[2] as the phenomenon is more nuanced than it seems. In Sorokin's classical definition, social mobility is a change in the social position of an individual or group, but in the case of individuals it can be considered not only vertically but also horizontally.[3] I examine the extent to which they succeeded in maintaining their elite positions and what factors played a role in this; whether there has been any "shifting" in their social position[4]; how this has affected the two groups of the political elite; and how closed this elite has remained throughout the period, or whether new people have been added to the group through vertical social mobility.

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1 Heinz, "Einleitung," 9.
2 By Transylvania, I mean the historical region and not all the territories (Banat, the so-called Partium) that were transferred from Hungary to Romania after the First World War.
3 Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, 133.
4 According to Sorokin "'shifting' may take place without any noticeable change of the social position of an individual or social object in the vertical direction." Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, 133.

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1 The Hungarian Aristocracy

Although the most important collection of Hungarian customary law from the early sixteenth century, the *Tripartitum* by István Werbőczy – which formed one of the foundations of Hungarian law until 1848 – stated the principle of "one and the same nobility," the nobility was far from being a homogeneous social formation, as there were great differences in wealth, status, and lifestyle between the various groups. Moreover, it was also divided along regional, denominational, and linguistic lines. The top stratum of the nobility, the hereditary aristocracy, developed gradually, with roots dating back to the fifteenth century, but only under the Habsburg rulers did it spread on the model of the German-Roman Empire, after the medieval Kingdom of Hungary had disintegrated following the Battle of Mohács. From the sixteenth century – and in Transylvania from the end of the seventeenth century, after the autonomous principality, which had been under Ottoman rule until then, also became part of the Habsburg monarchy – rulers here also conferred the titles of baron, count, and duke (or prince), although the latter was rarely granted. The special status of the aristocracy was also reflected in the fact that from 1608 onwards the aristocracy was separated from the rest of the nobility in the Hungarian Diets. While the adult male members of the aristocracy could continue to participate in person in the Upper House, in addition to the high clergy, the rest of nobility sent two representatives per county only to the Lower House.[5]

In the eighteenth century, the Habsburg rulers also granted estates to many aristocratic families of foreign origin in Hungary, but only some of them settled in the country. In 1740, there were 52 baronial and 38 count families, and 218 foreign aristocratic families the so-called *indigena*, naturalized in Hungary by law, while in 1812, there were 309 naturalized families, in addition to the three princely, 92 baronial, and 103 count "native" families.[6] A significant part of the naturalized aristocracy did not live in Hungary and in general they showed a considerably smaller interest in participating in Hungarian political life than the indigenous aristocracy. In Transylvania, the first family with high noble rank were the Csáky counts, who moved from Hungary. The first to be elevated to the rank of count by Leopold I, during the incorporation of Transylvania into the Habsburg monarchy, was Chancellor Mihály Teleki, who played a prominent role in the political life of the principality in 1685. By 1848, there were 54 baronial and 38 elevations to the rank of count; according to Ákos Egyed's calculations, there were 115 aristocratic families in Transylvania, belonging to 21 county and 22 baronial "clans."[7]

5 For the historical background, see: Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*; Pálffy, *Hungary between two Empires, 1526–1711.*

6 The figures are somewhat misleading, because the local "clans" included several nuclear families, while the aliens were generally simple families. For the latter, Béla Pálmány only gave the total figure, not the ranks. Pálmány, "A magyarországi nemesség társadalmi tagolódása," 48.

7 Egyed, "Az erdélyi arisztokrácia," 286–87.

Between 1849 and 1867, 52 people from the lands of the Hungarian Crown (Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania) received the rank of baron or count. Until the reform of the Magnate House in 1885, the King confirmed 33 titles of high nobility and rank extensions were carried out; only ten of these were new title conferrals. Afterwards, until the end of the Dualist Era, a further 274 elevations to the high nobility took place (229 under Franz Joseph and 45 under Charles IV).[8] Dániel Ballabás has identified 305 high noble families for 1848; although this number fluctuated afterwards, it remained below 300 until the beginning of the twentieth century. After this low point, the number increased again as a result of the promotions; in 1918 there were already 339 high noble families.[9]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, József Kristóffy, who was Minister of the Interior in 1905–1906, distinguished three groups within the aristocracy: the "first-class aristocracy," the princes who shunned politics; the "second-class aristocracy," who supported the political power but rarely actively engaged in politics; and the more active third group, the Protestant aristocratic families. According to Dániel Szabó, the latter were to be found in all parties, and their political behavior was more similar to that of the upper class of the landed gentry than to the first two groups of the aristocracy.[10]

As for the Transylvanian aristocracy, on the one hand, it was considerably less wealthy than the one in Hungary while, on the other hand, the majority of them were ethnic Hungarians (Magyars) and mostly Protestant. Even those of other nationalities marrying into their ranks melted into this Hungarian-speaking high nobility that cultivated Hungarian culture.

2 The Lord Lieutenants

The lord lieutenants[11] were appointed by the ruler on the basis of the Hungarian government's proposal; their task was, among other things, to control the functioning of the county,[12] so they were the extended arms of the government. Magdolna Balázs examined the entire corps of the lord lieutenants from Hungary in several years from the dualist period and concluded that they were almost all appointed from the ranks of the old nobility and that one third of them were aristocrats. In the case of the elected high-

8 Ballabás, "Főnemesi rangemelések Magyarországon," 1215–44. Franz Joseph mainly bestowed baronial titles. The old aristocracy did not consider the majority of the rich industrial magnates, officers, and other privileged people as equals. Halmos, "Rangemelések a Habsburg Monarchiában," 445–81.

9 Ballabás, "Főnemesi rangemelések Magyarországon," 1240.

10 Boros and Szabó, *Parlamentarizmus Magyarországon, 1867–1944*, 92.

11 This subchapter is a summary of the study: Pál, "Research on High Hungarian Officials," 149–66. See also (the results of which could not be incorporated into the chapter): Pál, "Who owns the land".

12 In Hungary, the counties (the regional administrative units) enjoyed a relatively broad autonomy until the end of the era, although their autonomy gradually diminished as well.

est officials, the county commissioners (*alispán*), this percentage was only 1.3 %.[13] The investigation of the corporate body of the lord lieutenants in Transylvania shows a similar picture. Although the proportion of aristocrats changed, it has nevertheless remained significant and generally exceeded the average from Hungary.

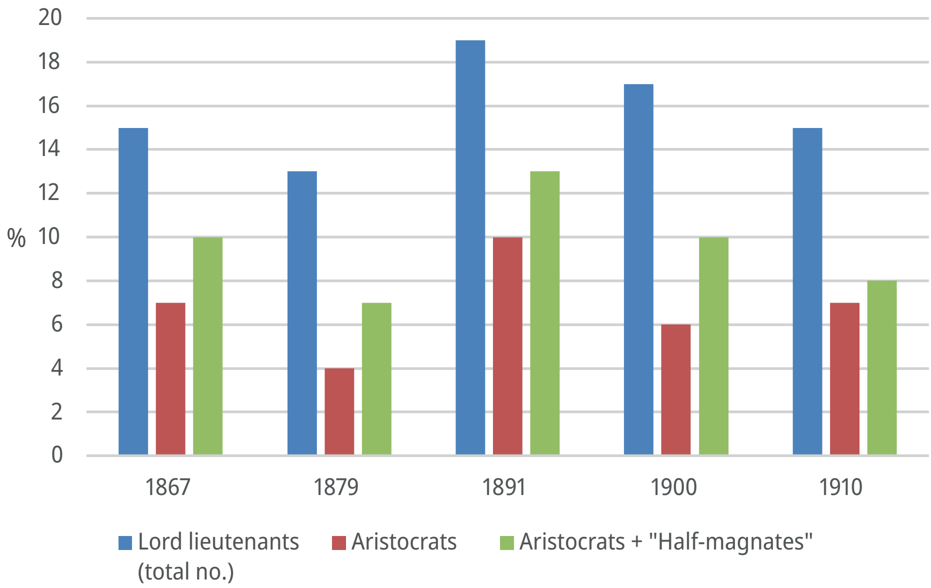

Figure 1: Share of aristocratic lord lieutenants.

Even if the proportion of aristocrats decreased as a result of the party merger of 1875, during which the ruling party and the largest opposition party united, in 1891 they were still the majority; out of 19 lord lieutenants, ten were aristocrats and other three were related to high noble families. Apart from the Saxon Gustav Thalmann, all the others came from the nobility. A year earlier, the situation was even more peculiar; of the 15 counties, five were headed by members of the Bethlen count's family. Around the turn of the century, the percentage decreased, but in 1910, the proportion of aristocratic lord lieutenants increased again considerably, which is also true for Transylvania where, of the 15 lord lieutenants, seven belonged to this group. Thus, the aristocrats always represented between a third and a quarter of those stemming from the upper classes, and if we also include the so-called "half-magnates"[14] then this percentage is even higher. Apart from the Transylvanian Saxons – and with the exception of

13 Balázs, "A középszintű közigazgatási apparátus," 116–24.

14 In Transylvania there was a stratum whose nickname was "half-magnates." It represented that upper layer of the propertied nobility which formed a marriage circle with the aristocrats.

those appointed in the autumn of 1918 – all the other lord lieutenants had titles of nobility.

The distribution of aristocrats is not even; in the former Saxon and Székely privileged areas, with the exception of Beszterce-Naszód county, their proportion is relatively low, while in Kolozs, Szolnok-Doboka, Kis-Küküllő, and Torda-Aranyos counties, aristocrats headed the county in more than two-thirds (in the first two counties, in more than 90 %) of the period.

Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, a distinction can be made between two career types, broadly similar to earlier ones: the type in which one would receive the appointment after a lengthy administrative career and the type in which one was already "predestined" for the office by birth and arrived in the chair of the lord lieutenant without any previous history, or possibly after a career as a member of parliament. Among the latter were the aristocrats with large estates, for whom office was less of a profession and more of a "noble passion." However, this category gradually faded into the background, being replaced by an increased number of impoverished aristocrats who gradually built up their administrative careers. It is true that in their case, origin remained a great advantage, and they usually reached the top position at a younger age. In the nomination proposals, it was always emphasized whether the father already held such a position, e. g., in the nomination of Baron Kálmán Kemény in 1885 where it was said he "is the son of the lord lieutenant of Torda-Aranyos county, György Kemény, and one of the most respected land owners of the county."[15] But there are also counter-examples, such as the career of lord lieutenant and later prime minister Dezső Bánffy's son, Kázmér, which was rather average: he spent almost three decades in the county administration before being appointed lord lieutenant.[16]

The list of aristocratic lord lieutenants is headed by the Bethlens, with ten members, followed by the Bánffys, with five, and the Kemény family, with four, while the other large families (or rather clans) gave only one or two lord lieutenants. The reason for this can be found partly in the size of the family (i. e., the number of adult males) and partly in family traditions.

The extended and interconnected family networks of the aristocracy spanned the whole of Transylvania, and this is practically characteristic of the entire period, although not to the same extent. It follows that a considerable degree of endogamy was characteristic of this stratum. The majority of lord lieutenants were bound by some thread to some large family network which would be very extensive, both vertically and horizontally. Due to the above, the self-recruitment of the stratum was also particularly notable, with transmission often taking place literally within the family. In the Dualist Era, three generations can be separated from one another. After the fa-

15 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, K 148, no. 1885 – 3 – 1848.

16 We find him between 1891 and 1896 as a sheriff, between 1897 and 1902 as deputy notary, between 1903 and 1907 as chief notary, between 1908 and 1917 as deputy lord lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér County, before being appointed lord lieutenant of the same county in 1917. The professional life paths were reconstructed based on following volumes: *Magyarország tiszti cím- és névtára.*

thers from the age of the Compromise, the sons followed in the 1890s; in 1891, for example, we find six lord lieutenants whose fathers had previously held the office – that is, more than one-third of the incumbent. Before the First World War, the grandsons then appeared alongside the sons. The father of the above-mentioned Dezső Bánffy, Dániel, and his son, Kázmér, were also lord lieutenants during the Dualist Era, and even his grandson, Dániel, became minister between 1940 and 1944, when Northern Transylvania briefly became part of Hungary again.

3 The Members of Parliament

The diet and then the parliament played a significant role in political life. As László Péter put it, "from the Reform Era onwards, the parliament was the real center of national politics."[17] During the Dualist Era, the aristocrats continued to sit in the House of Magnates of the bicameral parliament and, until the reform of 1885, every adult aristocrat had the right to his seat. It is true that during this period, the House of Magnates played a much smaller role than the House of Representatives. The reform of 1885 linked membership in the House of Magnates on the one hand to the census (with the annual land tax of at least 3,000 forints) and, in this way, a material dividing line was also established within the high nobility; on the other hand, not only the aristocrats but also the members of the intellectual and economic elites appointed by the ruler sat in the House of Magnates from that time onwards. Károly Vörös was the first to examine the impact of the change and found that only less than a third of the former members of the House of Magnates met the requirements after the reform. In the House of Magnates of the parliament of 1884–1887, 698 members of 206 high noble families (12 ducal, 108, count and 86 baronial families) received personalized invitations, out of which 50 were of foreign origin (they came from the territory of the former Holy Roman Empire or from other countries of the monarchy). Of the 12 ducal families, only three actually had Hungarian roots: one branch each of the Esterházy, Batthány, and Pálffy families. Of the count's families, there were 19, of which more than five family members received a letter of invitation in 1884; among them, the Zichy (28), Esterházy (21), Széchényi (17), Csáky (16), and Batthyány (15) families stood out, as well as the Transylvanian Bethlen (14) and Teleki (12) families/clans.[18]

As a result of the reform, only 203 members of 89 families could meet the requirements and only nine count families remained with more than five members present, while most of the *indigena* disappeared. Vörös also pointed out that the reform further emphasized the regional differences within the aristocracy; while the aristocracy from western Hungary was less affected by it, the majority of the Transylvanian high nobility did not have assets sufficient for membership in the House of Magnates (only about

17 Péter, "Die Verfassungsentwicklung in Ungarn," 417.
18 Vörös, "A főrendiház 1885. évi reformja," 397–405.

10–12 people met these requirements).[19] The history and structure of the Upper House in the age of dualism was recently summarized by Veronika Tóth-Barbalics in her Ph.D. thesis; in addition, Dániel Ballabás published several articles on the subject.[20] Their research showed that about 17 % of the families who remained outside in 1885 later returned to the Upper House; moreover, several of them were able to retain their membership by election or appointment. Overall, almost half of the high noble families remained outside the House of Magnates for good.[21]

The research indicates that of the Hungarian members of parliament from the Dualist Era, about 13–14 % were aristocrats and that the proportion of those of noble origin was 48 %.[22] The percentage of the latter was almost equal within the two political camps (ruling party and opposition), however, the share of aristocracy was higher in the ruling party, which supported the Compromise.[23] Although they had a better chance of entering parliament than their counterparts without ranks and titles, the difference was only more significant in 1910.[24] The aristocrats did not stay in parliament for long periods, but rather it was the more frequent rotation that characterized the group.[25] This shows in part that they were more often appointed as lord lieutenants or to other important positions, and in part that many of them saw politics as a "gentleman's passion" and may have tried out the parliamentarian seat just for that reason, given that their activity in the parliament was brief.

In Transylvania, 15.3 % of the deputies from the Dualist Era were of aristocratic origin (84 out of the 549 deputies – I did not count two persons who received the title of baron after their parliamentary career).[26] The percentage is somewhat higher if we approach the question from the electoral point of view; in the Transylvanian elections, the percentage of elected aristocratic deputies was 16.4 % (in 198 cases out of the 1206). More than a third (39.6 %) of the high noble members of parliament came from four families (40 out of 101): seven from the Bánffy, 15 from Bethlen, nine from

19 Ibid., 402–403.

20 Barbalics-Tóth, A magyar főrendiház a dualizmus időszakában, különös tekintettel a ház 1885. évi reformjára és annak következményeire a magyar politikai életben; Barbalics-Tóth, *A magyar országgyűlés,* vol. II; Ballabás, "A főrendiházi reform és a főrendek generációi", 277–83.

21 Barbalics-Tóth, *A magyar főrendiház*, 402.

22 The lowest percentage was in the 1848 Diet (5.4 %), then between 1875 and 1878 (9.3 %), as a consequence of the party merger; the highest was in the last Diet of the Dualist era, between 1910 and 1918 (16.3 %). Toth, "Die soziale Schichtung im Ungarischen Reichstag 1848 bis 1918", 1063–65.

23 Lakatos, *A magyar politikai vezetőréteg*, 30; Kurtán, "Az elit elitje," 51–74.

24 In 1869, 8.4 % of the candidates and 10 % of the members of parliament, in 1905, 11.2 % and 13.6 %, while in 1910, 8.6 % and 14.5 %, were aristocrats. Boros and Szabó, *Parlamentarizmus*, 92.

25 Ibid., 93.

26 The data comes from our project database, made within the framework of the UEFISCDI project Pál (project leader), *The Political Elite from Transylvania (1867–1918)*, https://web.archive.org/web/20130827191525/http://elite-research.eu/geoaldatabases.html (accessed July 7, 2021). See also: Pál et al., *Parliamentary Elections*; Ballabás et al., *Képviselők és főrendek.*

Kemény, and also nine from Teleki families; among them, those from the Bethlen count family ranked first, as in the case of lord lieutenants.

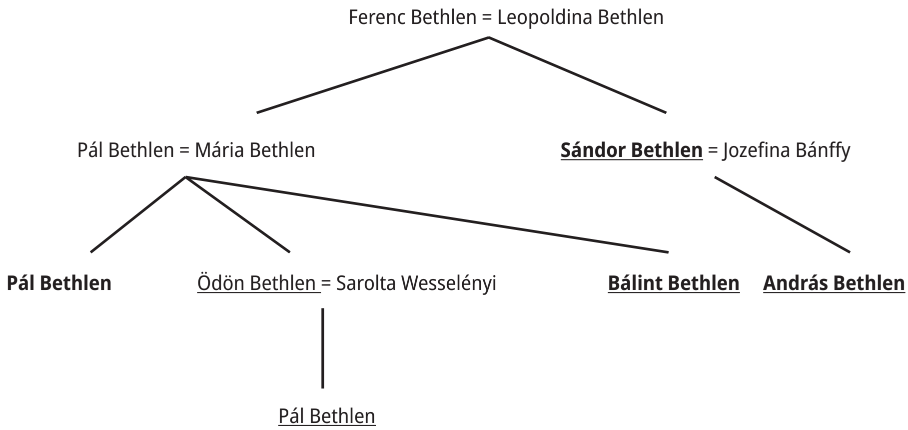

Figure 2: Bethlen family tree.

Under such conditions, family networks are also frequent. There are examples of the son inheriting the mandate directly from the father: e. g., after the death of Baron Károly Bornemisza in 1887, his son was elected in the same district, where part of their lands were also located. Even more curious is the electoral district of Bethlen (Rom. Beclean), where from 1878 onwards – with one exception – members of the Bethlen count's family won in all elections. The family's ancestral estate was located here and, from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the twentieth century, the estate center was also here (the name of the family and that of the settlement are identical). The extended family or clan (*genus*), which was granted the title of count in 1696, split into several branches, becoming the most spread aristocratic family in Transylvania. In this sense, it is instructive to look at the kinship relations of the MPs of Beclean, illustrated by the enclosed Bethlen family tree, in which the lord lieutenants are marked in bold and the members of parliament with underline (Figure 2).

At first, András, who came from one branch of the family, represented the district for two cycles; he later became lord lieutenant and minister of agriculture, and the parliamentary mandate was subsequently taken over by the branch residing in Bethlen, András' cousins. The eldest brother, Pál, was lord lieutenant in the neighboring county; from 1884 one of his younger brothers, Ödön, was member of parliament for three cycles; he was followed by another of their younger brothers, Bálint, for two cycles – he was later appointed lord lieutenant too –, and after an interruption, a distant relative, Ádám, followed at the beginning of the twentieth century; last in line was Ödön's son, Pál the younger, who won the elections in 1910 with a pro-government program against Ádám, the aforementioned relative, who was representing the opposition. Incidentally, in 1910 there were a total of four Bethlen counts in the House of Representatives.

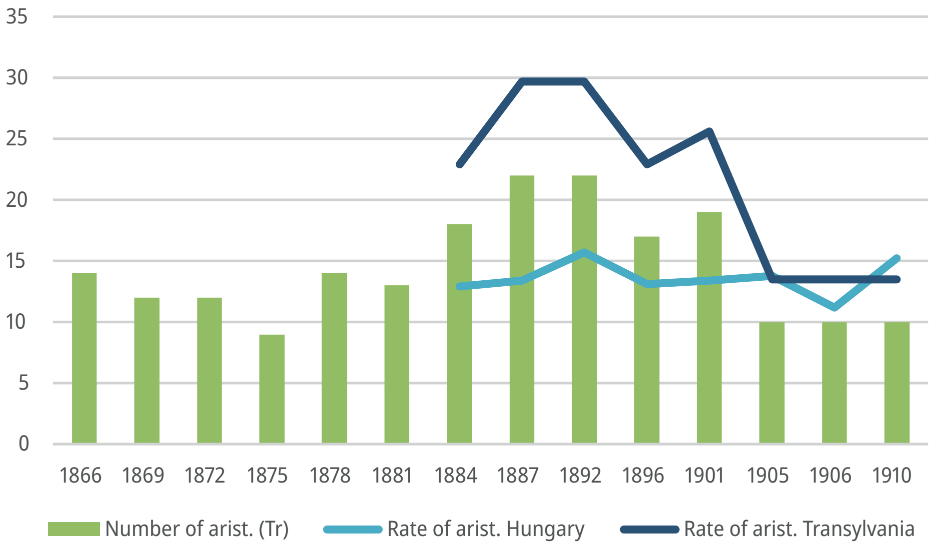

Figure 3: Number and share of aristocratic members of parliament.

Basically, two tendencies can be observed. Diagram 2 presents the fluctuation of the number of aristocrats, respectively the comparison of the percentage of aristocratic members of parliament from Transylvania with the situation in the whole of Hungary, i. e., with the data of the whole Parliament of Hungary between 1884 and 1910. It can be seen that, in Transylvania, the number of aristocrats decreased slightly at the beginning, reaching the lowest point as a result of the party merger of 1875 (when there were only nine high noble members of parliament) and increased again afterwards and reached the peak at the end of the nineteenth century; in 1887 and 1892, 22 high nobles were elected in the same manner. Thereafter, it again showed a downward trend and during the three elections before the First World War it decreased to ten. While the proportion of "foreigners" (i. e. non-Transylvanians) increased when considered as a whole, most aristocrats were still from Transylvania; in the individual elections, a maximum of two non-Transylvanian high nobles received a mandate in the Transylvanian constituencies, and even among them most had some relation to Transylvania.

If we compare the Transylvanian percentages with the composition of the entire Parliament of Hungary, it can be observed that in the nineteenth century the proportion of aristocrats in Transylvania was considerably higher than the national average. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the elections of 1905 and 1910, this tendency changed, and relatively fewer high nobles entered parliament from the Transylvanian constituencies. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the aristocrats were pushed back nationwide to some extent (namely, in the elections of 1905 and those of 1906, which ended with the victory of the opposition). Nonetheless, the elections of 1910 – as a result of the reorganization of the former governing Liberal

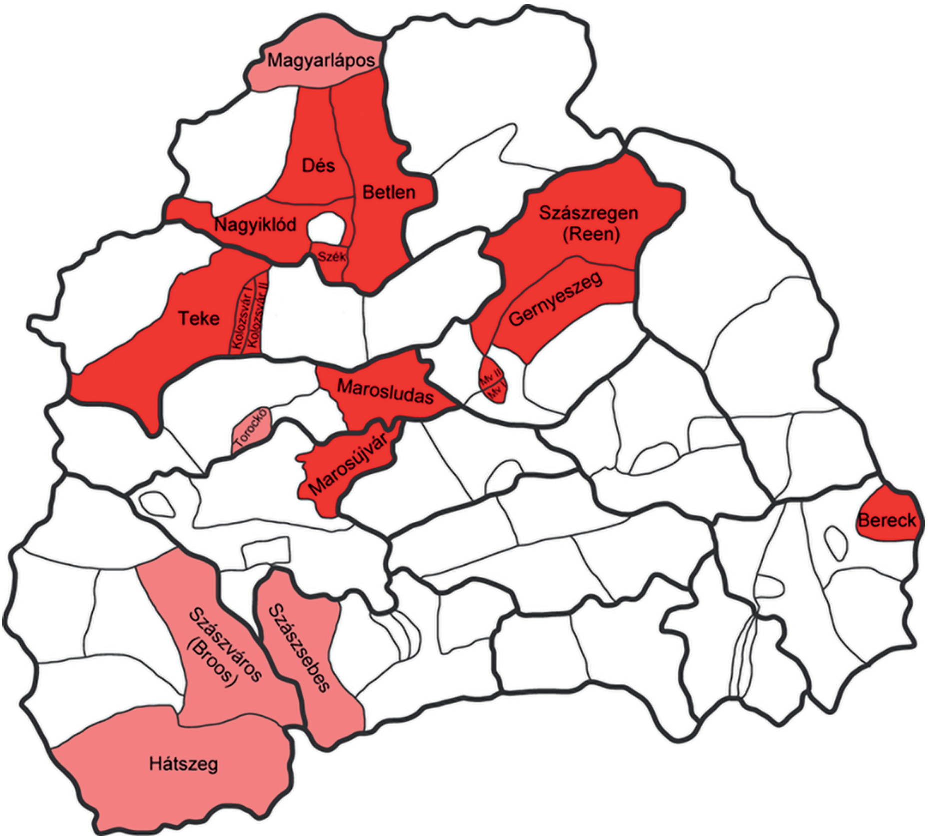

Figure 4: The distribution of mandates held by the high nobility in the Transylvanian electoral districts.

Party (Szabadelvű Párt) under the name National Labor Party (Nemzeti Munkapárt) – again ended with the success of the traditional elite. It is curious, however, that in 1905 and 1906 the decline in Transylvania was much more accentuated than in the other parts of Hungary, but the percentage remained low in 1910. It is not known to what extent this tendency would have remained permanent, since the last general elections of the era were held in 1910. At present, we do not have a satisfactory explanation for the reason of the phenomenon; it is difficult to decide to what extent it was connected with the political crisis of the beginning of the twentieth century, with the changing political and social factors, with the participation in the elections of the Transylvanian Romanians who abandoned the policy of political passivity, or with other factors.

However, great differences can be observed in the regional distribution of the aristocratic members of parliament. In Transylvania, taken in the narrower sense,[27] there were 74 electoral districts after 1876 (55 of them rural and 19 urban). The majority

27 See, earlier, footnote 2.

of mandates are concentrated in a few constituencies; in the counties, there were eight such constituencies from which, during the ten elections held between 1878–1910, an aristocrat entered the parliament in at least seven cases, and four constituencies in which an aristocrat won in half the cases (i.e., in about 15.5% of the constituencies).[28] All these are areas where the larger estates were concentrated in the hands of the aristocrats, and generally the family member or close relatives residing in the constituency acquired mandates. If we also consider the period between 1866–1878 (in 1878 the constituencies were reorganized), there were 15 such districts, and in these 15 constituencies 55% of the total aristocratic mandates were located.[29]

In Table 1, I have combined the data from nine of the 15 constituencies in question; I have marked the aristocrats with red, the gentry[30] with blue, and the persons of other origins with green. Some of the former landed nobility marked in blue belonged to the group of "half-magnates" already mentioned in connection with the lord lieutenants; we can even find several aristocrats on the family tree of some of them. For example, Domokos Barcsay, elected deputy for four cycles, came from the family of the seventeenth century Transylvanian prince Ákos Barcsay; his father, László, was lord lieutenant and his mother was the baroness Anna von Brukenthal. Both the mother and the wife of Károly Zeyk were baronesses, and both of their sons were members of the Parliament. The wife of Sándor Désy, who was elected in the district of Gernyeszeg (Gornești) in 1878, was a baroness, and her son Zoltán became a deputy there in 1905, later lord lieutenant, and then secretary of state. The table also shows that, in these constituencies, the aristocrats and "half-magnates" or the propertied nobility generally alternated among themselves.

28 If we include the five urban districts, we are talking about a fifth of the constituencies in Transylvania.

29 For the political careers of the aristocratic politicians in Great Britain this was also typical: "early entry into the House of Commons, the representation of small boroughs or county constituencies and the existence of close ties between the member and his constituency based mostly on his position as landowner in the county or the borough. (…) These young men were enabled to enter Parliament at an early age because family property and influence could generally secure for them election and that often for a safe seat." Guttsman, "Aristocracy and the Middle Class," 13.

30 In Hungary, the term "gentry" is used after 1848, in general, for the descendants of the impoverished former landed nobility who flowed into public offices and politics.

Table 1: Constituencies most dominated by aristocrats.

1878	Br. L. Bánffy	Gf. A. Bethlen	L. Simó	Gf. D. Teleki jun.	Br. G. Kemény	E. Miksa	Br. J. Kemény	Br. K. Kemény	S. Désy
1881	Br. D. Bánffy	Gf. A. Bethlen András/Gf. Ö. Bethlen	K. Boér	Gf. D. Teleki jun.	Br. G. Kemény	Gf. G. Bethlen/ E. Miksa	Br. J. Kemény	Br. K. Kemény	Gf. S. Teleki
1884	Br. D. Bánffy	Gf. Ö. Bethlen	Gf. D Teleki jun.	P. Róth	Br. E. Kemény	Br. K. Huszár	Br. Gy. Kemény/ Gy. Elekes	Br. K. Kemény/Gf. D. Teleki	Gf. S. Teleki
1887	E. Bokros	Gf. Ö. Bethlen	Br. K. Bornemisza sen./jun.	Gf. D. Teleki jun.	Br. E. Kemény	E. Miksa	Br. J. Kemény	Gf. D. Teleki	Gf. J. Lázár
1892	Gf. B. Wass	Gf. Ö. Bethlen	L. Simó	Gf. D. Teleki jun.	Br. E. Kemény	Gf. B. Bethlen	Br. J. Kemény	Br. Á. Kemény	Gf. S. Teleki
1896	Gf. B. Wass	Gf. B. Bethlen/K. Fejérváry	Gf. S. Teleki jun.	Gf. D. Teleki jun.	Br. E. Kemény/G. Kemény	Gf. B. Bethlen	Gf. M. Bánffy/ E. Dósa	Br. Á. Kemény	Gf. S. Teleki
1901	Gf. B. Wass	Gf. B. Bethlen	Gf. S. Teleki jun.	Gf. D. Teleki / Br. T. Daniel	Gf. S. Bethlen jun	Gf. B. Bethlen	Gf. M. Bánffy	Br. Á. Kemény	Gf. S. Teleki
1905	Br. I. Montbach	J. Fejérváry	A. Papp	Br. T. Daniel	J. Horváth	Gf. B. Bethlen	E. Rónay	Br. F. Podmaniczky/	Z. Désy
1906	L. László	Gf. Á. Bethlen	Gf. G. Teleki	I. Betegh / T. Barcsay	Gf. S. Bethlen jun	A. Éber	A. Szereday	N. Urmánczy	A. Farkas/ A. Filep
1910	Br. I. Montbach	Gf. P. Bethlen	L. Ilosvay	E. Desbordes	Gf. S. Bethlen jun / J. Balogh	Gf. J. Bethlen	Gf. F Teleki	N. Urmánczy	Gf. S. Teleki/O. Csontos

Note: Red = Aristocrats; Blue = Gentry; Green = Others

In a recent investigation, we researched the first and second degree of kinship (father-son, brothers, grandfather-grandson) in the case of members of parliament from Transylvania and the Banat region, which was the case for about 12 % of the members of parliament and 15 % of the mandates. As expected, the aristocracy was strongly over-represented; 45 % of the group concerned came from high noble families, while their share among all members of parliament did not exceed 15 %. In several cases, the family concerned “owned” the constituency for several cycles; in the father-son relationships, in half of the cases, the son took over the same constituency directly from the father, and in about 80 % of the cases, the same constituency changed owners within the family. Remarkable results were obtained, however, when we compared this with the landownership statistics from the end of the nineteenth century; from these it became apparent that, in 56 % of the cases, mandates were actually won in those counties where the candidates had their estates, however, only in 20 % of the cases was the estate located precisely in the electoral district (almost two-thirds of the latter cases are linked to aristocratic families).[31] This also shows that the scene of local politics was the county and not the electoral district. In addition, in the case of the father-son relationship, most of the constituencies handed over were not those in which the family property was located. The research confirmed, on the one hand, the great role of family relations and, on the other hand, the local influence of the aristocracy.

One-fifth of the aristocratic mandates (38, i. e., 19 %) were municipal mandates, three-quarters of which (29) were obtained in five towns: nine in Cluj (now Cluj-Napoca, Hung. Kolozsvár), eight in Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely), five in Brețcu (Bereck), four in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), and three in Sic (Szék). In addition, there were two mandates each in Hațeg (Hátszeg) and in Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna), and one mandate each in five other towns. The two largest cities in Transylvania, Cluj and Târgu Mureș, which were predominantly inhabited by Hungarians, each sent two representatives to the Parliament, with one of the seats usually acquired by aristocrats. Cluj remained the social center of Transylvania, with most aristocratic families spending their winters there, as it had a palace in the city; the aristocrats elected there were closely tied to the city. On the other hand, Târgu Mureș, the seat of the former Transylvanian Supreme Judicial Court, was considered one of the most important nests of the opposition; of the eight aristocratic mandates, six are linked to the names of two well-known Transylvanian politicians of the opposition. The other cases concern mainly insignificant small towns, the so-called Transylvanian "rotten boroughs" whose mandates could be acquired most easily. These were either distributed by the government to its more important politicians or acquired by candidates from outside Transylvania through electoral corruption.[32]

These constituencies were located in the counties with the highest proportion of aristocratic land ownership. On average, 6.4 % of the land in Transylvania was owned by aristocrats, but more than a quarter of that was in Maros-Torda (13.9 %) and Torda-Aranyos (13.2 %) counties, a still high proportion in Szolnok-Doboka (10.8 %) and Kis-Küküllő (10.7 %) counties, and above average in Csík (9.2 %), Kolozs (7.3 %), and Alsó-Fehér (7.2 %) counties.[33] The other extreme were the former *Fundus Regius* (in Brassó, Szeben or Beszterce-Naszód counties) and the county of Udvarhely in the Szeklerland, where there were no or only a few aristocratic estates (and also small in size). The aristocrat dominated constituencies – with the exception of the rotten boroughs – were concentrated in the counties of Szolnok-Doboka, Maros-Torda, Kolozs and Alsó-Fehér, with two constituencies in Hunyad county being less prominently

31 Pál and Popovici, "Family relations and parliamentary elections."

32 Pál, "Electoral Corruption in Austro-Hungarian Transylvania," 107–26.

33 Egyed, "Az erdélyi arisztokrácia birtokviszonyai a 19. század végén," 297.

affected. The dominance of the aristocracy is most striking in Szolnok-Doboka county, where aristocrats were elected in four of the five constituencies – including the Bethlen-based district which has been analyzed – for most of the period.

The situation of Maros-Torda county is also interesting, which was created in 1876 from the merger of the Szekler seat of Maros and the eastern part of Torda county. The aristocratic members of parliament dominated the two constituencies of the former Torda county, where they had a high share of landed property, but the political traditions and culture were significantly different from the former Szekler seat. It is also interesting to compare these data with the origins of the lord lieutenants. In Szolnok-Doboka and Kolozs counties, almost exclusively aristocratic lord lieutenants were appointed at the head of the counties, and except for a few years, the same was true for Torda-Aranyos and Kis-Küküllő counties, as well as for Alsó-Fehér county, if we include the "half-magnates." Aristocrats were also at the head of the Beszterce-Naszód county for a long time, but this was due to the fact that the county, which was inhabited by Romanians and Saxons, was usually headed by a lord lieutenant appointed from among the landowners of neighboring counties.

The lowest percentage of aristocrats can be found in the two former privileged territories, the *Fundus Regius* (Saxon Land) and the Szekler Land.[34] This, of course, can be connected both with the historical traditions and social structure of the territories in question as well as with the property structure, i. e., with the absence of large estates. In *Fundus Regius* we can find two exceptions: Orăștie (Hung. Szászváros, Germ. Broos) and Sebeș (Hung. Szászsebes, Germ. Mühlbach); in both districts, the Romanians formed the majority. While the Transylvanian Saxons held the majority of the Saxon districts firmly in their hands until the end of the era, as a result of the compromise with the Hungarian government, the Romanians' retreat into passivity, and the electoral corruption, we find both politicians or fortune-hunters from Hungary or Transylvanian aristocrats as representatives in the already mentioned two districts. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Romanian national representative Aurel Vlad also managed twice to acquire a mandate in the Orăștie constituency.[35]

4 Factors in Maintaining the Status of the Aristocracy

If we summarize the role of the aristocracy in the political life of Hungary, and especially of Transylvania, during the Dualist period, we can say that the members of the

34 In Transylvania, the three political estates (the so-called *nationes*) had already emerged in the fifteenth century, and during the period of the Principality – as a complement to these – the system of the four received religions was consolidated. Political power was divided between the Hungarian nobility and the Saxon and Szekler elites.

35 For the Romanian MPs, see Popovici and Iudean, *The Elective Representation*, 121–46.

aristocracy managed to maintain their traditional elite positions in politics and at the top of the administration to a considerable extent until the end of the First World War. In Transylvania, the aristocracy did not differ sharply from the upper echelons of the former landed gentry, partly because it was much less wealthy than in other (mainly western) parts of Hungary. If the "half-magnates," who formed a marriage circle with the aristocracy, are also taken into account, their combined weight is even greater. The requirement for professionalization caused some change, but until the turn of the century it had little effect on the proportions of the two classes within the political elite.[36]

There were several factors that played a role in the success of maintaining positions, but it is clear that symbolic capital was more important than economic capital.[37] Cultural and relational social capital was also very important, with a dense kinship network being a central element. The traditional social role of the aristocracy was partly maintained, and its social prestige was very high. As the nobility had exercised political rights for centuries, the group had inherited, in the words of sociologist Ferenc Erdei, the "tradition of social leadership by the gentlemen."[38] Both their traditions and their upbringing prepared them for political involvement and leadership. What was said about the British elite applies here too: "The group of 'inevitable Parliament men' whose choice of a political career is dictated by family considerations, upbringing and by their place in Society is in the middle of the nineteenth century just as much as hundred years earlier to be found in the heirs to the great territorial magnates and the members of old established political families."[39] In Transylvania, we can speak of a deferential society until the end of the nineteenth century; the political role of the traditional elite was questioned mainly after the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[40] Until then, a large part of the electorate and society accepted the continuation of this traditional role.

36 Law I of 1883, regulating the qualification of civil servants, made the highest administrative positions conditional on a degree in law and/or public administration, an important step towards the professionalisation of public administration. The special position of the lord lieutenants is also reflected in the fact that the law did not contain any provisions for them.

37 See Bourdieu, "Postface. Capital social et capital symbolique," 385–97.

38 According to Erdei, the Hungarian gentleman was characterized by "the professionalism of rulership," which used the tools of domination and command instead of real expertise, and "the tradition of gentlemanly social leadership" gave its true essence. Erdei, *A magyar társadalom.* Viktor Karády also stressed the role of symbolic capital and "political capacity": "Due to this magic type of collective aura, the presence of noblemen was considered till the end of the old regime as an added value, allegedly convertible into specific benefits and advantages in most (particularly in conservative) political parties, on directorial boards of big industrial enterprises (especially when they were grounded on Jewish investments), in most civil society movements and collectives." Karády, "The Social Conversion," 27–52.

39 Guttsman, "Aristocracy and the Middle Class," 14.

40 According to the classical definition of Pockock, in a deferential society "the nonelite regards the elite, without too much resentment, as being of a superior status and culture to their own, and consider

The extension of suffrage did not take place until the end of the period, which also implied a high degree of stability in the social composition of parliamentarians. The political system remained stable – with all its advantages and disadvantages – until the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the liberal outlook prevailing at the beginning of the period became increasingly distorted by fears of the rise of nationalism among non-Hungarian nationalities. This was compounded by the desire to preserve the fragile balance of the dualist system at all costs, which excluded not only the representatives of the lower classes, but also the rise to power of independence parties supported by the majority in ethnically homogeneous Hungarian regions. When this did happen in 1906, it was only at the cost of giving up their most important demands.

The national role of the Transylvanian aristocracy was also important for the maintenance of status.[41] They were one of the main supporters of the Hungarian national movement during the Reform Era (*Vormärz*, 1830–1848), and were behind many national institutions and enterprises, from the founding of the first Hungarian permanent theatre to the organization of various associations. In the 1848 revolution, many of them took part in the armed struggle against the Habsburgs. In the years of neo-absolutism, the aristocrats played a similar role to that of the Reform Era, participating in the cultivation of national culture, most of them distancing themselves from the regime. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867), there were sporadic voices that they should not take the space away from the bourgeois element, but in the shadow of the nationality question, their political role was not seriously questioned, at least by Transylvanian Hungarian society. It is a telling fact that one of Transylvania's leading publicists, László Kővári, who in 1867 was worried that the rise of the aristocracy would leave the towns without real parliamentary representation, was in 1901 lamenting the demise of the aristocracy, who represented the true "Transylvanian spirit." He wrote of them, looking back to earlier eras: "One family is aulic, the other liberal. But one is more protective of its nation and its constitution than the other. Everyone is patriotic."[42] As for their properties, he stressed that although they were not owners of latifundia, they were thrifty, good landowners: "Their properties are a family heirloom left by their ancestors. A piece of their homeland that binds them to their country."[43]

After the Compromise, the construction of the Hungarian nation-state began. The majority of the population in Transylvania were Romanians, and at the turn of the century, there was a growing fear among Transylvanian Hungarians that the majority of land would fall into their hands; as the pamphlets of the time often repeated, "who

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elite leadership in political matters to be something normal and natural." Pocock, *The Classical Theory of Deference*, 516.

41 On the problems of the multiethnic country and the relationship between educational attainment, mobility, and assimilation, see: Karady, "Elitenbildung," 63–81.

42 Kővári, A millennium századában Erdélyben, 72. Kőváry also counted the role of the aristocracy in supporting Hungarian national culture. Ibid., 65–69.

43 Ibid., 70.

owns the land, owns the country." László Tokaji, the secretary of the Transylvanian Economic Association and editor of the association's journal, published statistics on land ownership in Transylvania just before the First World War under the telling title "Country for Sale," in which he wanted to draw attention to the loss of ground of the Hungarians in Transylvania to the Romanians.[44] According to the highly publicized brochure, in the first decade of the twentieth century, more than 179,000 cadastral acres were transferred from Hungarian to Romanian ownership, of which about 15 % were sold by aristocrats.[45] The survival of the Hungarian aristocracy, which still held a large part of the landed property, thus became a national interest. The representative of Târgu Mures, later Prime Minister of Hungary, Count István Bethlen, said in 1910 it was not in the interest of Hungarian national policy to introduce universal suffrage, but "only that element [i. e. the aristocracy and gentry] which in the past has always been the friend of progress in this country, by virtue of its cultural superiority, material strength and political education, should retain in the future the supremacy and hegemony which has always been to the benefit of all the citizens of this nation."[46]

5 Conclusion: the Survival of the Aristocracy in a European Context

All of the above factors contributed to the survival of the traditional elite, and within it the aristocracy, which therefore confirms the common perception. Although the aristocracy lost considerable political influence in the twentieth century, it formed the traditional elite until the end of the Second World War. "The leading role of this social caste was based on the vast lands (*latifundia*) held by them, on the significant political influence that resulted from them, and on the unconditional authority and exceptional prestige that were morally legitimized by all of these," as Gábor Gyáni put it.[47] The quote also shows the complex reasons why, despite profound changes, the traditional elite has managed – at least in part – to maintain its position.

The phenomenon is far from unique; according to Heinz Reif, "on its long path into the modern age, the nobility was for a long time the most important reservoir for the formation of elites."[48] Excluding the military officers and the diplomatic corps, 60 % of the Prussian provincial (*Oberpräsident*) and district presidents (*Regirerungspräsident*) were also members of the old nobility in the period of 1867–1918.[49] Even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the British or German parliaments still

44 Tokaji, *Eladó ország.*

45 The calculations concerning the aristocrats were carried out by Egyed, "Az erdélyi arisztokrácia," 293.

46 Romsics, *Bethlen István. Politikai életrajz*, 61.

47 Gyáni, "Az elitek," 223.

48 Heinz, "Einleitung," 11.

49 Schwabe, *Die preußische Oberpräsidenten 1815–1945*, 257.

had a significant proportion of nobles.[50] In Britain the traditional elite, wealthy landowning families, dominated the parliament until the last third of the nineteenth century and the local government until the late 1880s,[51] and the Lord-Lieutenants, who were only partial correspondents of the Hungarian lord lieutenants, also came from their ranks until the First World War. In nineteenth-century Italy we also find aristocrats in leading positions. According to Benedetto Croce, this was linked to the prestige of the family name, the strength of tradition, and the fact that people were used to holding these positions for centuries.[52] Even in France, recent social history and sociology "have laid emphasis on this continuity, giving rise to a review of the 'end of the notables' hypothesis" and "examine how notable practices (clientelism, the constitution and maintenance of a personalized and territorialized patrimony, the mediation between local space and the political-administrative authorities) evolved both within former elites converted to the Republic and in the new professionalized political class."[53]

At the heart of the "master narrative" that has long dominated the research of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the rise of the bourgeoisie and nation-states; the nobility, as the embodiment of backwardness and reaction, has been given a clearly negative role in this ideological construction.[54] However, the nobility – like the bourgeoisie – is by no means a homogeneous social formation, and its history cannot be discussed solely in the light of modernization theories. In the context of the preservation of their positions by the members of the nobility in Saxony, Silke Marburg and Joseph Matzerath argue that it was the pluralization of society that gave them legitimacy.[55] In Germany, there is a large literature on the phenomenon of noble status preservation, the *Obenbleiben.* According to Daniel Menning, the phenomenon of the *Obenbleiben* is not merely a struggle to preserve status, but also part of the debate about social order; only in the light of the latter could the nobility choose the appropriate status and means.[56]

Our results seems to confirm Bourdieu's status reproduction theory.[57] The aristocrats started off with a great advantage, not only in accumulating wealth and cultural capital but also in translating it into positions of power. It is also important to look at the wider social context. The phenomenon of the survival of the old elite is compounded by the relatively low mobility of Hungarian society before the First World War. A large sample study concluded that "all classes have a higher propensity for immobility,"

50 In Great Britain, "even after this reform the social composition of the House of Commons does not change very quickly as is shown by the professions of MPs of the two main parties on the eve of First World War." In Germany in 1906, among liberal MPs there were 18 % of, and among the conservatives there are 31 % of, gentlemen. Charle, "Elite formation," 256.

51 Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914*, 204–205.

52 Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 22.

53 Briquet, *Notables and Notability in 19th and 20th Century France.*

54 See Holste et al., "Aufsteigen und Obenbleiben," 11–13.

55 Marburg and Matzerath, "Vom Stand zur Erinnerungsgruppe," 5–16.

56 Menning, *Standesgemäße Ordung in der Moderne*, 21.

57 Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 241–58.

but especially the agrarian classes.[58] The period between 1865 and the turn of the century is characterized by the fact that "the resourceful classes were the most successful at adapting to the new challenges and opportunities presented by a developing economy."[59] The unraveling of society's enclosure was also gradual and uneven: "In Hungary, modernization did not lead to uniformly increasing openness. The various processes of modernization produced a complex pattern of persisting and diminishing social rigidities."[60]

Although at first glance it seems that the composition of the political elite hardly changed and social mobility did not prevail at this level, the overall picture in Transylvania was more complicated than the mere figures suggest, and the very fact that the present study focuses on the aristocracy also distorts the picture. However, the group of the descendants of the aristocracy and the former landed gentry was only one segment of the Transylvanian political elite. As a result of historical antecedents, a kind of ethnic pillarization developed in Transylvania,[61] and the Saxon and Romanian elites had bourgeois and peasant roots. There is also a significant difference between the two groups studied, the members of parliament and the lord lieutenants. While 38 % of the Transylvanian lord lieutenants during the Dualist period were aristocrats, only 15.3 % of the parliamentarians were members of the high nobility. Typically, both figures are higher than the national average (around 30 % for lord lieutenants and 14 % for members of parliament).

Until the end of the period, the lord lieutenants representing the government at the local level were predominantly members of the traditional elite. As one Transylvanian Saxon newspaper wrote in 1891: "They should preferably be counts or barons, but in any case, unconditional supporters and instruments of the government in question." The most prestigious asset, landed property, played a role in this, but more important was the high degree of cultural and relational social capital. The authority of the lord lieutenant was based partly on these and only partly on his function. As already pointed out by Schumpeter, the prestige of the nobility in taking over an office was not given by the importance of the office – although the function of lord lieutenant was important in itself – but rather by the transfer of their old prestige to the new function. Whatever the nobility touched became more prestigious.[62] Georg Simmel had already drawn attention to the fact that the nobility's character as an element of the society of

58 Lippényi, Maas, and van Leeuwen, *Modernization and Social Fluidity in Hungary*, 110.
59 Lippényi, Maas, and van Leeuwen, *Intergenerational class mobility in Hungary*, 53.
60 Lippényi, Maas, and van Leeuwen, *Modernization and Social Fluidity in Hungary*, 110.
61 The application of the Dutch model to Transylvania was suggested by Gyáni, "A középosztály," 157–77.
62 Joseph Schumpeter argued that the European nobility continued to benefit from the prestige of the group in the nineteenth century, transferring it from the spheres of government and public administration to culture and science. It also drew on its centuries-old traditions, its "wisdom of life," strategic knowledge, contacts, and techniques of power maintenance. His thoughts were summarised by Reif, "Adeligkeit," 336.

orders meant that individuals also benefited from the prestige of the group.[63] Heinz Reif – referring to Bourdieu's social and symbolic capital – proposed the concept of "nobleness" (*Adeligkeit*) as an explanatory principle for understanding the status maintenance of the aristocracy. By this, he meant culture, mentality, habits, nobility-specific orientation, and behavioral patterns.[64]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, we can already see the growing social mobility and the slow widening of the pool of eligible candidates, i. e., the recruitment base, which accelerated under the Károlyi government. By the end of 1918, people who could hardly have been considered before were already appointed as lord lieutenants. If we compare the group of Transylvanian lord lieutenants at the time of the Compromise with the lord lieutenants appointed in 1917 under the government of Count Móric Esterházy, we can also see a clear shift towards professionalization. This, moreover, is in line with the studies of both Éva Somogyi on Hungarian diplomats during the Dualist period and Gábor Benedek and, more recently, Julia Bavouzet on Hungarian ministry officials,[65] where the transformation into a meritocratic elite, which accelerated around the turn of the century, can also be observed. Put simply, as the proportion of nobles declined, the proportion of doctorate holders increased. The changes became visible for Hungarian society as a whole at the beginning of the twentieth century; as Lippényi, Maas and van Leeuwen's study showed, "relative social mobility increased in Hungary in a fairly stable fashion from the turn of the century, interrupted only by a sharp increase during World War I."[66]

As we have seen, some constituencies were dominated by the aristocracy – especially those with a high proportion of large estates –, but from the beginning there were also "strangers," members of the economic elite, mainly Jewish entrepreneurs from Budapest, and an increasing number of representatives of the intellectual, so-called liberal professions, especially lawyers and journalists. The signs of modernization are more visible here. Although there is a significant difference between the two countries, the process was partly similar to that in France, "where the notables, economically weakened and challenged in their privileges, were in competition with the new 'political entrepreneurs', who, in the race for votes, elaborated technologies of political struggle corresponding to the resources they were able to muster," and they needed the "hybridization" of their political skills.[67] In addition, we must also consider that the very medium of politics, including the parliament, had changed significantly, and this also had an impact on both the composition of the elite and its behavior.[68]

63 Ibid., 332.

64 Ibid., 323–37.

65 Somogyi, "Professionalisierung als Vorbedingung," 140–67; Benedek, "Verbürgerlichung," 141–49; Bavouzet, "A Prosopographical Survey," 167–86.

66 Lippényi, Maas, and van Leeuwen, *Intergenerational class mobility*, 52.

67 Briquet, *Notables and Notability.*

68 See for example Matzerath, "Ein Landtagsabgeordneter," 163–76.

The formula of increasing social mobility associated with the notion of modernization is not as simple as the modernization theories of a few decades ago suggested. Self-recruiting was by no means just a noble phenomenon.[69] Looking at the situation in Germany in the period of 1850–1914, Hartmut Kaelble found that, despite rapid economic development, social mobility at the top of the economic ladder was no higher than at the top of the bureaucracy. In other sectors, too, mobility was mainly at the lower and middle levels. The social barriers separating lower and higher levels were much stronger than those between middle and upper levels.[70]

American historian Arno Mayer argued a few decades ago that "the *ancien régime* was a distinctly pan-European phenomenon" up until the First World War; the old elites were not "expiring remnants, not to say relics, in rapidly modernizing civil and political societies," they were "the very essence of Europe's incumbent civil and political societies."[71] While this is rather a gross generalization, we can much more readily accept the part of his argument that explains how the old elite managed to retain power, that its members "perpetuated their dominance so effectively, it was largely because they knew how to adapt and renew themselves."[72]

It is also true that for Hungary "the old governing class was both resilient and flexible."[73] However, even if the aristocracy managed to more or less maintain its political position until the First World War, there was a gradual loss of economic space, which could not be without consequences in the longer term. Just as the question of electoral reform became increasingly unavoidable at the beginning of the twentieth century, so too did the relative seclusion of the political and administrative elite. The prestige of this homogeneous and for a long time rather closed group was provided by traditional elements, but it began to crack in the early twentieth century, as shown not only by the study of recruitment, but also by the faltering of the group ethos. Pierre Grémoin's analysis of the French political system led him to conclude that "notable power is linked not to a class structure or to a given era, but to a State structure that is permanent. The resources of power change, but the exercise of power retains the same characteristics. Notables may disappear, but the notable system remains."[74]

This change is also reflected in the fact that the proportion of members of the National Casino, which was made up of the traditional elite, who were elected to parliament was decreasing; while in 1883, around 40% of the members of the Casino were

69 The rate of self-recruitment is also very high among contemporary German top managers. See Hartmann, *Der Mythos*.

70 Kaelble, "Französisches und deutsches Bürgertum 1870–1914," 47–73.

71 Mayer, *The Persistence of Old Regime*, 5–6.

72 Ibid., 12. "Thus the democratic politicization and the professionalizing of political activities led, rather than to the 'end of the notables', to the reconfiguration of modes of access to notability and deep changes in how it was exercised." Briquet, *Notables and Notability.*

73 Mayer, *The Persistence of Old Regime*, 12.

74 Grémoin's conclusion was summarised by Briquet, *Notables and Notability.*

members of parliament, in 1903 it was 12 %, and in 1913 only 7.4 %.[75] Change has also started in Hungary, and as Eagle Glassheim put it: “Like the monarchy itself, nobles responded to social and political modernization by becoming a hybrid of old and new.”[76] However, the process could not unfold, as the First World War created a caesura in the territories that became part of neighboring states, and although the traditional elite in Hungary partially retained its positions between the two World Wars, there was also a significant change.

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75 Eőry, “Az Országos Kaszinó és a középosztály,” 321–50.

76 Glassheim, *Noble Nationalists*, 228.

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Peter Urbanitsch

The Professors of the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Vienna From 1849 to 1914

Human society is made up from countless individuals. On the one hand they act separately, while on the other they join together into a variety of groupings or are assigned to such groupings by others. Both individuals and groups exist within a variable system of coordinates in time and space. There is a “beforehand” and “afterwards” as well as an “above” and “below,” all of which are subjected to – at times a bit slower, at times more rapid – change. A change of position of individuals as well as groups within this frame of reference is commonly called “social mobility,” a term which is marked by a series of varying manifestations as well.

In times of accelerated social change phenomena of social mobility can be exemplified in many fields (independently of the criteria according to which these groups are determined), for example the sphere of elites. In elite research, it is *communis opinio* that within a society – even at the same time – there are several different elite formations, “whose actions or interpretations of situations … are relevant to action or opinion-forming for [certain] population groups,” since elite is quite generally “defined as the attribution of a social status to a social group.”[1] With the increase in the importance of knowledge and secular wisdom – at the latest since the Enlightenment –, characteristic of the establishing bourgeois society, an educated elite, however defined, gained in weight. In the following, a subset of this elite formation, the professors of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna in the period from 1849 to 1914, will be examined in more detail, although it will not be possible to deal with every aspect related to facets of social mobility in a proper manner. Thus the study is focused on the geographical origin of the members of this social formation, their educational background and academic career path, their confessional affiliation, their fundamental social recruitment, and, based on their family connections, their social relations outside of their primary professional field. Furthermore, signs of public recognition (awards), as an expression of a high social prestige within the framework of the entire society, will also be addressed.

During the period under review, a total of 233 full and associate professors [*ordentliche und außerordentliche Professoren*] belonged to the teaching staff of the Faculty, established in 1848, with 130 representing humanities subjects and 103 the natural sci-

1 Wasner, *Eliten in Europa*, 17; Hartmann, *Elitesoziologie*; the second citation at Hiebl, “Eliten im Kleinraum,” 34.

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ences.[2] However, academics who were habilitated at the University of Vienna and worked there as lecturers [*Dozenten*] for a shorter or longer period of time (without having been appointed as associate or full professor) are not considered in the following.[3] The same holds true for those professors who remained at the university for only a few years (whether they were appointed to other universities or whether they soon retired or died), so these are not included in the samples if their presence does not fall within the relevant timescale.[4] Thus, the grand total of the professors dealt with amounts to 224, 126 humanities scholars and 98 natural scientists (see Table 1).

In order to better elaborate the profile of the professorship in the temporal dimension as well, I have chosen four samples: 1) professors who were active in the 1850s; 2) professors who were active about 1870; 3) those who were on the faculty about 1890; and 4) those who were active before World War I (about 1910) – in each case not limiting myself to the cut-off year alone, but taking into account the years immediately before and after. A number of professors belonged to the faculty for several years, in some cases for decades, therefore they are included in several samples.

1 Sample 1850

The first group, active in the 1850s, consists of 38 professors, 20 humanities scholars, and 18 natural scientists.[5] Of these, only two humanities scholars (one historian and one philosopher) and two language teachers had been professors at the University of Vienna before 1848, but there were seven natural scientists – a clear indication of the new orientation of university life after the revolution of 1848. On the other hand, 15 professors of the "sample 1850" were still teaching around 1870 (see Table 1).

2 The basis for the following article is a file created by Dr. Kurt Mühlberger, former Director of the Archives of the University of Vienna. I would like to thank Dr. Mühlberger very much for allowing me to use this file, which made the research much easier.

3 The Excel file mentioned above consists of 559 entries of habilitated lecturers. Some lecturers received an appointment at another university or college, others found employment in various non-university research institutions, and still others became full-time teachers at grammar schools and secondary schools. Some, however, stayed connected to the university throughout their professional careers, one of them being Adolf Wahrmund, who lectured on Arabic, Persian, Ottoman, Tatar, and Uighur between 1862 and 1909/10 and who was considered the oldest lecturer of the faculty as of 1902.

4 For example, the ancient historian Otto Hirschfeld was professor at the University of Vienna for nine years (from 1876 to 1885), but his presence did not fall within the period around 1870 or around 1890.

5 The biographical information on the persons mentioned in this article is taken from Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon; Neue Deutsche Biographie; Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie; Neue österreichische Biographie 1815–1918; Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich (Wurzbach); Wien Geschichte (all also in their online version); the Internet pages: Wikipedia; 650 plus – Geschichte der Universität Wien; Monuments, das Wiki zu den Denkmälern der Universität Wien; and Mayerhofer, "Der Lehrkörper der Philosophischen Fakultät." In order to ease the annotation apparatus, these works will not be mentioned in the following; only special literature that goes beyond this will be cited for individual persons.

About 65 percent of those included in this sample were born in the (subsequently so-called) Cisleithanian lands of the Habsburg Monarchy (only four of them in Vienna), slightly less than 13 percent in the Hungarian half of the empire, almost 19 percent in the German countries, and the remainder in Western Europe or Russia (see Table 2).[6] Their studies had taken place at different places of higher education (even then it was not unusual to pursue studies in several places, mainly in order to attend lectures of certain celebrities). During their student days, the future professors were also very inquisitive in terms of subject matter and attended courses in a wide variety of subject areas before deciding on a specific scientific field. The art historian Rudolf Eitelberger[7] first studied law in his hometown of Olomouc and then completed studies in classical philology and art history in Vienna; the meteorologist Karl Kreil[8] began as a student of law, but switched to mathematics, physics and astronomy; and the Germanist Franz Pfeiffer had initially studied Catholic theology, but then medicine. The fact that in the Vormärz period many who later became professors of natural sciences graduated from medical studies can be explained by the fact that until 1848 the chairs for chemistry, botany, zoology, and mineralogy were assigned to the Faculty of Medicine as so-called "auxiliary medical sciences." Some, such as the historian Albert Jäger[9] or the philosopher Georg Schenach, had first studied theology and only began their academic careers in other branches of science after completing their theological studies and ordination to the priesthood.

Of the professors included in this group, slightly more than one third obtained their doctorate at the University of Vienna (most of them were natural scientists) and about 16 percent at another Cisleithanian university; together they amounted to exactly half of the total number, roughly 21 percent in Germany, while for as many as 10 professors (27 percent) there is no definitive evidence of a degree (see Table 3). Among the latter were such eminent experts as the physicist Christian Doppler,[10] the mineralogist Franz Xaver Zippe,[11] or the Germanist Theodor Georg von Karajan.[12] The physicist Andreas von Ettingshausen[13] had already been a university professor in Innsbruck and Vienna for more than 20 years when he received his doctorate there in 1837 – a process that occasionally occurred in later years as well.

However, not everyone's academic career was completely straightforward after attaining the doctorate. A little less than one third of the future professors completed a

6 Karl Ludwig von Littrow was born in Kazan, but only because his father, the Bohemian-born astronomer Josef Johann Littrow (who was ennobled in 1836), ran the observatory there for a few years before returning to the Habsburg Monarchy. Adamek, "Der Lehrkörper," 198.

7 Kernbauer et al., *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg.*

8 Reich and Roussanova, *Karl Kreil und der Erdmagnetismus.*

9 Grass, "Albert Jäger 1801–1891," 347–58.

10 Schuster, *Weltbewegend – unbekannt*; Hutter, *Christian Doppler.*

11 Seidl et al., "Franz Xaver Maximilian Zippe (1791–1863)," 161–209.

12 Czeike, Theodor Georg Ritter von Karajan, 100, 57.

13 Angetter and Martischnigg, *Biografien österreichischer PhysikerInnen*, 25–7.

"detour" before returning to university, while natural scientists found employment at the various court cabinets or the various observatories. Karl Kreil first went to the observatory in Milan, then to Prague, where he became its director in 1845, before being appointed professor in Vienna in 1851; in addition to his academic activities in the capital he served there as the first director of the Central Institute for Meteorology and Terrestrial Magnetism. After working as a medical practitioner for almost 10 years, Franz Unger[14] was appointed professor of botany and zoology at the Joanneum in Graz in 1836 and professor of plant physiology and palaeontology as well as geography at the University of Vienna from 1850 onwards. After obtaining his doctorate in Pest, the mathematician and physicist Joseph Maximilian Petzval[15] served as director of hydraulic engineering in his hometown between 1828 and 1835, and in 1837 he followed an appointment to the University of Vienna. Some humanities scholars found employment as teachers in secondary schools, such as the classical philologists Hermann Bonitz[16] and Karl Josef Grysar. Theodor Georg von Karajan was employed at the Court Library, as was his "Slavicist" colleague Franz Miklosich.[17]

Habilitation as a prerequisite for a professorship at a university was introduced in the Habsburg Monarchy in 1848.[18] Therefore, only very few of the full and associate professors working in Vienna in the fifties had undergone such a procedure. Apart from those appointed from Germany, only the geologist Carl Ferdinand Peters[19] and the physicist Joseph Grailich[20] had been habilitated in Vienna in 1854 and 1855, respectively (see Table 4). As to the place from where the professors were appointed to the Viennese faculty, slightly more than a third of them had been working at the University of Vienna (in different capacities) before 1850. Almost the same number of professors had previously had no working connections with any university; they came from either educational or other scientific institutions outside the universities or had interrupted their academic career (see Table 5).

For the overwhelming majority, the professorship in Vienna was the culmination and endpoint of their academic career, and they remained loyal to the Alma Mater Rudolphina until retirement or death. Only Carl Ferdinand Peters, a native of Styria, accepted an appointment in Graz, where he taught between 1864 and 1881. Hermann Bonitz returned to Prussia in 1867, while Theodor Georg von Karajan also resigned from the university, lived briefly as a private scholar, and returned to the Court Library in 1854. He withdrew, however, for a very special reason: von Karajan – being of Greek Orthodox Confession – was scandalized by the fact that the election of the Protestant Bonitz as dean of the Philosophical Faculty was prevented by the university chancellor

14 Klemun, *Einheit in der Vielfalt – Franz Unger.*
15 Fellner et al., *Die Schärfung des Blicks.*
16 Fillafer, "Hermann Bonitz," 189–95.
17 Lukan, *Franz Miklosich (Miklošič).*
18 Staudigl-Ciechowicz, *Das Dienst-[....]recht.*
19 Hubmann, "Carl Ferdinand Peters," 31–48.
20 Angetter, "Joseph Grailich," 5.

(who was the respective provost of Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral – one of the remnants of the "catholic character" of the University of Vienna).

Concerning the confessional affiliation of the university professors, the poor state of the sources allows only very incomplete statements. Since officially to ask for a person's denomination was not part of the appointment procedure, this criterion is only exceptionally found in the archival files; therefore, one has to rely on other biographical sources which, however, offer only very little information. In the present sample I could only identify Theodor Georg von Karajan as undoubtedly Greek-Orthodox and Hermann Bonitz and Jan Kollár as Protestants. However, whether all the others were Roman Catholics cannot be taken for granted; it is certain that Jakob Goldenthal,[21] associate professor of Hebrew and "rabbinic languages," belonged to the Israelite Religious Community (*Kultusgemeinde*), this probably being the reason why he did not receive a full professorship until his death in 1868. For other posts, the fifties saw no Jews being appointed at all. However, when Theodor Gomperz later wrote in his memoirs that under neo-absolutism "the path to the professorship […] was closed to the Jews,"[22] this only applied to members of the Israelite Religious Community; for those who had previously converted to Christianity there were no restrictions, as the examples of the philosopher Karl Barach-Rappaport or the law professor Joseph Unger prove.[23]

Somewhat less difficult than the confessional attribution, but still uncertain enough, is to identify a person's social origin and to ascertain his or her social networks. Apart from the fact that there is no generally accepted job classification allowing the assignment of individual jobs under a more general terminology, one has to bear in mind that the meaning of some terms (including their social value) can regionally vary to a great extent and that it can have changed over the years; a "merchant" [*Kaufmann*], the owner of a general store in a little village in the first half of the nineteenth century (take for example Lorenz Voggenhuber, merchant in the small town named Timelkam in Upper Austria, whose daughter became the mother of the eminent Germanist and first holder of the chair for German language and literature Theodor Georg von Karajan) can by no means be compared to Julius II. Meinl, who in 1910 was listed among the 929 millionaires of Vienna in fifty-fourth position, his profession being given as "*Kaufmann und Fabrikant.*"[24] Under the heading "civil servant" many different jobs are hidden, such in the case of the professors of the "sample 1850" extending from a simple clerk in a small town to Court Councilor [*k. k. Hofrat*]. In addition, jobs of the professors' fathers are not listed in official sources, and therefore one is here dependent on the biographical secondary literature. For 30 professors information could be found regarding their families of origin; in half of the cases the fathers were civil servants in state, provincial, or municipal service or were army-officers. The

21 Singer and Mannheimer, "Goldenthal Jacob," 23.

22 Gomperz, *Essays und Erinnerungen*, 24.

23 Surman, "Vom "akademischen Altersheim" zur Spitzenforschungsanstalt?," 621–48.

24 Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*, 403.

businessmen accounted for a little less than a third. Slightly more than 10 percent stemmed from "intellectual" families, with none of their fathers belonging to lower agricultural strata. In one case I could only find the entry "parents poor," while two were illegitimate children, the father of one being a beer brewer, that of the other probably an army doctor (see Table 6).

As different as the social backgrounds of the professors were (from major-general to beer brewer), thanks to their position they became soon part of the social elite. While the professor, whose "parents were poor," eventually served as teacher for Archdukes Albrecht and Wilhelm (sons of Archduke Charles, the "victor over Napoleon") and thus gained access to the highest circles, the philosopher Johann Peithner von Lichtenfels (whose family was firmly rooted in the administrative service of the empire as well as among scientific circles) owed his social status not least to the fact that he was the brother of the Section Head [*Sektionschef*], highest civil servant in a Ministry, and neo-absolutist Imperial Councilor [*Reichsrat*] Thaddäus Peithner Freiherr von Lichtenfels. Primarily, however, social networking took place within one's own circles, among one's colleagues at the University of Vienna, as can be seen in marriage behavior and family relationships: Karl Josef Grysar married the sister of the historian Wilhelm Grauert, the daughter of Andreas von Ettingshausen was wedded to her father's colleague Joseph Grailich. Ettingshausen himself was related to Anton Ritter von Kristelli and to Andreas Baumgartner. In some families, something like an "academic dynasty" had come into being, which could span several generations; Carl Ferdinand Peters' grandfather and his uncle had already been two well-known geologists and mineralogists. Johann Peithner von Lichtenfels' grandfather was the mining scientist Johann Thaddäus Anton Peithner von Lichtenfels, and his nephew Oskar was professor of mathematics at the Technical University of Graz from the 1890s. Franz Lott's younger son Gustav became a gynecologist at the University of Vienna and at the Polyclinic (one of Vienna's best hospitals), while his elder son Julius graduated from the Vienna Polytechnic and earned a great deal of merit for his engagement in Austro-Hungarian railway construction. Technicians and scientists can also be found in the family of the chemist Josef Redtenbacher; Josef's brother Ludwig was professor of zoology at Prague University and later director of the Natural History Cabinet of the Imperial Court in Vienna. Josef's son Leo studied medicine and was a primary physician at the Rudolf Foundation (another well renowned hospital) and at the Vienna General Hospital (which also served as the schooling place of the Medical Faculty), while his brother-in-law Ferdinand was professor of mechanical engineering at the Technical University of Karlsruhe and the founder of scientific mechanical engineering (among his students were Carl Benz and Emil Škoda).

While the family relations of the professors were not without significance for their "standing" within the "scientific community," state honors and awards played an important role in their standing in broader social circles (scientific awards such as membership in various domestic and foreign Academies of Sciences etc. are not considered in the following). Among the orders and decorations awarded by the Emperor, there was a specific order of precedence.[25] The "lowest" order awarded to scientists was the Knight's Cross [*Ritterkreuz*] of the Order of Franz Joseph, however, this did not automatically involve elevation to the rank of nobility, as was initially the case with the Order of the Iron Crown [*Orden der Eisernen Krone*] III. Class or the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold. Since both orders had been awarded in great numbers over the course of time and had developed into an instrument of an "ennoblement machinery," the automatic elevation to nobility was ended in 1884.[26] In this first phase, only a few professors were granted an award as long as they were in office. Karl Kreil received the Knight's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph already in 1850, Johann Nepomuk Kaiser followed suit the same year, while Andreas von Ettingshausen was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold in 1856. When he finished his teaching career (1866), he was appointed a Court Councilor, and a year later he was awarded the baronial title. The physicist August Kunzek was also ennobled when he left the university. This procedure of awarding orders and titles at the end of a successful academic career became common practice over the years, although in exceptional cases such awards could still be conferred earlier.[27]

2 Sample 1870

In the second period, about 1870, a total of 65 professors taught at the Philosophical Faculty; 33 were humanities scholars, 32 natural scientists, 15 had already taught in the previous era (nine humanities scholars and six natural scientists) while more than twice as many, namely 32, were still working in the 1890s, almost equally distributed between humanities scholars and natural scientists (15 : 17) (see Table 1). One of these humanities scholars, Josef Karabaček, even taught until 1915.[28] Among the natural scientists, the astronomer Edmund Weiss taught until 1910, and the physicist Viktor von Lang until 1909; at the time of his retirement, the latter was the longest serving full professor of the faculty (44 years!).[29] Another botanist, Julius Wiesner, also ended his academic career in 1909.

Disregarding those who had already been teaching in the fifties, there were 50 "new" professors. Regarding their place of birth, slightly more than 70 percent came from the Cisleithanian lands (five of the future professors were born in Vienna), 20 percent from Germany (in absolute numbers 12, mostly humanities scholars), and none from Hungary, while two came from other countries; Franz Pfeiffer was born in

25 Liste_der_österreichischen_Orden_und_Ehrenzeichen; Ortner and Ludwigstorff, *Österreichs Orden und Ehrenzeichen. Teil I.*

26 Županič, *Nová šlechta rakouského císařství.*

27 For the process of rewarding honors and conferring nobility see Dotter, "Gnade, Anspruch oder Kalkül?," 51–68.

28 Mauthe, "Die Direktion Josef Karabaček."

29 Karlik and Schmid, *Franz Serafin Exner und sein Kreis*, 71–4.

Switzerland and Eduard Suess in Great Britain, because his Saxon father kept a wool trade in London at the time (his mother was a daughter of the well-known Prague banking family Zdekauer). Considering also the ones active already in the fifties, the percentage of those born in Cisleithania rose to almost three quarters, whereas those born in Germany fell to 17 percent (see Table 2).

As in the group of professors active in the fifties, there were also many in the second sample who originally began to study a completely different subject than the one in which they later became successfully active. The archaeologist Alexander Conze, the Germanist Karl Tomaschek, the orientalist Josef Karabaček, and the paleontologist Melchior Neumayr initially studied law, while Robert Zimmermann,[30] who for decades influenced the philosophical tradition in Austria, studied mathematics and natural sciences in Vienna (after having attended the lectures of Franz Seraphin Exner in Prague). Elsewhere, the Romanist scholar Adolf Mussafia attended lectures at the Medical Faculty for several years, while the historian Theodor Sickel began his academic career as a student of Protestant theology. Some natural scientists had originally entered various monasteries as novices but had soon given up the clerical profession. The professor of philosophy Franz Brentano, on the other hand, was ordained a catholic priest in 1864, but resigned from the priesthood in 1873 and left the Roman Catholic Church in 1879.[31]

Among the generation in the "sample 1870" there were many who had pursued their studies at different universities. Franz Brentano, for example, frequented the universities of Munich, Würzburg, Berlin, Münster, and Tübingen, while some of those born in the Habsburg Monarchy did the same and changed their place of study several times. Five Austrian humanities scholars earned their doctorates at a German university, as some of the subjects chosen by those concerned were still scarcely represented at the universities of the Habsburgs.

Four future professors of humanities disciplines achieved this status without having obtained a university degree (doctorate) in their studies; Karl Tomaschek, for example, had passed the teacher's examination in German studies and in history (although as a freshman he began to study law), but he did not have the doctorate that was usually obligatory for a habilitation. The historian Ottokar Lorenz[32] also had taken "only" the teacher's examination (1854), but he graduated from the first scientific course of the newly founded Institute for Austrian Historical Research [*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*] and was habilitated in 1856, with the missing doctorate "supplemented" 11 years later in the form of an honorary doctorate at the University of Königsberg. Adolf Mussafia[33] had not completed any regular linguistic studies at all but had acquired his knowledge through restless self-study. In 1869 he had already been a professor of Romance languages and literatures for two years (incidentally the

30 Winter, *Robert Zimmermanns philosophische Propädeutik*; Feichtinger, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt.*

31 Mayer-Hillebrand, "Franz Brentano."

32 Steiner, "Die Wiener Zeit des Ottokar Lorenz"; Weber, *Priester der Klio.*

33 Mair, "Romanistik in Österreich," 257–92.

first of its kind in Vienna), when the University of Vienna awarded him an honorary doctorate. Among the natural scientists, there were also two professors who did not have any doctorate. The best known example is Eduard Suess, who was appointed associate professor in 1857 without a doctorate or habilitation; much later the universities of Vienna and Krakow awarded him honorary doctorates.[34] Although Theodor Oppolzer had completed his medical studies in 1865 with a doctorate, simultaneously he had already been intensively occupied with astronomy, and the following year he was habilitated in this subject even without a subject-related doctorate (and without a separate habilitation thesis). Compared to the earlier period, the lack of a doctoral diploma was declining, falling to slightly over 10 percent of the "new" professors. Only four future professors received their doctorate at one of the Habsburg provincial universities [*Landesuniversitäten*] while 18 completed their studies in Vienna (mostly natural scientists), thus making it 22 graduates in Cisleithania. Exactly the same number of Cisleithanian students (among them seven born in the Habsburg Empire) received their diploma from a German university. However, if the professors still working since the fifties are taken into consideration as well, those which were academically raised in Cisleithanian universities outnumbered their "German" colleagues by 10 percent (see Table 3).

While some freshly graduated students continued their studies abroad – such as Viktor von Lang, who worked with Bunsen in Heidelberg, in Paris, and eventually at the Kensington Museum in London (even after his habilitation) – not all future professors were able to habilitate within a relatively short time after their doctorate. They were dependent on finding a livelihood elsewhere, although the number of positions at the university had increased significantly compared to the 1850s. The physicist and chemist Josef Loschmidt[35] had already graduated from the Polytechnic in 1846; he first worked in a steel company and later on founded his own factory which, however, went bankrupt. In 1856 he took the teacher's examination and subsequently taught at several secondary schools before being habilitated in 1866. Some humanities scholars also spent a few years as teachers at various grammar schools before continuing their academic careers.

Different to many of their colleagues in the 1850s, for the "new" professors of the "sample 1870," who had already completed their academic education after 1848, habilitation had become the necessary prerequisite for a career at the universities. Nevertheless, there were exceptions as well. Eduard Suess and Adolf Mussafia have already been mentioned, while Richard Heinzel, Moritz Thausing, and Eduard Sachau, who was appointed from Germany, also belonged to that category. The great majority had been habilitated by Cisleithanian universities (overwhelmingly in Vienna), while German universities account for only a handful of habitations (mainly humanities scholars) (see Table 4).

34 Cernajsek et al., "Eduard Sueß (1831–1914)," 59–84; Seidl, "Eduard (Carl Adolph) Suess," 217–24.
35 Schuster, "From Curiosity to Passion," 269–76.

After their habilitation, some future professors took it upon themselves either to earn an additional income in addition to their lecturing activities as private lecturers (their remuneration consisted only of the money paid by the students for each course [*Kollegiengeld*]) or to pursue an academic activity outside the university. Ottokar Lorenz found employment at the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv" and the linguist Friedrich Müller at the Imperial Court Library. The musicologist Eduard Hanslick continued to practice his profession as a – feared – critic for various newspapers. The Egyptologist and Africanist Leo Reinisch[36] undertook an extended journey to Egypt on behalf of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico (while still archduke, Ferdinand Maximilian himself had undertaken a long journey to Egypt and had collected a great number of antiquities) and then followed the Emperor to Mexico, where he was supposed to establish an Egyptian department at the local museum but also began to do research on the languages of the indigenes. Some natural scientists found employment at the Mineral Court Cabinet or the Botanical Court Cabinet, while others worked as teachers at a commercial academy or a secondary school.

Apart from those who already taught at the faculty in the fifties, 50 professors within the "sample 1870" were appointed to the faculty – 24 humanities scholars and 26 natural scientists. Of the humanities scholars, 10 (approx. 42 %) were house appointments (i. e. from the university of Vienna), five (21 percent) came from other Cisleithanian universities, six (25 percent) from Germany and one, the historian Max Büdinger, from Zurich. Of those appointed from other Cisleithanian universities, three came from Graz; Robert Zimmermann taught first in Olomouc, then in Prague and from 1861 to 1896 in Vienna, while the historian Heinrich Zeißberg[37] came to Vienna via L'viv and Innsbruck. Among the natural scientists, only three were house appointments (about 12 percent), nine were appointed from various Cisleithanian universities and colleges (36 per cent), ten from other scientific institutions of the Habsburg Empire (about 39 percent), and three (about 11 percent) from Germany (see Table 5). The careers of four professors deserve special mention. The botanist Julius Wiesner came from the Forestry Academy in Mariabrunn, and at the same time also held the position of associate professor at the Vienna Technical University, which he continued to hold for some time after his appointment to the university. The zoologist Ludwig Schmarda[38] originally held a professorship in Prague, but in the mid-fifties set out on a research trip around the world, during which he was dismissed, officially for "exceeding his leave" but primarily because various political accusations had been made against him. After the end of neo-absolutism, he was rehabilitated in 1861 and appointed to Vienna in 1862, where he worked until his retirement in 1883. The chemist Adolf Lieben,[39] who had held professorships in Palermo and Turin between his habilitation

36 Mukarovsky, *Leo Reinisch.*

37 Oberkofler, *Die geschichtlichen Fächer.*

38 Wallaschek, *Ludwig Karl Schmarda.*

39 Arnbom, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch*; Rosner, *Chemie in Österreich: 1740–1914.*

in Vienna and his teaching position in Prague, was appointed directly from Prague, one of the very few professors in Vienna whose career had also taken them outside the German-speaking world. The mathematician and physicist Ludwig Boltzmann[40] possibly led an even more "eventful" professional life; after his habilitation in Vienna, he received a call to Graz as professor of mathematics, in which capacity he was appointed to Vienna in 1873, and from where he returned to Graz in 1876, but as professor of physics; in 1890 he went to Munich, in 1894 he returned to Vienna, and in 1900 he accepted a call to Leipzig, from where he returned to his old position in Vienna in 1902.

Of the humanities scholars born in the Habsburg Empire (including those who had already been teaching in Vienna since the fifties), the overwhelming majority ended their academic careers in Vienna. Only Ottokar Lorenz and Wilhelm Scherer left the Austrian capital, with Lorenz following a call to Jena[41] and Scherer accepting a call to the newly established Imperial University of Strasbourg before going to Berlin.[42] After his retirement, Theodor Sickel headed the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome,[43] while the classical philologist Wilhelm Hartel[44] joined the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs as Section Head in 1896, where he rose to the position of cabinet minister from 1900 to 1905. For almost all professors from Germany, however, Vienna was only a temporary stopover. The orientalist Eduard Sachau, the archaeologist Alexander Conze, the classical scholar Johannes Vahlen, and the English scholar Julius Zupitza all went to Berlin. Franz Brentano remained in Vienna as a private lecturer even after losing his professorship (as a result of accepting foreign citizenship for the purpose of marriage, which for him as an ordained Catholic priest was not possible in Austria). After various attempts to regain the professorship failed, he went to Florence after the death of his wife in 1895.

The natural scientists turned out to be more "settled" than the humanities scholars. Of the 32 natural scientists of the entire "sample 1870," only the meteorologist Julius von Hann went to Graz for a short time at the end of the 1890s to spend the last decade of his active service back in Vienna. Ludwig Boltzmann has already been referred to, while the botanist Josef Böhm was appointed professor at the Mariabrunn Forestry Academy which was transformed into the University of Agriculture [*Hochschule für Bodenkultur*], where he held the rector's office in 1878, although at the same time he was appointed full professor at the University of Vienna.

Only a few of the professors in the "sample 1870" did not belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The two German-born professors Alexander Conze and Theodor Sickel were Protestants, as was Eduard Suess, while Ottokar Lorenz, originally a Catholic, converted to Protestantism in the early 1870s. The ordained Catholic priest Franz Brentano

40 Höflechner, *Ludwig Boltzmann. Leben und Briefe*; Boltzmann-Fasol and Fasol, *Ludwig Boltzmann (1844–1906).*

41 Winkelbauer, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Wien.*

42 Zeman, *Wilhelm Scherer (26.4.1841–6.8.1886).*

43 Fichtenau, "Diplomatiker und Urkundenforscher," 9–49.

44 Ranzmaier, "Wilhelm (von) Hartel. Philologe und Unterrichtsminister um 1900," 233–8.

left his church in 1879 and was non-denominational ever since. Max Büdinger, whose father was a provincial rabbi, converted to Protestantism on the occasion of his appointment to Vienna in 1872. Adolf Mussafia, who came from a family of Sephardic rabbis, had already converted to Catholicism in 1856, long before his appointment as associate professor. Theodor Gomperz did not take this step, instead remaining a nominal member of the Israelite Religious Community,[45] as did Adolf Lieben and Eduard Lippmann. The affiliation of five Protestant professors and three Jewish professors to their respective religious communities is thus known beyond doubt, although the number of unreported cases remains uncertain.

The social background of the "new" professors was widely spread (see Table 6). Compared to the "sample 1850," the number and the percentage of those stemming from families with a civil service or military background declined (it is remarkable that all sons of civil servant families turned to the natural sciences), whereas the number of descendants of "intellectual" families rose considerably. The fathers of two humanities scholars were rabbis, while Theodor Sickel's father was a Protestant pastor. Three of the natural scientists had physicians as fathers, with one a pharmacist. There was one teacher's son among the natural scientists, but four among the humanities scholars. Among those whose fathers exercised an intellectual or artistic profession were the humanities scholars Franz Brentano, Eduard Hanslick, and Franz Pfeiffer. Descendants of the economic upper classes (industrialists, bankers) were sparsely represented among the professors at that time; Theodor Gomperz, Ernst Ludwig and Adolf Lieben were the only ones. Seven professors were the sons of families earning their livelihood in crafts and trades, among them the natural scientist Eduard Suess and the humanities scholar Wilhelm Hartel, while there were three humanities scholars and two natural scientists from the lower agricultural sector (peasants, crofter, and farm hands). Taking together all professors of the "sample 1870" ("new" and "old" ones, totaling 65 people), more than a third (24 in absolute figures) came from various educated and business middle-class families, from the civil service (nine), and the military (five), while merchants, craft, and trade families (ten) and agriculture (seven) were underrepresented in relation to the general population. Yet for a considerable number of their members, it was possible to rise to higher social circles thanks to their education and their own performance.

This social mobility is even more pronounced when looking at the marriage behavior of the professors, some of whom found their spouses in the kind of social circles to which their parents belonged. Joseph Loschmidt, son of a poor farmer and tailor, married the daughter of a master white tanner; Wilhelm Scherer, whose father was director of estates of Count Schönborn, married the daughter of the director of estates of Count Hoyos; and Adolf Lieben, scion of a banking family, entered into a marriage alliance with Mathilde Schey von Koromla, whose father was also head of a banking

45 Kann, *Theodor Gomperz.*

house.[46] In general, daughters from the economic bourgeoisie were rather the exception as wives of professors; Theodor Oppolzer, son of a famous physician, married a daughter of the industrialist (and patron) Adolf Ignaz Mautner von Markhof, while Josef Karabaček was married to the daughter of a factory owner. Much more frequent were marriages within the educated bourgeoisie, a social stratum to which we can also include some artists, such as Theodor Sickel's second wife who was a daughter of the famous architect Gottfried Semper. Elsewhere, Eduard Hanslick was married to a well-known singer, while Karl Ludwig von Littrow's wife was a writer who ran a widely known salon and was significantly involved in the founding of the Viennese Women's Acquisition Society [*Wiener Frauenerwerbsverein*].[47] Marriages within families of the closer academic environment increased in number: Melchior Neumayr married a daughter of Eduard Suess, Franz Brentano the sister of Adolf Lieben, and Ottokar Lorenz a daughter of Franz Lott, while another daughter of Lott was married to Rudolf Eitelberger in his second marriage, Gustav Tschermak married the daughter of the botanist Eduard Fenzl.

Extending the observation to the wider family environment (to brothers, sons, nephews, etc.), one recognizes that the "academic dynasty formation" increased, especially among the natural science professors. Here, at least 14 cases can be verified, while amongst the humanities scholars there were only just under half as many. In some cases, the sons followed the discipline of their fathers, such as the astronomer Egon Oppolzer, son of Theodor Oppolzer, or the geologist Franz Eduard Suess (whose son Hans Eduard – i. e., the grandson of the geologist Eduard Suess – ended up as Professor of Geochemistry at the University of California in La Jolla). In other families the scientific spectrum was more diversified; Emil Weyr's brother Eduard was also a mathematician, but his son Franz was a lawyer (after 1918 he became one of the leading law professors in the Czechoslovak Republic). One of Julius Wiesner's sons became an anatomist (Richard), another (Friedrich) a jurist and diplomat.[48] The second-born son of the chemist and physician Franz Schneider was an archaeologist (Robert), and as such he became director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Robert's elder brother Theodor took up a career in law, while the younger brother Richard earned his living as a painter. Franz Schneider's son-in-law Anton Weichselbaum was professor of pathological anatomy at the University of Vienna. One daughter of the historian Max Büdinger was married to the mathematician Heinrich Burkhardt, another daughter to the Egyptologist Jakob Krall, and the third daughter to the historian Paul Schweizer. Büdinger's son Konrad was professor of surgery in Vienna. The Germanist Karl Tomaschek had four brothers, all of whom took up academic careers; Johann Adolf was professor of

46 Fuks and Kohlbauer, *Die Liebens*; Arnbom, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch.*

47 Scheider, *Auguste und Carl von Littrow.*

48 Friedrich Wiesner was involved in the investigation of the Sarajevo assassination, represented the Foreign Ministry at the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations from December 1917 to May 1918, and acted as deputy head of the Foreign Ministry to be Liquidated after the end of the Habsburg Monarchy. See Schagerl, *Friedrich Ritter von Wiesner.*

legal history at the University of Vienna, Wilhelm professor of geography in Graz and Vienna, Ignaz completed an extensive education at the University of Vienna and was ultimately head of the Graz University Library, while Anton was a grammar school professor of botany.

In contrast to the "sample 1850," the number of those who received state honors and awards was quite high. Of the total of 33 humanities scholars in this sample, only 12 received no honors at all, including five who followed a call to a foreign university and therefore experienced the "peak" of their academic career elsewhere. Only two professors of those who carried out their Viennese functions well into the next period were not found worthy of an honor. In the case of Theodor Vogt, it seems that in his lifetime the academic subject he represented, pedagogy, did not enjoy the esteem that would have made an appreciation possible; in the case of Franz Brentano, it was probably the "objectionable" lifestyle that excluded an honor being bestowed by the emperor, although Brentano's influence on the development of philosophy was enormous. His students were to be found on the chairs of almost all Cisleithanian universities.[49]

The most frequent honor in terms of numbers was the award of the title of Court Councilor; 15 professors received this title, some at the end of their academic career, others a bit earlier. Among the latter were Robert Zimmermann and Theodor Sickel, whose appointment fell in the seventies, although both were active until the nineties, with both receiving further awards. Sickel was advanced to the position of Section Head in 1899, without, however, performing any administrative work in the Ministry. This was not true for Wilhelm Hartel, who held office in the Ministry for four years (and gave up his academic teaching activities before taking over its directorship in 1900).

Among the "sample 1870" five humanities scholars received the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class and two the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold. One of them was Robert Zimmermann, who in 1896 – on the occasion of his definitive retirement from the teaching profession – was finally elevated to the peerage. Higher honors were also awarded to the Egyptologist Leo Reinisch, who was awarded the Commander's Cross with Star [*Komturkreuz mit Stern*] of the Order of Franz Joseph, and Wilhelm Hartel, who in addition to the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class also received the Order of the Iron Crown II. Class. Theodor Sickel was also awarded the Order of the Iron Crown II. Class, as well as the Commander's Cross [*Kommandeurkreuz*] of the Order of Leopold. The Decoration of Honor for Art and Science [*Ehrenzeichen für Kunst und Wissenschaft*], endowed by the Emperor in 1887, was awarded to five humanities scholars of the "sample 1870," while a very special distinction was awarded to Franz Miklosich; three years after his retirement (1886) he was granted the dignity of a Privy Councilor [*Geheimer Rat*]. Minister of Education Gautsch, who submitted the application to the Emperor, conceded that such a high distinction (which corresponded in a way to the

49 Smith, *Austrian Philosophy. The Legacy of Franz Brentano.*

highest grade of the Order of Leopold or the Order of the Iron Crown, combined with the form of address "His Excellency") would be rather unusual for a scholar, but Miklosich was "a celebrity of the first rank" and he had always played an important role in educational policy as well.[50]

Of the 32 natural scientists, 13 were not deemed worthy of any honor or distinction by the authorities. It is astonishing that among these "non-honored" there were also capacities of the first rank, first and foremost Eduard Suess. Some 14 professors were awarded the title of Court Councilor, most of them towards the end of their academic career, but some much earlier. Gustav Tschermak[51] was awarded the title of Court Councilor in 1877, relatively early in his career, while his father-in-law Eduard Fenzl, who was 30 years older than Tschermak, was awarded the same title only one year after his son-in-law had received it, on the occasion of Fenzl's retirement. In Ludwig Boltzmann's case, the bestowal of the title of Court Councilor was apparently part of the arrangements to bring him back to Vienna from Leipzig in 1902. Viktor von Lang had already received this award in 1891, 25 years after he had started his teaching career in Vienna. When he retired in 1909, he was awarded the prestigious title of Privy Councilor.

Orders and elevations to the peerage were somewhat less frequent among the natural scientists than among the humanities scholars. Nine received the Order of Franz Joseph, three of them the Commander's Cross of the Order, among them Franz Schneider, who had previously been awarded the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class. A few years after being awarded the Commander's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph, he was elevated to the peerage, a "fate" that also "befell" Julius Hann and Gustav Tschermak (both had previously been awarded the Decoration of Honor for Art and Science). Apart from Schneider, two other natural scientists were awarded the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class, as well as the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold.

3 Sample 1890

The "sample 1890" consists of 74 professors, 43 humanities scholars and 31 natural scientists. Of these, 42 started teaching in Vienna for the first time around 1890 (28 humanities scholars and 14 natural scientists); 25 (12 and 13 respectively) are also included in the "sample 1910," since they were active at the University of Vienna until the second decade of the twentieth century (see Table 1) – of this group, one humanities scholar and four natural scientists had already belonged to the University since the 1870s. Among the 28 humanities scholars who were "new" to the faculty around 1890, less than two-thirds were born in Cisleithanian lands, with well over a quarter in Germany

50 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Wien, Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht (AVA MCU) Präsidium 1889, Karton 149, Zl. 777/1889, Au. Vortrag Gautsch vom 27. April 1889 (Zl. 751).

51 Fritscher, "Mineralogie und Kultur im Wien der Donaumonarchie," 67–75.

as well as one in Croatia and one in Switzerland. The overwhelming majority of the 14 natural scientists came from the Cisleithanian lands (approx. 78 %), with one from Lombardy and two from Germany. In total, of the 42 “new” professors, slightly over two-thirds came from Cisleithania and almost a quarter from Germany, while three were born in other countries. Taking together all 74 professors that taught around 1890, the percentage of those born in Cisleithania was slightly higher, and correspondingly the “Germans” settled for a little less (see Table 2).

As in earlier times, some professors had initially chosen other fields of study. The art historian Alois Riegl[52] and the classical philologist Karl Schenkl[53] began their studies at the Faculty of Law, while the eminent scholar of English studies Jakob Schipper[54] initially attended medical lectures and then switched to Protestant theology. The professor of oriental studies David Heinrich Müller[55] had completed rabbinical studies, the classical philologist Michael Gitlbauer and the historian Engelbert Mühlbacher[56] had received Catholic priestly ordination prior to their doctorates. The fact that among the natural scientists the zoologist Friedrich Brauer[57] earned his doctorate at the Medical Faculty is quite understandable, with regard to the development of the sciences, while from the point of view of later careers somewhat less so is the juris doctorate of the geologist Eduard Reyer,[58] and least of all that the mathematician Leopold Gegenbauer[59] first studied history and comparative linguistics; Gegenbauer also seems to have been the only professor who did not complete his studies with a degree in doctoral studies. He passed the teacher’s examination in mathematics and physics in Vienna, then worked for a few years as a secondary school teacher, and in 1873 went to Berlin where he studied with Hermann Helmholtz and others. Two years later he was appointed professor in Czernowitz (where he was awarded the Dr. h.c. in 1879).

More than 60 % of the professors had finished their doctoral studies at a Cisleithanian university (see Table 3), a significant rise that may be indicative either of a qualitative improvement of the academic education offered at the universities or of a declining interest in student mobility. Most graduations had been taken place in Vienna, while three humanities graduates and one natural scientist earned their doctorate in Innsbruck, as well as one humanities graduate in Prague and one natural scientist in Graz. Apart from the German-born professors, who all received their doctoral degrees at German universities, this group also included the Swiss-born Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke and the Croatian-born Slavist Vatroslav Jagić, as well as three other

52 Noever et al., *Alois Riegl Revisited.*

53 Kernbauer, “Karl Schenkl (1863/64 – 1875),” 38 – 52.

54 Haenicke, *Biographisches und bibliographisches.*

55 Sturm, *David Heinrich Müller.*

56 Winkelbauer, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Wien.*

57 Mecenseffy, *Evangelische Lehrer an der Universität Wien.*

58 Proßegger, “Eduard Reyer (1849 – 1914),” 86 – 94.

59 O’Connor and Robertson, “Leopold Bernhard Gegenbauer.”

chemists from Cisleithania, who all completed their studies in Heidelberg (Robert Bunsen's teaching there seems to have attracted them).

As was already the case in earlier times, there were some "newcomers" of the "sample 1890" whose university career was interrupted by other professional activities after having gained their doctorate. Oswald Redlich entered employment as an archivist in Innsbruck, four humanities scholars worked as grammar schoolteachers, Jakob Schipper worked as a tutor and then went to Oxford, where he accepted a position as a research assistant, two art historians were employed at the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, and the archaeologist Robert Schneider in the Antiquities Collection of the Museum of Art History in Vienna. Among the natural scientists, three worked as grammar school or secondary school teachers, one as an assistant at the Joanneum in Graz, and another at the Zoological Court Cabinet in Vienna. Some also went to universities abroad to improve their skills in their respective fields. Vatroslav Jagić,[60] for example, undertook further travels in Germany and Russia after his doctorate in Leipzig, and in 1872 was appointed to Odessa without possessing the formal requirement of habilitation. He was not the only one of the "newcomers" without a habilitation; in sum there were five non-habilitated natural scientists and the same number of humanities professors, forming almost a quarter of all professors (see Table 4). Among them were ancient history expert Eugen Bormann, who was appointed directly from a Berlin grammar school to the University of Marburg. Jakob Schipper had not qualified as a university lecturer either, nor had the orientalist Georg Bühler, who as a tutor in England, then assistant at the Royal Private Library, accepted a call to a professorship in Bombay, India. It is noteworthy that all the habilitated natural scientists had received their *venia legendi* in Vienna.

Among the humanities professors appearing for the first time in the "sample 1890," 11 were house appointments (almost 40 %) and four came from the Prague universities, among them the Germanist Jakob Minor[61] and the slavist Josef Konstantin Jireček.[62] Otto Benndorf[63] had come to Prague via Zurich and Munich, and Ernst Mach had been professor in Graz before he taught in Prague, while three historians[64] and the orientalist Gustav Bickell came from Innsbruck. Five humanities scholars were appointed from German universities, Georg Bühler moved from Bombay to Vienna for health reasons, and Vatroslav Jagić gave up his chair in Odessa in favor of Berlin, then moved to St. Petersburg, from where he was appointed to Vienna in succession to Miklosich. Among the natural scientists there were nine house appointments, while five came from other Cisleithanian universities. Two mathematicians were appointed to Vienna from the Graz University of Technology, another mathematician came from Innsbruck, as did a botanist, while a geologist moved from the German Technical University in

60 Hafner, "Geschichte der österreichischen Slawistik," 11–88.

61 Fuchs, *Die Geschichte der germanistischen Lehrkanzel.*

62 Rehder, "Jireček, Konstantin Josef," 267–9.

63 Kenner, "Otto Benndorf (1838–1907)," 67 ff.

64 Oberkofler, *Die geschichtlichen Fächer.*

Prague to Vienna. Not a single natural scientist came from Germany (see Table 5). Unlike earlier periods, all of the newly appointed professors came from other universities or technical high schools, as obviously the recourse to other scientific institutions was no longer necessary.

The great majority of professors ended their academic careers in Vienna, but the philosopher and psychologist Franz Hillebrand accepted an appointment in Innsbruck, and the comparative linguist Rudolf Meringer accepted an appointment in Graz. After his retirement from the Vienna professorship Otto Benndorf headed the Austrian Archaeological Institute for another 10 years. Albrecht Penck and Erich Schmidt went to Berlin, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke to Bonn.

Of the 42 newly appointed professors, six are known to have belonged to the Protestant denomination (mostly humanities professors from Germany). At least four professors of the Vienna Faculty were members of the Jewish religion, all born in the Cisleithanian region. The scientific career of most of them progressed very slowly, with only Guido Goldschmiedt[65] managing to reach higher academic positions during the course of his career: appointed associate professor at the University of Vienna in 1890, he became full professor at the University of Agriculture in 1891, and in the same year was appointed to the German University of Prague, where he became the first Jewish rector in 1907. Including those who had already belonged to the professorial college around 1870, in the “sample 1890” there were thus nine Protestants, possibly seven Jews (in some cases their affiliation to the Israelite Religious Community is doubtful), and one non-denominational professor (Franz Brentano).

An examination of the fathers’ professions reveals some differences compared to the profile of the “sample 1870” (see Table 6). Among the professors named for the first time around 1890, only one came from a pastor’s family. The fathers of two humanities scholars had themselves been active in science, but also in politics. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke’s father was a physician,[66] and the fathers of three natural scientists also practiced medicine. Some professors came from artistic circles; Oswald Redlich’s father was a painter and owner of a lithographic institution, while Wilhelm Waagen’s was a painter and writer. Only one professor came from an officer’s family. All in all, 17 humanities scholars and ten natural scientists came from families belonging to the educated middle class in the broadest sense (amounting to almost two-thirds of the total of 42 professors included in the “sample 1890” for the first time). Seven humanities scholars and three natural scientists had a commercial background (including artisans, craft, trade, and industrial circles), just less than a quarter of the entire professorship. Two humanities scholars had an agricultural background; the occupational provenance of the family of three professors is unknown. If one also includes those who were already included in the “sample 1870” and were still active as professors in the nineties (74 in total), 41 (~ 55 %) can be attributed to the educated middle classes, 17 (~ 23 %) to the modern busi-

65 Pešek and Lohmann, “Guido Goldschmiedt (1850 – 1915),” 79 – 110.

66 Meyer-Lübke’s uncle (his father’s brother) was the poet Conrad Ferdinand Meyer.

ness world, and six (~ 8 %) to the agrarian world, while for eight professors the occupation of their fathers could not be identified.

The marriage behavior of the professors or the social position of their relatives and children is indicative of the professor's upward movement into "better society." Some chose partners from the closer academic circles; Jakob Krall married the daughter of Max Büdinger, Leopold Gegenbauer a daughter of the jurist Friedrich Schuler von Libloy, professor at Czernowitz University. Others extended their marriage circles into other social spheres. It is understandable that Anton Kerner,[67] son of a director of the manorial estates of Count Schönborn, chose the widow of a Count Wolkenstein as his wife, while Alfred Berger,[68] who was more a writer and dramaturge than a university professor, married the renowned actress Stella Hohenfels. Gustav Escherich married a female composer, but she – like her husband – had a military background; she was the sister of admiral Anton Haus, the commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian navy in the First World War. Marriages into families of entrepreneurs remained rather rare, with one of the few being Hugo Weidel, who married the daughter of a director of a Viennese brick factory.

Whatever circles the wives might come from, very often real "scientific dynasties" emerged from these marriages. Some of these had already existed in the past; the Tomaschek brothers have already been referred to, Franz Seraphin Exner[69] (son of the pre-march professor of Philosophy in Prague and eminent reformer of the educational system around 1848) had a sister and four brothers, among them the jurist and Viennese professor of Roman Law Adolf, the professor of Mathematical Physics in Innsbruck Karl, as well as the physician Sigmund, full professor of Physiology at the University of Vienna (both his sons also became university professors). The sister Marie was married to Anton von Frisch, university professor in Vienna and primary physician at the Vienna Polyclinic; their son was the zoologist and Nobel Prize winner Karl von Frisch. Franz Exner's nephew of the same name (son of Adolf) was also a lawyer and professor in Czernowitz, Prague and at several universities in Germany. He was married to the daughter of Friedrich Freiherr von Wieser, professor of Law and Political Science in Vienna and Austrian Minister of Trade in 1917/18. The Exner family clan[70] was certainly an exception but in other families, too, the attainment of academic positions by the offspring was not uncommon. Karl Schenkl's son Heinrich followed in his father's footsteps, being a professor in Graz, and from 1917 in Vienna, Karl's nephew Adolf Schenkl was an ophthalmologist at the University of Prague, with his son-in-law Emil Schrutka a professor at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Vienna. The son of the slavist Vatroslav Jagić became a well-known physician, and a daughter married Milan von Rešetar, who succeeded his father-in-law at the University of Vienna

67 Grabenbauer-Petz and Kiehn, *Anton Kerner von Marilaun.*

68 Praxl, *Wissenschaft, Drama, Theater.*

69 Karlik and Schmid, *Franz Serafin Exner und sein Kreis.*

70 On the "Exner children" (orphaned after the early death of their parents) and their careers, cf. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty.*

from 1910 to 1918. Yet not all children of important scientists turned to science, as is shown by the example of Ernst Mach's sons; while Ludwig followed his father and worked with him, Felix devoted himself to painting and Viktor produced mechanical-mathematical instruments.

It appears that the state authorities were more restrictive in granting awards around and after the turn of the century than in the years before. However, it should also be taken into account that some of those who are listed for the first time in the "sample 1890" were still relatively young, and only reached the "award age" or completed their long period of service when the Habsburg Monarchy no longer existed. Among the 14 natural scientists, four received the title of Court Councilor, one the Order of Franz Joseph, and one the Decoration of Honor for Art and Science. Among the 28 humanities scholars, eight were appointed Court Councilors and one honorary Section Head. Two received the Order of the Iron Cross III. Class, one the Order of Leopold, and one the Commander's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph.

4 Sample 1910

Compared to earlier periods, the number of professors teaching at the faculty around 1910 had increased significantly, namely to 119, 66 of them humanities scholars and 53 natural scientists. Excluding those who were already represented in the "sample 1890," there were 94 "new" professors (54 humanities scholars, 40 natural scientists) (see Table 1). The strong numerical increase is related to the establishment of new disciplines on the one hand, and to the augmentation of the offer in the already established disciplines on the other hand. Among the 54 humanities scholars more than two-thirds were born in Cisleithania (17 of them in Vienna, nine in the Bohemian lands), over 20 percent in Germany, four in the Hungarian half of the empire, and one in London. Of the 40 natural scientists, even more, namely three-quarters, came from Cisleithania (15 of them from Vienna and ten from the Bohemian lands), three from Germany, six from the Lands of the Hungarian crown, and also one from abroad. If the professors already teaching in the nineties are also included (119), the ones born in Cisleithania amounted to roughly 72 percent (31 percent of the total were born in Vienna), slightly under 10 percent came from the Lands of the Hungarian crown, 16 percent from Germany, while four scholars were born in other foreign countries (see Table 2).

Only a few are known to have completed other studies before finally committing themselves to "their" subject. Philipp August Becker, a German-born Romanist, first studied Protestant theology, while Hermann Junker, also from Germany, studied Catholic theology and was ordained a priest before finally turning to Egyptology. Franz Kühnert studied natural sciences, mathematics, and astronomy (the subject for which he received his doctorate), and it was only through astronomy that he finally came to study sinology.[71] Studying at various universities continued to be widespread, especially among natural scientists.

The overwhelming majority of future professors coming from the Habsburg lands completed their studies with a doctorate at the University of Vienna. Of the humanities graduates, only two received their doctorates in Graz, three in Innsbruck, while two completed their studies at a German university. Of those born in Germany, all but one received their doctorate at a German university; only the classical philologist Josef Bick received his doctorate from the German University of Prague. Among the natural scientists, the Vienna-centeredness is perhaps even more distinctive (see Table 3): only one received his doctorate in Innsbruck and two in Prague. On the other hand, Zdenko Skraup from Prague earned his doctorate in Giessen, while Friedrich Berwerth from Transylvania and Cornelio Doelter, a native of Puerto Rico (but son of a German-born father), both earned their doctorates in Heidelberg.

As in earlier times, not all of the freshly graduated immediately found a permanent job at the university. Eight of the humanities scholars turned to teaching at grammar schools, one taught at various commercial schools, and another worked as a private tutor before finding a job at the Court Library. The Court Library also served as a professional anchor for the orientalist Rudolf Geyer, while the historian Heinrich Kretschmayr worked in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior, became its director in 1904, and was appointed tit. a.o. (titular) professor three years later. His colleague Viktor Bibl was employed at the Lower Austrian Provincial Archives while the musicologist Richard Wallaschek, who in 1888 had already habilitated in philosophy and aesthetics in Freiburg, continued his scientific work at the British Museum in London; in 1897, on the occasion of his move to Vienna, he again habilitated in psychology and aesthetics of musical art.

Among the natural scientists, three taught at grammar schools, including Samuel Oppenheim, who had previously been employed at Kuffner's private observatory. The University Observatory offered work opportunities to two more scientists, while others were accommodated at the Geological Imperial Institute or the Natural History Court Museum. After receiving his doctorate, the chemist Rudolf Wegscheider went to the Agricultural College in Berlin as an assistant and worked as an industrial chemist in Heilbronn before returning to Vienna. Rudolf Pöch had originally studied medicine and worked as a physician, then studied anthropology in Berlin and undertook various research trips; he was habilitated in Vienna in 1910, and gained his philosophical doctorate as late as 1912.

Three quarters of the humanities scholars of the "sample 1910" had been habilitated in Vienna, 17 percent had reached this qualification in Germany, while one *venia legendi* was conferred in Innsbruck, and another in Switzerland. Among the natural scientists, all but one were habilitated in Vienna, while only the botanist Viktor Schiffner got his degree in Prague. The mathematician Philipp Furtwängler was not habili-

71 Bihl, *Orientalistik an der Universität Wien*, 57–9.

tated, and the same holds true for the historian Joseph Hirn, the classical philologist August Engelbrecht, and the geographer Eduard Brückner (see Table 4). In contrast to the missing habilitation the chemist Zdenko Skraup had habilitated twice, first at the Vienna University of Technology and then at the University of Vienna. The geographer Karl Diener was also habilitated twice: first for geography and later on for geology.

Incidentally, Skraup was one of those who pursued another occupation after his habilitation; he was a teacher at the Vienna Commercial Academy [*Handelsakademie*] for five years. Hans Leo Przibram founded and directed the Biological Research Institute in the Vienna Prater, Viktor Uhlig worked at the Geological Imperial Institute, and Alfred Tauber was chief mathematician for the "k. k. private Lebensversicherungsanstalt Phönix" (an insurance company) from 1892 to 1908.[72] Among the humanities scholars, some continued to teach at a grammar school after their habilitation, for example August Engelbrecht who, in addition to his work at the "Theresianum" (a grammar school which was specifically meant for the education of future high ranking civil servants or officers, frequented by sons of the nobility and the bourgeoisie alike), was employed at the Church Fathers' Commission [*Kirchenväterkommission*] of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The slavist Václav Vondrák also continued his earlier work at the Court Library, as did Josef Bick.[73] Julius von Schlosser remained at the Museum of Art History, Michael Haberlandt at the Museum of Natural History, and Ludwig Bittner at the House, Court, and State Archives (of which he was director from 1926 onwards).

Of the 40 humanities scholars who had been habilitated in Vienna, 33 were appointed as professors at the Faculty without any local detours (some, of course, only as titular professors), which amounts to 61 percent of all the newly appointed humanities professors. From the Cisleithanian provincial universities 12 academics (22 %) accepted an appointment to Vienna (five came from Innsbruck, three from Graz, four from Prague), while one professor was called from Budapest. Eight professors (~15 %) accepted a call to Vienna from a German university (see Table 5). A special case was that of the old-Germanist Carl von Kraus; in 1904 he went from Vienna, where he was associate professor, to Prague, followed a call to Bonn in 1911 and returned to Vienna in 1913, only to leave the capital again in 1917 for Munich (where he stayed until his retirement in 1935). However, the overwhelming majority of Viennese professors remained in Vienna until the end of their academic career; only three left the University of Vienna before 1918, and three others after the end of the Habsburg Monarchy.

With regard to the appointment of the 40 natural scientists, the picture is similar to that of the humanities scholars, with 25 (62 %) coming from Vienna (here, too, some

72 Binder, "Alfred Tauber (1866 – 1942)," 151 – 66.

73 Bick was director general [Generaldirektor] of the Austrian National Library in 1923 – 36 and again in 1945 – 49. Fechter, *Josef Bick*.

taught only as titular or unpaid professors). The proportion of those appointed from the other Cisleithanian universities, on the other hand, was much higher than among the humanities scholars, amounting to 35 %: two came from Innsbruck and four from Graz. Eight scholars came to Vienna from Prague: three botanists, one mineralogist, one paleontologist, one zoologist, one astronomer, and one physicist. Only one mathematician was appointed from Germany (see Table 5). Three professors left Vienna for another university: the physicist Egon von Schweidler went to Innsbruck in 1911 but returned to Vienna in 1926; the same was done by his colleague Anton Lampa, who was appointed to Prague in 1909 and – as a result of the political changes after 1918 – returned to Vienna three years later; and the paleontologist Othenio Abel left Vienna in 1935 when he accepted a call to Göttingen.

In confessional terms, the Catholic element was also predominant within the “sample 1910.” Of the nine humanities scholars, who we know for certain were Protestants, four were born in Germany; of the “Habsburg” Protestants one had converted from Catholicism to Protestantism. Among the natural scientists we know of eight Protestants, only one of whom came from Germany; again, there was one who converted from Catholicism to Protestantism. In total, there were 17 scholars known to be Protestants, including the three who had already been mentioned in the “sample 1890” but were still members of the Faculty at the beginning of the First World War, there were 20 Protestants (~17 %). Some 10 professors declared themselves as Jewish, four humanities scholars and six natural scientists. In addition, there were one humanities scholar and two natural scientists from the “sample 1890,” so in total the Faculty had 13 professors (approx. 11 %) of Jewish faith. Of the Jewish humanities scholars, only David Heinrich Müller and Guido Adler were full professors, of the natural scientists Guido Goldschmiedt and Berthold Hatschek. The others were “only” associate professors, although some received the title of professor “ad personam.” It is obvious that the much debated “glass ceiling” of academic antisemitism proved a strong obstacle for the careers of Jewish scholars. Even less favorable was the situation of non-denominational scholars, illustrated by Ludo Moritz Hartmann who was awarded a professorship only immediately after the end of the Habsburg Monarchy.[74]

If we look at the profession of the fathers for the social origin of the professors (see Table 6), more than 60 percent were members of the educated middle class in its widest sense (with a clear proportional advantage of the humanities scholars: 68 or 52 %). The largest group within the educated middle-class segment were the 20 civil servants, 12 of whom belonged to the group of humanities scholars and eight to the natural scientists. The fathers of 24 professors (10 humanities scholars and 14 natural scientists) had a broader economic background (including merchants as well as wholesalers, bankers, industrialists, or technicians, but also a coppersmith and a railway worker), constituting a quarter of the “sample 1910.” Only four humanity professors stemmed from an agrarian background (also with a wide range, from lords of the manor to sim-

74 Stifter, “Ludo Moritz Hartmann,” 247–56.

ple farmer), while two fathers of natural scientists came from aristocratic families, although no specific profession is given. If those already mentioned in the "sample 1890" are also taken into account (totaling the number of all professors to 119), the share of the educated middle-class segment rises to 63 percent, the families with a broader economic background remain at the same level (25%), and the agricultural sector rises slightly in numbers from 4 to 6 (~0.5%).

The further family environment is characterized by a strong focus on the intra-academic network. Julius von Schlosser was married to a daughter of Wenzel Hecke, professor at the University of Agriculture, his sister to the L'viv law professor Ferdynand Zródlowski, and his daughter to Ludwig Petschacher, professor of internal medicine in Innsbruck. Michael Haberlandt's brother was professor of botany in Graz, his son Herbert professor of mineralogy, and his second son Arthur succeeded him as director of the Museum of Folklore (*Volkskundemuseum*), which the father had founded. The Germanist Max Hermann Jellinek also had a brother who was a famous professor, the jurist Georg Jellinek (who had gone to Germany because he was not given the professorship he had hoped for in Vienna; his other brother Emil was a successful businessman, while Emil's daughter Mercedes gave her name to the Daimler-Benz cars).[75]

Marital connections strengthened the relationships within the colleagues; the historian Alfons Dopsch married the daughter of his colleague Julius von Ficker, while the chemist Josef Herzig was married to the daughter of the internist Friedrich Pineles. Richard Wettstein had married the daughter of his boss Anton Kerner von Marilaun, with their sons Otto and Fritz acknowledged biologists and botanists respectively. All in all there were numerous academics among the descendants of many professorial families. In any case, the family environment played a major role in the socialization of the new generation. The mother of the zoologist Hans Leo and the physicist Karl Przibram was a born Schey von Koromla, and therefore the brothers' uncles included the lawyers Josef Unger and Josef Schey as well as the chemist Adolf Lieben. Connections to politics, business, art, and culture occurred repeatedly. The mother of the physicist Ernst Lecher, for example, was a daughter of Ernst Schwarzer, journalist and minister in 1848. Lecher's brother Otto was a leading German nationalist politician (who gained notoriety for his 12-hour continuous speech during the Badeni crisis), while Ernst himself was married to Helene Rosthorn, a daughter of a Carinthian industrialist (one of Helene's brothers was a gynecologist, while another was a sinologist and diplomat). The botanist Wilhelm Figdor's uncle was the banker and art collector Albert Figdor, while his other relatives included the famous violinist Joseph Joachim. The historian Viktor Bibl, whose father Rudolf was a composer and organist, also had family ties to music; Rudolf's grandson of the same name (and Viktor's nephew) was a long-standing conductor at the Vienna Volksoper from the 1970s onwards. Another world-famous conductor, Herbert von Karajan, also had roots in the Viennese professorate, his great-

75 Kempter, *Die Jellineks 1820–1955.*

grandfather being Theodor Georg von Karajan.[76] Zdenko Skraup's father was cathedral music director in Prague, while his uncle František Škroup was a conductor and composer who, among other things, wrote the music for Josef Kajetán Tyl's play "Fidlovačka" – and thus for the Czech national anthem. Zdenko Skraup's brother Karl, on the other hand, became a theatre director in Zurich and Erfurt.

Many of the personalities included in the "sample 1910" were still comparatively young at the outbreak of the First World War and still had the zenith of their scientific careers ahead. For this reason, the number of honors and awards conferred by the state is relatively small. Five humanities scholars received the title of Court Councilor, among them Emil Reich, who also received the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class and finally the Commander's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph in 1916. The title of Court Councilor was awarded to seven natural scientists, two of whom also received the Order of the Iron Crown III. Class and one the Commander's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph. Two other natural scientists received the Knight's Cross of this Order, and one was awarded the Decoration of Honor for Art and Science.

5 Conclusion

Summing up, it can be said that at the beginning of the period under observation, about 65 % of the professors were born in the lands of the Cisleithanian half of the empire, this proportion rose to about 74 % in the seventies, declined afterwards slightly, and remained more or less constant at this level in the following decades. About 20 % of the professors in the first sample had been born in Germany and in other foreign countries, 13 % in Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 made itself felt in academic and appointment policy as well; from the 1870s onwards, the proportion of those born in the Hungarian lands fell considerably but rose again at the end of the period to 10 %. In contrast, the proportion of those born in the "non-Austrian" countries of the German Confederation or the German Empire reached its peak in the 1890s but declined again after the turn of the century. Obviously, the attraction for Germans to come to Vienna had diminished, not least because the material conditions offered here could not keep up with the leading institutions in Germany.

However, the picture of a relatively strong presence of "native" forces (apart from those born in "Germany," "foreigners" were hardly ever appointed, which was not least a consequence of the German lecture language at the University of Vienna, which is why scholars unfamiliar with the German language were not considered a priori) is modified to a certain extent if one looks at the professors of the humanities and of natural sciences separately. From the last third of the nineteenth century onwards, the proportion of "natives" among humanities scholars was lower than among natural scientists – an observation that may at first glance come as a surprise, thinking of the

76 Stöckelmaier, "Zur Geschichte der Familie von Karajan," 24 ff.

often claimed “backwardness” of the natural sciences in the Habsburg Monarchy, but which can be explained by the fact that many native-born “Austrians” completed at least part of their natural science studies abroad, and made themselves familiar with the more advanced expertise to be found there, an expertise they then “imported” into the Habsburg Monarchy.

Regarding the subjects the future professors took in the course of their studies, a “narrowing” and concentration on the subjects they later specialized in is quite evident. Whereas in the “Vormärz” and after the middle of the century students’ interests were still very broadly diversified, the students of the sixties and seventies were obviously already more focused. The increasing professionalization of the scientific community certainly played a role in the stronger concentration on the narrow subject area, but also a gradual change in the preoccupation with science per se: away from the acquisition of general education towards an increased specialization made possible by targeted training, away from the “encyclopedically educated scholar” towards the “specialized scientist and researcher” (even if the New Humanist educational ethos continued to play a leading role for many).[77] Both the general educational ethos and the interest in profound training in applied science found an expression in the fact that many students attended several universities in order to perfect themselves by studying at outstanding personalities in their specific field.

Attending different universities and training institutions had the consequence that – especially at the beginning of the period under review – a not too small number of future professors completed their studies at a university other than their actual “home university” and only then returned home. Others finished their studies without a regular degree, meaning some did not have a doctoral diploma at the time of their appointment to the University of Vienna. The number of these individuals fell continuously, but even in the “sample 1890” one finds a professor who was only awarded a “Dr. h. c.” many years later. Comparing the places where the future professors received their doctorates over the entire period, it is clear that from the seventies onwards more and more of them received their doctorates at the University of Vienna, in other words that fewer and fewer professors were appointed to Vienna who had received their initial academic training at another Austrian or foreign university.

However, before the newly graduated doctors could think of continuing their academic career, some were forced to take up another bread-and-butter occupation, since the salary as an assistant was poor and, moreover, the prospects of obtaining a professorship were at all times small. While there were still far too few university chairs after the middle of the nineteenth century, especially in the natural sciences, at the beginning of the twentieth century the number of chairs had increased significantly, but the number of candidates had also shot up – a consequence of the explosive growth in student numbers in the course of the establishment of the “mass university.” While at

77 Cf. on the situation in Germany: Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, quote on 267.

first it was the various court offices and cabinets where the aspiring natural scientists found shelter, later it was the profession of a grammar school or secondary school teacher that offered both humanities scholars and natural scientists the opportunity to pursue a scientific career from a financially more or less secure basis and to hope for an appointment to university – which more often than not was actually the case. Some of these professors devoted themselves to their academic teaching profession on the side and focused their activities on their previous fields of activity. Others, who financially were not so dependent on an immediate entry into the profession, seized the opportunity to continue their education abroad and to deepen their knowledge by studying with "luminaries."

Starting in 1848, the legal prerequisite for teaching at an Austrian university had been the successful completion of the habilitation process. Around the mid-fifties, however, only very few were able to fulfil this requirement. Appointments were therefore made without a habilitation, only on the basis of proof of outstanding academic achievements elsewhere. What in the fifties was a procedure born of necessity[78] was still used later on in isolated cases, whereby the persons concerned were usually (but not always) actually outstanding scientists. Of the professors in the "sample 1890" almost a quarter were not habilitated, while among the "sample 1910" the percentage fell to 4 %.

The geographical area from which the professors in Vienna were appointed was limited – due to the German language of lectures – to the German-language universities, colleges, and other scientific institutions in the Habsburg Monarchy as well as to such institutions in German-speaking foreign countries. Appointments from non-German-speaking countries occurred only very exceptionally. In addition, the field of recruitment narrowed more and more.[79] In the 1850s, only more than a third of the newly appointed professors were direct house appointments, 16 percent each came from other Cisleithanian universities and from abroad, while almost a quarter were taken from other academic institutions (which, however, were also mostly based in Vienna). After a small backdrop in the seventies the proportion of house appointments rose steadily until it was slightly less than two-thirds at the beginning of the twentieth century. Contrary to the popular belief that professors from Germany played a numerically dominant role, a close analysis reveals that their number among humanities scholars was not insignificant, but from a peak (almost a quarter) in the 1870s – the phase of the first greater university expansion under liberal dominance – it fell to just under 15 % after the turn of the century. A far smaller number of natural scientists could be persuaded to move to Vienna – which was probably the consequence of significantly lower material resources (lower pay, poorer equipment of the research institutions). In the "sample 1890" there is not a single example of natural scientists being appointed from Germany, while in the "sample 1910" there is only one. From the sev-

78 Zikulnig, *Restrukturierung, Regeneration und Reform.*

79 For the narrowing of the recruitment area in general cf. Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria.*

enties onwards there were no appointments from other scientific institutions in Austria, institutions that were formerly very important for the recruitment of professors. A general overview of the appointments in the period between 1848 and 1910 shows that of the 224 appointments, 105 (~47%) were house appointments and 27 (~12%) came from German universities (of these, 23 were humanities scholars and only four were natural scientists).[80]

When speaking of the University of Vienna as an "academic retirement home," this is, among other things, related to the fact that the overwhelming majority of professors regarded Vienna as the ultimate highlight and end point of their academic career, which is why they remained in their positions until retirement (or death). Only a few professors exchanged their Viennese position for one at another domestic or foreign university, which was mainly the case with those who had been appointed from Germany and who considered Vienna a transit station to one of the more prestigious chairs at a German university. Between 1848 and 1918, only 12 full professors of the Viennese Faculty of Philosophy were appointed to another university.[81]

The "German" professors played a far more important role with regard to the confessional composition of the professorate. A good proportion of them were Protestants, thus reinforcing the contingent of their Habsburg brothers in faith, whose numerical strength, however, is difficult to state precisely, since officially confession played no role in the course of the appointment process and therefore no reliable statistics are available. Around 1890, probably 1.2% and around 1910 about 1.5% of the professors belonged to the Protestant denomination. Even smaller was the proportion of members of the Israelite Religious Community, which until 1867 had to struggle with legal restrictions and later were enclosed by "invisible ghetto walls"; often enough a "glass ceiling" made it impossible for them to climb the highest rungs of the career ladder. At the turn of the century, no more than 1% of the professors in the Faculty of Philosophy actively professed the Israelite Religious Community (they were more numerous at the Medical and Law Faculties). The number of those who were of Jewish origin, but whose family of origin or they themselves had changed their religious affiliation at an earlier point in time, was admittedly much larger; among the philosophers they accounted for a quarter of the private lecturers, and among the medics for half.[82]

Numerical imprecision also makes it difficult to assign the social origin of professors to more general categories. Grosso modo, it can be seen that in all four samples the descendants of families that can be classified in the broadest sense as belonging to the

80 Between 1848 and 1900 there were 66 house appointments, and 21 professors came from Germany, another indication that the number of house appointments rose significantly after 1890. Mühlberger, "Das "Antlitz" der Wiener Philosophischen Fakultät," 67–102.

81 Surman, "Vom "akademischen Altersheim" zur Spitzenforschungsanstalt?," 636. The number of associate professors and habilitated scholars leaving Vienna was of course much higher. For the geographical movement of scholars between the universities of Vienna and Prague cf. Urbanitsch, "Zur "Peregrinatio academica"", 297–314.

82 Surman, "Vom "akademischen Altersheim" zur Spitzenforschungsanstalt?," 631.

educated middle class (this includes civil servants of all shades, physicians, scientists, teachers, journalists, artists, etc.) accounted for 50 % or more of the college of professors (with a peak in 1890 of 64 %). Belonging to the field of crafts, trade and commerce, industry and banking was a quarter (1850), falling to a fifth in 1910. Yet within the major groups the relations of the individual categories changed; while some of those who were appointed in the 1850s had butchers or bakers as fathers, 20 years later the sons of industrialists or bankers took their place (even if the absolute number of those from upper middle-class families always remained small). Equally small in numbers were the sons of military officers, and even smaller were those from noble families. There was also only a small number from the agrarian segment, although here, too, a distinction must be made between families who held higher positions on a noble estate and simple farmers, cottagers, or agricultural workers. There were no descendants from the industrial working class.

The higher social status associated with belonging to the academic elite (and which, especially in the early part of the period under review, implied considerable individual advancement for many) can also be seen if looking at the marriage behavior of academics. While some of the (future) professors found their spouses in the circles from which they themselves or their parents came, the majority chose ladies who also came from families of academics, be they daughters or sisters of colleagues in the field (sometimes also of bosses) or those whose fathers represented other branches of science. Marriages to other members of the educated middle classes were also popular since the 1870s. Less frequent were those with descendants of the economically outstanding upper middle classes (unless the academics themselves belonged to these circles, such as Adolf Lieben or Theodor Gomperz). The frequent marriages between academically educated families or families otherwise belonging to the educated middle class led to the emergence of "academic dynasties," so that sometimes fathers, sons, and grandsons were either active in the same subject or held a professorship in another subject. This sphere widens considerably if brothers, uncles, and nephews are also taken into account. The marriage behavior resulted in a dense network of academically active people, especially in the last 30 years of the Habsburg Monarchy (and beyond), a network that significantly shaped the character of Vienna's bourgeois society, to which the "extra-domestic" activities of the wives also contributed, whether they were active as artists, ran intellectual salons, or were involved in the women's movement. As can be seen from the honors and awards conferred by the state (and highly valued by society), the professors of the Viennese Faculty of Philosophy – as well as those of the other faculties – enjoyed ever-increasing esteem. At no time was it as great as that attributed to the "gods in white," the medical doctors, but the claim held high by the "philosophers" that they could "explain the world" ensured them general attention even (and especially) in "times of uncertainty."[83]

83 Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty.*

Appendix

Table 1: Number of professors by the sample.

Time of activity	Humanities	Natural scientists	Total
Sample 1850			
Only1850	11	12	23
Till 1870	9	6	15
Sum 1850	**20**	**18**	**38**
Sample 1870			
Only1870	9	9	18
Till 1890	15	17	32
Together	24	26	50
From 1850	9	6	15
Sum 1870	**33**	**32**	**65**
Sample 1890			
Only 1890	17	5	22
Till 1910	11	9	20
Together	28	14	42
From 1870	15	17	32
Sum 1890	**43**	**31**	**74**
Sample 1910			
Only 1910	54	40	94
From 1870+1890	1+11	4+9	25
Sum 1910	**66**	**53**	**119**
Total	***126***	***98***	***224***

Table 2: Place of birth of professor by the sample.

Subject		Cisleithania	Lands of Hungarian Crown	Germany	Western Europe	Russia	Total
Sample 1850							
Humanities		11 (2)	3	5	1	-	20
Natural scientists		13 (2)	2	2	-	1	18
Together 1850	**N**	**24 (4)**	**5**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**38**
	%	**63.2 (10.5)**	**13.2**	**18.4**	**2.6**	**2.6**	**100.0**
Sample 1870							
Humanities		14 (1)	-	9	1	-	24
Natural scientists		22 (4)	-	3	1	-	26
Together 1870	**N**	**36 (5)**	-	**12**	**2**	-	**50**
	%	**72.0 (10.0)**	-	**24.0**	**4.0**	-	**100.0**
Together 1870 + 1850	N	48 (6)	2	12	3	-	65
	%	74 (9.2)	3.1	18.5	4.6	-	100.0
Sample 1890							
Humanities		18 (5)	1	8	1	-	28
Natural scientists		11 (5)	-	2	1	-	14
Together 1890	**N**	**29 (10)**	**1**	**10**	**2**	-	**42**
	%	**69.0 (23.8)**	**2.4**	**23.8**	**4.8**	-	**100.0**
Together 1890 + 1870	N	53 (20)	1	17	3	-	74
	%	71.6 (27.0)	1.4	23.0	4.1	-	100.0
Sample 1910							
Humanities		37 (17)	4	12	1	-	54
Natural scientists		30 (15)	6	3	1	-	40
Together 1910	**N**	**67 (32)**	**10**	**15**	**2**	-	**94**
	%	**71.3 (34.0)**	**10.6**	**16.0**	**2.1**	-	**100.0**
Together 1910 + 1890	N	85 (37)	11	19	4	-	119
	%	71.4 (31.1)	9.2	16.0	3.4	-	100.0
Total							
Humanities		80 (25)	8	34	4	-	126
Natural scientists		76 (26)	8	9	4	1	98
Total	**N**	**156 (51)**	**16**	**43**	**8**	**1**	**224**
	%	**69.6 (22.8)**	**7.1**	**19.2**	**3.6**	**0.4**	**100.0**

Note: Number in brackets shows those born in Vienna.

Table 3: Place of promotion.

Subject		Cisleithania	Lands of Hungarian Crown	Germany	Western Europe	None	Total
Sample 1850							
Humanities		6 (3)	–	8	–	6	20
Natural scientists		13 (10)	1	–	–	4	18
Together 1850	**N**	**19 (13)**	**1**	**8**		**10**	**38**
	%	**50.0 (34.2)**	**2.6**	**21.1**	-	**26.3**	**100.0**
Sample 1870							
Humanities		7 (6)	–	13	–	4	24
Natural scientists		15 (12)	–	9	–	2	26
Together 1870	**N**	**22 (18)**	**–**	**22**	**–**	**6**	**50**
	%	**44.0 (36.0)**	-	**44.0**	–	**12.0**	**100.0**
Together 1870 + 1850	N	31 (24)	1	24	–	9	65
	%	47.8 (36.9)	1.5	36.9	–	13.8	100.0
Sample 1890							
Humanities		18 (14)	–	9	1	–	28
Natural scientists		8 (6)	–	5	–	1	14
Together 1890	**N**	**26 (20)**	**–**	**14**	**1**	**1**	**42**
	%	**61.9 (47.6)**	–	**33.3**	**2.4**	**2.4**	**100.0**
Together 1890 + 1870	N	53 (20)	1	17	3	-	74
	%	71.5 (27.0)	1.4	23.0	4.1	-	100.0
Sample 1910							
Humanities		42 (36)	–	12	–	–	54
Natural scientists		35 (32)	–	5	–	–	40
Together 1910	**N**	**77 (68)**	**–**	**17**	**–**	**–**	**94**
	%	**81.9 (70.2)**	–	**18.1**	–	-	**100.0**
Total	**N**	**144 (119)**	**1**	**61**	**1**	**17**	**224**
	%	**64.3 (53.1)**	**0.4**	**27.3**	**0.4**	**7.6**	**100.0**

Note: Number in brackets shows those born in Vienna.

Table 4: Place of habilitation.

Subject		Vienna	Cisleithania	Germany	Western Europe	None	Total
Sample 1850							
Humanities		-	-	3	-	17	20
Natural scientists		2	-	-	-	16	18
Together 1850	**N**	**2**	-	**3**	-	**33**	**38**
	%	**5.3**	-	**7.9**	-	**86.8**	**100.0**
Sample 1870							
Humanities		14	-	5	-	5	24
Natural scientists		15	2	2	-	7	26
Together 1870	**N**	**29**	**2**	**7**	–	**12**	**50**
	%	**58.0**	**4.0**	**14.0**	-	**24.0**	**100.0**
Sample 1890							
Humanities		13	4	5	1*	5	28
Natural scientists		9	-	-	-	5	14
Together 1890	**N**	**22**	**4**	**5**	**1***	**10**	**42**
	%	**52.4**	**9.5**	**11.9**	**2.4**	**23.8**	**100.0**
Sample 1910							
Humanities		40	1	9	1	3	54
Natural scientists		38	1	-	-	1	40
Together 1910	**N**	**78**	**2**	**9**	**1**	**4**	**94**
	%	**83.0**	**2.1**	**9.6**	**1.1**	**4.3**	**100.0**
Total	**N**	**131**	**8**	**24**	**2**	**59**	**224**
	%	**58.5**	**3.6**	**10.7**	**0.9**	**26.3**	**100.0**

Note: * Georg Bühler came to Vienna from British India (Bombay).

Table 5: Place from where the professors were appointed to the University of Vienna.

Subject		Vienna	C	Hung.	Germ.	WE	Russia	Schools	SI	U	Total
Sample 1850											
Humanities		5	2	1	4	-	-	3	2	3	20
Natural scientists		9	4	1	-	-	-	2	2	–	18
Together 1850	**N**	**14**	**6**	**2**	**4**	-	-	**5**	**4**	**3**	**38**
	%	**36.8**	**15.8**	**5.3**	**10.5**	-	-	**13.2**	**10.5**	**7.9**	**100.0**
Sample 1870											
Humanities		10	5	-	6	1	-	-	2	-	24
Natural scientists		3	9	1	3	-	-	6	4	-	26
Together 1870	**N**	**13**	**14**	**1**	**9**	**1**	-	**6**	**6**	-	**50**
	%	**26.0**	**28.0**	**2.0**	**18.0**	**2.0**	-	**12.0**	**12.0**	-	**100.0**
Sample 1890											
Humanities		11	10	-	5	1	1	-	-	-	28
Natural scientists		9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Together 1890	**N**	**20**	**15**	**–**	**5**	**1**	**1**	-	-	-	**42**
	%	**47.6**	**35.7**	-	**11.9**	**2.4**	**2.4**	-	-	-	**100.0**
Sample 1910											
Humanities		33	12	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	54
Natural scientists		25	14	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	40
Together 1910	**N**	**58**	**26**	**1**	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	**94**
	%	**61.7**	**27.7**	**1.1**	**9.6**	-	-	-	-	-	**100.0**
Total											
Humanities		59	29	2	23	2	1	3	4	3	126
Natural scientists		46	32	2	4	-	-	8	6	–	98
Total	**N**	**105**	**61**	**4**	**27**	**2**	**1**	**11**	**10**	**3**	**224**
	%	**46.9**	**27.2**	**1.8**	**12.1**	**0.9**	**0.4**	**4.9**	**4.5**	**1.3**	**100.0**

Note: C = Cisleithania (except Vienna); Hung. = Lands of Hungarian Crown; Germ. = Germany; WE = Western Europe; SI = Other scientific institutions; U = unknown

Table 6a: Social origin of professors (profession of their fathers), samples 1850 and 1870.

Profession of professors' father	**Sample 1850**			**Sample 1870**		
	Hum.	**Nat.**	**Total**	**Hum.**	**Nat.**	**Total**
Civil servant	4	6	10	-	7	7
Higher patrimonial and manorial service	1	2	3	2	-	2
Army officer	1	1	2	2	1	3
Sum	**6**	**9**	**15**	**4**	**8**	**12**
%	**30.0**	**50.0**	**39.5**	**16.7**	**30.8**	**24.0**
Banker, factory owner	2	-	2	1	2	3
Merchants	2	1	3	-	4	4
Artisans, small tradesmen	2	2	4	2	1	3
Sum	**6**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**7**	**10**
%	**30.0**	**16.7**	**23.7**	**12.5**	**26.9**	**20.0**
Technicians	-	-	-	1	-	1
Physicians and pharmacists	-	-	-	-	4	4
Teachers	-	2	2	4	1	5
Scholars	-	1	1	-	1	1
Artists	-	-	-	3	-	3
Protestant pastors, Rabbies	1	–	1	3	-	3
Sum	**1**	**3**	**4**	**11**	**6**	**17**
%	**5.0**	**16.7**	**10.5**	**45.8**	**23.1**	**34.0**
Agricultural sector	-	-	-	3	2	5
Illegitimate origin	2	-	2	-	1	1
Sum	**2**	-	**2**	**3**	**3**	**6**
%	**10.0**	-	**5.3**	**12.5**	**11.5**	**12.0**
not known	5	3	8	3	2	5
%	25.0	16.6	21.0	12.5	7.7	10.0
Total	**20**	**18**	**38**	**24**	**26**	**50**
%	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Note: Hum. = humanities; Nat.= Nature scientists

Table 6b: Social origin of professors (profession of their fathers), samples 1890, 1910, and all samples together.

Profession of professors' father	Sample 1890			Sample 1910			All samples		
	Hum.	**Nat.**	**Total**	**Hum.**	**Nat.**	**Total**	**Hum.**	**Nat.**	**Total**
Civil servants	5	2	7	12	8	20	21	23	44
Higher patrimonial and manorial service	-	1	1	2	5	7	5	8	13
Army officers	-	1	1	2	–	2	5	3	8
Sum	**5**	**4**	**9**	**16**	**13**	**29**	**31**	**34**	**65**
%	**18.0**	**28.6**	**21.4**	**29.6**	**32.5**	**30.9**	**24.6**	**34.7**	**29.0**
Banker, factory owner	1	1	2	3	8	11	7	11	18
Merchants	1	2	3	6	4	10	9	11	20
Artisans, small tradesmen	5	-	5	1	2	3	10	5	15
Sum	**7**	**3**	**10**	**10**	**14**	**24**	**26**	**27**	**53**
%	**25.0**	**21.4**	**23.8**	**18.5**	**35.0**	**25.5**	**20.6**	**27.6**	**23.6**
Technicians	-	-	-	2	3	5	3	3	6
Physicians and pharmacists	1	3	4	3	2	5	4	9	13
Teachers	4	2	6	6	1	7	14	6	20
Scholars	2	–	2	4	–	4	6	2	8
Artists	4	1	5	4	2	6	11	3	14
Protestant pastors, Rabbies	1	-	1	2	-	2	7	-	7
Sum	**12**	**6**	**18**	**21**	**8**	**29**	**45**	**23**	**68**
%	**43.0**	**42.9**	**42.9**	**38.9**	**20.0**	**30.9**	**35.8**	**23.5**	**30.4**
Agricultural sector	2	-	2	4	-	4	9	2	11
Illegitimate origin	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	1	4
Sum	***2***	-	***2***	***5***	-	***5***	***12***	***3***	***15***
%	**7.0**	-	**4.8**	**9.3**	-	**5.3**	**9.5**	**3.1**	**6.7**
not known	2	1	3	2	5	7	12	11	23
%	7.0	7.1	7.1	3.7	12.5	7.4	9.5	11.2	10.3
Total	**28**	**14**	**42**	**54**	**40**	**94**	**126**	**98**	**224**
%	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Note: Hum. = humanities; Nat.= Nature scientists

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Vlad Popovici

Members of the Romanian Academy From Transylvania and Hungary (1866 – 1948). A Case Study on the Social Mobility of the Intellectual Elite

1 Historical and Historiographical Premises

The establishment of the Romanian Academy, founded in 1866,[1] is rooted both in the wave of cultural and scientific associationism that swept across Europe at the time and, equally, in the process of building the Romanian state and nation in the second half of the twentieth century.[2] The two impulses, scientific and political, were mutually supportive. The newly established state (1859 as the United Principalities, from 1866 Romania) needed an institution to manage and steer scientific development and national culture, including the cultural diplomacy component and relations with the Romanians outside its borders, from Transylvania, the Banat and Eastern Hungary, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Dobrogea, and the Balkans, whose number at that time exceeded 3 million.[3]

One of the main objectives, assumed from the beginning by the new institution, was the construction of a cross-state national culture, which was not only a romantic desideratum and an epistemic objective, but also the means to ensure political communication with Romanians abroad and, through this, to attract them into Romania's cultural, economic, and political orbit. Since its foundation, its members had come from all the geographical regions inhabited by Romanians, with this practice perpetuated and extended in the decades that followed. One of the main arguments used in this respect was the historical one – not by chance, its first two sections were the literary and

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1 It was originally founded under the name of the *Romanian Literary Society* (April 1/13, 1866), renamed a year later the *Romanian Academic Society*, and from 1879 the *Romanian Academy*. Between 1948 and 1965 it was called the *Academy of the People's Republic of Romania* and between 1865 and 1989 the *Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania*. Since 1990 the name has been changed back to *Romanian Academy*.

2 Berindei, *Istoria Academiei Române (1866 – 2006)*, 22 – 56.

3 Berindei (ed.), *Istoria Românilor, vol. VII/1,* 595 – 97, 754 – 59, 781, 787– 89.

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the historical ones, while a scientific section (dedicated to mathematical, natural, and medical sciences) was established only in 1872.[4]

This study analyzes the members of the Romanian Academy coming from Transylvania and Hungary, from its foundation (1866–67) until the purges brought about by the establishment of communism (June 1948), focusing on the socio-professional structure and intergenerational social mobility. Its aim is to answer two research questions: how did the socio-professional structure and social mobility atop the provincial intellectual elite evolve over almost a century, and to what extent do the identified evolutions match the general ones of the Romanian student population in Transylvania and Hungary?

The research is situated at the boundary between institutional history and social history and fills a blank spot in the literature. Studies on the history of the Romanian Academy are relatively numerous but are generally focused on the institutional[5] or epistemic[6] dimension and have a pronounced festivist and hagiographic component. The most important prosopographical tool developed so far is a dictionary of the members of the Academy, a particularly useful source, however, it omits essential family information for the social history of the elite, such as the profession and social status of the parents; it also lacks analyses related to the information it hosts.[7] No research to date has been carried out based on a full sample of Academy members from a region/province, nor has it involved a rigorous analysis of their biographical data.

Studies of the social history of the modern Romanian cultural and university elites are more numerous, better documented, and often include members of the Academy, although never in their entirety or as the particular object of study, but rather in their capacity as university professors. Their object of research is the intertwining of culture and politics in the process of professional and social ascent,[8] the adaptation of intellectuals to the political challenges of the 1930s and 1940s,[9] and the system of kinship, patronage, and clientelism in the university environment.[10] Moreover, they seldom employ regional-level analyses.

As far as research on social mobility is concerned, in Romania it has been traditionally developed by sociologists since the 1960s and continues to this day, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Their focus has been either on local communities (case studies) or on the population as a whole, with no special attention

4 Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române 1866–2016. Dicționar*, 906–908.

5 Selectively, Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române: repere cronologice*; Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române în date (1866–1996)*; Berindei, *Istoria Academiei.*

6 Selectively: Păun and Tănăsescu (eds.), *Discursuri de recepție la Academia Română*; Rusu (ed.), *Discursuri de recepție la Academia Română.*

7 Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române 1866–2016.*

8 Lazăr, *Paradoxuri ale modernizării*, 135–53.

9 Boia, *Capcanele istoriei.*

10 Nastasă, *Generație și schimbare în istoriografia română*; Nastasă. *Itinerarii spre lumea savantă,* 14–52; Nastasă. *"Suveranii" universităților românești*; Nastasă, *Intimitatea amfiteatrelor.*

paid to certain professional categories, and even less to those atop the social pyramid.[11] The chronological period of interest for sociologists has seldom reached before the interwar years,[12] while historians have long ignored conceptual borrowings and adaptations from the sociology of social stratification and mobility. The only work in which the issue of social mobility of the Romanian intellectual elite before 1948 is explicitly treated belongs to sociologist Marius Lazăr, but his sample is composed mainly (though not exclusively) of subjects from the Old Kingdom of Romania,[13] which also determined the modelling of the results on the socio-professional realities of that area. Romanian historians have only recently begun to explore the topic, mainly in the field of population studies,[14] and occasionally in the research of administrative and political elites.[15]

2 Sources and Methodology

Being the cream of the Romanian intellectual elite, biographical information on the members of the Romanian Academy, including those from Transylvania, is relatively at hand. There is even a dictionary dedicated exclusively to those originating from Transylvania, but it lacks the same categories of useful data mentioned above (social origin, family).[16] The prosopographical study within the book also focuses mainly on the intellectual formation of the members of the Academy, and on their activity within the institution, without diving into details on their origin and social status or professional paths.[17] Useful but equally limiting for an analysis of social history are the main encyclopedias of the time,[18] as well as more recent ones.[19]

More detailed, albeit piecemeal information can be found in monographs or biographical studies, however, the distribution of the latter is uneven, varying according to the prestige and notoriety of the subject. There are members of the Academy about whom numerous monographic works and collections of primary sources have been published – e. g., selectively: George Bariț (publicist, politician, president of the Romanian Academy), Ioan Bianu (philologist, director of the Romanian Academy Library),

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11 Selectively: Cazacu, *Mobilitate socială*; Rotariu, *Școala și mobilitatea socială*; Tufiș, "Structură, stratificare și mobilitate socială," 294 – 36; Lazăr. "Classe, mobilité et stratégies de conversion," 151 – 74; Goină, *Social mobility and social stratification in a Transylvanian village*; Marin, *Parental resources and children's education.*

12 Mărginean, "Mobilitate socială," 107 – 14.

13 Lazăr. *Paradoxuri*, 135 – 53.

14 Holom, "Transformări"; Botoș, *Education as a Vehicle for Social Mobility.*

15 Moga, "Social Mobility in Transylvania."

16 Rusu, Mândruț, and Porumb (eds.), *Membrii academiei Române din Transilvania (1866 – 2016). Dicționar.*

17 Ibid., 21 – 26.

18 Diaconovich (ed.), *Enciclopedia Română*; Predescu, *Enciclopedia Cugetarea.*

19 Selectively: Popa, Tudor, and Stănciulescu (eds.), *Dicționar Enciclopedic*; Zaicu, Papahagi, and Sasu (eds.), *Dicționarul scriitorilor români*; Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români.*

and Vincențiu Babeș (lawyer and politician) –, but also members about whom only a few small biographical papers have been written and for whom information has to be extracted from a multitude of scattered primary and secondary sources – e. g., selectively: Petru Broșteanu (railway official, writer, and translator), George Giuglea (linguist, university professor) and Iosif Szabo (pharmacist). In general, the deeper the involvement in the political life and public debates of the time (especially in the “national movement” before 1918), the greater the historiographical interest, favoring public intellectuals over cabinet scholars. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information is revealed, among other things, by the fact that there remains a small number of members of the Academy for whom we have not been able to identify the exact profession of their father or the location of their studies.

The information underlying the analyses in this study has been extracted from hundreds of such sources and structured into a dataset which constitutes the basis of this analysis.[20] The sample includes all members of the Romanian Academy who were born in Transylvania (before 1867) and Hungary (before and after 1867, including the Transylvanian territories) and were elected before the purges and changes imposed by the communist regime after June 1948, including those who professed for a long time in the Romanian Principalities or the Kingdom of Romania, such as August Trebonius Laurian, Dionisie Romano, or Gheorghe Marin Fontanin. We did not include in the sample members of the Academy coming from Transylvanian families but born and educated in the Romanian Principalities or in Romania (e. g., selectively: Titu Maiorescu, Dimitrie August Laurian). Also, we have not included Romanian members from other regions outside the Old Kingdom (Bukovina, Bessarabia, Romanians from South of Danube), because the differences in social structure between these areas and Transylvania and Hungary are so great that separate research would be required.

The Romanian Academy also had as corresponding or honorary members several Hungarians, Germans, and Jews from Transylvania and Hungary. Their situation is very heterogeneous; some of them had long professed in the Romanian Principalities and were integrated into the local scientific community (Iosif Szabo), others had worked in Transylvania and Hungary before 1918 and were elected as foreign members (August Kanitz, Károly Torma, Victor Janka von Bulcs, Alfred von Domasewski, Lajos Hajnald), while a third category consisted of Saxons born in dualist Hungary, who became Romanian citizens after 1918 and were elected members of the Academy in this capacity (Friedrich M. Teutsch, Gustav Oswald Kisch, Viktor Roth). Their biographical data were integrated into the overall prosopographical analysis but were not taken into account when analyzing specific aspects of the Romanian social environment, especially

20 To be uploaded into the publicly accessible database, Historical Data Grinder (https://hdgrinder.ro), following the same methodology as other datasets on Transylvanian history, including the referencing of original sources of biographical information. See: Historical Data Grinder. See also Lumezeanu, Pál, and Popovici, “Historical Data Grinder 2.0,” 105–21.

the relationship between the social structure of the members of the Academy and the social structure of the Romanian intelligentsia.

From its foundation until the reform of June 1948, the Romanian Academy counted a total of about 420 members: founders, standing members (*membri*), corresponding (*membri corespondeți*), and honorary (these figures do not include the several dozen foreign honorary members from abroad, outside the realms inhabited by Romanians), 109 of whom came from Transylvania and Hungary. The appointment of the founding members of the Romanian Academy, in its form of Literary Society (1866) and Academic Society (1867), was made through successive decrees by the state authorities.[21] In the period 1867–1879 new members were elected by the existing ones,[22] a tradition that continued after the legal transformation into an Academy (1879) and the implementation of the new Statutes. The initial nomination was made within one of the three existing sections (Literary, Historical, Scientific) and election to membership took place only after a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Session (attended only by standing members).[23] This meant that membership of the Academy could only be granted following nomination from a standing member and with the direct support of a significant proportion of all the other standing members. This selection system, in place until 1948, rather autarchic and to a certain extent opaque, gave room to informal relations in the scientific world, sometimes to the detriment of the meritocratic criterion (e.g., the long-standing influence of D.A. Sturdza, or the rejection of Eugen Lovinescu's candidacy). On the other hand, the web of friendship and patronage it spawned led until the end of the interwar period to a small "inflation" of honorary members, highlighted and criticized as such by Nicolae Iorga.[24]

Since the founding members are, in practice, the first standing members of the institution, in our analysis we will refer to only three categories of members: standing (the founders of 1866 and subsequent standing members), corresponding, and honorary. In practice, standing and corresponding members were elected according mainly to scientific criteria and were part of the scholarly community. The difference was one of prestige, institutional attributions, and benefits, not so much a scientific one, and thus the two categories can be studied together.[25] In our analysis, corresponding members who were subsequently promoted to standing members were considered as belonging to the latter category. Honorary members were both representatives of the scientific community – sometimes scholars who were not active in traditional research institutions – and of other elite categories of the time (church hierarchs, public and political figures). The heterogeneity of this category and its special status made us sometimes refer to its members as a separate sub-sample.

21 Berindei. *Istoria Academiei,* 55–59.

22 Ibid., 86–87.

23 Statutele Academiei Române, 106–14.

24 Berindei, *Istoria Academiei*, 179, 195, 201.

25 Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române 1866–2016*, 9–11.

The main objective of the study is to analyze the socio-professional structure and the inter-generational social mobility of the target group (i. e., where the members of the Academy were situated on the social scale in comparison with their parents, taking profession as an indicator), both as a diachronic phenomenon, for almost a century and a half, and – to the extent allowed by current scientific knowledge – in comparison with the whole Transylvanian Romanian intelligentsia of the time.

To track historical developments, we divided the sample, whose members were born between 1802 and 1899, into four generational cohorts covering 25-year periods: 1801–1825, 1826–1850, 1851–1875, and 1876–1900. We analyzed the denominational structure, the geographical area of origin and the evolution of the rural-urban relationship, the educational and professional pathways until entering the Academy, the relationship with the ecclesiastical environment and with politics, and, of course, the social background of origin (with the father's profession as the main indicator). Analyses of structure and social mobility were carried out using the Hisco-Hisclass coding system.[26] In order to preserve the comparability of the results with other similar research we kept the original system of translation from occupational codes to social classes, but discussed the situations where the social class proposed by the Hisclass standard does not fully correspond to the historical realities in Central and Eastern Europe.

Generational analysis certainly has its advantages,[27] but in this case it also entails a number of limitations and interpretative pitfalls. The most problematic issues concern the difficulty of tracing and interpreting complete diachronic trans-generational developments, given that the number of members of the first generation is very small (an objective situation generated by the structure of the Academy at its establishment and in the first decades of its existence), while the number of members of the fourth generation was artificially limited by the caesura of the year 1948. Throughout the study we discussed these situations whenever they had the potential to influence the analysis.

3 Generational Changes, Denominational Structure, and Geographical Recruitment Pool

Between 1866 and 1948, the Romanian Academy had eight founding members, 29 standing members (of which 22 were initially nominated as corresponding members), 31 corresponding members, and 41 honorary members from Transylvania and Hungary – 109 people, totaling about a quarter of the institution's membership during the period. Their generational distribution is detailed in Table 1, with the lower number of members of the first generation reflecting the institutional conditions of the first decades of the Academy's functioning (lower number of members in general). The peak in the

26 van Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles, *HISCO*; van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS.*
27 Corsten, "Generationen," 7–27.

third generation is due to the large number of Transylvanian members nominated into the Academy in 1919, immediately after the Union with Romania: 15 members, of which nine belonged to this generation. In fact, it is a false peak, because the influx of fourth generation members into the Academy was cut short by the 1948 reforms, otherwise the trend would probably have remained upward, given the constant institutional development of the scientific environment.

Table 1: Generational distribution of sample members.

Type of member	Gen. 1 (1801–1825)		Gen. 2 (1826–1850)		Gen. 3 (1851–1875)		Gen. 4 (1876–1900)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standing members (incl. founders)	10	9.2	10	9.2	8	7.3	9	8.3	37	33.9
Corresponding members	2	1.8	12	11	6	5.5	11	10.1	31	28.4
Honorary members	6	5.5	7	6.4	19	17.4	9	8.3	41	37.6
Total	18	16.5	29	26.6	33	30.3	28	26.6	109	100.0

Note: Gen. = Generation

The influx of Transylvanian members immediately after the First World War was not only an act of epistemic recognition, but also one of political symbolism; the new regions that became part of the Romanian state were thus symbolically integrated, more deeply than before 1918, into the national scientific institutions. The number of Transylvanians in the Academy began to increase during the war (Sextil Pușcariu 1914, George Coșbuc, Ioan Lupaș, and Ilarion Pușcariu 1916, Ovid Densușianu 1918), but in 1919 the eligibility criteria went beyond the scientific area. In addition to members with a rich scientific or cultural activity (Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică, Valeriu Braniște, Gheorghe Dima, Onisifor Ghibu, Octavian Goga, Vasile Goldiș, Ștefan Meteș, Zenobie Pâclișanu, Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu), several honorary members from the field of politics (Iuliu Maniu) and of the church (Nicolae Bălan, Roman Ciorogariu, Miron Cristea, Vasile Suciu) were admitted. Almost all the new members in 1919 had also been active in politics within the "national movement." Also elected honorary member of the Romanian Academy was Friedrich M. Teutsch, son of the former Lutheran bishop and Saxon politician Georg Daniel Teutsch, who had also been a Lutheran bishop since 1902. In addition to his scientific and cultural activity, the election was certainly a symbolic gesture of political benevolence towards the Transylvanian Saxons, now integrated into the Romanian state.

The filling of places in the Academy was carried out according to the openings available through successive amendments to the statutes and following the demise of older members. Nor did the denominational distribution of Academy members follow a linear pattern; leaving aside the group of nine German, Jewish, and Hungarian members (Table 2, "other denominations"), the two dominant confessions among the Romanians of Transylvania and Hungary were unbalanced in their representation starting from the first generation. Within the Romanian population, the demographic balance was slightly in favor of the Orthodox (57 % Orthodox and 43 % Greek-Catholic in 1910),[28] but from the eighteenth century until the 1860s the Greek-Catholic educational system was more developed than the Orthodox one and the Romanian intelligentsia of the period was dominated by representatives of this denomination. Initially, in 1866–1867, four Orthodox (Iosif Hodoș, Vincențiu Babeș, Andrei Mocioni, and Gavril Munteanu) and four Greek Catholics (Alexandru Roman, George Barițiu, Timotei Cipariu, and August Treboniu Laurian – the latter emigrated to the Principality of Wallachia in 1842) were elected from Transylvania and Hungary.[29] But this initial balance was soon abandoned, and the numerical difference between the members belonging to the two confessions increased from generation to generation (Table 2), an issue to be later addressed in the chapter.

Table 2: Generational distribution by denomination.

Denomination	Gen. 1		Gen. 2		Gen. 3		Gen. 4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Greek Catholics	6	33.3	9	31.0	9	27.3	8	27.6	32	29.4
Orthodox	10	55.6	17	58.6	20	60.6	21	72.4	68	62.4
Other denominations	2	11.1	3	10.3	4	12.1	-	-	9	8.3
Total	18	100.0	29	100.0	33	100.0	29	100.0	109	100.0

Note: Gen. = Generation

The confessional imbalance was also reflected in the distribution of the geographical recruitment pools of the members of the Academy (Table 3). At the provincial level, historical Transylvania (the former Grand Principality) dominates statistically, with 75 members, while the other regions inhabited by Romanians in Hungary decrease steadily in terms of presence in the third and fourth generations. The Banat (the counties of Krassó-Szörény, Temes, and Torontál) on the other hand offers only 12 members of the Academy (10 Orthodox, one Roman Catholic, and one Jewish convert to Catholicism), although Krassó-Szörény is the county that gives the most Romanian students at that time (Table 4). Almost a quarter of the members came from Brassó county (25), which together with Szeben (11) and Arad (9), all predominantly Orthodox areas, gave 45 % of the Romanian members. By comparison, the main Greek-Catholic area from which a substantial number of members of the Academy came was Beszterce-Naszód county (13, of which nine were honorary members and only four standing members). Within historical Transylvania, but also in the areas of Eastern Hungary, we find counties without any representative in the Academy, especially as we move northwards, in the area demographically dominated by the Greek-Catholics – Szol-

28 Turcu, *Între idealuri și realitate.*

29 Berindei, *Istoria Academiei*, 52–56.

nok-Doboka County, which also hosted the seat of the Greek-Catholic bishopric of Gherla, does not provide any member.

Table 3: Geographical area of extraction of Academy members (county and region of birth).

County		Generation				Total	
		1	2	3	4	N	%
Alsó-Fehér		2	0	4	2	8	7.4
Beszterce-Naszód		2	2	4	5	13	12.0
Brassó		1	7	10	7	25	23.1
Kolozs		2	1	0	1	4	3.7
Csík, Udvarhely, Háromszék		0	0	2	1	3	2.8
Hunyad		0	2	0	1	3	2.8
Maros-Torda		1	4	2	1	8	7.4
Szeben		3	1	2	5	11	10.2
Transylvania	**N**	**11**	**17**	**24**	**23**	**75**	**68.8**
	%	**61.0**	**58.6**	**72.7**	**82.1**	**68.8**	
Arad		1	3	3	2	9	8.3
Bihar		0	3	1	1	5	4.6
Máramaros		0	2	0	0	2	1.9
Szilágy		0	0	1	0	1	0.9
Eastern Hungary	**N**	**1**	**8**	**5**	**3**	**17**	**15.6**
	%	**5.6**	**27.6**	**15.2**	**10.7**	**15.6**	
Krassó-Szörény		0	1	1	1	3	1.9
Temes		3	1	2	1	7	6.5
Torontál		0	1	0	1	2	1.9
The Banat	**N**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**12**	**11.0**
	%	**16.7**	**10.3**	**9.1**	**10.7**	**11.0**	
Austria & Hungary	**N**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**-**	**5**	**4.6**
	%	**16.7**	**3.4**	**3.0**	**-**	**4.6**	
Total	**N**	**18**	**29**	**33**	**29**	**109**	**100.0**
	%	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

The question arises, of course, whether these geographical imbalances are not somehow the result of overall imbalances among the university graduates in the area, i. e. whether it is not simply the size of the initial selection pool of members of the Academy. We can verify this for the Romanian sub-sample (100 out of 109); comparing the only existing geographic statistics of Romanian graduates of higher education institutions in the Habsburg monarchy[30] with the ethnic Romanian sub-sample sees the results refute this hypothesis (Table 4).

30 Calculations based on Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualității*, 214 – 18, Table 8.

Table 4: Comparative geographical distribution of the Romanian students vs. the Romanian members of the Academy from Transylvania and Hungary.

County	Students		Academy		Difference (percentage points)
	Number	%	Number	%	
Krassó-Szörény	577	10	3	3	-7
Szolnok-Doboka	396	7	-	-	-7
Szatmár	372	6	-	-	-6
Fogaras	224	4	-	-	-4
Torda-Aranyos	221	4	-	-	-4
Bihar	513	9	5	5	-4
Hunyad	321	5	3	3	-2
Nagy-Küküllő	127	2	-	-	-2
Szilágy	185	3	1	1	-2
Kis-Küküllő	103	2	-	-	-2
Kolozs	335	6	4	4	-2
Csanád	43	1	-	-	-1
Torontál	108	2	2	2	0
Máramaros	112	2	2	2	0
Alsó-Fehér	421	7	7	7	0
Austria, Hungary	115	2	3	3	1
Csík, Udvarhely, Háromszék	57	1	3	3	2
Temes	183	3	5	5	2
Arad	370	6	9	9	3
Maros-Torda	169	3	6	6	3
Szeben	401	7	11	11	4
Beszterce-Naszód	399	7	11	11	4
Brassó	217	4	25	25	21
Total	5969	100.0	100	100.0	-

The most under-represented counties are Krassó-Szörény (which has the highest number of students but only three Academy members), Szolnok-Doboka, and Szatmár (no Academy members). Bihar, the second largest county in terms of number of students, has only five Academy members. Maros-Torda, Szeben, Temes, Arad, and Beszterce-Naszód are moderately over-represented, but the biggest discrepancy is observed in the case of Brassó, which gives 4% of Transylvanian Romanian students but 25% of the ethnic Romanian members in our sample.

The geographical discrepancies shown in Table 4 are, to some extent, natural. In social reality it is unreasonable to expect that the geographical distribution atop the intellectual elite should be a perfect match to the number of students originating from each territorial-administrative unit. Moreover, local preferences for certain fields of qualification, associated with the social and economic realities of the area, could in turn influence the chances of access in the Academy, which was strongly dominated by graduates in the Humanities. In the above situation, however, the major positive difference in the case of Brassó, on the one hand, and the negative one in the case of some counties in the Banat (Krassó-Szörény), Eastern Hungary (Bihar, Szatmár), or Northern

Transylvania (Szolnok-Doboka), on the other hand, point to the existence of recruitment patterns in which, even taking into account the objective situation of some geographical regions and the existence of local educational preferences and patterns, the chances of accessing the top scientific institution still remain unequally distributed.

Denominational differences are also interestingly reflected in the share of rural and urban origins (Table 5). A considerably higher number of Orthodox came from urban areas, although many towns and cities were demographically dominated by Greek Catholics. This situation is in fact a statistical disturbance due primarily to the contribution of the city of Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó), with a majority Romanian Orthodox population, which between the second and fourth generations was the birthplace of half of the Orthodox members of the Academy originating from Transylvania and Hungary. Other urban centers like Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), Arad, and Timișoara (Temesvár) were only occasionally the birthplace of a member of the Academy, and most of those coming from these counties were born in the countryside.

Regarding the general evolution of the rural/urban ratio, in the first three generations, the rural area, which hosted most of the Romanian population (over 85 %), provided the majority of the members of the Academy, but the share of the urban area steadily increased, as the number of Romanians in the cities and their financial means grew, creating a recruitment pool for the intellectual elite. Compared to the general distribution of the Romanian population at the time, urban areas are actually over-represented during the first three generations. In the fourth generation (those who studied at university between 1895 and 1925), we see the beginning of a regularization of the previous situation. Against the backdrop of increased opportunities for access to university studies, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (prosperous general economic framework, nationalist efforts to create a national educated stratum by supporting their education through scholarships and study foundations),[31] more and more young Romanians from rural areas attended higher education, so that the recruitment pool of the elite was also expanding, resulting in the overwhelming share of members of the Academy born in the countryside.

Table 5: Urban and rural origin by denomination.

	Generation				**Total**	
Denomination	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**N**	**%**
Rural						
Orthodox	6	12	14	18	50	45.9
Greek Catholics	6	9	6	7	28	25.7
Others	1	1	-	-	2	1.8
Total	**13**	**22**	**20**	**24**	**80**	**73.4**

31 Iudean, *Elite strategies*, 517– 32; Iudean, *The Formation of Romanian Legal Elites*, 853 – 86.

Table 5 *(Continued)*

Denomination	Generation				Total	
	1	2	3	4	N	%
Urban						
Orthodox	4	5	6	3	18	16.5
Greek Catholics	-	-	3	1	4	3.7
Others	1	2	4	-	7	6.4
Total	**5**	**7**	**13**	**4**	**29**	**26.6**

4 Socio-professional Structures and Intergenerational Social Mobility

In this sub-chapter we turn our attention to the social origin of the members of the Academy from Transylvania and Hungary, analyzed through the father's profession, illustrated in Figure 1 and coded in Table 9. The spectrum of the social origin of the parents and especially of the Romanian parents (figures before the "+" sign, where applicable) is dominated by three occupational groups: Hisclass 2 (liberal professions, clergy, and civil servants), Hisclass 4 (merchants and teachers), and Hisclass 8 (farmers). If we distribute this overall situation over the four generations, we see that the liberal, intellectual, and church-related professions far dominate the structure and exhibit a constant evolution; the course of the professions in Hisclass 4 is equally constant, while the agricultural professions, after an obvious setback in the second generation, make a comeback in the last two generations.

A small number of members of the Academy from the analyzed sample (6) had parents whose professional or social situation placed them from birth in the upper stratum of society (Hisclass 1), and of these only three were Romanian. The brothers Ioan and Victor Mihály de Apșa came from a Romanian noble family in Máramaros, their father being a large landowner, member of the Hungarian Parliament, and lord lieutenant (*főispán*) in the 1860s.[32] Enea Hodoș was the son of a lawyer, Iosif Hodoș, whose position as county commissioner (*alispán*) in the county of Zaránd and member of Parliament placed him among the administrative and political elite, and whose interest in culture propelled him among the first members of the Romanian Academy.[33] The number of Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary who could be associated with the elite (Hisclass 1), either by profession or by noble status, was very small at the time (a few hundred families at best) and, even if from a purely statistical point of view the presence of the three is an over-representation, it broadly reflects the social situation

32 Iudean, *The Romanian Governmental Representatives*, 165.
33 Chiorean, *Iosif Hodoș*.

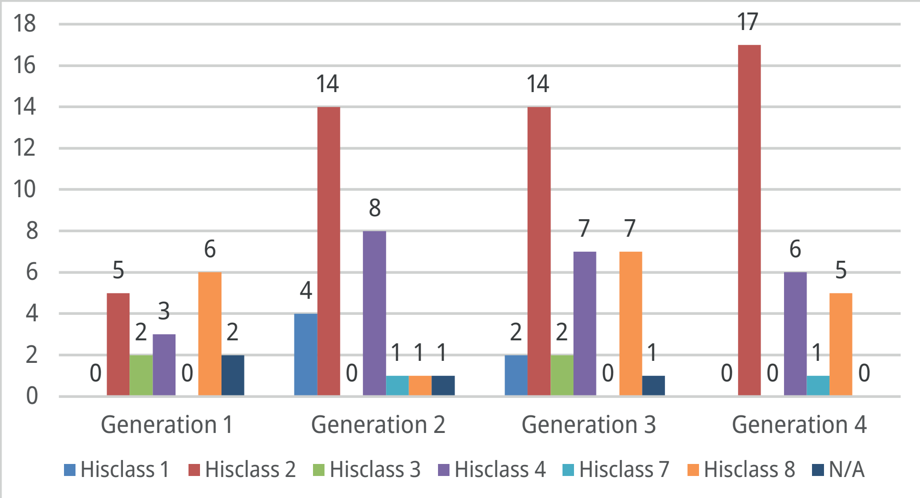

Figure 1: Social origin of sample members by father's profession (Hisclass coding).

on a large scale. Of those of other ethnicities, Victor Bulcs von Janka was the son of a landowner and high civil servant in the Transylvanian Royal Chancellery in Vienna,[34] Károly Torma was the son of a noble landowner and county official,[35] and Friedrich M. Teutsch was the son of a Lutheran bishop.[36]

The best represented group, Hisclass 2, covers almost half the number of parents: 50 out of 109, the vast majority of whom were priests (32) and archpriests (5). Representatives of the liberal professions were very few (five lawyers, one doctor, and one engineer), supplemented by civil servants (two judges and one municipal notary) and high school teachers (three). The overall proportion of clergymen is not surprising, given the social structure of the Romanian ethnic elite of the period, consisting of several thousand priests and teachers, followed at a distance by lawyers, merchants, and lower public and private officials.[37] Their generational distribution is balanced (30 – 35 % of the members of each generation), with the exception of the second generation, when it peaks at 45 % (13 clergymen, including three archpriests).[38]

34 Neilreich, Gallerie, 1 – 5.

35 Szinnyei, "Torma József (csicsó-keresztúri)."

36 Schwarz, "Teutsch Friedrich."

37 Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 101 – 10.

38 In our opinion, only the archpriests should be placed in Hisclass 2, while the vast majority of Romanian priests – at least until the 1870s and 1880s, but perhaps even later – are classifiable, in terms of social status (but also comparatively, in terms of level of education and income), rather in Hisclass 3. However, since there were great differences between Romanian priests in the cities and those in rural areas, or even between the latter according to the size and wealth of their parishes, and since a comparative study in this regard is still lacking, we have chosen to follow the standard classification of the priesthood in Hisclass 2.

The fathers from this generation (born between 1790 and 1825), are representatives of a period when the clergy absolutely dominated the Romanian ethnic elite in Transylvania and Hungary, not only numerically but also in terms of social influence, and the statistical situation illustrates, in our opinion, the easier access to education and the greater chances for an academic career of their sons (born 1825 – 1850): Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, brothers Aron and Nicolae Densușianu, Iosif Vulcan, Iosif Hodoș (mentioned above), Alexandru Roman and Grigore Silași (university professors), Nicolae Popea (civil servant who joined the Orthodox ecclesiastical bureaucracy and became a bishop), Zaharia Boiu, Ioan Popescu, Ilarion Pușcariu, Vasile Mangra (theology professors and church hierarchs), and Simeon Mangiucă (lawyer and civil servant).[39] These are the representatives of the first quantitative meaningful wave of Romanian students in the universities and academies of the Habsburg monarchy, which started in the 1850s, partly supported by scholarships, funds, and foundations distributed mostly through ecclesiastical institutions.[40]

The social category to the detriment of which this process took place seems to be the farmers (Hisclass 8). If in the first generation five members of the Academy came from peasant families (of which, however, two had grandparents or great-grandparents who were priests), in the second generation only Ioan Micu Moldovan, canon and professor of theology at the Greek Catholic Theological Institute in Blaj (Balázsfalva), had parents who worked exclusively in agriculture. The situation has stabilized in the last two generations, when, due to the massive increase in the number of Romanian students and the development of the scholarship system, more and more sons of farmers had access to higher education, thus expanding the recruitment pool of future members of the Academy. Even so, the share of parents from the ecclesiastical environment remained high (around one third), expressing the strongest professional over-representation in relation to the whole population. The most “elite” generation is by far the second one, because at that historical moment the recruitment pool of the Romanian intelligentsia was very narrow; nevertheless, its widening in the following generations remains slow and there is even a slight regression in the fourth generation (possibly also due to its “undone” character).

39 Most of those mentioned here have legal and/or theological studies, fitting the socio-professional model of the Romanian political elite analyzed in the chapter by A.V. Sima and M. Eppel.

40 Sigmirean, *Formarea intelectualității*, 33 – 38.

Table 6: Parents' professional relationship with the ecclesiastical environment.

Relationship	Gen. 1		Gen. 2		Gen. 3		Gen. 4		Total	
Lay	10+1	61.2	13+2	51.7	22	66.7	19	65.5	64+3	61.5
Cleric	5	27.8	13	44.8	10	30.3	10	34.5	38	34.9
N/A	2	11.1	1	3.4	1	3.0	-	-	4	3.7
Total	18	100.0	29	100.0	33	100.0	29	100.0	109	100.0

Note: After the + sign: lay people in the service of the church

Between the two extreme social strata are members of the Academy with parents in Hisclass 4 (24 in number), a category which comprises, for all generations, almost exclusively rural teachers and merchants (rural and urban), both professions being quite common among the Romanian middle class. Teachers, who numbered several thousand, formed the backbone of the rural intelligentsia and were some of the most important agents of nationalism. The merchants, especially the urban ones, were the professional category that had financially supported, since the first half of the nineteenth century, the establishment and functioning of various Romanian institutions (associations, press, schools) and the formation of the national intelligentsia. However, what is striking about the group of fathers in Hisclass 4 is the almost absolute dominance of the Orthodox (20) and their strong concentration in Brassó County (11). Obviously, the two aspects are interrelated, since within the Romanian demographic segment, the city of Brașov was both an Orthodox confessional center and a commercial hub. Much of the confessional imbalance highlighted above originates from this concentration, accentuated in the second and third generations but identifiable throughout the entire period (Figure 1).

Compared to the overall picture of the social origin of the Romanian intelligentsia of the time, a number of disparities also catch the eye (Table 7). Intellectuals with public positions (priests, teachers, professors, etc.) are greatly over-represented among the parents of academics, as is the category formed by merchants, entrepreneurs, and craftsmen (here, however, only merchants (Hisclass 4) are actually over-represented). Unfortunately, the lack of more detailed statistics hinders both the deepening of the analysis by delineating the occupational sub-categories more precisely, as well as the accurate generational distribution.

Table 7: Comparative social background of Romanian students and Academy members.[41]

Father's profession	Hisclass Equivalence	Students		Academics		Difference (percentage points)
		N	%	N	%	
Farmers	8	843	25.9	22	22.6	- 3.3
Traders, entrepreneurs, craftsmen	**4, 7**	**167**	**5.1**	**13**	**13.4**	**8.3**
Civil servants (low and middle level)	2, 3	332	10.2	6	6.2	- 4.0
Intellectuals in public office (priests, teachers, etc.)	**2, 3**	**1238**	**38.1**	**48**	**49.5**	**11.4**
Senior civil servants	1	185	5.7	3	3.1	- 2.6
Senior private officials (managers)	1	13	0.4	-	-	- 0.4
Liberal professions and journalists	2, 3	187	5.7	5	5.2	- 0.5
Large landowners	**1**	**244**	**7.6**	-	-	**- 7.6**
Skilled and unskilled workers	9, 10, 11, 12	41	1.3	-	-	- 1.3
Total	-	3250	100.0	97	100.0	-

The road to the Academy for future members inevitably passed through the higher education institutions of the time. Most of them (89) studied at universities, academies, and institutes in the Habsburg monarchy, while 20 % of them (18) continued their studies at other European universities, most of them in Germany (Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Karlsruhe, Munich, Tübingen, etc.). Only Sextil Pușcariu and Emil Petrovici also studied in Paris, and Silviu Dragomir in Moscow. This educational path was in fact the standard of the time for most Romanian students in Transylvania and Hungary.

A smaller number of 14 members of the Academy studied in Romania (Iași, Bucharest, or Cluj after 1918), some of them completing their studies with internships at foreign universities throughout Europe (Paris, Madrid, Milan, Krakow, St. Petersburg, Strasbourg, Berlin, Munich, Jena) including in the monarchy (Budapest, Vienna). Finally, a last group of only six members studied exclusively abroad: theology (Rome) or literature (Heidelberg, Leipzig, Berlin), diplomacy and folklore (Paris). With the exception of Bishops Dionisie Romano (educated in the Principality of Wallachia before 1848) and Victor Mihály of Apșa (theology graduate from Rome), all other future members of the Academy who studied outside the Habsburg monarchy (i. e., in Romania or exclusively abroad) were members of the third and fourth generations. Among those who were intellectually trained outside the Habsburg monarchy, the share of those

41 Cf. *Formarea intelectualității*, 219 – 27, especially 219 – 20, Table 1. The data cover only 3,250 students for whom it was possible to identify the father's profession. As this is the only statistic on the social origin of Romanian students before 1918, we have tried to harmonize it with the Hisclass system, grouping the different occupational categories in the original table and providing equivalences for each category. In several cases, unfortunately, it is not possible to clearly delineate within occupational groups belonging to different Hisclasses. The table refers only to the Romanian members of Academy whose fathers' profession is known (97), given that the comparison term is only the Romanian university graduates.

from the upper social classes (Hisclass 1 – 2) was only 20 % for those educated in Romania, but 66 % for those educated exclusively abroad. In contrast, more than half of those educated in Romania came from Hisclass 7– 8, a discrepancy obviously caused by the financial means of their parents.

The analysis of the fields of study is made more difficult by the fact that quite a few of them, in line with the specifics of the time, attended several faculties, although most of them ended up with only one specialization. As the information on this indicator is not always accurate, we have tried to capture in the related statistics, as far as possible, the field in which we know for sure they obtained a degree and which supported their professional career. For example, Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna studied law, but went on to theology and chose an ecclesiastical career.[42] There are also situations where the field of study was only partially or temporarily related to the professional field. Traian Vuia, a pioneer of aviation, never completed his technical studies because of financial difficulties, but rather his legal studies, from which he supported himself for a long time, until his professional transition to the technical field.[43]

Table 8: Main fields of study of future Academy members.

Field of Study	**Gen. 1**		**Gen. 2**		**Gen. 3**		**Gen. 4**		**Total**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Law	5	27.8	11	37.9	3	9.1	5	17.2	24	22.0
Letters, philosophy, history, pedagogy	7	38.9	3	10.3	17	51.5	12	41.4	39	35.8
Theology	4	22.2	10	34.5	9	27.3	8	27.6	31	28.4
Medicine and pharmacy	2	11.1	1	3.4	1	3.0	3	10.3	7	6.4
Technical	-	-	2	6.9	2	6.1	-	-	4	3.7
Military	-	-	2	6.9	1	3.0	1	3.4	4	3.7
Total	18	100.0	29	100.0	33	100.0	29	100.0	109	100.0

Note: Gen. = Generation

Analyzing the generational evolution of the fields of study, we observe that, if the preference for lay fields changes over time (legal studies dominate the second generation and humanities the third generation), the most constant presence remains, in the long run, that of theological studies, whose share is partly due to the large number of honorary members elected from among the church hierarchs. Medical and pharmaceutical studies have a continuous but fluctuating presence, while technical and military studies form an absolute minority. The later organization and slower development of the science section of the Romanian Academy is the reason why graduates of these studies had such a low presence among its members. As for the relatively lower values of law graduates, if they were completed with all those who followed legal studies without

42 Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality*, 10 – 11.
43 Antoniu et al., *Traian Vuia*, 15 – 35.

graduating, they would reach values close to those of humanities and theology (32). Not all theology graduates have gone on to practice in the field, but the percentage remains quite high. Moreover, comparing the clergy-laity ratio among fathers and children (members of the Academy, cf. Table 6 and Table 9), it can be seen that during the first three generations the trends are relatively congruent, with a real difference appearing only late, in the fourth generation, when the percentage of church-employed fathers exceeds one third, while that of sons falls to less than one fifth.

Table 9: Laymen and clergy ratio within Academy members.

	Gen. 1		Gen. 2		Gen. 3		Gen. 4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lay	11 + 1	66.7	19 + 1	69.0	20 + 4	72.7	22 + 2	82.8	72 + 8	73.4
Cleric	6	33.3	9	31.0	9	27.3	5	17.2	29	26.6
Total	18	100.0	29	100.0	33	100.0	29	100.0	109	100.0

Note: After the + sign: lay people in the service of the church; Gen. = Generation

The overwhelming majority of members of the Romanian Academy from Transylvania and Hungary before 1948 are therefore graduates of legal, humanities, and theology studies, with interests in the humanities (literature, history, social sciences, arts, theology) and only a minority (15%) coming from graduates of natural, mathematical, and technical sciences. Their fields of professional activity are generally in line with their studies, but not always with the scientific fields to which they have contributed and by virtue of which they were elected members of the Academy. About 20% of them carried out cultural and scientific activities not directly related to their academic specialization, most of them coming from the legal profession. The frequency of such situations decreases much in the third and fourth generations, due to the development and specialization of the university training system, which by 1900 produced graduates much better trained in particular disciplines than half a century before.

The spectrum of the professions of the members of the Academy from Transylvania and Hungary is not very wide, but it goes beyond the traditional framework of the intellectual elite, including: legal professions (lawyers, judges), administrative professions (civil servants, generally in decision-making offices), a few professionals in the medical sciences, and a few former army officers, to which are added, of course, representatives of the “traditional” intelligentsia (professors in higher education and high schools, publicists, church hierarchs). Of the 45% of them we know for sure that they were members of central or provincial parliaments (diets) in the Habsburg monarchy or Romania[44] and most were also politically active, in one form or another, in the “na-

44 Possibly more, but there is no exact published record of the members of the Romanian Parliament between 1859 and 1948. For the Hungarian Parliament see Pál et al. (eds.), *Parliamentary Elections*, 75–264.

tional movement” before 1918 or in regional politics in the interwar period, some even after 1948, in the early years of socialism (e. g., C. Daicoviciu).

Analyzing intergenerational social mobility, using profession and its related social strata in the Hisco-Hisclass system as an indicator (Table 10), it can be seen that 34 (31.2 %) of the Academy’s members had already reached elite professional positions (Hisclass 1) at the time of joining the institution. Most of them (29, i. e., over 85 %) came from rural areas, 16 (47 %) were honorary members (elected to the Academy because they already held an elite position that gave them relevance in the cultural and scientific environment), and 18 (53 %) were church hierarchs (bishops, canons, episcopal curates). Their generational distribution is balanced, however, the high percentage of those coming from farming and artisan parents (Hisclass 7– 8, 11 people) is noteworthy, forming 32 % of those who achieved Hisclass 1 before entering the Academy. In contrast, only 10 men (13.7 %) who entered the Academy from Hisclass 2 were sons of farmers, with this discrepancy between the two groups highlighting the lower chances of intellectuals from agricultural backgrounds compared to those from middle-class or elite backgrounds to become members of the Academy unless they had already attained prestigious socio-professional positions – eight out of the aforementioned 11 were senior church hierarchs with farmer parents.

Table 10: Intergenerational social mobility of sample members at the time of entry into the Academy.[45]

Father↓ / Son→	Hisclass 1	Hisclass 2	Hisclass 3
Hisclass 1	2 + 2*	1 + 1	
Hisclass 2	11	35 + 3*	1
Hisclass 3	0 + 1	3	*
Hisclass 4	7	16 + 1	
Hisclass 7		2	
Hisclass 8	11	8	
N/A		2 + 1	1

45 In the first column, the social class of the father’s profession; in the first row, the social class of the son’s profession before his election to the Academy (according to the Hisclass system, such a prestigious title would automatically imply a step upward to the peak social class; we did not take into account the parliamentary mandates, which would also have temporarily propelled them to Hisclass 1). With *, figures for social immobility. Social classes lacking representatives (Hisclass 5 – 6, 9 – 12) were eliminated. After the + sign, members of an ethnic group other than Romanian.

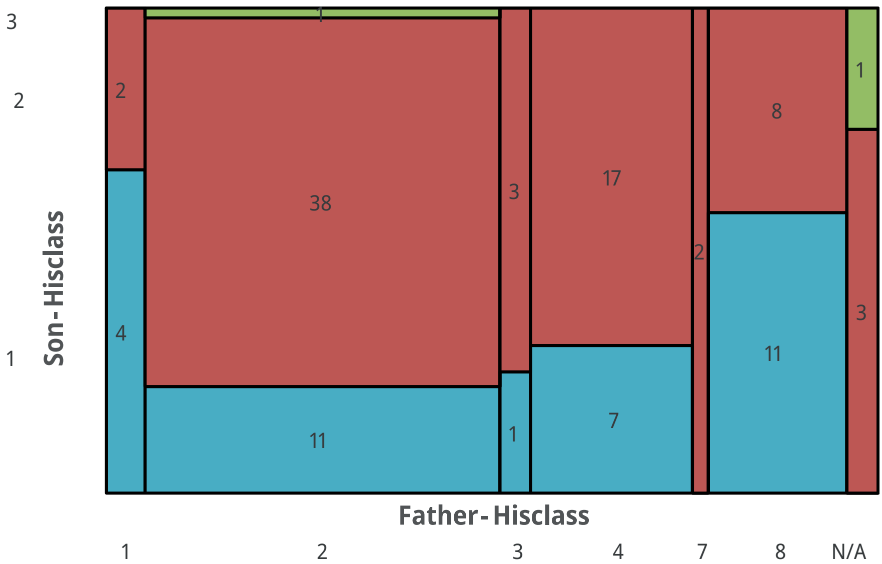

Figure 2: Intergenerational social mobility of sample members at the time of entry into the Academy.

In only two cases was the occupation at the time of choice Hisclass 3 associable. Petru Broșteanu was secretary of the Hungarian Railway Company, however, the occupation of his father (probably a farmer) is not known.[46] Alexandru I. Lapedatu was elected corresponding member of the Academy in 1910, at the age of 34, when he was a clerk of the Academy Library and secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission. His father had been a secondary school teacher and publicist (Hisclass 2), but soon after 1919 his son's career would propel him to important political and administrative positions, including that of Minister,[47] and thus in his case the apparent downward social mobility represents in fact only an early career stage.

Most Academy members in our sample (73) reached this status from a Hisclass 2 professional position. In only two cases was social mobility downward, with both situations involving elite parents and a separate career path for the son. We mentioned earlier the case of Enea Hodoș, a professor at a pedagogical institute, whose father had been a senior civil servant and member of the Hungarian Parliament. The second case, also mentioned, is Károly Torma, who at the time of his election was a university professor (Hisclass 2), but who had previously been a lord lieutenant and member of the Hungarian Parliament (Hisclass 1). Downward mobility is thus, in his case too, a rather circumstantial matter.

Most of the cases in Hisclass 2 showcase social immobility (38, plus 4 in Hisclass 1). Three quarters of them (26) involve parents who are priests or archpriests whose sons

46 Turcuș, "Petru Broșteanu (1838–1920)," 113–14.
47 Rusu, *Membrii Academiei*, vol. 1, 919–20.

became, for the most part (21), secondary school or university professors. In fact, this latter occupational category was the one ensuring the highest chances of becoming a member of the Academy. Education professionals dominated the membership of the Academy (61.5 %, 67 out of 109) and they also formed the largest cohort of the "socially immobile" group (69 %, 29 out of 42)

Situations of upward social mobility, slightly less than those of immobility, occurred more frequently among Academy members with bourgeois or rural intelligentsia parents (Hisclass 3 – 4, 21 cases) than among those with farming and artisan parents (Hisclass 7– 8, 10 cases), further highlighting the same differences in opportunities mentioned above. Within the first category, the teachers' group gives the lowest number of fathers and the merchants' group the highest number. This also reflects the generally greater material possibilities of the latter and further supports the conclusion that the material means of parents (expressed in terms of social class or average earnings) influenced the chances of moving from the intelligentsia into the elite.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the previous discussion (see footnote 40, above) on the classification of Romanian priests in Transylvania in the Hisclass system. If we were to apply the proposal of placing them rather in Hisclass 3 and keeping the archpriests in Hisclass 2 (probably closer to the realities of Central and Eastern Europe than the Hisco – Hisclass standard), then the ratio of social immobility–social mobility would be reversed and the overwhelming majority of cases would be upward social mobility, with parents in Hisclass 3 – 4 and children in Hisclass 2, from where membership of the Academy propels them into Hisclass 1. Here again, however, the high number of priests relative to teachers would reflect not only social status but also income differences between the two professions and the related mobility chances for their children.[48] However, this change would be a rather methodological exercise, with effects on the taxonomy and scholastic projection of social reality, but it would not change the reality of the differences in opportunities between the representatives of the main social classes; being born into a family of nineteenth century intellectuals (clergymen or pedagogues) from the upper or middle strata of the Romanian middle class offered considerably higher chances of entering the Romanian Academy than being born in a family from any other social space, especially in a family of farmers (from where, apparently, the safest way to the Academy was, formally or informally, through the Church).

Thus, one of M. Lazăr's remarks on the intellectual and political elite of the Old Kingdom of Romania is also verified for the Romanians of Transylvania: "Meritocracy remains, however, an abstract mobilizing principle, as long as in Europe – and here the Romanian Principalities cannot be an exception – it remains competed by the tendency of the old dominant social strata to preserve their positions."[49] If in the case of the Old Kingdom these strata were represented by the high and middle nobility, in the case of

48 Cf. Sigmirean, *Formarea intelectualității*, 221.
49 Lazăr, *Paradoxuri*, 144.

the Transylvanian Romanians it was the priests. The clergy dominated Romanian society in Transylvania in terms of status and influence, from the village priest to the bishop. The middle and upper clergy (bishops and archpriests) dominated Romanian political life in Transylvania until the mid-nineteenth century and then, with the beginning of the transition to mass politics, they became the conveyor belt between the lay political leaders and the mass of voters.[50] Many of the school funds and foundations of the time were created by or supervised by clergymen or were confessional in character.

This dominance is also visible in their children's increased chances of attending university and thus joining the path to the Academy; according to data collected by C. Sigmirean, priests (several thousand in number) represented approx. 28 % of the number of parents of Romanian students in Transylvania and Hungary with a known profession (being the most frequent profession among fathers), while farmers (in the order of lower millions) amounted to only 26 %.[51]

5 Conclusions

The members of the Romanian Academy from Transylvania and Hungary formed a group well individualized within the institution's membership, not only by the fact that most of them came (until 1918) from outside the borders of the country, but also by the preconditions of their social structure and origin, of their intellectual training, and even of the geographical sub-areas of extraction. Such preconditions influenced their social mobility and chances of access to the most prestigious national cultural and scientific institution.

Firstly, the sample studied shows, unlike the members of the Academy in the Old Kingdom (almost all Orthodox), a greater confessional diversity through the presence of about a third Greek-Catholics. However, the confessional distribution within the sample, dominated by two-thirds Orthodox, does not reflect nearly the demographic situation of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary (57 % Orthodox and 43 % Greek-Catholic), nor the confessional structure of Romanian students (about 48 % Orthodox and 52 % Greek-Catholic),[52] nor the relatively similar degree of development of the two confessional systems of secondary education. From this point of view, the study shows that in an ethnically divided and confessionally competitive regional environment – sometimes to the limit of the phenomenon called "pillarization"[53] – contact with an external social and cultural environment dominated by one of the two confessions (in this case the Orthodox one, forming the majority in the Kingdom of Romania, where the number of Greek Catholics was insignificant) is likely to produce selection imbalances, also visible in the analysis of other variables.

50 Popovici, *Studies on the Romanian Political Elite*, 105 – 108.

51 Sigmirean, *Formarea intelectualității*, 220 – 22.

52 Calculations based on the data from ibid., 344 – 723 (prosopography).

53 Hellemans, "Pillarization ("Verzuiling")," 124 – 47.

The geographical distribution of the sample highlights one of the causes of the confessional disparities; the geographical pool of selection is dominated by the county of Brassó, close to the border with Romania, while other administrative units, which provide large numbers of the Romanian students of the time, are underrepresented or even completely absent. Almost a quarter of the Transylvanian members of the Academy came from there, and this was an area dominated by Orthodox not only demographically, but also through cultural and confessional educational institutions (the Orthodox Gymnasium of Brașov)[54] and through economic, cultural, and confessional relations with the Romanians from the Old Kingdom, including the political (and Orthodox) center in Bucharest. In figures, the over-representation of Brassó County is sufficient to determine, even omitting other secondary or particular causes, the confessional disparities among the sample. The same over-representation also generates an imbalance in the denominational distribution within the urban-rural ratio, the number of Orthodox in the urban area being "artificially" increased by those in the city of Brașov.

There is one last possible reason why Brassó County dominates the recruitment pool within the sample. In total, about 20 % of the members of the Romanian Academy in Transylvania and Hungary were related in dyads or triads through direct blood relations. But the strongest concentration of such ties, amounting to a third of the kinship cases, was also found in Brassó: brothers Ioan and Ilarion Pușcariu, together with their nephew Sextil Pușcariu (son of their brother Iosif); brothers Ioan Bogdan and Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică (whose sister Catinca was the wife of historian Nicolae Iorga, and whose niece Maria was the wife of archaeologist Vasile Pârvan – both members of the Academy originally from Romania); and the twin brothers Alexandru and Ion I. Lapedatu, together with Ion Mușlea (who married to Maria Lipăneanu, Alexandru's stepdaughter and trained as a student in the philological school of Sextil Pușcariu). We are not placing under scrutiny here the quality of their scientific work, all of them being, at the time of their nomination, important figures of the scientific and cultural life in Romania. But the overlap of these family clusters with the traditional relations between the Romanian community in Brașov city and Brassó County and the Old Kingdom (especially the capital Bucharest), with the professional opportunities offered by Romania in comparison with Hungary, and with the brain-drain policy of the Romanian state (which constantly attracted graduates from the Habsburg monarchy to fill the shortage of qualified personnel), certainly contributed to the geographical polarization of the selection pool and thus partly to the confessional imbalance.

The organizational model of the institution has also influenced the profile of its members. Throughout the period studied, the Academy favored the humanities, so that philologists, historians, theologians, ethnographers, and generally intellectuals with cultural interests and contributions found their place among its members much easier. A special case is that of clerics, who made up a quarter of the member-

54 Bârseanu, *Istoria Școlelor Centrale Române.*

ship, to which, if we add the lay people in the service of the Church (professors at theological institutes), we conclude that a third of the total number of members, and 40 % of those professing in the humanities, were directly linked to the ecclesiastical environment. From a social point of view, this situation can be explained by the peculiarities of Transylvania, a region where the dominance of the clergy as the main intellectual and social category among Romanians for centuries left its mark until late in the communist period. Metropolitan Șaguna's institutional policies, which intertwined the Orthodox Church and Romanian lay Orthodox civil society in Transylvania, were certainly a factor that helped maintain the church's increased influence, with effects that also reverberated beyond the year 1918.[55] From a political point of view, the situation linked the Academy to the Church, not only institutionally but also in terms of membership, both being pillar institutions of the nation-state (another important cultural society, Astra – the equivalent of the Academy in Transylvania – was to be co-opted immediately after 1919 into the institutional complex Army – Church – School – Cultural Societies, in order to support the construction of the idea of a nation-state in the newly united province).[56]

In terms of social mobility, the macro-indicator represented by the urban-rural ratio shows that the members of the Academy fit very well into the general trend of the time, especially from the late nineteenth century onwards, when the number of rural students increased considerably – an aspect also visible in the sample. However, going down to the level of the social area of origin, taking the father's profession as an indicator, differences in social mobility begin to appear, related to two aspects.

On the one hand, there is a clear proportional relationship between social background and the chances of entering the Academy; more than half of the sample members had parents from the elite (high officials, members of Parliament) or the upper strata of the Romanian middle class (civil servants, priests, lawyers, publicists), a quarter from the middle and lower strata of the middle class (merchants and teachers), and only a fifth had farmers as parents (who at the time made up more than 80 % of the Romanian population in Transylvania and Hungary). The status and material condition of the parents therefore directly influenced the chances of social mobility of the children, even in institutions where scientific and meritocratic selection criteria prevailed. The generational trend in this respect is positive, but the pace is very slow.

On the other hand, within the socio-professional categories over-represented in relation to the Romanian student population, there are also obvious professional differences. The most over-represented professional category among fathers are clergymen, most of them priests and archpriests from rural areas, but without major confessional differences (19 Orthodox, 15 Greek-Catholic). Next in terms of over-representation are merchants (all Orthodox, many from Brassó County) and teachers (mostly Orthodox). To complete the picture of the disparity of chances, it should also be mentioned that

55 Schmitt, *Biserica de stat*, 40 – 42, 59 – 61.

56 Moga, *Astra și societatea 1918 – 1930*, 71 – 91.

a good number of farmers' sons become members of the Academy as honorary members, but only after already holding a high-status public position, frequently in the Church.

In terms of social mobility, about a third of the Academy's members had already reached the highest social class in terms of professional position before being elected members of the institution. In some cases, such as those of church hierarchs, it was precisely public office that was the basis for their nomination into the Academy. For the other two-thirds, membership of the Academy meant a step up to the highest position of the social hierarchy, usually from the next lower rung, from among university professors or, in fewer cases, gymnasium teachers.

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