



## **Nobility among the Austrian economic elite in 2008.**

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# Nobility among the Austrian economic elite in 2008

*Philipp Korom & Jaap Dronkers*

## Abstract

This article deals with 16642 members of the *Vorstand*, the *Aufsichtsrat* and the *Geschäftsführung* (managing board, supervisory board and management) of the 5000 largest Austrian companies by turnover, who are recorded in the Austrian Company Register 2008. Referring to Hueck (2002), various issues of *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels* and indicators of noble descent (such as the title “von”) we figure out whether managers belong to one of the German and Austrian noble families. Applying quantitative methods only, we scrutinize further whether the Austrian nobility has maintained some of its advantages regarding entry into economic elite positions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The main result is that Austrian nobles have a six-fold larger chance of becoming a member of the Austrian economic elite in 2008 than non-nobles, a full century after the revolution of 1918. Noble members of the Austrian economic elite deviate from non-noble members in the following aspects: they work in corporations with a higher turnover, hold more often an academic title, are on the average three years older and less often female. However, they do not form any informal network within the economic elite. The comparison of nobles according to their social status within the nobility suggests that ranks have lost their significance completely in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and that Austrian nobility has thus become a more homogenous social category.

## 1. Austrian nobility in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

In the second edition of her book “Austrian Nobility today” Walterskirchen (2007) postulates a comeback of the descendants of nobles as an informal class (*informeller Stand*) in the sense of Saint Martin (1993, 13-17). In her opinion the official recognition of the Association of Austrian Nobles (*Vereinigung der Edelleute in Österreich, V.E.Ö.*) in 2006, a successor of the *Vereinigung katholischer Edelleute in Österreich*, which was banned under the Nazis in 1938, marks a historical watershed. For the first time in the history of the Austrian Second Republic there exists again an official representative body for nobles in Austria.

Together with related evidence for the enduring socio-economic advantages of the Dutch, German and French nobilities (Schijf, Dronkers & Broeke-George 2004; Dronkers 2008; Saint Martin 1993), the u-turn of Austrian official politics towards the nobility gives us cause not to dismiss the nobility as a historical fossil, but to rather investigate the hidden class-linked advantages (or disadvantages) of the Austrian nobility, which was officially abolished in 1919 when the newly elected National Assembly passed the “law on the abolition of the nobility, the secular orders of chivalry, male and female, and of certain titles and dignities”. That the main aim of this law was to put an end to the power of nobility in the Austrian-Hungarian societies became clear, at the latest, in 1920, when the law on the abolition of nobility was elevated to the constitutional rank of Federal Constitution Act. Today the law can only be abolished if at least two thirds of all members of the National Council vote against it (Olscher 1971). Given the neutral or negative attitude of all parties towards

nobility, a reestablishment of some of the former symbolical rights of the Austrian nobility can be regarded as unlikely.

Since 1918 the Austrian nobiliary legal system has differed in an important aspect from the German one. While following the German constitution of Weimar former titles became part of names and stopped being regarded any longer as class designations, no Austrian citizen is allowed to have any noble titles such as “von” and “zu” in his or her name. However, spokespersons of the V.E.Ö. have announced that they will appeal to the European Court for Human Rights in order to overturn the proscription not to use titles of honour (Walterskirchen 2007, 29) – a law that is in any case frequently broken in a country that is rightly known and criticized for its obsessive usage of academic titles.

To test the assumption of consistent advantage we focus on nobility among the Austrian economic elite at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Having included the 5000 largest Austrian companies by turnover we are aware that our study interprets the term “elite” in the broad sense. Not all of the nobles considered here dominate the dominant organizations (Giddens 1974). However, all selected nobles hold at least positions of leadership and are figureheads of smaller lines of business.

Relatively early on in history the Austrian nobility strived for the accumulation of property and finance in order to achieve political influence. Capitalistic-oriented nobles invested in the building of railways, industries and the formations of banks. Count Johann Adolf Schwarzenberg, Count Vinzenz Carl Auersperg, Count Max Egon Fürstenberg, Count Otto Chotek and the banker Louis von Haber participated with 30 millions of Gulden – a third of the entire capital stock – in the foundation in 1857 of the first and leading financial institution of the monarchy, the so-called *Creditanstalt* (Stekl 2004, 26). It seems that the influence of nobility in the banking sector was constant until the introduction of the so-called *Verstaatlichtengesetze* (1946/47) that initiated not only the nationalisation of large industries but also of banks such as the *Creditanstalt-Bankverein*, the *Länderbank* and the *Österreichische Credit-Institut*. In the new management there were no nobles to be found anymore. However, in 1995 once again twelve nobles were among the leading managers of *Creditanstalt* (Walterskirchen 2007, 155), which may indicate that nobles are deeply rooted in the financial sector. Yet it is not only in banks, but also in insurance companies and major (international) corporations that nobles can play a crucial role. This is easily illustrated by two examples: Johannes Attems as managing-director of *Österreichische Konrollbank AG* and Alexander Leeb as supervisory board member of *Steiermärkische Bank und Sparkassen AG*.

Research on interlocked directorates in Austria (Ziegler 1984; Ziegler, Reissner, and Bender 1985; Morawetz 1985 [both used data from preceding years]) showed that Austria was characterized by a corporate network in which positions of the banks were far stronger than in liberal market economies such as Britain or the United States. At least for the eighties and nineties one can speak of oligarchic bank hegemony. Morawetz (1985, 78), for example, found out that directors of the *Creditanstalt* had personal ties to 18 of the 78 largest industrial and financial enterprises. This fact can be explained on the one hand by the numerous dependent firms that were linked as subsidiaries to their parent. On the other hand the exceptional position of *Creditanstalt* within the national network points also at the predominant strategic orientations of Austrian banks in the past: Bankers could reduce the risk of loans and intervene directly into manage affairs in times of crisis, because of existing interlocked directorates (Windolf 2009). The interest of reducing risks also turned into a strategic orientation to regulate competition between industrial

companies. Austrian nobles formed part of such corporatist arrangements in the past.

The subsequent empirical analysis aims at describing the importance and characteristics of nobles in the Austrian economic elite for the year 2008. When speaking of the “Austrian nobility”, we refer to the post-1918 nobility (irrespective of the origin of the noble title), who retained a relation with the Austrian economy and society by participating in the government of the Austrian largest enterprises.

## 2. Hypotheses

We use Walterskirchen’s latest book on the Austrian nobility at the end of the 20th century as a starting point for our analyses. She estimates that there are approximately 180 families of nobility with about 11.000 members in Austria. This represents quite a small fraction of the whole Austrian population, namely 14 per 1000 (0,014). Walterskirchen therefore concludes that the question whether nobility is over- or underrepresented in certain professions cannot accurately answered (Walterskirchen 2007, 16). By not looking at single professions, but at all higher positions in Austrian economy we take this methodological trap door into account and test some of Walterskirchen’s main statements on the role of nobility in the economic elite.

The participation of Austrian nobles in banking has declined after WW II, which is partly due to the nationalisation of the Austrian economy. Maintaining a large share of public ownership in infrastructure, banking and manufacturing up to the 1990ies was an Austrian speciality among Western market economies. However, since the 1980ies Austrian national economy has been becoming already deregulated and also the trend not to accept nobles as managers is reversed. According to Walterskirchen (2007, 118), we can again find nobles not only in leading position of banks, such as *Credit Lyonnais*, *Österreichische Kontrollbank* and *Giro-Kredit*, but also among top managers of corporations.

H1 The percentage of nobles in the Austrian economic elite is above-average in comparison with nobles in the total Austrian population.

Walterskirchen’s depiction of the Austrian class as an informal and hidden one implies that nobles do not have easily perceivable traits in common that reveal them as a distinct fraction within the economic elite.

H2 The age and other individual characteristics of nobles in the Austrian economic elite do not deviate from those of the non-nobles in the Austrian economic. Nobles can thus not be considered as residuals of a former *Stand*, whose members had distinctive features in common.

By adopting a historical perspective Walterskirchen aims at reconstructing the preferential business activities during the last century. She comes to the conclusion that after holding a significant share in the production of railways and cars before WWI, and a reorientation towards business with agriculture and raw materials, specialisation in financing became predominant among nobility (Walterskirchen 2007, 18).

H3 Within the economic elites there is a significant concentration of nobles within the banking sector.

If Walterskirchen (2007) is right that the Austrian descendants of nobles form an informal class (*informeller Stand*) in the sense of Saint Martin (1993, 13-17), then we should expect to find indicators of the existence of that informal class. Dronkers (2008) found that the noble rank and the distinction between nobles from families ennobled before or after 1500 was still significant for marriage patterns among the Austrian/German nobility, but far less so among the Dutch nobility.

H4 Noble ranks are significant as a stratifying device within the Austrian economic elite.

We would also expect that a class, even if it is an informal one, has at its commands at least some smaller institutionalized communication networks.

H5 Nobles in the Austrian economic elite form an informal network within the Austrian economic elite.

### 3. Data and Methods

We started with all 16642 members of the *Vorstand*, *Aufsichtrat* and the *Geschäftsführung*, who are affiliated to the 5000 biggest Austrian firms and are mentioned in the Austrian Company Register 2008 (*Firmenbuch*, updated in november 2008). From this list we had deleted all double cases. By comparing family names in our list with those in the catalogue of Hueck (2002) we aimed at selecting those people only that might belong to a noble family. In order to be able to conclusively say that someone is of nobility or not, we checked whether the first names and birthdays in the various volumes of the *Genealogische Handbuch des Adels* were corresponding with our data on Austrian managers.

We also used other means (e.g. internet resources) for verifying that a particular person belongs to a European noble family (for instance Hooft-Graafland belongs to a Dutch noble family and Davignon to a Belgian). There were also persons who are with a probability bordering on certainty of noble descent, but can not to be found in any of the volumes of the *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels*, which points to the imperfection of our main source of reference. The renewal of a presentation of the genealogical information in the *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels* depends of the collaboration of all family members and the willingness of the family to pay the costs (Dronkers 2008). Moreover, this handbook seems to be more oriented towards Germany than Austria.

We also used also noble titels (such as the predicate “von”) as a selection criteria, as in Germany, contrary to Austria, noble titles became after 1918 legally a part of the family name.

The result of our selection can be found in Appendix 1. The Appendix shows the names of those who are sure of noble decent according of *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels* and those who are most likely of noble descent, but who were not available in (a recent issue of) the *Genealogische Handbuch des Adels*. Appendix II shows the names of the firms in which they are members of the *Vorstand*, the *Aufsichtrat* or the *Geschäftsführung*

Our results present clearly an underestimation of the real number of persons of noble decent among the Austrian economic elite for two reasons:

a. Not all noble Austrian/German families are included in Hueck (2002): only 9 out of the 16 names with a *von* included in their family name on the list of the

Austrian business elite could be found in Hueck (2002). This results means an underestimation of 44%.

b. Comparable lists of Hungarian, Balkan, Slovakian and Russian noble family names could not be consulted, either because they do not exist or because recent genealogical books about these noble families do not exist for the Austrian/German members. One can assume that quite a number of these noble families work in one of the Austrian 5000 largest corporations.

We have used Hueck (2002) and the *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels* to identify the noble title of the selected persons (simple nobility; baron or *Freiherr*; count or *Graf*; higher aristocracy, like duke, prince, etc.) and the moment of first ennoblement of that particular family (before or after 1500). If the noble title was uncertain (various branches of the same family can have different titles) we gave the lowest rank. If the moment of first ennoblement of the family was unknown, we assumed that this happened after 1500. We could not make this distinction within the higher aristocracy, but the majority of these families are likely to have been ennobled before 1500.

#### 4. Nobility in the Austrian Economic elite

This section focuses on the comparison of the noble and non-noble members of the Austrian economic elite. We mainly test our first three hypotheses:

H1 The percentage of nobles in the Austrian economic elite is above-average in comparison with nobles in the total Austrian population.

H2 The age and other individual characteristics of nobles in the Austrian economic elite do not deviate from those of the non-nobles in the Austrian economic. Nobles can thus not be considered as residuals of a former *Stand*, whose members had distinctive features in common.

H3 Within the economic elites there is a significant concentration of nobles within the banking sector.

**Table 1: Nobility in the Austrian economic elite**

|                 | frequency | percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| no nobility     | 16494     | 99,1    |
| found nobility  | 60        | 0,4     |
| likely nobility | 88        | 0,5     |
| Total           | 16642     | 100,0   |

Table 1 shows that 0,88 % of the Austrian business elite are descendent from a noble family. Compared with the relative size of the nobles in the Austrian population (0,014) the 0,88% mean a relative higher ratio of Austrian nobles in the economic elite compared to all Austrians ( $88/14= 6.2$ ) The first hypothesis derived from Walterskirchen (2007) can therefore be accepted.

**Table 2 Percentage of men and women among the nobles in the economic elite**

|        | % of nobles | N     |
|--------|-------------|-------|
| Male   | 0,90        | 15142 |
| Female | 0,73        | 1500  |
| Total  | 0,88        | 16642 |

Table 2 shows that the percentage of nobles among the male economic elite is higher than the percentage of nobles among the female economic elite. Said differently, among the non-noble economic elite 9% was female as opposed to 7% among the noble economic elite. These differences are, however, too small to be significant. The results speak thus in favour of the second hypothesis.

**Table 3: year of birth of the noble and non-noble elite members**

|            | Mean | Std. Deviation | N     |
|------------|------|----------------|-------|
| Non-nobles | 1957 | 9,6            | 16157 |
| nobles     | 1954 | 11,5           | 146   |
| Total      | 1957 | 9,7            | 16303 |

Table 3 shows that nobles among the economic elite are on average 3 years older than non-nobles (this is a significant difference). They differ also more among themselves in their age compared with non-nobles, which means that they might be both older and younger than non-nobles. Although nobles in the economic elite are older than the non-nobles, we do not consider this as a rejection of our second hypothesis because of the larger variation of age among the nobles.

**Table 4: Highest academic title of the noble and non-noble members elite members**

|            | highest academic titles |                                       |                         |                        |                      |                  | Total  |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------|
|            | no academic title       | <i>Dipl.-Ing.</i> (graduate engineer) | <i>Bakk.</i> (bachelor) | <i>Ing.</i> (engineer) | <i>Mag.</i> (master) | <i>Dr.</i> (PhD) |        |
| Non-nobles | 9747                    | 720                                   | 5                       | 1046                   | 2337                 | 2639             | 16494  |
|            | 59,1%                   | 4,4%                                  | 0,0%                    | 6,3%                   | 14,2%                | 16,0%            | 100,0% |
| Nobles     | 61                      | 8                                     | 0                       | 10                     | 23                   | 46               | 148    |
|            | 41,2%                   | 5,4%                                  | 0,0%                    | 6,8%                   | 15,5%                | 31,1%            | 100,0% |
| Total      | 9808                    | 728                                   | 5                       | 1056                   | 2360                 | 2685             | 16642  |
|            | 58,9%                   | 4,4%                                  | 0,0%                    | 6,3%                   | 14,2%                | 16,1%            | 100,0% |

Table 4 shows that the nobles among the Austrian economic elite have significantly higher level academic titles than the non-nobles. The strongest difference is to be found for the educational title “*Dr.*” (PhD). As the attainment of high academic titles was not a characteristic of the pre-1918 Austrian nobility, these findings do not necessarily imply that our second hypothesis is inappropriate.

**Table 5: Positions in the economic boards of noble and non-noble elite members**

|  | % of nobles | N     |
|--|-------------|-------|
| <i>Aufsichtsrat</i> (supervisory board)                | 1,16        | 5969  |
| <i>Geschäftsführender Direktor</i> (managing director) | 0,00        | 10    |
| <i>Geschäftsführer</i> (business executive)            | 0,77        | 5066  |
| <i>Geschäftsleiter</i> (general manager)               | 0,23        | 431   |
| <i>Vorstand</i> (executive board)                      | 0,75        | 5166  |
| Total  | 0,89        | 16642 |

Table 5 shows that noble members are slightly stronger represented in the category *Aufsichtsrat* (1,16% versus 0,89%), but underrepresented in the category of the *Geschäftsführer/leiter* (0,23% versus 0,89%). As these differences are hardly significant we regard the results as support for our second hypothesis.

**Table 6: the sector of the firms of noble and non-noble elite members**

|            | agrarian | industry | financial | service | Culture | Total  |
|------------|----------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|--------|
| Non-nobles | 224      | 1156     | 5740      | 8411    | 963     | 16494  |
|            | 1,4%     | 7,0%     | 34,8%     | 51,0%   | 5,8%    | 100,0% |
| nobles     | 1        | 8        | 69        | 64      | 6       | 148    |
|            | 0,7%     | 5,4%     | 46,6%     | 43,2%   | 4,1%    | 100,0% |
| Total      | 225      | 1164     | 5809      | 8475    | 969     | 16642  |
|            | 1,3%     | 7,0%     | 34,9%     | 50,9%   | 5,8%    | 100,0% |

Table 6 demonstrates that nobles do not have an outstanding preference for any given sector. The number of nobles within the financial sector only indicates a slight preference for nobles for finance-related business. Consequently there is only limited support for the third hypothesis.

**Table 7: the average turnover and the average number of employees of the noble and non-noble elite members (standard deviation in parenthesis)**

|           | Turnover in thousand euro | Number of employees |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Non noble | 934 (6271)                | 962 (3862)          |
| Noble     | 2013 (7030)               | 1431 (2524)         |
| Total     | 943 (6278)                | 966 (3853))         |

The difference between firms of noble versus those of non-noble members in number of employees is not significant. Due to the large standard deviations the dissimilarity in turnover of these firms is hardly insignificant (0,06). However, nobles tend to be active in firms with a higher turnover and more employees. We consider these small differences as support for our second hypothesis.

The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that the noble members of the Austrian economic elite deviate from the non-noble members: they work in firms with a higher turnover and hold more often an academic title. Furthermore the noble members of the Austrian economic elite are three years older than the non-nobles and

are less often female. It can also be said that Austrian nobles have a six times greater chance of being a member of the Austrian economic elite in 2008 than do non-nobles. We thus found confirming facts for our first and second hypothesis. Our third hypothesis, however, has to be rejected.

## 5. The diversity of the Austrian nobility within the economic elite

In this section we compare the noble members of Austrian economic elite among themselves, using the rank of the noble title and the moment of the first ennoblement of that family as means of differentiation. In so doing, we test our fourth hypothesis:

H4 Noble ranks function still as stratifying devices.

Given the small numbers, significance testing is not very relevant. We therefore discuss only the substantial differences between nobles.

**Table 8: distribution of noble titles among the nobles members of the Austrian economic elite**

| Noble title                  | Frequency | Percent | Hueck |
|------------------------------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 6         | 4,1%    | 7%    |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 33        | 22,3%   | 39%   |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 7         | 4,7%    | 33%   |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 19        | 12,8%   |       |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 19        | 12,8%   | 18%   |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 42        | 28,4%   |       |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 22        | 14,9%   | -     |
| Total                        | 146       | 100%    | 100%  |

Table 8 shows that counts of families ennobled after 1500 are most frequent among the economic elites (28,4%), followed by simple nobility ennobled after 1500 (22,3%), aristocrats (*Fürst* or higher, in most cases ennobled at a lower rank before 1500; 14,9%) and barons, ennobled after 1500 (12,8%).

Compared to the distribution of titles in Hueck (2002), persons with the title count or higher are overrepresented in the noble economic elite of Austria, while simple nobility and barons are underrepresented. However, the *Genealogische Handbuchs des Adels* and thus Hueck (2002) contain both Northern and Southern German and Austrian nobility. Due to the religious and regional differences between the northern and southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, protestant nobility concentrated mostly in northern parts sought less and/or received less often a higher noble title from their catholic emperor, whose power was more concentrated in the south (Margreiter 2005). By contrast the catholic nobility in the southern parts had better opportunities to obtain a higher noble title. This might (partly) explain the overrepresentation of counts and higher noble titles.

**Table all female noble members of the economic elite by noble title**

| Title                        | % female |
|------------------------------|----------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 0        |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 12       |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 0        |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 16       |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 11       |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 2        |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 5        |
| Total                        | 8        |

In table 9 there is no clear pattern to be found. More female elite members seem to stem from families ennobled after 1500 (thus less traditional families?), irrespective of their noble title, but the families with the count rank contradict this possible regularity. These confirming instances for the fourth hypothesis stay thus ambiguous.

**Table 10: year of birth by noble title**

| noble title                         | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|-------------------------------------|------|----------------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500         | 1957 | 13,8           |
| Simple ennobled after 1500          | 1956 | 9,4            |
| Baron ennobled before 1500          | 1960 | 9,0            |
| Baron ennobled after 1500           | 1953 | 15,2           |
| Count ennobled before 1500          | 1956 | 9,5            |
| Count ennobled after 1500           | 1950 | 12,0           |
| Aristocracy: <i>Fürst</i> or higher | 1956 | 11,0           |
| Total                               | 1954 | 11,5           |

There is hardly any variation in age between the noble members of the Austrian nobility, which is related to rank. Barons from families ennobled after 1500 are the oldest on average, but barons from families ennobled before 1500 are the youngest on average. Again, these mixed findings could be mere coincidence.

**Table 11: academic title by noble title**

|                              | <i>no title</i> | <i>Dipl.-Ing</i> | <i>Ing.</i> | <i>Mag.</i> | <i>Dr.</i> |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 83,3%           | 16,7%            | 0,0%        | 0,0%        | 0,0%       |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 45,5%           | 3,0%             | 6,1%        | 12,1%       | 33,3%      |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 57,1%           | 0,0%             | 0,0%        | 28,6%       | 14,3%      |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 42,1%           | 5,3%             | 10,5%       | 21,1%       | 21,1%      |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 26,3%           | 5,3%             | 10,5%       | 15,8%       | 42,1%      |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 28,6%           | 9,5%             | 4,8%        | 19,0%       | 38,1%      |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 54,5%           | 0,0%             | 9,1%        | 9,1%        | 27,3%      |
| Total                        | 41,2%           | 5,4%             | 6,8%        | 15,5%       | 31,1%      |

Simple nobility ennobled before 1500 has hardly any academic title (only 17%), while 42% of the counts from families ennobled before 1500 hold a doctorate, followed by counts from families ennobled after 1500 (38%).

**Table 12: turnover and number of employees per noble title**

|                              | Turnover in thousand euro | Number of employees |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 68                        | 176                 |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 1221                      | 1311                |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 807                       | 715                 |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 702                       | 2541                |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 2143                      | 829                 |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 3348                      | 1486                |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 2588                      | 1615                |
| Total                        | 2012                      | 1432                |

Table 12 suggests that the higher the noble title, the higher the turnover of their firm. The clearest distinction is to be found between counts and aristocracy on the one and the rest on the other hand. No such pattern is inferable for the number of employees.

**Table 13: position in firms by noble title**

|                              | <i>Aufsichtsrat</i> | <i>Geschäftsführer</i> | <i>Geschäftsleiter</i> | <i>Vorstand</i> |        |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 50,0%               | 33,3%                  | 0,0%                   | 16,7%           | 100,0% |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 35,5%               | 35,5%                  | 0,0%                   | 29,0%           | 100,0% |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 28,6%               | 42,9%                  | 14,3%                  | 14,3%           | 100,0% |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 42,1%               | 15,8%                  | 0,0%                   | 42,1%           | 100,0% |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 42,1%               | 26,3%                  | 0,0%                   | 31,6%           | 100,0% |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 69,0%               | 16,7%                  | 0,0%                   | 14,3%           | 100,0% |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 31,8%               | 36,4%                  | 0,0%                   | 31,8%           | 100,0% |
| Total                        | 46,6%               | 26,7%                  | 0,7%                   | 26,0%           | 100,0% |

Noble ranks are not clearly associated with positions within the economic elite. Barons from families ennobled before 1500 are less often members of the *Aufsichtsrat* or the *Vorstand*, but more often the *Geschäftsführer* or the *Geschäftsleiter*, while Barons from families ennobled after 1500 are less often *Geschäftsführer*, but are more often in the *Vorstand*. Counts from families ennobled after 1500 are less often *Geschäftsführer* and in the *Vorstand*. Note that there is an even distribution across all categories for the aristocracy.

**Table 14: sector of firm by noble title**

|                              | Agrarian | Industry | Finances | Services | Culture | Total  |
|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|--------|
| Simple ennobled before 1500  | 0,0%     | 16,7%    | 0,0%     | 83,3%    | 0,0%    | 100,0% |
| Simple ennobled after 1500   | 3,0%     | 9,1%     | 45,5%    | 39,4%    | 3,0%    | 100,0% |
| Baron ennobled before 1500   | 0,0%     | 0,0%     | 28,6%    | 71,4%    | 0,0%    | 100,0% |
| Baron ennobled after 1500    | 0,0%     | 0,0%     | 63,2%    | 31,6%    | 5,3%    | 100,0% |
| Count ennobled before 1500   | 0,0%     | 0,0%     | 42,1%    | 52,6%    | 5,3%    | 100,0% |
| Count ennobled after 1500    | 0,0%     | 9,5%     | 47,6%    | 35,7%    | 7,1%    | 100,0% |
| Aristocracy: Fürst or higher | 0,0%     | 0,0%     | 54,5%    | 45,5%    | 0,0%    | 100,0% |
| Total                        | 0,7%     | 5,4%     | 46,6%    | 43,2%    | 4,1%    | 100,0% |

Table 14 shows no clear pattern of sector specialization related by noble rank. The aristocracy seems to be more present in the financial sector (together with barons from families ennobled after 1500), while barons from families ennobled before 1500 are more often to be found in the service sector.

The main conclusion of this section is that there is no straightforward variation among the noble members of the Austrian economic elite according to the rank of their noble title and the moment of the first ennoblement. Sometimes there seems to be a distinction between aristocracy and counts versus lower nobility, at other moments between families ennobled before or after 1500, but altogether no solid pattern emerges. This suggests that the rank of a noble title has lost its significance in the 21st century, and that nobility has become a more homogenous social category. The fourth hypothesis is not supported by our data.

## 6. The Network of Nobles

In this section we test our last hypothesis:

H5 Nobles in the Austrian economic elite form an informal network within the Austrian economic elite.

Our analysis gives only a structural account of nobles' position within the economic, nation-wide network. We are first interested in whether nobles do better in relational networking than non-nobles.

**Table 14: Number of positions in economic network of noble and non-noble elite members**

|             | Mean | Std. Deviation | Maximum |
|-------------|------|----------------|---------|
| No nobility | 1,28 | 1,009          | 29      |
| Nobility    | 1,59 | 1,655          | 15      |
| Total       | 1,29 | 1,017          | 29      |

Table 14 shows that noble members hold on average more economic positions (the difference between the two groups is significant), but they do not have the highest number of relations.

We further tested whether companies with nobles on their boards entertain more ties. In table 15 we refer to the degrees of companies, thus to the number of lines that are incident with a vertex (company) within the network of interlocked directorates.

**Table 15: Degrees (undirected, nationwide network)**

|                                    | Mean | Std. Deviation | N    |
|------------------------------------|------|----------------|------|
| companies without nobles on boards | 0,33 | 0,912          | 4096 |
| companies with nobles on board     | 0,43 | 0,925          | 136  |
| total                              | 0,33 | 0,912          | 4232 |

On average companies with nobles on their board are slightly better connected than companies with non-nobles. This finding can partly be explained through the exceptional dense micro-networks of financial companies, to which more nobles belong. But these results are hardly a strong support for our fifth hypothesis.

We further expect similar people to interact more often among themselves than with dissimilar people (nobles vs. non-nobles). In order to test the phenomenon of “birds of a feather flock together” we first investigated whether nobles are to be found in the same companies. While Kadushin (1995) found out that dyadic friendship is not directly important in determining who sits with whom on what board, we found a pattern that contradicts this postulate. If nobles are to be found on the same board, then there are always dyads. Table 16 shows that these dyads are only to be found on the level of supervisory boards (and not for example on the level of executive boards). We are not able to tell whether ties of friendship preceded these business relations.

**Table 16. Nobles within the same company**

| supervisory board of                                       | noble members   | area of business                  | economic importance* |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Steiermärkische Bank und Sparkassen Aktiengesellschaft     | WINCKLER, Georg<br>LEEB, Alexander                                | bank                              | high                 |
| Allgemeine Sparkasse Oberösterreich Bankaktiengesellschaft | STARHEMBERG, Georg<br>ALTGRAF SALM-REIFERSCHIEDT, Niklas          | bank                              | high                 |
| Mayr-Melnhof Karton Aktiengesellschaft                     | MAYR-MELNHOF, Friedrich<br>MAYR-MELNHOF, Georg                    | production of cardboards          | high                 |
| Constantia Industries AG                                   | BULGARINI D'ELCI, Aleco<br>HARTIG, Alexander                      | production of synthetic materials | low                  |
| CAG Holding Gesellschaft m.b.H                             | VON MEISS, Hans<br>HOYOS, Martin                                  | trading of real estates           | low                  |
| Grazer Wechselseitige Versicherung Aktiengesellschaft      | MERAN, Philipp<br>HARNONCOURT, Franz                              | insurance                         | low                  |
| Bank Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie. (Österreich) AG             | FREIHERR VON OPPENHEIM, Christopher<br>GRAF VON KROCKOW, Matthias | bank                              | low                  |
| Securitas Sicherheitsdienstleistungen GmbH                 | STERNBERG, Filip<br>MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, Emanuel                  | providing safety in public spaces | low                  |

\* measured by turnover.

The issue of elite integration (or the lack of it) plays an important role in the sociology of elites (Useem 1984). Do companies with nobles on their boards form a structurally delineated subgroup?

**Table 17: Companies with nobles on the board that are linked to each other**

| company 1  | company 2  | noble members                                     | interlock established through member of nobility |
|--|--|---|--|
| Österreichische Kontrollbank Aktiengesellschaft            | Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreichisch Aktiengesellschaft | ATTEMS, Johannes;<br>BUTLER, Patrick              | no   |
| Allgemeine Sparkasse Oberösterreich Bankaktiengesellschaft | Trierenberg Holding AG                                   | STARHEMBERG, Georg<br>ALTGRAF SALM-REIFERSCHIEDT, | no   |

|                       |                                |                                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
|                       |                                | Niklas ;<br>SPANNOCCHI,<br>Hieronymus |                    |
| Porker Privatstiftung | Duropack<br>Aktiengesellschaft | STEPSKI, Ulrich                       | yes (but not only) |

There is no evidence at all that would suggest that companies are connected to each other through the principle of homophily (being part of nobility). Even in the rare cases in which companies with nobles on their boards are linked to each other, these ties are not established by nobles themselves. We can thus conclude that nobles do not form an informal network within the Austrian economic elite.

## 7. Privat foundations in Austria– the *Fideikommiß* of the present

The German *Fideikommiß*, thus entailed property, arose when a property owner undertook legal action to restrict the power of later owners to sell, mortgage or make testamentary transfers (Beckert 2008). The purpose of the *Fideikommiß* was clearly to maintain large-scale proprietorship. Entailed land could not be sold during the owner’s lifetime and was required to pass at the owner’s death to the eldest son (or otherwise according to the rules of primogeniture). Due to transfer and inheritance restrictions the land thus remained within a family. As the *Fideikommiß* in Germany and Austria was abolished by law in 1938, nobles were stripped of a legal institution that successfully prevented a fragmentation of land by equal sharing among multiple heirs based on the succession laws. However, since the Private Foundation Act came in effect in September 1993, Austrian nobles have again a financial instrument at their disposal that helps to avoid the splitting up of family businesses and family estates.

Differently to other European countries private foundations in Austria are only very rarely charitable in nature. They are easily set up by a notarised declaration and formally come into existence upon entry into the Austrian register of firms. The grantor must endow his foundation with assets of at least 73.000 euros. Private foundations in Austria benefit from a number of fiscal advantages, as for example tax exemptions for certain types of income from direct investment. The gift tax amounts to only 2.5. per cent and the land deposit into the private foundation is even exempted thereof – another reason why they might be attractive to nobles.

Austrian news magazines report that there are currently more than 2500 private foundations (*Privatstiftungen*) located in Austria, that hold assets that are altogether worth between 20 and 45 billions € (*Manager Magazin*, 05.08.2004). The largest foundation was established by Friedrich Karl Flick, a German industrialist, with assets totalling about 6.1 billion euros (*Trend*, 01.07.2004). According to the Austrian Association for the Protection of Creditors (*Kreditschutzverband*) Franz Mayr-Melnhof-Saurau invested 1.981 billion, Karl Johannes Schwarzenberg 207 millions and Ulrich Stepski 166 million € into their private foundations. All of them are clearly of nobility. In our list of firms that are headed by nobles ( appendix II) 21 private foundations are registered. All these pieces of evidence suggest that private foundations have displaced the old *Fideikommiß*. This change was initiated by an “exogenous shock”, namely the reformulation of the legislative framework. The reorientation of nobles towards private foundations is an illustrative example for the successful adaption of nobles to modernization, as old traditions are continued to be carried out with the help of modern institutions.

## 8. Conclusions

The first two hypotheses are supported by our analyses. The percentage of nobles in the Austrian economic elite is above-average in comparison with the nobles in the total Austrian population. But the age and other individual characteristics of nobles in the Austrian economic elite do not deviate from those of the non-nobles in the Austrian economic elite in such a way that one could consider nobles as residuals of a former *Stand*.

Hypotheses three to five were rejected by our data. There does not exist a significant concentration of nobles within the banking sector. Noble ranks are irrelevant as a stratifying device within the Austrian economic elite and finally nobles in the Austrian economic elite do not form an informal network.

Walterskirchen is correct in her judgement that being of the Austrian nobles gives an advantage to entry into the Austrian economic elite. We show that the same socio-economic advantages exist for the Austrian nobility as has been found for the Dutch, German and French nobilities (Schijf, Dronkers & Broeke-George 2004; Dronkers 2008; Saint Martin 1993).

But Walterskirchen is wrong that the descendants of the Austrian nobles form an informal class (*informeller Stand*) in the sense of Saint Martin (1993, 13-17). There is no significant concentration in an economic sector, noble ranks are irrelevant and we could not find an informal network among these nobles within the Austrian economic largest firms. The persistence of the *ancienne régime* (Mayer 1981) is weak in Austria at the start of the 21st century, nearly 90 years after its breakdown.

We therefore propose an alternative explanation of this surviving noble advantage in Europe. In modern societies, the nobility no longer has the legal, political, economic or cultural means to maintain for themselves and their descendants a separate class or *Stand*. Nearly one century after the end of WW I the last remnants of that separate *Stand* have gone and the noble marriage homogeneity is declining fast (although it is still significant higher compared to chance). But noble families have maintained a distinctive social and cultural capital (Wasson 2006), which is helpful in modern society for upward mobility or avoiding downward mobility. This distinctive social and cultural capital as an inherited characteristic of the descendants of the noble families can provide an additional positive selection-criteria in competitive selections for jobs and positions. Good manners, cultural knowledge, social relations, a well-known family-name become advantages if all noble and non-noble competitors have enough basic qualifications (academic title, language knowledge, etc). Moreover, in a globalizing Europe, this distinctive noble social and cultural capital can be an additional advantage, because despite all 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism, also among the nobility, noble families have maintained on average stronger international culture and ties (Dronkers, 2001).

In summary, the noble title as an indicator of a distinctive *Stand* is dead, but the noble social and cultural capital as a useful sociological characteristic is alive and well.

## 9. Literature

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## Appendix I: names of nobles in Austrian economic elite

In appendix I names are listed of the nobles in the Austrian economic elite. It clearly shows that it is not only members of marginal nobility families who belong to the Austrian economic elite. Table 6 also proves that we have not be too generous in assuming that a person belongs to a likely noble family, and that thus our results are too conservative. The volume and page column show where we found the source in the *Genealogisch Handbuch des Adels*.

| name                                      | Volume**                         | page* |
|---|----------------------------------|-------|
| ABENSPERG UND TRAUN, Johannes, Dr.        | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XV        | 18-19 |
| ALLMAYER-BECK, Max Josef, Dr.             | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XV    | 18-19 |
| ALTGRAF SALM-REIFFERSCHIEDT, Niklas, Ing. | Fürstliche Häuser, Band XVI      | 315   |
| ARCO, Karl Dr.                            | Gräfliche Häuser, A, Band VI     | 43    |
| ATTEMS, Johannes, Mag Dr                  | Gräfliche Häuser, A, Band IV     | 45    |
| AUER VON WELSBACH, Wolfgang, Dr.          |                                  |       |
| AUER-WELSBACH, Carl,                      |                                  |       |
| AUER-WELSBACH, Maria,                     |                                  |       |
| BELCREDI, Richard, Mag.                   | Gräfliche Häuser, B, Band II     | 18    |
| BERCHTOLD, Wolfgang, Dr                   |                                  |       |
| BERCHTOLD, Winfried, Mag                  |                                  |       |
| BERCHTOLD, Dietmar,                       |                                  |       |
| BERCHTOLD, Wilfried, Mag                  |                                  |       |
| BETHLEN, Nikolaus,                        | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XVI       | 16    |
| BODMANN, Alexander, Mag.                  |                                  |       |
| BOLZA-SCHÜNEMANN, Albrecht, Dipl.-Ing.    |                                  |       |
| BULGARINI D'ELCI, Aleco, Dr.              | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XII       | 77    |
| BURGER-SCHIEDLIN, Hanno, Dr.              | Adelige Häuser, B, Band XXIII    | 98    |
| BURIAN, Rainer C., Mag.                   |                                  |       |
| BUTLER, Patrick,                          |                                  |       |
| CALICE, Franz, Dr                         | Gräfliche Häuser B, Band IV      | 61    |
| CONRAD, Markus, Dr.                       |                                  |       |
| CONRAD, Klaus,                            |                                  |       |
| CORETH, Johannes, Gen.Dir.-Stv.           | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XII       | 90    |
| CORETH, Georg,                            | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XII       | 90    |
| DAVIGNON, Etienne, Vizegraf               |                                  |       |
| DEGENFELD-SCHONBURG, Paul, Mag.           | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XV        | 117   |
| DUBSKY, Dorit,                            |                                  |       |
| DUBSKY, Phillip, Dr.                      |                                  |       |
| EBNER VON ESCHENBACH, Erich,              | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XV    | 71    |
| EISELSBERG, Maximilian, Dr                |                                  |       |
| ENZENBERG, Alexander, Mag.                | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XII       | 214   |
| EULENBURG, Ina, Dr.                       |                                  |       |
| FREIHERR VON OPPENHEIM, Christopher,      | Freiherrliche Häuser, B, Band VI | 297   |
| FRIES, Rudolf, Dr                         |                                  |       |

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| FRITZBERG, Bernard, Dr.                  | Gräfliche Häuser, B, XXI       | 103 |
| GIULINI, Hans Joachim,                   | Gräfliche Häuser, B, III       | 51  |
| GOESS, Johann Ulrich, Dkfm.              | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIV     | 152 |
| GOESS-SAURAU, Johannes, Mag.             | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIV     | 150 |
| GRAF VON KROCKOW, Matthias,              | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIII    | 158 |
| HARDEGG, Maximilian, Dipl.Ing.           |                                |     |
| HARNONCOURT, Franz, Dr                   | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XVI     | 146 |
| HARTIG, Alexander, Dipl.Ing.Dr.          | Gräfliche Häuser XIV           | 171 |
| HARTIG, Karl-Johann, Dr.                 | Gräfliche Häuser XIV           | 169 |
| HENCKEL VON DONNERSMARCK, Andreas, Mag.  | Gräfliche Häuser, B, III       | 77  |
| HOHENBERG, Reinhard, Dr.                 |                                |     |
| HOOFT-GRAAFLAND, Rene,                   |                                |     |
| HOYOS, Martin, Dr.                       | Gräfliche Häuser, B, Band II   | 166 |
| HOYOS, Alexander, Dr.                    | Gräfliche Häuser, B, Band II   | 166 |
| HOYOS, Markus, Dipl.Ing.                 |                                |     |
| KAROLYI, Georg, Ing.                     |                                |     |
| KINSKY, Johannes,                        |                                |     |
| KISTOWSKI, Jesco von, Dr.                | Adelige Häuser B, Band XXI     | 218 |
| KNOBLAUCH, Erhard, Dipl-Ing              |                                |     |
| KNOBLAUCH, Gerhard,                      |                                |     |
| KNOBLOCH, Reinhard, Dir.                 |                                |     |
| KNOBLOCH, Christian,                     |                                |     |
| KNOBLOCH, Peter, Ing.Mag.                |                                |     |
| LAMBERG, Rudolf, Ing                     |                                |     |
| LAMBERG, Josef, Dr.                      |                                |     |
| LAVAUUX-VRECOURT, Roland, Dr.            | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIII    | 166 |
| LEEB, Alexander, Dr.                     | Adelige Häuser, B, XVIII       | 319 |
| LIECHTENSTEIN, Prinz Michael von und zu, | Fürstliche Häuser, Band XVI    | 69  |
| LOBKOWICZ , Nikolaus, Dr.Dr.h.c.         | Fürstliche Häuser, Band XVI    | 251 |
| LONYAY, Alexander,                       |                                |     |
| LUTTEROTTI, Lukas von,                   | Adelige Häuser, B, Band XII    | 286 |
| MATUSCHKA, Günter, Dr.                   |                                |     |
| MATUSCHKA-GABLENZ, Karl, Ing.            |                                |     |
| MAUTNER MARKHOF, Manfred L., Mag.        | Adelige Häuser B Band XXII     | 230 |
| MAUTNER MARKHOF, Friederike,             |                                |     |
| MAYR-MELNHOF, Friedrich, Dipl.Ing.       | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XX  | 250 |
| MAYR-MELNHOF, Georg, Mag                 | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XX  | 252 |
| MAYR-MELNHOF, Franz,                     | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XVI | 232 |
| MENDSORFF-POUILLY, Emanuel, Dkfm.        | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIV     | 262 |
| MERAN, Maximilian,                       | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XI      | 213 |
| MERAN, Philipp, Dr.                      | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XI      | 214 |
| MERAVIGLIA-CRIVELLI, Peter, Dr.          | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIII    | 202 |
| METTLER, Roger,                          |                                |     |
| MONTECUCCOLI, Felix, Dipl.Ing.           |                                |     |
| NEUHAUS, Wolfgang, Ing.                  |                                |     |

|   |                                |     |
|---|--------------------------------|-----|
| ORSINI ROSENBERG, Hubertus, DI (FH)                   | Fürstliche Häuser, Band XI     | 197 |
| PONGRACZ, Gerhard,                                    |                                |     |
| PONGRATZ, Ingrid, Mag.                                |                                |     |
| PONGRATZ, Alexander, Dipl.Ing.                        |                                |     |
| PONGRATZ, Boris,                                      |                                |     |
| PRINZ ZU SAYN-WITTGENSTEIN -BERLEBURG,<br>Stanislaus, | Fürstliche Häuser, Band XI     | 242 |
| PROCHAZKA, Gerhard,                                   |                                |     |
| QUAST, David,   |                                |     |
| SCHAFFGOTSCH, Maximilian, Dr.                         | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XIII    | 294 |
| SCHLECHTA, Franz,                                     |                                |     |
| SCHLECHTA, Robert, Ing.                               |                                |     |
| SCHMIDT-CHIARI, Guido N. Dr.                          |                                |     |
| SCHÖNBURG, Alfred, Dr.                                |                                |     |
| SCHÖNFELDT, Carl Ludwig, Mag.                         |                                |     |
| SCHRÖTTER, Christian, Mag.                            |                                |     |
| SCHULENBURG, Ulrich,                                  |                                |     |
| SEDLNITZKY, Christian, Dir. KR Mag. Dr.               |                                |     |
| SENARCLENS DE GRANCY, Regina, Mag.                    |                                |     |
| SIXT, Frank,  |                                |     |
| SIXT, Manfred, Bmst.Ing.                              |                                |     |
| SPANNOCCHI, Hieronymus, Dr.                           | Gräfliche Häuser, B, Band II   | 401 |
| SPIEGELFELD, Benedikt, Dr.                            | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XV      | 512 |
| SPIEGELFELD, Markus, Dipl.Ing.                        | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XV      | 513 |
| STARHEMBERG, Georg,                                   |                                |     |
| STEPSKI, Ulrich, Dr.                                  | Adelige Häuser, B, Band XIII   | 399 |
| STERNBERG, Filip, Dr                                  | Gräfliche Häuser A, Band VI    | 407 |
| STIEGLITZ, Christian, Mag.                            |                                |     |
| TAXIS, Fritz Thurn und,                               |                                |     |
| THUN-HOHENSTEIN, Matthäus, Mag.Dr.                    |                                |     |
| THUN-HOHENSTEIN, Felix,                               |                                |     |
| THURN UND TAXIS, Friedrich, Dkfm.                     |                                |     |
| THURN UND TAXIS, Alfonso,                             |                                |     |
| THURN-VRINTS, Georg, Ing.                             | Fürstliche Häuser, Band VII    | 431 |
| TRAUN, Karl,  |                                |     |
| UCKERMANN, Volker, Ing.                               |                                |     |
| VETTER VON DER LILIE, Georg, Dr.                      | Gräfliche Häuser, Band XVI     | 595 |
| VEYDER-MALBERG, Constantin, Mag.                      | Freiherrliche Häuser, Band XVI | 543 |
| VON ASPERN, Dieter,                                   |                                |     |
| VON BÜLOW, Constantin Harald Joachim,                 |                                |     |
| VON DER THANNEN, Johann,                              |                                |     |
| VON FINCK, August,                                    |                                |     |
| VON GABAIN, Alexander, Dr                             |                                |     |
| VON GUTZEIT, Reinhart, Univ.-Prof.                    |                                |     |
| VON HARTLIEB, Marion,                                 |                                |     |

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|---|-------------------------------|-----|
| VON JUERGENSONN, Insa,                        |                               |     |
| VON JUTERCZENKA, Klaus,                       |                               |     |
| VON KÜNSBERG SARRE, Maximilian, Mag.          |                               |     |
| VON MEISS, Hans,                              |                               |     |
| VON OW, David,                                |                               |     |
| VON PLATE, Herwarth,                          | Adelige Häuser, A, Band XII   | 248 |
| VON RESCH, Michael,                           |                               |     |
| VON SCHIMMELMANN, Wulf,                       |                               |     |
| VON USLAR, Alexander,                         |                               |     |
| WALDECK, Christoph, Dr.                       |                               |     |
| WALTERSKIRCHEN, Herbert, Gen.Dir.i.R KR Dr.   | Gräfliche Häuser B, Band IV   | 387 |
| WENCKHEIM, Rudolf Engelbert, Vorst.Dir. Dkfm. | Gräfliche Häuser B, Band IV   | 403 |
| WENCKHEIM, Christiane, Vorst.Dir.             | Gräfliche Häuser B, Band IV   | 403 |
| WIDMANN, Gerhard, Dir. Mag.                   |                               |     |
| WIDMANN, Robert,                              |                               |     |
| WINCKLER, Georg, Univ.Prof. Dr.               | Adelige Häuser, B, Band VIII  | 460 |
| WINDISCH, Wolfgang, Mag.                      |                               |     |
| WINDISCH, Christine,                          |                               |     |
| WINDISCH, Johann, Dipl-Ing Dr                 |                               |     |
| WINDISCH, Christian,                          |                               |     |
| WINDISCH, Erich, Mag.                         |                               |     |
| WITT-DÖRRING, Franz, Mag.                     | Adelige Häuser, B, Band XXIII | 566 |
| WITT-DÖRRING, Daniele, Dr.                    |                               |     |
| WURMBRAND, Alfred, Ing                        |                               |     |

\*Pages refers to Hueck (2002). \*\* Volume used of *Genealogischen Handbuchs des Adels*.

## **Appendix II. Names of the firms which have nobles as members of the *Vorstand*, the *Aufsichtsrat* or the *Geschäftsführung***

|   |
|---|
| 3M Österreich Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea Privatstiftung                            |
| Allgemeine Sparkasse Oberösterreich Bankaktiengesellschaft                        |
| Allianz Elementar Versicherungs-Aktiengesellschaft                                |
| Almaviva Privatstiftung   |
| Alpenländische Heimstätte, gemeinnützige Wohnungsbau- und Siedlungsgesellschaft m |
| Aon Jauch & Hübener Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| ARAC GmbH   |
| A-TEC INDUSTRIES AG   |
| AUSTRO-MECHANA Gesellschaft zur Wahrnehmung mechanisch-musikalischer Urheberrecht |
| Autobetriebe Ges.m.b.H.   |
| AvW Invest AG   |
| Bank für Tirol und Vorarlberg Aktiengesellschaft                                  |
| Bank Gutmann Aktiengesellschaft   |
| Bank Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie. (Österreich) AG                                    |
| BAWAG P.S.K. Bank für Arbeit und Wirtschaft und Österreichische Postsparkasse Akt |
| BAWAG P.S.K. IMMOBILIEN AG  |
| BEGAS - Burgenländische Erdgasversorgungs - Aktiengesellschaft                    |
| BKS Bank AG   |
| BMW Österreich Holding GmbH   |
| BRAU UNION AG   |
| BSH Hausgeräte Gesellschaft mbH   |
| B-Transport GmbH  |

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| Bucher-Catasta-Privatstiftung   |
| Bussetti & Co Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| CAG Holding Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| CAPITAL BANK - GRAWE GRUPPE AG  |
| Caritas der Erzdiözese Wien (Caritasverband)                                      |
| Constantia Industries AG  |
| CONSTANTIA PRIVATBANK AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT  |
| DACA-Privatstiftung   |
| Danube Hotel-Betriebsgesellschaft m.b.H   |
| Deloitte Wirtschaftsprüfungs GmbH   |
| DIE ERSTE österreichische Spar-Casse Privatstiftung                               |
| DLA PIPER WEISS-TESSBACH Rechtsanwälte GmbH                                       |
| DO & CO Restaurants & Catering Aktiengesellschaft                                 |
| DuPont Performance Coatings Austria GmbH  |
| Duropack Aktiengesellschaft   |
| EconGas GmbH  |
| EDUSCHO (Austria) GmbH  |
| Engel Holding Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| Erste Group Bank AG   |
| Euromaster Reifenservice GmbH   |
| Familie Scheriau Privatstiftung   |
| Flughafen Graz Betriebs GmbH  |
| Flughafen Wien Aktiengesellschaft   |
| Foto-Röntgen-Video-Kino, Pongratz Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H.                      |
| funworld ag   |
| G. Coreth, Kunststoffverarbeitungsgesellschaft m.b.H.                             |
| Gemeinnützige Privatstiftung für Brustgesundheit                                  |
| General Logistics Systems Austria GmbH  |
| Generali Holding Vienna AG  |
| Gesellschaft für Bauwesen GmbH  |
| GetService-Flughafen-Sicherheits- und Servicedienst GmbH                          |
| Grazer Wechselseitige Versicherung Aktiengesellschaft                             |
| GS Privatstiftung   |
| GU Baubeschläge Austria GmbH.   |
| GWS Produktion Handel Service GmbH  |
| Hagemeyer Austria GmbH  |
| Head Sport Aktiengesellschaft   |
| Hella Fahrzeugteile Austria GmbH  |
| Herba Chemosan Apotheker-AG   |
| Hirschmann Automotive GmbH  |
| Hitthaller + Trixl Baugesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| Hotel Wimberger AG  |
| Hutchison 3G Austria GmbH   |
| Hypo-Wohnbaubank Aktiengesellschaft   |
| INTERCELL AG  |
| ISS Austria Holding GmbH  |
| JohnsonDiversey Austria Trading GmbH  |
| Josef Manner & Comp. Aktiengesellschaft   |
| Kapsch TrafficCom AG  |
| Kärntner Landesversicherung auf Gegenseitigkeit                                   |
| Kellner & Kunz Aktiengesellschaft   |
| Konservatorium Wien GmbH  |
| Kostmann Privatstiftung   |
| Leder & Schuh Aktiengesellschaft  |
| LIEBHERR-HAUSGERÄTE LIENZ GMBH  |
| Literar - Mechana Wahrnehmungsgesellschaft für Urheberrechte, Gesellschaft m.b.H. |
| M. & C. Oswald Privatstiftung   |
| M.T. Privatstiftung   |

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| MAHAVATO Privatstiftung   |
| Maschinenfabrik KBA-MÖDLING Aktiengesellschaft                                    |
| MAXIMS AS-Privatstiftung  |
| Mayr-Melnhof Holz Holding AG  |
| Mayr-Melnhof Karton Aktiengesellschaft  |
| MFE Vermögensverwaltung Privatstiftung  |
| Mosburger GmbH  |
| Niederösterreichische Versicherung AG   |
| ÖBB-Dienstleistungs Gesellschaft mbH  |
| Oberbank AG   |
| Oesterreichische Kontrollbank Aktiengesellschaft                                  |
| ONE GmbH  |
| OPTIMO Schlafsysteme Gesellschaft m.b.H.  |
| Österreichische Beamtenversicherung, Versicherungsverein auf Gegenseitigkeit      |
| Österreichische Elektrizitätswirtschafts-Aktiengesellschaft                       |
| Österreichische Volksbanken-Aktiengesellschaft                                    |
| Österreichische Wohnbaugenossenschaft gemeinnützige registrierte Genossenschaft m |
| Ottakringer Brauerei AG   |
| Ottakringer Holding AG  |
| PAA Laboratories Gesellschaft m.b.H.  |
| Panmedia Western Werbeplanung GmbH  |
| Plappart Privatstiftung   |
| Pongratz Bau Gesellschaft m.b.H.  |
| PORKAR PRIVATSTIFTUNG   |
| Procter & Gamble Austria GmbH   |
| Raiffeisen Versicherung AG  |
| Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich Aktiengesellschaft                              |
| Raiffeisenbank Kleinwalsertal Aktiengesellschaft                                  |
| Raiffeisenbank Korneuburg   |
| Raiffeisenbank Pittental/Bucklige   |
| Raiffeisenkasse Orth a.d. Donau   |
| Raiffeisenregionalbank Wiener Neustadt  |
| RHI AG  |
| Ritter Privatstiftung   |
| S & T System Integration & Technology Distribution AG                             |
| SCHOELLER-BLECKMANN Edelstahlrohr GmbH  |
| Securitas Sicherheitsdienstleistungen GmbH  |
| Sefra Farben- und Tapetenvertrieb Gesellschaft m.b.H.                             |
| SevenOne Media Austria GmbH   |
| SG-Privatstiftung   |
| Sparkasse Horn-Ravelsbach-Kirchberg Aktiengesellschaft                            |
| St. Anna Kinderspital GmbH  |
| Steiermärkische Bank und Sparkassen Aktiengesellschaft                            |
| STEPSKI Privatstiftung  |
| Synthesa Chemie Gesellschaft m.b.H.   |
| T.C.R. Privatstiftung   |
| Tagesmütter Graz-Steiermark gemeinnützige Betriebs GmbH                           |
| Telekom Austria Personalmanagement GmbH   |
| Trierenberg Holding AG  |
| Valtrini Privatstiftung   |
| Vogel & Noot Holding Aktiengesellschaft   |
| von der Thannen GmbH  |
| Vorarlberger Krankenhaus-Betriebsgesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung            |
| Wienerberger AG   |
| Windhager Zentralheizung GmbH   |
| Würth Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H.  |