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F. A. Hayek's genealogy

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F. A. HAYEK'S GENEALOGY

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CENTER FOR THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

F. A. Hayek's Genealogy

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Abstract:

This working paper – like its companion, Caldwell and Klausinger 2021 – grew out of the authors' joint work on *Hayek: A Life, 1899–1950* (Caldwell and Klausinger 2022) and it contains material supplementing it. This paper draws to a large extent on Friedrich Hayek's own investigations into the genealogical roots of his family. On the paternal side the family ancestry is traced back to the ennoblement of Friedrich's great-great-grandfather Josef Hayek in 1789. On the maternal side we enquire into the family trees of Fritz's grandfather Franz von Juraschek and his first and second wife, Johanna Stallner and Ida Pokorny. Finally, we look at the relationship between Fritz and two of his "distant cousins," the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and Fritz's girlfriend in his youth and future second wife, Helene ("Lenerl") Bitterlich.

Keywords: Friedrich Hayek, Juraschek, Wittgenstein, Vienna, genealogy

In the class into which Friedrich Hayek was born at the turn of the century research into one's family's ancestry was a common pastime. Often it was done to trace a line of ancestors back to the award of nobility. Hayek also participated; as a young man he spent a good deal of time obtaining information about his own family history and, later on, that of his first wife Hella. His friend, J. Herbert Fürth, in a memorandum written in old age for his first great-grandchild gave a description of his family's origins spanning ten generations (Fürth 1983), and Hayek's Nobel-prize winning colleague Karl von Frisch (Frisch 1973, 1980) supplemented his recollections by a diagram displaying his family tree. It was only later that another motive emerged: the necessity to prove descent from "purely German" origins under Nazi rule.¹

Hayek summarized his findings in a seventy-six page "Family History" album that he presented to his son Laurence at his wedding to Esca Drury in 1961. This will be the main source for what follows, occasionally supplemented by other sources.²

*The Paternal Line: Hayek*³

The name "Hayek" is the Germanized version of the Czech "Hájek," which means "small wood." The bestowal of nobility on the Hayeks dates back to Friedrich's great-great-

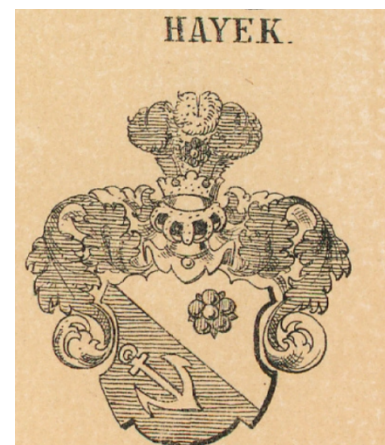
¹ See as an example the genealogical investigation by Oskar Morgenstern's father, W. Morgenstern 1934, at a time when Morgenstern was rumored to be a Jew and member of the Freemasons.

² A photographed copy of the "Family History," when cited below referred to as FH, may be found in the Friedrich A. Hayek papers (FAHP) at the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California. See also Erich Hayek's reminiscences, "Erinnerungen aus dem Hause Hayek" (1983), in FAHP 181.6, cited as EHH.

Apart from sources explicitly identified in the text, this appendix draws on biographical information from the respective entries in the registers of Austrian parishes, accessible through Matricula online, <http://www.data.matricula.info/php/main.php>; the dates of the deceased in Vienna cemeteries, in Friedhöfe Wien: Verstorbenenensuche, online at <http://www.friedhofwien.at/eportal2/>; and the Vienna address book *Lehmann's allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger*, 1859–1942.

³ In addition to the "Family History" see on the following *Genealogisches Taschenbuch*, vol. 1, 1905, and Stratowa, vol. 2, 1928, Hayek 1994, 37, Bartley n.d. ("Inductive Base", cited as IB), 59, Lipovska 2015, and Zundritsch 2005. On Bergenstamm see the entry in *Jahrbuch der k.k. heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler*, 1907, 8, and on Mayerhofer Geßner, ed., 1963, 63–64. See also the death notices in *Reichspost* for Gustav von Hayek (Jan 12, 1911) and in *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* for Theodor von Hayek (Sept 2, 1898). An early namesake, most probably not related to our protagonists, was the physician and astronomer, Thaddeus Hagecius von Hayek (1525–1600), who lived at the Prague court of the Habsburg emperor Rudolf II.

grandfather, Josef Hayek (1750–1830). He was the son of Laurenz Hayek (1721–1755) and Anna Eleonore, whose maiden name was possibly Gehrig (or Gering). His father Laurenz as well as his grandfather of the same name worked as managers of the forests (Waldmeister), serving Baron (later, Count) Heinrich Kajetan von Blümegen, the owner of an estate in Lettowitz (Letovice), near Brünn (Brno), the capital of Moravia; after his father’s early death Josef soon started also working for him. Blümegen moved to Vienna, first for the position of a member of the State Council created by Maria Theresia of Austria and eventually becoming Czech chancellor. Josef followed his master to Vienna, where he worked as a civil servant (Hofkonzipist), and also when Blümegen eventually returned to Moravia. There Josef served Heinrich Kajetan’s son Franz Heinrich and participated in his venture to build a modern-type calico factory in 1774, which by 1807 would employ 250 workers. A second factory was founded at another of Blümegen’s estates, at the Kettenhof near Schwechat, a small town outside Vienna. Both businesses prospered and provided Josef with a substantial fortune. It was just a year after Blümegen’s death that Josef Hayek was promoted to nobility by the emperor Joseph II, on August 11, 1789. His title “Edler,” the lowest rank of nobility, entitled him to bear a family crest.⁴ Friedrich Hayek (e.g., Hayek 1983a, 9) liked to point out that his ancestor’s nobility was due to real achievements, contrary to the host of titles awarded after 1800. The diploma of nobility mentioned among those achievements the military services rendered by Josef’s father and grandfather in the Silesian wars, Josef’s accomplishments as Blümegen’s secretary, and in particular his contribution to the foundation of the two factories. The revenue from the share held in the Lettowitz factory eventually made it possible for the family to move to Brno.



⁴ The picture of the Hayek family crest is taken from Stratowa, vol. 3.

Before that Josef had married Maria Rosalie (or Rosina) Zembsch (1759–1830). The Zembsch family of craftsmen, mainly hatmakers, originated from Eger (now Cheb in Czechia), the birthplace of Anton Menger, the grandfather of the founder of the Austrian school Carl Menger, which led Hayek to speculate about a possible relationship (letter, Hayek to Karl Menger, May 6, 1982, in FAHP 37.49; cf. also Schumacher and Scheall 2020). Josef had six children, five of them daughters; the only son, Heinrich Franz Xaver von Hayek, was born in 1799. In Brno the family lived in the Lipa mansion (or Palais Schwanz). Curiously, decades later in 1851, Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, a future leader of the Austrian school of economics, was born in the neighboring house. Josef von Hayek died 1830 of “exhaustion,” 80 years old, in Brno.

Although his father’s fortune had been divided among the five surviving children, Heinrich von Hayek inherited not only his father’s mansion in Brno but also a country estate and a substantial amount of securities. After studying law in Vienna, he returned to Brno for a career as a civil servant in the provincial administration (Statthalterei) of Moravia. His first wife, Marie, née Gottlieb, died in 1833 after the birth of their first son Heinrich, who survived for only one month. Two years later Heinrich married the singer Franziska, née Zwierzina (1814–1899), the daughter of an Austrian army officer. Of their four sons Gustav Wenzel Vinzenz (1836) and Theodor (1840) were born in Brno, Heinrich Wenzel (1841) in Znaim (Znojmo), a provincial town in Southern Moravia next to the border to Lower Austria, and the youngest Georg Philipp Wenzel (1846) in Baden, a small town near Vienna. By 1840 Heinrich had moved to Vienna, where he found employment as a secretary in the Ministry of Police (k.k. Polizeiministerium). Most of the fortune inherited from his father had been dissipated before Heinrich reached old age, some of it possibly spent in the education of his

sons that went beyond the means of a civil servant, some eventually in the great crash of 1873. He died in Vienna in 1878.⁵

After the family's move from Brno to Vienna, Gustav von Hayek, Friedrich's grandfather, attended secondary school at the prestigious Theresianum, a Gymnasium that until recently had been reserved for the offspring of the nobility and even afterwards remained the preferred school of the monarchy's landed aristocracy (Beller 1989, 51). After prematurely leaving school, just a few months before the final exams, Gustav started a military career serving in the Austrian Navy. Possibly due to his father's loss of the family fortune in the 1860s, possibly for other reasons, he abandoned his position in the Navy, again just before he would have approached a ten-year tenure limit that might have brought an advancement, and turned to another profession. He began studying biology in 1863, and passed an exam that allowed him to earn his living by teaching biology at the newly founded Landstraßer Gymnasium, in the third district of Vienna, the district where Friedrich would be born. He was awarded a doctorate in biology by the University of Rostock in 1874 (EHH). He retired in 1900. During his time as a teacher Gustav became known for his scientific contributions, authoring a four-volume handbook of zoology (G. von Hayek 1877–1893) and editing a biological atlas of the three kingdoms (animal, plant and mineralogy) (G. von Hayek, ed. 1885). He also participated in various scientific associations, though his most important contribution was in the field of ornithology.⁶ In 1882 Gustav joined the recently founded Ornithologischer Verein, where he was elected secretary and editor of its *Mittheilungen*. He reached the peak of his achievements when he organized the Ornithological

⁵ Friedrich's grandfather Gustav, the first-born son, survived all his brothers. Theodor, an architect and engineer, from whom the Innsbruck branch of the Hayek family originated, died in 1898. He had been married to Marie Wittek, and three of their six children survived into adulthood: the painter Hans von Hayek (1869–1940), who spent most of his life in Munich; the daughter Margarete (1876–1946), who in 1902 married a physician from Bohemia named Emanuel Schedlbauer; and the son Hermann (1880–1939), a physician specializing in the treatment of tuberculosis who became a lecturer at the University of Innsbruck.

⁶ On the following see various issues of *Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereines in Wien*, in particular G. von Hayek 1886; see also *Neue Freie Presse* Mar 23 and 24, 1886.

Exposition in Vienna in April 1884. The contemporaneous International Congress led to the foundation of a Permanent International Ornithological Committee which chose Gustav as its first secretary and the editor of its journal *Ornis*.

In the end, however, Gustav's high ambitions for the promotion of the field could not be accomplished at the international level, nor even nationally. In 1886 he was elected vice-president of the Ornithologischer Verein and put in charge of organizing the next exposition in March, but due to friction with other members he resigned in April from all his posts and left the Verein, jointly with his brother Theodor, who also for some time had been a member. The international activities of the Permanent Committee proved not to be as permanent as he might have hoped, for after 1890 its activities and those of its journal slowly petered out. After his retirement he had to cope with financially-straitened circumstances that required him to supplement his meagre salary by journalistic work on popular science.

In 1871, Gustav von Hayek married Sidonie Marie Anna, née Mayerhofer von Eisfelden, who was born in Vienna on January 18, 1845. Two sons descended from this marriage, Friedrich's father August Gustav Josef (born December 14, 1871) and Paul Gustav Heinrich (born December 13, 1875). Gustav von Hayek died in 1911; Sidonie survived her husband and died in 1927, 82 years old.

Sidonie was the daughter of August Gregor Alexander Mayerhofer von Eisfelden (1813–1903) and Sidonie Barbara Johanna Baptiste, née Edle von Bergenstamm (1820–1904). In the 18th century the Mayerhofer ancestors had moved from Innsbruck to Vienna, where for two generations they earned their living as wigmakers. August Mayerhofer's father, Gregor (1781–1864), of whom a fine lithograph by the artist Josef Kriehuber has been preserved in the Vienna Albertina collection, apparently had been a man of unusual abilities. "From small beginnings he rose to occupy one of the highest and most coveted position in the local administration of Lower Austria" (Hayek, FH), namely that of

governor of the district Korneuburg, a town north of Vienna on the Danube. His ennoblement in 1848 had been the reward for his idea of using dynamite to destroy the ice jams that regularly had endangered shipping on the Danube.⁷ Fittingly the predicate henceforth to supplement his name was chosen to be “von Eisfelden” (ice fields) and the family crest exhibited ice sheets in troubled water. August, his son and Fritz’s great-grandfather, could not follow in his father’s footsteps. He did not complete his legal studies and rose only to a modest position in the civil service, that of k.k. Rechnungsrat (accounting officer) in the Ministry of Finance. Yet, “he was very sociable and in spite of his small income he and his wife managed somehow to move in good society” (Hayek, FH). His wife Sidonie, by her descent from the old Viennese Bergenstamm dynasty, provided the link that connected Hayek to his future second wife Helene (“Lenerl”) Bitterlich. The Bergenstamm line was also noteworthy for being that part of the Hayek ancestry rooted most deeply in Viennese society.

*The Maternal Line: Juraschek-Stallner-Pokorny*⁸

Friedrich’s maternal great-grandfather, Franz Ritter von Juraschek (1809–1868), was born in Lower Austria and went to school in Vienna, before he entered a military career that brought him to the position of “Militärverpflegeverwalter,” a military officer responsible for supply units. He received knighthood for the services rendered at the fortress Arad (now in Romania) during the upheavals of the Hungarian Revolution, when the fortress was besieged for nine months. It was there that to him and his wife Magdalene, née Grimm (1807–1878) a son was born on February 24, 1849, christened Franz like his father. Franz had three sisters, Fritz’s great-aunts, Helene (1841–1917), Emma (1843–n.a.) and Gabriele (1844–1925).

⁷ Personal communication from Richard Zundritsch.

⁸ On Franz von Juraschek senior see Castle 1913, Lebmman and Helczmanovszki 1986, and ÖStA, AVA Unterricht UM Allgemeine Reihe Akten 611.9 (Franz von Juraschek), and on the Juraschek family Schiviz 1909 and Stratowa, vol. 1, 1926; on Alois Pokorny see Burgerstein 1887 and Castle, Dec 25, 1936; on the Stallner and Heider family see Nachlass Moritz Stallner at Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv and Stratowa, vol. 2, 1928. See also the death notices in *Grazer Tagblatt* for Emanuel Wokaun (July 25, 1896) and Johanna Stallner (Mar 9, 1909), and in *Deutsche Zeitung* for Maria Hauser (June 6, 1936).

Staying within their father's military milieu all married officers of the Austrian army, Helene the Major Josef Schrig, Emma the First Lieutenant (later on Colonel) Emil Ballieux von Guelfenberg, and Gabriele the Captain (later on Major General) Johann Fedra.

Due to his father's military service Franz attended school in various garrison towns, then studied in Graz and concluded doctorates in philosophy and law. After marrying Johanna Theresa Stallner in 1873, he embarked on an academic career, acquiring a *venia legendi* in Graz in 1875 for general and Austrian constitutional law, which was then extended in 1880 to statistics – the combination of fields in which he excelled for the rest of his life. Franz left Graz after his first wife's death, at first 1883 for a chair as extraordinary professor at the University of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina (now in the Ukraine) – a university with a reputation as a promising starting point for a career elsewhere in the monarchy (as attested e.g. by Joseph Schumpeter's economics chair, 1909–1911). In 1885 he moved to Innsbruck, where two years later he was appointed full professor. At the time one of his Innsbruck colleagues was Eugen Böhm von Bawerk, an important member of the second generation of the Austrian school.

After marrying his second wife, Ida Pokorny, Franz von Juraschek was eventually successful in accomplishing a return to Vienna. In 1887 he was appointed deputy of Theodor Inama von Sternegg (1843–1908), the President of the Statistische Zentralkommission, the central statistical office of the Austrian part of the Empire. Besides his official duties Juraschek taught as a lecturer at the University of Vienna, and in 1905/06, after having already succeeded him the year before as President of the Zentralkommission, took over from Inama the directorship of its Statistical Institute. Among his later writings mention shall be made of the fifth edition of *Die Staaten Europas* (Brachelli 1907), a work originally founded by his colleague at the statistical office, Hugo Franz Brachelli. Characterized by his son-in-

law Eduard Castle as a relentless worker, Franz von Juraschek died on February 7, 1910, after surgery for atherosclerosis resulting in the amputation of a leg had failed.

Johanna Theresa Stallner, Franz von Juraschek's first wife and the mother of Felicitas, descended from a wealthy family of landowners in Lower Styria. Johanna Theresa's parents, both of Catholic faith, were Johann Stallner (1820–1861) and Johanna Christina, née Grohmann (1825–1909). Johann Stallner, who had inherited a merchant business of substantial dimensions in Cilli (now Celje in Slovenia), during his lifetime augmented his property by the acquisition of a vineyard at Hochenegg (Vojnik) where the Villa Stallner, a country-house, was built and of a townhouse in Graz. The region of Cilli, although situated in the predominantly Slovene-speaking part of Lower Styria, due to the curia-based suffrage was politically represented by members of the German high bourgeoisie, the group to which the Stallners belonged.

Johann's wife Johanna, who after her husband's death moved with her daughter to Graz, is referred in her obituary as the owner of this house at Glacisstraße 53. Of her siblings mention is to be made of her sister Maria Grohmann (1830–1917), the wife of the engineer Eduard Ritter von Heider (1816–1876). One of their sons, Artur von Heider (1849–1924) became professor of zoology at the Technische Hochschule in Graz, and one of the grandsons, Eduard Heider (born 1876), made a first career in the railway business, then in 1922 became director of the Newag, a big Lower Austrian electricity company. Johanna's daughter Johanna Theresa Stallner was Fritz's maternal grandmother and her siblings made up the host of Fritz's Styrian great-uncles and great-aunts. There were three brothers, Gustav, Alfred, and Moritz, and three sisters, Hermine, Maria and Ida. Gustav Stallner was a notary and Alfred an engineer, however, the most notable of the brothers was Moritz Anton Stallner (1858–1921). Around 1900 he was well-known as a factory owner and the mayor of Hochenegg, and in 1896 had been elected a member of the Styrian Diet for one period, where he represented the

German nationalist Deutsche Volkspartei, and was politically active until his death. Of the sisters Hermine (“Aunt Mina”) remained unmarried; Maria (ca 1853–1936) was the mother of Dorothea Hauser (1877–1946), who made a reputation as a painter; and Ida was the wife of Emanuel Wokaun (1850–1896), Moritz Stallner’s predecessor in the Styrian diet.

The marriage of Franz von Juraschek and Johanna Stallner took place in Graz on August 2, 1873. Their first-born child was Felicitas Johanna Valerie (March 13, 1875), Fritz’s mother, followed one year later by Beatrix (Beate or Beata) Magdalena Ida (July 20, 1876). On October 30, 1879 Johanna gave birth to two female twins, of which one was stillborn, while the other named Ida survived. Johanna however did not recover and died less than a month later, on November 25. For some time, father Juraschek and his three daughters lived at the residence of the Stallner grandmother in Graz, yet when Franz von Juraschek left for a chair at Czernowitz, the daughters remained in Graz under the custody of Johanna Christine Stallner for the years to come.

Although at the time teaching in Innsbruck, it was in Vienna that Franz von Juraschek became acquainted with and ultimately married his second wife Ida Pokorny. She was the daughter of Alois Pokorny (1826–1886) and Johanna, née Karabacek. Alois Pokorny was born in Iglau (Jihlava) in the German-speaking part of Moravia, and – in an obvious parallel to Gustav von Hayek – taught biology, though at the highly prestigious Akademisches Gymnasium in Vienna, from 1849 to 1864. Then he was appointed director of the newly founded Sperlgynasium, a Realgymnasium in the second (predominantly Jewish) district of Vienna. He authored a textbook on the biology of the three kingdoms, *Naturgeschichte der drei Reiche* (Pokorny 1853ff.), widely used for a long time in various editions. In 1857 he was awarded a lectureship (Habilitation) at the University of Vienna for plant geography, the same field to which August von Hayek would dedicate himself half a century later, and he taught at the university until 1868. Pokorny was also an active member of numerous scientific

associations, in particular of the Österreichische Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft (ZBG), the Austrian Society for Zoology and Botany.

Ida's uncle Joseph Karabacek (1845–1918) became Professor for Oriental Studies at the University of Vienna and was knighted in 1905 (one more successful academic in Fritz's ambit). He was married to Karoline Johanna Lang, the daughter of the merchant Leopold Lang and Ernestine von Hofmannsthal, an aunt of the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal; both parents were said to be of Jewish descent. These connections may have been the source of the later rumors within the Hayek family of Ida's Jewish ancestry.

Franz and Ida von Juraschek married on May 24, 1885 in the Vienna Votivkirche. In the summer of the same year Juraschek's appointment to a chair of full professor at Innsbruck was overshadowed by the sudden death of his youngest daughter Ida, on July 21, 1885, when she was on summer vacation in Hohenegg. By that time the two daughters, Felicitas and Beate, had moved to Innsbruck, first under the custody of Franz's sister Helene, then cared for by Ida von Juraschek, who is said to have made a perfect mother for them. The heavy blows of fate were not yet to subside. In 1886 Franz's wife had become pregnant and the child's birth was expected at the end of the year. Shortly after Christmas, when Ida's father Alois Pokorny had arrived to visit the couple in Innsbruck, she gave birth to two male twins, Johann and Rudolf. Both were hardly viable and Johann died on the day of his birth, on December 27. This may have been the cause of the apoplexy of which Ida's father died only two days later. Eventually, after one more month, on January 23, 1887, the second son Rudolf also expired.

These circumstances probably crystalized Franz von Juraschek's desire to move away from Innsbruck to Vienna. Yet apart from these dire events, the times in Innsbruck must have been rather exciting. Not only Franz, but also his wife Ida enjoyed climbing in the Alps; in 1887 a newspaper (*Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, Sept 7, 1887) reported her as being the first female climber to ascend the Fernerkogel, an Alpine mountain (see also Jäger 2015, 45).

According to Hayek, they were joined in their mountaineering activities by Felicitas “who had been introduced in the sport during her Innsbruck years” (IB 17). In Vienna Ida von Juraschek gave birth to three children, two daughters Margarete Ida Johanna (on October 17, 1888) and Gertrud Ida Johanna (January 2, 1891), and eventually a son Franz Felix Alois (June 8, 1895). These were Fritz’s so-called “small aunts and uncle,” all of them less than a dozen years his senior and his regular companions at the meetings in the Juraschek home. As Fritz would later recall, “it was [Ida von Juraschek] whom I regarded as my maternal grandmother, who presided over the [Juraschek] household ... and who was the unfailing source of assistance to all her children” (Hayek, FH).

Distant Cousins: The Wittgenstein Family

Throughout his life Friedrich Hayek regularly referred to the Wittgensteins, a well-known family of the wealthy Vienna bourgeoisie, as distant relatives.⁹ In particular, Hayek’s addressing the famous philosopher as “my cousin, Ludwig Wittgenstein” is a paradigmatic case for the consciousness of close proximity within and among various Vienna circles, whether constituted by hereditary relationships or otherwise.¹⁰

The link between the Hayek and the Wittgenstein family derives from Friedrich’s maternal line, Franz von Juraschek’s first wife Johanna Theresa, née Stallner. Her paternal grandparents had been Johann Stallner (1785–1868), of the same name as her father, and Theresa, née Zöhrer (1797–1870). Their daughter Marie (1825–1911), that is, the younger Johann Stallner’s sister and Johanna Theresa’s aunt, was the maternal grandmother of Ludwig Wittgenstein. Marie, described as “a pretty girl from Lichtenwald,” near Cilli (McGuinness 2005, 22), married in 1845 Jakob M. Kalmus (1814–1870), a banker of Jewish descent who

⁹ See e.g. Monk 1990, Janik and Veigl 1998 and McGuinness 2005; cf. also the short portrait by Bartley 1973, especially 184–86, the designated biographer of Karl Popper and Friedrich Hayek, who was survived by both, and the family recollections by Hermine Wittgenstein 2015.

¹⁰ See Hayek [1977] 1992, a remembrance of Ludwig Wittgenstein based on the fragment of a short biography of Wittgenstein that was left unpublished (see Erbacher 2015).

had converted to Catholicism in 1832. In this regard Hayek amusedly recalled “the shocked account of one of my Styrian maiden great-aunts ... that their grandfather ‘sold his daughter to a rich Jewish banker’” (Hayek [1977a] 1992a, 177). Jakob and Marie’s daughter, Leopoldine (“Poldy”) Kalmus (1850–1926), married the wealthy steel tycoon Karl Wittgenstein (1847–1913), who famously christened one of his ironworks plants “Poldy-Hütte.”¹¹

An investigation into the Viennese millionaires of 1910 ranked Karl as among the city’s forty richest people (Sandgruber 2013, 463–64). He was one of eleven children from the marriage of Hermann Wittgenstein (1802–1878) and Fanny Figdor (1814–1890). Karl and Leopoldine themselves had ten children, of which three sons committed suicide, indicating their complicated family life. Their eldest child was the daughter Hermine (1874–1950), according to Hayek ([1977a] 1992a, 178) “a second cousin, an exact contemporary, and a close friend of my mother.” Her brother Paul (1887–1961) became well-known, after having lost his right arm in World War I, as the one-armed pianist for whom in 1929 Maurice Ravel composed the “Piano Concerto for the Left Hand.” Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) was the youngest of the siblings, ten years Hayek’s senior, “the maddest member of a rather extraordinary family, all of whom were exceptionally gifted and both ready and in a position to live for what they most cared for” (ibid., 177). When Austria came under Nazi rule, according to the Nuremberg laws Marie Stallner qualified as the “non-Jewish quarter” of the Wittgenstein’s ancestry. Only after lengthy negotiations, accompanied by transfers of a great part of the family’s fortune for the bribing of Nazi officials, were the Wittgensteins deemed of mixed-blood (“half-Jewish”), which allowed them to remain in Germany unmolested.

¹¹ On the Kalmus and Figdor ancestry see the entries in Gaugusch 2011.

Although the relationship between Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig Wittgenstein was then rather distant, his mother and Ludwig Wittgenstein sharing the same great-grandparents, the Wittgenstein family was visibly present in Fritz's youth.¹²

*Distant Cousins: The Bitterlich-Eisenmenger Connection*¹³

In the reminiscences of the Hayek family Helene Bitterlich, Fritz's girlfriend in his youth and future second wife, is also referred to as a distant cousin and as part of the extended family of Hayek's paternal grandmother Sidonie Hayek. Helene was born into a family of the Viennese bourgeoisie distinguished by its affinity to the circles of artists that had shaped and were then still shaping Vienna's Ringstraßen architecture. Helene's grandfather, great-uncle and uncle all belonged to that set of painters and sculptors whose works anyone who strolled through the Inner City of Vienna inevitably encountered.

The common ancestor was Anton Groppenberger (1761–1831), the great-great-grandfather of both Fritz and Lenerl, which made them third cousins. Jointly with his brothers, among them the local historian Alois Groppenberger, he had been ennobled in 1791 with the predicate “von Bergenstamm,” which they soon adopted as their surname, dropping the former “Groppenberger.” Anton worked in the civil service in the administration of Lower Austria.¹⁴ Fritz and Lenerl's grandparents were the children of two of his daughters, Sidonie

¹² Cf. Caldwell and Klausinger 2022, chapters 2 and 5.

¹³ On the following see the death notices and obituaries in the *Neue Freie Presse* for Eduard Bitterlich (May 22, 1872), Friedrich von Braunendal (May 31, 1880), Julius von Bergenstamm (Feb 4, 1896), Josef Fleischhacker (Mar 16, 1902), Christian Griepenkerl (Mar 23, 1916), Emma (Feb 24, 1907), August (Dec 11, 1907), Ewald (Sept 8, 1916) and Viktor Eisenmenger (Dec 12, 1932), and in *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* for Friedrich Bitterlich (Feb 5, 1938), furthermore the items Bergenstamm, Bitterlich, Braunendal, and Eisenmenger in ÖStA, HHStA SB Partezettelsammlung. On Hans Bitterlich see also the files in *Tagblatt-Archiv* at the Vienna City Library, the Gauakt in ÖStA, AdR, ZNsZ, and the personal file at the Archive of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (information by Eva Schober); on Max Bitterlich see the documents at the Archive of the University for Natural Resources and Life Sciences (Hochschule für Bodenkultur) in Vienna (information by Peter Wiltsche); on Friedrich Bitterlich see his papers in ÖStA, KA, Nachlass Bitterlich; and on the Künstlerhaus and its members see Aichelburg 2011.

¹⁴ In his second marriage he became the husband of Maria, née von Patuzzi (1777–1825), who reputedly descended from a family of Venetian patricians, and the father of nine children. One of his grandsons, Julius von Bergenstamm (1838–1896), became a well-known zoologist, specializing in dipterology, the science of flies

(1820–1904) and Wilhelmine (ca. 1815–1892), respectively. On the one side, from Sidonie the line of ancestry runs straight to her daughter Sidonie Mayerhofer von Eisfelden, to her grandson August von Hayek, and finally to Fritz as her eldest great-grandson. On the other side, Wilhelmine married the well-established Vienna notary, Friedrich von Braunendal (ca. 1815–1880). Of their four children the daughter Elisabeth (ca. 1851–1940) became the wife of Josef Fleischhacker (1844–1902).

Elisabeth's husband was the son of Josef Fleischhacker senior (ca. 1806–1884), the manager of the prestigious Vienna banking house Simon G. Sina, at the time second only to that of the Rothschilds. Its founder, the Greek-Austrian entrepreneur Simon Georg Freiherr von Sina (1810–1876), provided the funds for the renovation of the Greek Orthodox church at the Fleischmarkt in the Inner City of Vienna. The church was rebuilt in 1858 by the famous architect Theophil von Hansen, whose later contributions to the architecture of the Vienna Ringstraße included the buildings of the Musikverein, the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Parliament. The pictures at the front of the church were the work of the painters Karl Rahl and Eduard Bitterlich. Josef Fleischhacker junior's connection to artistic circles is attested to by his being approved – upon the proposal of the painter August Eisenmenger (1830–1907) – as an extraordinary member of the Künstlerhaus-Vereinigung, the famous association of Vienna artists. His two daughters also married into families of artists. The eldest daughter Elisabeth (or “Lilly,” 1871–1950) became the wife of August Eisenmenger's son Ewald, a civil servant working at the Obersthofmeisteramt, the office of the Emperor's court. In 1896 the second daughter Margarete (1875–1904) married the son of Eduard Bitterlich, Friedrich Bitterlich, an officer of the Austrian army. Before pursuing this family history any further, it is appropriate to have a glance at the artistic circles into which the Fleischhacker daughters had married.

and mosquitoes, and for some time had been the librarian of the ZBG (see *Neue Freie Presse*, Feb 4, 1896), the society that would be so dear to Fritz's father.

Helene's grandfather Eduard Bitterlich (1833–1872) was a renowned painter and graphic artist, and up until his premature death had been a member of the workshop of Karl Rahl (1812–1865). Jointly with Rahl and Christian Griepenkerl (1839–1916) he produced a series of paintings destined to decorate the newly-built palaces of the Vienna Ringstraße; particularly notable are parts of the curtain and the ceiling of the Vienna Opera. In the same sense as Theophil Hansen had shaped the architecture, Eduard Bitterlich and Rahl, jointly with Griepenkerl, Eisenmenger and Carl Kundmann (1838–1919), were responsible for the buildings' interior design and for the numerous sculptures surrounding them. For example, Eisenmenger contributed picture friezes to some of Hansen's buildings and Kundmann's most visible work was the monumental statue of Pallas Athene in front of the Parliament (1902). At the turn of the century their way of opulent, representative painting and sculpturing was superseded by the innovative products of a new generation of artists who left the conservative Künstlerhaus and gathered in the so-called Secession.

Eduard Bitterlich married Maria, née Singer von Wyssogursky (1829–1904); Maria's sister Emma (1841–1907) was the wife of August Eisenmenger, making him and Eduard Bitterlich brothers-in-law. Eduard and Maria had four sons, Hans (1860–1949), Richard (1862–1940), Max (1864–1940), Lenerl's uncles, and her father Friedrich (1866–1938).

The eldest son Hans Bitterlich followed in his father's footsteps and became a successful sculptor. Many of his creations are landmarks of Vienna's cityscape, e.g. the Gutenberg monument (1900) at the Lugeck and, probably the best known, the monument of the Empress Elisabeth (1907) in the Volksgarten (People's Garden). He also contributed busts and reliefs to the portrait gallery of famous scientists, exhibited at the Arcaded Courtyard of the University of Vienna, among them those of Adolf Exner und Richard Wettstein (see Maisel 2008). From 1901 to 1931 he taught at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, where he was elected Rector for the study year 1930/31.

Eduard Bitterlich's second son, Richard, earned his living as an artist, too. He specialized in portrait painting but could not quite match the rank of his father and elder brother. Some of his portraits of the Empress Elisabeth are still in moderate demand in the art world.

Max Bitterlich turned towards a more civil profession, studying agriculture and working as a veterinarian. He took his doctorate in 1913 at the Vienna Hochschule für Bodenkultur, where he lectured from 1915 to 1934. Just before retirement he published a monograph tellingly titled *Die Entartung des Menschen* (The Degeneration of Man) (Bitterlich 1932).

Friedrich Bitterlich, Lenerl's father, had a career in the Austrian army that took him from a teaching post at a military academy (Kadettenschule) to the rank of commander of the 1st Infantry Regiment (Schützenregiment) in World War I. He fought on the eastern front, then at the multiple battles on the Isonzo River. After Austria's defeat and the demise of the monarchy, he retired in 1918 with the rank of major general. During retirement he apparently bolstered his pension by working as a broker for the Dorotheum, a public pawn office in Vienna, and dedicated his spare time to the veterans' club of his former regiment.

It is worthwhile briefly to review the ancestry of the Eisenmenger family, too. August Eisenmenger had two brothers: Josef Karl (ca 1834–1876) worked as a journalist at the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse*; one of his sons, Richard, in the 1920s became deputy editor-in-chief of the Vienna tabloid *Kronenzeitung*, another son, Karl, a painter. August's second brother Christoph, a civil servant, lived in Siebenbürgen; his son Rudolf (1871–1946), a physician, gained some fame for inventing a predecessor of the "iron lung," while Rudolf's own son, Rudolf Hermann (1902–1994), returned to his great-uncle's profession of a painter. An early member of the Austrian Nazi party and director of the Künstlerhaus after the

Anschluss, his was an awkward choice for the task of decorating the iron curtain of the reopened Vienna State Opera in 1955.

August's three sons made up the next generation of this branch of the Eisenmenger family. These were Viktor (1864–1932), Ewald (ca. 1868–1916), and Hugo (1874–1950). Viktor was the most prominent of them. After studying medicine, he became a physician at the Emperor's court, and eventually the personal physician of Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand and of Franz Joseph's successor Emperor Karl. After the demise of the monarchy, he wrote a memorial book of the Crown Prince (Eisenmenger 1930). From his marriage with Anna, née Hoberg, descended two daughters: the sculptor Anna Eisenmenger (born 1898) – who acquired some fame from illustrating a best-selling book by Konrad Lorenz (1949) – and Hilde Eisenmenger (born 1899), who in her youth excelled as a tennis player. As noted above, Ewald's wife provided the link to the Fleischhacker family; Lilly Eisenmenger, née Fleischhacker, gave birth to four daughters, Erika, Edith, Gertrude (Gerty) and Elonora (Ellinor). Hugo, the youngest son of August, studied engineering in Vienna, then left Austria to work overseas, in Central Africa, Japan, and finally from 1921 in New York, as a director at the Consolidated Edison Company in Mount Vernon. His presence in New York made Hugo Eisenmenger one of the regular hosts of Fritz Hayek during his 1923/24 trip to the United States.

Summing up these complicated relationships, we see that Fritz Hayek was a distant cousin (that is, of the third degree) to Lenerl Bitterlich as well as to the Eisenmenger siblings. That the feeling of a close familial connection was reciprocated may be concluded from the fact that a personal notice of Ewald Eisenmenger's death (the very Partezettel still preserved in an Austrian archive) was sent to Sidonie Hayek, Fritz's grandmother.

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