

Alexander Wienerberger: A Biographical Essay

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Summary:

The Holodomor was officially and forcefully denied by its perpetrators and left few photographic traces. Fortunately, the photos of Alexander Wienerberger have survived. These rare and invaluable photographs constitute some of the only visual testimony of a twentieth-century genocide. Wienerberger was an Austrian national who spent a decade and a half after WWI serving as a manager and consultant for chemical factories in the Soviet Union. In late 1932 he was assigned to Kharkiv, then Ukraine's capital. Wienerberger had recently acquired a new Leica camera, and as spring turned to summer in 1933, he proceeded to secretly document the shocking conditions of famine and destitution unfolding around him. Unable to tolerate the increasing brutality and inhumanity of life under the Bolsheviks, Wienerberger returned to Austria in 1934 and arranged for his photographs to be shipped back via the security of diplomatic mail. Upon his return home, he freely allowed his photographs to be used for anti-Bolshevik propaganda and to support an international campaign for famine relief.

Today, nearly 300 photographs are known to exist which were taken by Alexander Wienerberger during his lifetime. Of these, close to 80 depict scenes from his time in Ukraine – the majority of which are Holodomor-related. They document life in and around Kharkiv, showing the effects of Stalin's ruthless policies both on the impoverished city residents and on the starving, dying refugees from the devastated rural heartland. This body of work, small in quantity and scope, provides a rare, uncensored glimpse into the life and death of ordinary citizens in Ukraine during the deadliest year of the Holodomor.

Wienerberger's contribution was not limited to his photographs; he also published a memoir of his Soviet experiences, yet his work slipped into obscurity. However, over the years a picture of the man has slowly emerged. What we now know of Alexander Wienerberger – who he was, why he took the photos, and the context for his documentation of the Holodomor – is thanks to the efforts of a diverse set of actors over a thirty-year period, including a Ukrainian Catholic priest in Vienna, an international commission that investigated the famine, a researcher in the British Foreign Office archives, scholars from Austria and Kyiv, and a dedicated great-granddaughter. This is their story.

Part I: Life story

Vienna to Kharkiv

Born in Vienna in 1891, Alexander Wienerberger earned a degree in chemical engineering from the University of Vienna shortly before the outbreak of WWI. He enlisted and served briefly in an elite division of the Austrian military before being captured by the Russians and taken prisoner. Upon his release in 1917, he decided to stay in Russia and together with fellow former inmates opened a laboratory for the production of saccharine and pharmaceuticals. Over the next several years, his business operations were first nationalized then prospered with the greater opportunities for personal investment and profit that became possible under the New Economic Policy (NEP). Nevertheless, Wienerberger ran afoul of the Cheka (the Soviet secret police) and its successor, the GPU, on more than one occasion and was arrested and imprisoned again for several months. By 1927, Wienerberger saw the demise of favorable NEP policies on the horizon and returned to Austria. Having previously divorced his first wife, Josefine Ronimois, he met and married Lilly Zimmermann and returned to Moscow with his new bride in 1928.¹



Courtesy of Samara Pearce, the photographer's great-granddaughter

Wienerberger decided to stay on in Soviet Russia as an officially recognized foreign expert, serving as a technical manager at a succession of chemical manufacturing firms now owned by the government. The Soviet Union had just embarked on its ambitious five-year plan of massive industrialization at a time when the West was entering an economic depression. Wienerberger saw that his professional skills were in demand in the Soviet Union, while in his native Austria

¹ Swift-Hook, "Alexander Wienerberger from His Daughters [Sic] Memories"; Vogl, "Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor," 259–62; Wienerberger, *Hart Auf Hart. 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrusland. Ein Tatsachenbericht; Mit 52 Original-Leicaaufnahmen Des Verfassers*, chaps. 1–19; Wienerberger, "Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report," chaps. 1–19.

his options for employment were decreasing.² Energetic and resourceful, Wienerberger never expressed a particular affinity for Bolshevism; rather, he seemed to relish the challenges of outmaneuvering both the Soviet bureaucracy and its secret police – something that he as a foreigner assumed he could do without the fatal consequences that might befall a Soviet citizen. Moreover, life for Wienerberger and his young family was more or less tolerable, given his position as a foreign expert; he had a far better salary and access to better accommodations and food than what was available and declining at an alarming rate for the average Soviet citizen.

Kharkiv

In September 1932, after some unpleasantness at his latest factory assignment, Wienerberger was advised by Soviet authorities to transfer to Kharkiv in Ukraine, where he would manage the retrofitting of an abandoned factory for the production of plastic compounds. In his memoir, he describes his trip by train from central Russia to Kharkiv. As the train crosses the border into Ukraine during the night, it speeds past a burning station surrounded by blazing farm houses and haystacks, which Wienerberger described as a desperate act of Ukrainian peasant defiance against collectivization. Later the train passes stations where other trains were packed with families under military guard, headed for prison camps in the far north. The dawn's light reveals incredible impoverishment in the countryside, which he contrasted with the lushness he had encountered when transported through Ukraine as a prisoner during WW1.³

Sometime before the spring of 1933, Wienerberger acquired a Leica camera, a model that became available in 1932.⁴ During the spring and summer of 1933, Wienerberger used that camera to take numerous photos in and around Kharkiv, of which several dozen are known to have survived to today and most of which are included in this Directory.

No doubt aware of the possible consequences of shooting unauthorized pictures, Wienerberger took very few posed photos.⁵ Instead, he took quick snapshots to document the endless lines for food, empty storefronts, overcrowded trams, the wary looks at the marketplace, monolithic government buildings, and well-built dwellings for the elites in contrast to the “temporary”

² Wienerberger, *Hart Auf Hart. 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrussland. Ein Tatsachenbericht; Mit 52 Original-Leicaaufnahmen Des Verfassers*, chap. 14; Wienerberger, “Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report,” chap. 14.

³ Wienerberger, *Hart Auf Hart. 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrussland. Ein Tatsachenbericht; Mit 52 Original-Leicaaufnahmen Des Verfassers*, chap. 24; Wienerberger, “Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report,” chap. 24.

⁴ Pearce, “Alexander Wienerberger: The Search for Truth,” 11.

⁵ *How Ukraine's Holodomor Famine Was Secretly Photographed*, secs. 00:01:32-01:50.

shacks and lean-to's for ordinary workers. Most chillingly, he documents utterly destitute, starving people from the villages; the dead and dying just off the busy thoroughfares of Kharkiv; cemeteries overflowing with hastily dug mass graves; and empty and abandoned farm houses.

Return to Austria: 1934-1935

*“ ‘Please, please, dear comrade’ (he actually dropped to both knees and raised his hands in the air), ‘don't go away from here before you've promised me to raise your voice loudly to accuse those murderers before the court of the world's conscience!’
‘Yes,’ I said, ‘I promise you, here you have my hand on it.’”⁶*

Following his year in Kharkiv, Wienerberger resolved to leave the Soviet Union permanently. He visited a health sanatorium in Crimea, took a brief winter assignment in Moscow to work out his exit strategy, and returned to Vienna in 1934.⁷ He despised the ever-increasing hypocrisy and shocking brutality of the Bolshevik regime so evident in Ukraine and determined to crusade against it upon returning home. He was constrained to some degree, however, by Austria's reluctance to disturb its diplomatic and economic relationship with the USSR or to put Austrian citizens in the USSR at risk.⁸ When Austria's Ambassador Heinrich Pacher offered to send Wienerberger's photos back to Vienna via diplomatic mail in 1933 to avoid the risk of confiscation "by the greedy hands of the GPU,"⁹ there were strings attached. Wienerberger had to promise, in essence, to reflect Austria's interests in any public use of those photographs.¹⁰

In spite of these limitations, in March 1934 he had barely returned home before publishing an article "Das Land des Hungers und des Todes" [The Land of Starvation and Death] in the Austrian newspaper *Salzburger Chronik*, under the alias Otto Alexander, but without any photographs.¹¹ He also embarked almost immediately on a series of lectures about his experiences in the Soviet Union.

⁶ Wienerberger, "Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report," chap. 26.

⁷ Wienerberger, *Hart Auf Hart. 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrußland. Ein Tatsachenbericht; Mit 52 Original-Leicaaufnahmen Des Verfassers*, chaps. 28–31; Wienerberger, "Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report," chaps. 28–31.

⁸ Vogl, "Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor," 264.

⁹ Vogl, 263.

¹⁰ Vogl, 263.

¹¹ Alexander, "Das Land des Hungers und des Todes."

His photo documentation sparked the interest of Austria's Vaterländische Front (the ruling far right nationalist anti-Nazi party). In 1934, it published an anti-Bolshevik brochure geared toward the working classes, *Russland wie es wirklich ist* [Russia as it really is], featuring Wienerberger's narrative and illustrated exclusively with his photos from Ukraine, but without attribution. The Soviet response was swift and angry, denouncing the "lying and false claims."¹² Wienerberger's unattributed photographs also appeared in at least one of several "Brüder in Not!" (Brethren in Need) pamphlets¹³ published by both secular and evangelical organizations in Germany and Austria.

Recently, investigative journalists and researchers¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶ have come upon correspondence indicating that in 1934, Wienerberger contacted the Ukrainian Bureau in London, attempting to find buyers in the English market for his Kharkiv photos. As he had in Austria, he maintained a level of anonymity for self-protection. At least five of his photos, attributed to "Otto Alexander," were purchased by a photo agency in late 1934,¹⁷ but no evidence of their publication has come to light.

"Many Europeans observed the terrible hunger tragedy of southern Russia in 1933; but few of them know that it was a well-organised mass murder, with no equal to its extent and bestiality in world history."¹⁸

Wienerberger's anti-Bolshevik activities also caught the attention of both Ewald Ammende, Head of the European Congress on Nationalities, and Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Vienna. Ammende and the Cardinal sought to garner international support for their inter-denominational campaign to assist the victims of starvation in the USSR, particularly those in Ukraine and the German colonies in Russia.¹⁹ The campaign was vehemently condemned by Moscow as capitalist propaganda and ultimately failed to gain

¹² Vogl, "Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor," 264. Vogl quoting Soviet envoy A.Petrovsky's remark against "Propaganda [...], die noch dazu auf offensichtlicher Lüge und Falsifikation" beruhe."

¹³ Luithle, *Brüder in Not! : Lasst Sie Nicht Verhungern! Bilder Aus Dem Leben Der Russlanddeutschen Kolonisten in Vergangenheit Und Gegenwart*, 11–14.

¹⁴ Zinchenko, "Holodomor u Kharkovi: Kolo Zhyttya, Kolo Smerti, Chorni Nytky Istoriyi// Голодомор у Харкові: Коло Життя, Коло Смерті, Чорні Нитки Історії."

¹⁵ Wysocki, "Email to Author," November 8, 2019.

¹⁶ Dzhulay, "Email to Author," November 19, 2019.

¹⁷ Malone, "Letter to Ing. A. Wienerberger," December 13, 1934.

¹⁸ Wienerberger, "Hard Times; 15 Years an Engineer in Soviet Russia. A Factual Report," 117–18.

¹⁹ Innitzer, "Hungersnot : Authentische Dokumente Über Das Massensterben in Der Sowjetunion."

significant support in the West.²⁰ Nevertheless, as a token of appreciation to the Cardinal for his efforts, Wienerberger compiled an album of twenty-five photographs depicting Kharkiv's "tragedy of famine,"²¹ which he presented, with his signature. (For more details on the album, see "Alexander Wienerberger: Innitzer Album, a Collection Note" in this Directory.)

For his part, Ammende, who had in July 1933 already sounded the alarm about famine²² in an article in the Austrian press,²³ went on to write *Muss Russland Hungern*²⁴ (*Must Russia Starve*), a full-length account, damning in its objectivity and insightfulness, illustrated exclusively with twenty-one of Wienerberger's photographs from Ukraine. The book was published in Austria to some acclaim in 1935 and elicited strong rebuke from the Soviet government, embarrassing Austrian officials who preferred not to alienate the USSR at that time. The 1935 edition was followed by an English translation: *Human Life in Russia*²⁵ in 1936, after Ammende's untimely and mysterious death while traveling in China earlier that year.²⁶ The English language edition (reprinted in the US in 1984²⁷) unfortunately removed half of the Wienerberger photos and added others – some of possible legitimacy from the North Caucasus regions, but others definitely from the 1920s famine in Russia and Ukraine.

Austria: The Later Years

Wienerberger was half Jewish on his father's side, a fact that began to cause problems for his family by the time of Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938. Wienerberger attempted to legally deny his Jewish ethnicity but did not succeed.²⁸ It is at this time that Wienerberger appeared to begin making public anti-Semitic statements. In 1939, he published *Hart auf Hart* about his life in the Soviet Union. This otherwise perceptive, witty, and darkly cynical memoir is filled with anti-Semitic commentary in general, and against "Judeo-Bolsheviks" in particular. The book was first serialized in late 1938 in the daily *Salzburger Volksblatt* under the

²⁰ Carynyk, Luciuk, and Kordan, *The Foreign Office and the Famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932-1933.*, 384–86; 422–24; Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*, 303–6.

²¹ Wienerberger, "Die Hungertragödie in Südrussland 1933: Album Presented by the Photographer to Cardinal Theodor Innitzer of Vienna. (Also Known as The Innitzer Album)."

²² Köstenberger, "»So Sympathisch Uns Natürlich Eine Diskreditierung Russlands Wäre ...«: Antisowjetische Propaganda Im »Ständestaat« – Mit Staatsräson," 347.

²³ Ammende, "Der Massentod schreitet durch Russland."

²⁴ Ammende, *Muss Russland Hungern?: Menschen- Und Völkerschicksale in Der Sowjetunion.*

²⁵ Ammende and Dickinson, *Human Life in Russia.*

²⁶ Köstenberger, "»So Sympathisch Uns Natürlich Eine Diskreditierung Russlands Wäre ...«: Antisowjetische Propaganda Im »Ständestaat« – Mit Staatsräson," 353.

²⁷ Ammende and Mace, *Human Life in Russia.*

²⁸ Vogl, "Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor," 259, 266.

title “Abenteuer in Sowjetrußland” (Adventures in Soviet Russia).²⁹ His introduction to the series boasts that his photos had appeared in the recent Antikomintern³⁰ and “Der ewige Jude” [the eternal Jew] exhibits that traveled through Germany and Austria.³¹ No confirmation of that claim, however, has been found. Interestingly, the heavy-handed racism in his later writing stands in stark contrast to what is presented in the 1934 pamphlet *Russland wie es wirklich ist*, mentioned earlier. That narrative bore no trace of anti-Semitism; in fact, no record exists of any anti-Semitic activity on Wienerberger’s part prior to the late 1930s.

Wienerberger turned fifty during the early years of WWII, yet this did not keep him from enlisting with the Russian Liberation Army under General Andrey Vlasov in 1944, which was fighting against the Soviet Army.³² He escaped capture at war’s end, but upon returning home, he was arrested by the Allies as a suspected German spy. Following many apparently grueling months in an American prison in Austria, he was finally released after feigning insanity.³³ He spent the remaining years of his life occupied with a new paint and furniture polish business in Salzburg, passing away in 1955.³⁴

Part II: From obscurity to distinction

The early years

The first known instance of Alexander Wienerberger’s name appearing in connection with his published writing and photographs did not occur until late 1938, when the *Salzburger Volksblatt* ran his serialized memoir “Abenteuer in Sowjetrußland,” featuring seven of his Kharkiv photos. The series was subsequently published in book format as *Hart auf Hart* in 1939.³⁵ Dismissed, perhaps, as typical Nazi anti-Bolshevik propaganda following WWII, *Hart auf Hart* with its forty-three authentic Kharkiv photos can now be found in only a small number of scholarly institutions worldwide. Decades later, *Human Life in Russia*, the 1936 English edition of Ammende’s *Muss Russland Hungern*, was reprinted in the US in 1984 with a forward by

²⁹ Wienerberger, “Abenteuer in Sowjetrußland (in 28 Installments).”

³⁰ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade : Bolshevism and the Myth of the International Jewish Conspiracy*, 99. The author defines the Antikomintern as a consolidation of anti-communist organizations in 1933 that although nominally private was an agency of the German government.

³¹ Vogl, “Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor,” 268; Wienerberger, “Abenteuer in Sowjetrußland,” 3.

³² Vogl, “Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor,” 266–67.

³³ Vogl, 266, 268; Swift-Hook, “Alexander Wienerberger from His Daughters [Sic] Memories.”

³⁴ Vogl, “Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor,” 268.

³⁵ Wienerberger, *Hart Auf Hart. 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrußland. Ein Tatsachenbericht; Mit 52 Original-Leicaaufnahmen Des Verfassers*. Note: Although claiming 52 photographs, only 49 appear in the publication, with 6 portraying scenes outside of Ukraine’s borders at that time.

Holodomor scholar James Mace. It was widely distributed in the Ukrainian diaspora and among historians of the Ukraine famine. Unfortunately, because the English edition contained 1920s photos misidentified as from the Holodomor and others of unsubstantiated origin along with a few of Wienerberger's unattributed photographs, the publication of this book cast the entire photographic content in a dubious light.

However, also in the early to mid 1980s, Prelate Ostheim-Dzerowicz of Vienna discovered the signed album presented by Wienerberger to Cardinal Innitzer among the Cardinal's papers in Vienna's Diocesan Archives.³⁶ In 1985, copies of these photographs along with basic information about Wienerberger and matching photos derived from his memoir were shared with members of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine and later submitted as supporting evidence for that Commission's findings.³⁷ (See "Alexander Wienerberger: a Collection Note" in this Directory for more details.)

Around the same time, Canadian researcher Marco Carynnyk was uncovering a wealth of information in the British Foreign Office Files³⁸ on the deliberate inaction of the West with regard to Ukraine's famine. One of the documents submitted in July 1934 by the Austrian consulate in Kharkiv, mentions Wienerberger and describes his photographs of death and destitution taken in Kharkiv. (this document was subsequently reprinted in *The Foreign Office and the Famine* compilation).³⁹ Interestingly, Wienerberger is named as "Otto" in the diplomat's report. However, Carynnyk's notes correctly surmise that the photographs that were being referenced and which appeared anonymously the following year in Ammende's *Muss Russland Hungern*, were indeed Alexander Wienerberger's. Carynnyk was also the first to point out the discrepancy between the authentic Holodomor-era photos in the German original and the photos found in the English edition, *Human Life in Russia*.⁴⁰

Neither the International Commission's revelations about Wienerberger's photographs nor Carynnyk's corroborating research reached a broad audience, however. This information reached neither Robert Conquest prior to the publication of his ground-breaking study of the famine, *Harvest of Sorrow*,⁴¹ nor the US Commission on the Ukraine Famine in time for

³⁶ Vogl, "Email to Author," January 11, 2019; Klid, "Email to Author," February 7, 2018..

³⁷ International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine and Wienerberger, "The 1932-33 Original Photographs from Kharkiv, Ukraine (Exhibit #P-42)," 28.

³⁸ Carynnyk, Luciuk, and Kordan, *The Foreign Office and the Famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932-1933*.

³⁹ Carynnyk, Luciuk, and Kordan, 415.

⁴⁰ Carynnyk, Luciuk, and Kordan, 460, note 98.

⁴¹ Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow : Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*.

consideration in preparing its report.⁴² In the ensuing decades, the photographs began appearing sporadically in print and media, but for the most part without attribution.

Into the new millennium

It was scholarship in Ukraine that first provided renewed visibility and access to Wienerberger's work. Historian Vasyl Marochko, Director of the Center for Genocide Research (at the time within the Ukrainian National Institute of History), was attending a conference in Vienna in the early 2000s when he was given copies of the Wienerberger album photographs by Prelate Ostheim-Dzerowicz's sister, Maria Dzerowicz.⁴³

In 2003, a group of scholars under Marochko's direction produced the monumental study *Голод 1932–1933 років в Україні: причини та наслідки* [*1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine: Causes and Consequences*],⁴⁴ which included those photos, attributed to Wienerberger, among other photographs. Shortly thereafter, Ukraine's Central State CinePhotoPhono Archives (TsDKFFA) added to its website thumbnail images of the Innitzer album photos obtained by Professor Marochko.⁴⁵ Other publications and websites in Ukraine of that decade displayed many of the Wienerberger photos as well.

Recognition

Who Alexander Wienerberger was and why he took the photographs remained a mystery. Fortuitously, Austrian scholar Josef Vogl took up an extensive investigation of Wienerberger's life while engaged in a project with Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes.⁴⁶ His research in Austria's federal and local archives, Vienna's Diocesan Archive, collaboration with colleagues (in particular, Julia Köstenberger⁴⁷), and interviews with surviving family resulted in 2015 in *Alexander Wienerberger–Fotograf des Holodomor*, the first authoritative biographical study of this "photographer of the Holodomor."⁴⁸ Vogl not only offers a sketch of the previously hidden details of Wienerberger's personal life, he reveals how

⁴² United States. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932-1933*.

⁴³ Marochko, "Email to Author," February 24, 2019.

⁴⁴ Lytvyn et al., *Holod 1932 - 1933 rokiv v Ukraini: Prychyny ta Naslidky*// *Голод 1932 - 1933 Років в Україні: Причини Та Наслідки*.

⁴⁵ "Kontekst Trahedyi (1929-1933): Fotodokumenty Z Fondiv TsDKFFA Ukrainy."

⁴⁶ Vogl, "Email to Author," February 11, 2019.

⁴⁷ Köstenberger, "»So Sympathisch Uns Natürlich Eine Diskreditierung Russlands Wäre ...«: Antisowjetische Propaganda Im »Ständestaat« – Mit Staatsräson," 347-62 passim.

⁴⁸ Vogl, "Email to Author," January 11, 2019.

Wienerberger's damning portrayal of conditions in Ukraine during the Holodomor figured significantly both in the attempted international relief campaign initiated in Austria and in the Austrian vs Soviet propaganda wars.

In England, meanwhile, Wienerberger's great-granddaughter Samara Pearce had just inherited his camera,⁴⁹ which had been gathering dust in the possession of another relative. This acquisition became the start of a journey of discovery about a man, a period of history, and a country she barely knew. A university student at the time, Ms. Pearce decided to make the study of her great-grandfather's life and work the basis of her dissertation, which she defended in 2013. She continues to seek out information related not only to her great-grandfather and his photographs but about the Holodomor and its connection to the current war and life in Ukraine.⁵⁰

Recently, she discovered among several family albums of photographs taken by Alexander Wienerberger, one that was devoted to his time in Kharkiv, Crimea, and Moscow between the winters of 1932/33 – 1933/34. Twelve of the confirmed Kharkiv photos in that album had not been published prior to the album's discovery. Sometimes referred to as the "Red Album" because of its red binding, it bears the ironic title *Das Arbeiterparadies. U.d.S.S.R.* [The Workers' Paradise, U.S.S.R.] handwritten in white across the cover. (For further details, see "Alexander Wienerberger: Beyond the Inntizer Album, a Collection Note"). Ms. Pearce has also had Wienerberger's memoir translated into English as *Hard Times* and hopes to find a publisher. A recent article presents many of the photographs from both the "Red Album" and the memoir, with excerpts from the memoir's Kharkiv chapters accompanying the images.⁵¹ Ms. Pearce has graciously made her collection accessible to researchers, and as copyright holder has granted permission for the use of the photographs, stipulating only that Alexander Wienerberger's name always accompany his images. Ms. Pearce's cooperation and commitment has proven vital to what we now know about her great-grandfather's work.

Ongoing legacy

With access to a larger body of Wienerberger's authenticated photographs, we have been able over the past few years to piece together a much fuller picture of his life, which in turn has

⁴⁹ Pearce, "A Photographic Investigation into Ukraine."

⁵⁰ Erman, "‘Tse Buv Henotsyd’: Istoriya Brytans'koyi Fotokhudozhnytsi, Yaka Shyryt' Pam'yat' pro Holodomor// ‘Це Був Геноцид’: Історія Британської Фотохудожниці, Яка Ширить Пам'ять Про Голодомор.:

⁵¹ Dzhulay, "Невідомі Фото Голодомору Інженера Вінербергера //Невідомі Фото Голодомору Інженера Вінербергера."

⁵² Dzhulay, "Austrian Engineer Captures the Horror of the Holodomor in 1932-33." Euromaidan Press | translated by Christine Chraibi.

given us a better understanding of the context and purpose of his Kharkiv documentation. As we explore archives and family holdings and continue to locate publications from the mid-1930s featuring his photographs, it becomes clear that there is more to be learned, and perhaps even additional photographs to be found. Prior to Wienerberger's return home, Austria's ambassador in Kharkiv boasted to a colleague: "I bring you a man who has 600 Leica photographs from the Hunger regions..."⁵³ Was he exaggerating? The journey continues.

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⁵³ Vogl, "Alexander Wienerberger – Fotograf Des Holodomor," 263.

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