Introduction

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Until recently, H. G. Adler remained relatively unknown in the English-speaking world. To anyone familiar with his work, this is perplexing. Adler was one of the most prolific and engaging voices in Holocaust literature, a writer who confronted the legacy of the Shoah in countless poems, essays, monographs, short stories, and novels. In his lifetime, he was honored with the 1958 Leo Baeck Prize for his scholarship on the wartime Jewish "ghetto" Theresienstadt; Switzerland's 1969 Charles Veillon Prize for his novel *Panorama*; the prestigious Buber-Rosenzweig Medal in 1974 for his work on the wartime deportation of Jews; and, in 1985, the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, the highest honor the country can bestow on an individual. He was also president of the PEN Center of German-Language Authors in Exile.[1] Despite these accolades and his abundant literary output, this is the first collection of H. G. Adler's scholarly essays to be published in English. It is composed of articles that previously appeared in German, as well as an unpublished essay manuscript from the Adler archive in the German Literary Archive in Marbach, and, in chapter 2, a reprint from the *American Journal of Sociology*, one of the few English-language academic journals to feature Adler's scholarship. Together, these selections introduce readers to an incisive chronicler of the human condition.

When H. G. Adler died in 1988, an obituary in the *New York Times* noted that he had written "about his experiences in the Nazi concentration camps."[2] Beyond that, the piece had nothing to say about the content of this writing. How do we explain this ignorance of Adler in the Anglophone world during his lifetime? To answer this question, it is worth recounting the author's early life. In 1910, Hans Günther Adler was born in Prague to a secular Jewish family that was part of a small but highly influential

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community of German speakers in the Bohemian capital. As a teenager, Adler attended high school and joined the idealistic Wandervogel scouting movement, in which he was privy to debates about ethnicity, politics, and the place of Jews in the newly independent Czechoslovakia. In 1930, he entered the German University of Prague to study psychology, literature, and—like his future interlocuter Theodor Adorno—musicology. The latter two fields introduced him to the rich world of German modernism. In his home city, Franz Kafka, Max Brod, Franz Werfel, and other interwar thinkers comprised the "Prague Circle" of German-speaking Jewish intellectuals who presided over a flowering of experimental drama, poetry, and fiction.[3] These writers exercised a deep influence on German letters and on the young Adler, who became a teacher and cultural writer in Prague after finishing university.

The Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia in 1939. In the ensuing years under the Nazi "Protectorate," Adler and his family watched as the Gestapo raided Jewish homes and businesses and as transports of Czech Jews left for Poland. As one of the few remaining German-Jewish writers in Prague, Adler spent the early war years composing poetry and writing a philosophical study on theology. The Nazis dispatched him to the railways as a forced laborer. On returning home, he assisted the Jewish Community of Prague, whose museum became a storehouse for the transient property of dispossessed Bohemian and Moravian Jews. Adler later reflected on the horrors of having to sift through goods stolen from Jewish homes, at one point even encountering Kafka's confiscated library, purportedly destined for a future Nazi museum devoted to the vanished Jewish race.[4]

In February 1942, Adler and his wife Gertrud Adler-Klepetark, a doctor and medical researcher, were transported to the Jewish "ghetto" in the Czech fortress town of Theresienstadt. There he worked in odd jobs, observed the life-and-death struggles and moral choices of his fellow prisoners and their tormentors, and committed himself to bearing witness to the experience, should he survive it. In Theresienstadt, he befriended Berlin Rabbi Leo Baeck, over whom the Nazis kept watch as a renowned Jewish elder whose mistreatment would attract global attention. Baeck exposed Adler to a liberal, reformist Judaism suffused with existentialist questioning, and he encouraged his younger co-prisoner on his intellectual journey. Adler also renewed his acquaintance with composer Viktor Ullmann and tutored younger inmates, such as the future musician and philosopher Thomas Mandl. In Theresienstadt, Adler gave a lecture in honor of Franz Kafka's sixtieth birthday in the presence of Kafka's sister Ottla, wrote numerous poems, and filched important documents that would form the basis for his private archive, which he used for his subsequent writings on the Holocaust.[5]

In October 1944, Adler and his wife were deported to Auschwitz. Gertrud chose not to abandon her mother, and both women were murdered in the gas chambers. Adler himself was incarcerated in the "Gypsy Camp" and was later transferred to two subcamps of Buchenwald before being liberated by American troops in the summer of 1945. He returned to Czechoslovakia, where he retrieved ghetto documents he had entrusted to Rabbi Baeck, as well as his own Holocaust writings. He subsequently tutored young camp survivors and orphaned German children in a castle outside Prague. On returning to the Czech capital, he helped establish the Prague Jewish Museum and was part of a group of young German-speaking poets, which included the scholar Peter Demetz. In 1947, he fled to London to escape the imminent communist takeover in Czechoslovakia. He married sculptor Bettina Gross, his old friend and fellow Prague exile, and started a family. He spent the next four decades writing under the name H. G. Adler. SS officer Hans Günther had been the wartime director of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague and had presided over the decimation of that city's Jewish community. Adler vowed never to use those two names again.

The essays in this volume are a significant selection of H. G. Adler's thinking on freedom and enslavement. They span three decades, but a central theme runs through them all: the fate of the "coerced" human being. What historical and social factors account not only for the Nazi descent into brutality, but also other regimes' evisceration of human dignity? What patterns of the mind, what human-made institutions, what social relations allow for one group to attempt to obliterate another? These questions underpin Adler's novels and non-fiction and find their most sustained expression in the author's study *Theresienstadt, 1941–1945: The Face of a Coerced Community*. At almost 900 pages, this book was published in German in 1955 to widespread acclaim. Figures such as Hannah Arendt and Theodor Adorno, Martin Buber and Heinrich Böll, and Hermann Broch and Gershom Scholem recognized the extent of Adler's achievement. Yet the book was only translated into English in 2017 at the passionate instigation of the American scholar Amy Loewenhaar-Blauweiss.[6] The original publisher, J. C. B. Mohr Verlag in Tübingen, had published such masters of modern thought as Max Weber. But it was thanks to Adorno that the necessary subvention could be found. A long and complex relation united Adler with Adorno. The two shared an abiding interest in locating the roots of fascism within modernity.[7]

The Theresienstadt study serves as a touchstone for much of Adler's subsequent non-fiction, including the essays in this volume. Drawing material from his own collection, the Wiener Library in London, the archive of the Jewish Museum in Prague, and interviews, Adler composed what is

perhaps the most exhaustive portrait of a single camp to this day. In tracing the excruciating path from the Nazis' ideology to the suffering of their prisoners, he leaves no stone unturned. Adler profiles the Jewish community of Bohemia, its members' forced relocation to the ghetto, and the transports to death camps in Poland, as well as labor conditions, nutrition, health, and cultural life in Theresienstadt. Except for a dedication to his murdered wife and a modest reference to himself in the footnotes, Adler never uses the first person in the study; this is also the case in his postwar essays and novels. He hoped to capture not the experience of a single person in the grip of Nazi terror, but the thoughts and behaviors of human beings *in extremis*. The section of the Theresienstadt book on the "Psychological Face of the Coerced Community" anticipates a number of recurring themes in this collection. Adler saw the Nazis' persecution and imprisonment of Jews as a reflection of an "age of the mechanization of human beings,"[8] during which individuals were stripped of their subjectivity and turned into things. They were "sorted, numbered, and, through the magic of statistics, turned into the object of a perverse mysticism."[9] In Theresienstadt, "power played the role of fate"[10] and drew the ghetto inhabitants into a web of complicity.

This language showcases Adler as a literary social psychologist who observed and classified character types in the Theresienstadt ghetto with poetic restraint: broken people, fearful people, numb people, unthinking people, pessimists, realists, optimists, illusionists, active people, brutal people, strong-willed people, helpers, and kind-hearted people.[11] These proclivities could determine whether one lived or died in the concentration camp. But, to Adler, Theresienstadt was a microcosm of modernity, and as such these categories also existed in the "real" world beyond the camp. Adler's schema is reminiscent of Primo Levi's later duality of the "drowned and the saved," which allowed the author to reflect not just on death and survival, but also on a gray zone between victim and perpetrator, and between the living and the morally and emotionally dead.[12] In exploring the inner world of the captive, Adler's work stands next to that of Levi, Elie Wiesel, Jean Améry, and Tadeusz Borowski.[13] For Adler, however, it was Theresienstadt and not Auschwitz, that synecdoche for the Holocaust, that was a more disquieting experiment in evil. For, unlike Auschwitz, where death loomed over the horizon, behind the wire and gates in Theresienstadt people could move about under the delusion that their nightmare might soon end; they could dream of escape, attend a concert, visit the ghetto library, and plan for a future that would never come to pass. Having read Kafka for much of his life, in 1942 Adler found himself thrust into the Kafkaesque world of this "ghetto," where the mundane and the horrific coexisted and shaped daily experience.[14]

To what end did Adler write the massive Theresienstadt study? He hoped to leave a record for posterity, but by exploring the imprisonment of Jews with encyclopedic completeness and attention to minute detail, he was able to introduce his theory of "mechanical materialism."[15] The concept animates many of the following essays. The modern state, bolstered by quasi-religious ideologies of superiority and inferiority, enslaves people, strips them of their personhood, and controls them within an intricate machinery of persecution. In this system, people are not just victimized, but reified and hollowed out through the bureaucratized management of populations. The "administered man" (the title of Adler's untranslated book on the deportation of German Jews) was not only a ghetto inhabitant or a concentration camp inmate;[16] he was also a Spaniard during the Inquisition, an enslaved African American on a plantation in the US South, and a Ukrainian kulak facing extermination under Stalin.[17] He could appear any place where indifference and complacency reigned.

This helps explain why Adler is only slowly entering the pantheon of Holocaust writers. His project was a universalist one rather than one rooted in exceptionalism. For Adler, the Holocaust was not just a story of Jewish suffering; it was an episode in what he called the "simultaneous history" of the world.[18] To be sure, Adler was not alone in this approach. In the decades during which he constructed his "sociology of the unfree,"[19] other writers sought to understand the concentration camps in global and comparative contexts. Adler's close friends Elias Canetti and Franz Baermann Steiner made similar attempts to interpret the Shoah in terms of crowd theory and the anthropology of slavery respectively.[20] In 1958, one year after Adler had done so,[21] Stanley Elkins famously compared the experience of enslaved Blacks in the US South to that of Jews in the Holocaust, as did survivor Bruno Bettelheim in numerous works.[22] Likewise theories of totalitarianism necessarily relied on the comparison of Soviet communism and National Socialism to thematize the exercise of power in the modern age. And in 1956, a year after the publication of *Theresienstadt*, the classic French documentary on the concentration camps *Night and Fog* was released; this was not a meditation on Jewish suffering but an existentialist treatise on the human capacity for evil.[23] Indeed, universalizing the Shoah has been one of the key features of post-Holocaust scholarship since 1945.[24]

Adler fits into this intellectual trajectory but also stands outside of it. For, unlike the above authors, his writings lay bare the tension between Jewish particularism and universal victimization and thus defy easy categorization. In his studies of Jewish history, he uncovers a Jewish-German symbiosis that generations of assimilated Central Europeans sought but never found; they were caught between their own religious traditions and the desire to fit into the secular world.[25] This liminality pervades Adler's writing and marked the

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author's life inside and outside the camp. As young boy in Prague, Adler was bullied for being a "German." As a pupil at a strict boarding school in Dresden, Germany, he was mocked for being a "Czech pig."[26] He was also culturally Jewish. In Theresienstadt, he was both a fellow sufferer and an anthropologist of the prisoner experience. And in his novels, his characters are composites of himself but never him. In his novel *The Journey*, Nazism appears in symbolic guise—as an epidemic of mental illness that engulfs the world.[27] In short, Adler avoided claiming the concentration camp as his own, or the Holocaust as belonging to Jews. "Theresienstadt," he writes "is a place in the world that belongs to all of us."[28]

Yet it would be a mistake to see Adler's universalism as negating the centrality of the Jewish experience. After all, Adler was imprisoned as a Jew and wrote about Theresienstadt, the only Nazi camp exclusively for Jewish prisoners. He also published volumes about Auschwitz, the deportation of German Jews, and German-Jewish history before National Socialism.[29] The Jewish experience and the scourge of antisemitism populate both his novels and his non-fiction. But, like Hannah Arendt, Adler's own ambivalence toward Judaism allowed him to liberate himself from the tragedy that came to define him.[30] It is not the negation of Jewishness but the negation of the self that distinguishes Adler from Levi, Wiesel, Viktor Frankl, and other chroniclers of the camp experience.[31] Adler never wrote first-person accounts of trauma. The concluding line of *Theresienstadt* is culled from a letter that an imprisoned woman—his future mother-in-law, who perished in Auschwitz—had sent to her children: "One must be careful not to attach too much importance to oneself."[32]

Published between 1945 and 1975, the following essays on freedom, enslavement, terror, dread, charisma, loneliness, and ideology are indebted to mid-twentieth-century debates about theology, Cold War sociology, modern philosophy, and, in particular, the Frankfurt School tradition of critical theory. The influence of the Frankfurt School is evident in Adler's extended focus on "massification," a phenomenon the author invokes in his Theresienstadt study and to which the last chapter of this present volume is devoted. In the interwar years, numerous Europeans scholars, such as Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset and German sociologist Theodor Geiger, had written extensively on the phenomenon of "massification," but in the aftermath of National Socialism, diagnosing the thoughts and behaviors of "the masses" became even more urgent.[33] In *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt links the rise of Nazism and Stalinism to the disoriented masses, who are malleable, gullible, cynical, and "believe everything and nothing."[34] This perspective echoed Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's analysis of the culture industry in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) and

found later resonance in Adler's friend Elias Canetti's classic 1960 study *Crowds and Power*, whose monolithic understanding of freedom and mass psychology served as both an inspiration and a foil for Adler.[35] In studying the "mass man," Adler also drew on the Jewish-Austrian writer Hermann Broch, whose "Massenwahntheorie" (theory of mass hysteria) brought together law, ethics, religion, and crowd psychology to understand the political movements of the interwar years.[36] Before his death in 1951, Broch—along with Arendt—tried to get Adler's *Theresienstadt* published.

When Adler wrote the essays in this collection, the masses, "mass man," and massification were intellectual and popular obsessions. Philosophers and social critics worried that modern political movements, the rise of mass consumer markets, and the new worlds of public relations and advertising were stripping humans of their individuality and turning them into members of an amorphous "mass," who ceded their selves and critical thinking skills to the overpowering forces of market capitalism, fascism, communism, and "the state."[37] The emergent fields of psychiatry and psychoanalysis contributed to this growing preoccupation as clinicians attempted to return subjectivity and interiority to the "mass men" lying on their couches. Sigmund Freud and his disciples sought to uncover the unconscious wishes and desires that allowed the masses to be seduced by organized religion, media persuasion, and political movements.[38] Industrialists spoke in lofty terms about transforming socialist-leaning miners and factory workers from "mass men" into pro-business individualists.[39] Schoolteachers endeavored to instill in the children of "Massenmenschen" the values of democracy and freedom. And politicians importuned their publics to reject "massifying" cultural fads and political movements, especially those on the left that celebrated collectivism and social solidarity.[40] Cutting across political ideologies and orientations, the "mass man" was the bogeyman of the modern age.

Adler's writings reflect these discussions but also transcend them. While Adler takes a shot at market research and the media,[41] he otherwise avoids bromides about cultural decline and the loss of individuality in advanced capitalism. Instead, he applies an intellectual genealogy of "mass" and "masses" to his explorations of coercion. His is more than a *Begriffsgeschichte*, however; it is an attempt to formulate a distinct sociology of oppression. According to Adler, what appeared in Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Theresienstadt, and other camps were the "masses," upon whom the Nazis conducted a ghastly experiment in the administration and eventual extermination of people. But, Adler insists, these masses were not *real* in a demographic sense; they were a "fiction" that figured into the Nazis' authoritarian ideology. The "mass man" in Adler's writings is both figurative and literal, shorn of power, objectified, and rendered morally numb. He is stripped of his freedom, enslaved, and deprived of his personhood.

Adler's and other writers' diagnoses of "massification" invite critique. Today, Holocaust scholars tend to reject any schema that portrays Holocaust perpetrators and victims as robbed of their individuality. After World War II, the belief that totalitarian states nullified human freedom helped buttress Germans' excuses for their complicity during the Third Reich; they had been cogs in the wheels of a system over which they had no control. The assertion that the state turned one into an automaton also legitimated the passive bystanders who claimed to have been too frightened and too brainwashed to stand up to Nazism. In addition, we no longer see victims and survivors as one-dimensional, infantilized objects, as Stanley Elkins portrayed enslaved people, but as individuals navigating their trials with humility, fear, and cunning. For his part, Adler rejected Hannah Arendt's famous phrase "banality of evil," which she coined in her profile of Adolf Eichmann's infamous 1961 trial. Adler demanded moral accountability for the criminals who claimed they had merely followed their superiors' orders. For him, even the enslaved and administered masses in the camps never entirely lost their free will or their ability to exercise moral choice. This explains his willingness to condemn not just Nazis, but also those camp inmates who were conscripted into the hierarchy of persecution. Contrary to Adler's own theoretical claim, then, "personhood" in all its complexity was very much present in the camps. The "coerced community" and the "coercers," to use Adler's word, still had a "face." Terminology aside, Adler would likely have agreed with this statement, for the morally accountable human being is at the center of his writing. The Jewish people were oppressed, persecuted, expelled, excluded, monitored, and paraded through a geography of "layover camps," "detention camps," "recuperation camps," and "evacuation camps."[42] Eventually they were murdered in death camps. But even while "hounded and displaced," the human being was always there.[43] "What he did or did not do there [in Theresienstadt] gained a significance unknown in freedom," wrote Adler, "but the ultimate moral decisions did not differ from morality elsewhere." For Adler and other theorists of mass society, the tension between the almost total absence of freedom (whether in the camps or in modern society) and the imperative to act ethically *as if one were free* was never resolved. The "mass man" maintains enough freedom to consciously reject "massification" and reclaim some humanity. But how might one exercise human freedom in the direst of situations? In Adler's sociological poetics, we do not find a clear answer. Perhaps there is no answer.

Let us conclude by returning to the question of H. G. Adler's legacy. Adler was not a concentration camp memoirist, and his novels were never explicitly about the Shoah. But he was an unsung architect of Holocaust memory.[44] In his fiction, he lent a lyrical voice to the absurd in a genre

that some have called "Holocaust modernism."[45] This is also true of his non-fiction, which depicts the porous boundary between the camp and life beyond it in a way few other works do. How did those who encountered a world "turned upside down"[46] attempt to survive it? What literary means are available to the "thinking prisoner" and the thinking survivor? Adler resolutely rejected Adorno's claim that poetry after Auschwitz was barbaric.[47] Nor did he believe that the Shoah was ineffable and "beyond representation," as others have argued.[48] For Adler, writing poetry and explaining the human predicament—as he does in this collection—was the negation of barbarism.

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Notes

1. For an introduction to Adler's life and career, see Peter Filkins, *H.G. Adler: A Life in Many Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Julia Creet, Sara R. Horowitz, and Amira Bojadzija-Dan, eds., *H. G. Adler: Life, Literature, Legacy* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2016); Franz Hocheneder, *H. G. Adler (1910–1988): Privatgelehrter und freier Schriftsteller* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009); Jeremy Adler, "Afterword," in H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt, 1941–1945: The Face of a Coerced Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 803–28; and Lynn L. Wolff, ed., *A Modernist in Exile: The International Reception of H. G. Adler (1910–1988)* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2019).
2. "Hans G. Adler, 78, Survived Nazis," *New York Times*, 24 August 1988, D18.
3. Stephen Shearier, *The Prague Circle: Franz Kafka, Egon Erwin Kisch, Max Brod, Frank Werfel, Paul Kornfeld, and Their Legacies* (Washington, DC: Academia Press, 2022).
4. Jeremy Adler, "A Note on Kafka's Library," *German Life and Letters* 46 (1993): 176–78.
5. See Adler's own account of his time in Theresienstadt: "Oral History Interview with Hans Günther Adler, USHMM Collection," RG-50.862.0023, https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn607593.
6. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*.
7. Jeremy Adler, "Good against Evil? H.G. Adler, T.W. Adorno, and the Representation of the Holocaust," in Robert Fine and Charles Turner, eds., *Social Theory after the Holocaust* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 71–100.

8. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 563.
9. Ibid., 565.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 589–93. On Adler's use of language, see Ferdinand Schmatz, "Wahres anders gesagt: Dichtung und Wirklichkeit bei H.G. Adler," *Text + Kritik,* no. 173 ["H.G. Adler"] (July 2004): 31–41; and Helen Finch, "Holocaust Translation, Communication, and Witness in the Work of H.G. Adler," *German Life and Letters* 68, no. 3 (July 2015): 427–43.
12. Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Summit Books, 1988).
13. Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960); Jean Améry, *At the Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor of Auschwitz and Its Realities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies, and Gentlemen and Other Stories* (New York: Viking, 1967).
14. On Adler and Kafka, see Peter Filkins, "On H.G. Adler's Lectures from a Concentration Camp," *Literary Hub* (13 March 2019), https://lithub.com/on-h-g-adlers-lectures-from-a-concentration-camp/.
15. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 565, 600; and Filkins, *Adler*, 233.
16. H. G. Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland. Ein Jahr im Spiegel der Press* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974).
17. Chapter 2 in this volume.
18. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 559.
19. Chapter 2 in this volume.
20. Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (London: Gollancz: 1962); Jeremy Adler and Richard Fardon, *Franz Baermann Steiner: A Stranger in the World* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022), 3–4, 69–72, 148–61.
21. Chapter 2 in this volume.
22. Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950). On Elkins, see Kirsten Fermaglich, *American Dreams and Nazi Nightmares: Early Holocaust Consciousness and Liberal America, 1957–1965* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2006), 24–57. For an example of Bettelheim's discussions of the camp experience, see Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," *American Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 2 (September 1949): 137–45.
23. Charles Krantz, "Teaching *Night and Fog*: History and Historiography," *Film and History* 15, no. 1 (1985): 2–15.
24. For an introduction to this theme, see Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2009).
25. H. G. Adler, *The Jews in Germany: From the Enlightenment to National Socialism* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).
26. Filkins, *Adler*, 18.
27. H. G. Adler, *The Journey* (New York: Modern Library, 2008)
28. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 600.
29. In a radio show on the West German WDR radio station, Adler and Hermann Langbein, a survivor of Auschwitz and former communist resistance fighter, presented a three-hour series of readings called "Topography of a Death Camp." https://www1.wdr.de/mediathek/audio/wdr5/wdr5-dok5-das-feature/audio-auschwitz---topographie-eines-vernichtungslagers-102.html/. For more on this project, see also H. G. Adler, Hermann Langbein, and Ella Lingens-Reiner, *Auschwitz: Zeugnisse und Berichte* (Cologne: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

30. Adler referred to writing about the Holocaust as a form of "self-liberation." See Ruth Franklin, "The Long View: A Rediscovered Master of Holocaust Writing," *New Yorker* (30 January 2011), https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/01/31/the-long-view.
31. Viktor Frankl, *From Death Camp to Existentialism: A Psychiatrist's Path to a New Therapy* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1959), retitled *Man's Search for Meaning* in 1963.
32. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 601.
33. José Ortega y Gasset, *Revolt of the Masses* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1932); Theodor Geiger, *Die Masse und ihre Aktion* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1926). For the early postwar period, see, for example, Curt Geyer, *Macht und Masse: von Bismarck zu Hitler* (Hanover: Küster, 1948).
34. Hannah Arendt, *Totalitarianism: Part Three of The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: A Harvest Book, 1970), 80.
35. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972); Canetti, *Crowds and Power*. On Canetti's idea of the masses, see chapter 6 in this volume. On Adler's relationship with Canetti, see Helmut Göbel, "Eine lange und schwierige Freundschaft. H.G. Adler und Elias Canetti," *Text + Kritik,* no. 173 ["H.G. Adler"] (July 2004): 71–85; and Jeremy Adler and Gesa Dane, eds., *Literatur und Anthropologie: H. G. Adler, Elias Canetti und Franz Baermann Steiner in London* (Frankfurt: Wallstein, 2014).
36. Judith Ryan, "Hermann Broch's *Massenwahnprojekt* and Its Relevance for Our Times," in Graham Bartram, Sarah McGaughey, and Galin Tihanov, eds., *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Broch* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2019), 143–58.
37. For an introduction to the obsession with "Vermassung," see S. Jonathan Wiesen, "America, Mass Society, and the Decline of the West: West German Industrialists and Cultural Reconstruction after World War II," in Michael Wala and Ursula Lehmkuhl, eds., *Technologie und Kultur: Europas Blick auf Amerika vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 203–24. On advertising and the "masses," see Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin, *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 5–6.
38. See, for example, Alexander Mitscherlich, "Der Einzelne und seine Angst: Ein Wort zu Massenreaktionen unserer Zeit," *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung*, 6 October 1956.
39. Mark Roseman, "Organic Society and the 'Massenmenschen': Integrating Young Labour in the Ruhr Mines, 1945–58," in Robert Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Reconstruction* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), 287–320.
40. Eugen Gerstenmaier, "Vom Sinn und Schicksal der Elite in der Demokratie," delivered on 9 September 1958 to the annual *Kulturkreis Mitgliederversammlung.* Copy in I-288/006/6, Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik, Sankt Augustin, Germany.
41. Chapter 6 in this volume.
42. Chapter 3 in this volume.
43. Ibid., 73.
44. On Adler's influence on Holocaust studies in West Germany, see Nicolas Berg, *The Holocaust and the West German Historians: Historical Interpretation and Autobiographical Memory* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 304ff.
45. See "2015 PEN World Voices Festival: H.G. Adler—A Survivor's Dual Reverie," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12uceQ3hhQc; and Richard Lourie, "H. G. Adler, 'The Journey'," *New York Times*, 11 January 2009.
46. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 593.

47. Traci S. O'Brien, "'Die Grenzen des Sagbaren': H. G. Adler (on) Writing Literature after the Holocaust," *Humanities* 10, no. 2 (2021): 63.
48. Adler addresses whether the Holocaust was fully comprehensible in Adler, "Die Grenzen des Sagbaren," *Muttersprache* 75, no. 4 (1965), 97–103. On putting the "ineffable" into words, see Ruth Vogel-Klein, "H.G. Adler: "Zeugenschaft als Engagement," *Monatshefte* 103, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 185–212. On questions of representability and lessons from the Holocaust, see, respectively, Saul Friendlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), and Michael Marrus, *Lessons of the Holocaust* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

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