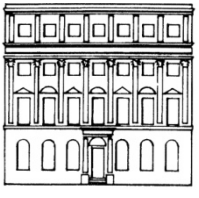
German Historical Institute
London



BULLETIN

ISSN 0269-8552

Eckhart Hellmuth:
How to Domesticate the History of a King: Reflections on the 'Friederisiko' Project
German Historical Institute London Bulletin, Vol 36, No. 1
(May 2014), pp49-60

Copyright © 2014 German Historical Institute London. All rights reserved.

REVIEW ARTICLE

HOW TO DOMESTICATE THE HISTORY OF A KING: REFLECTIONS ON THE 'FRIEDERISIKO' PROJECT

ECKHART HELLMUTH

STIFTUNG PREUSSISCHE SCHLÖSSER UND GÄRTEN BERLIN-BRANDENBURG (ed.), *Friederisiko*, i. *Friedrich der Grosse: Die Ausstellung*; ii. *Friedrich der Grosse: Die Essays* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2012), 420 pp. + 340 pp. ISBN 978 3 7774 5141 1. €65.00 for both volumes together

SAMUEL WITTWER, *Der Modeaffe: Eine szenische Promenade durch das Neue Palais. Zum Leben erweckt von Isabelle de Borchgrave*, a special publication of the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenberg for the exhibition 'Friederisiko', Potsdam, Neues Palais (Berlin: Hirmer Verlag, 2012), 128 pp. ISBN 978 3 7774 5551 8. €24.90

JÜRGEN LUH, *Der Große: Friedrich II. von Preußen* (Munich: Siedler, 2011), 288 pp. ISBN 978 3 88680 984 4. €19.99

DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM (ed.), *Friedrich der Große: Verehrt. Verklärt. Verdammt*, exhibition catalogue (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 244 pp. ISBN 978 3 515 10123 3. €24.00

Historical exhibitions—apart from the permanent collections of museums—are fleeting events. They last for a few months, as a rule, and are then dismantled. The exhibits return to their original locations, disappearing back into the storerooms of public and private collections, installations are disposed of, and unsold catalogues remaindered. But despite their ephemeral nature, historical exhibitions do have an effect. With their objects suggesting authenticity and elaborate settings, they attract visitors in large numbers. Press releases, catalogues, and interviews all help to make historical exhibitions events with a large public impact. But these exhibitions are often more than just events; they also represent large-scale academic enter-

Trans. Angela Davies (GHIL).

prises. During years of preparation, curators and historians develop a flurry of research activity. Books are published and symposiums are held to sound out the territory and push forward the debate. Often it is claimed that the exhibition is breaking new scholarly ground.

All this applies to one of the biggest and most important historical exhibitions to be held in Germany in recent years. In 2012, the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten (Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens) Berlin-Brandenburg put on the exhibition 'Friederisiko: Frederick the Great' to commemorate the tercentenary of this Prussian monarch's birth. With this rather bizarre name, the organizers wanted to make clear that 'risk-taking was one of Frederick's essential character traits' (Jürgen Luh). Of the countless exhibitions that were dedicated to Frederick's life in 2012, 'Friederisiko' was undoubtedly the most expensive and elaborate. The press, radio, and television reported it extensively, and 'Friederisiko' certainly pulled in the crowds. Over the six months that the exhibition was open, 350,000 visitors flocked to Potsdam to learn more about this central figure of German history. The five years of preparation were accompanied by an ambitious academic programme. Among other things, five conferences were held from 2007 to 2011. Their aim, according to the organizers, was 'to set the points permanently for a changed reception of this king'.[1] Under the overall title 'Friedrich300', early career historians in particular worked on the following topics: 'Frederick the Great: A Perspectival Stocktaking'; 'Frederick the Great and the Court'; 'Frederick and Historical Greatness'; 'Frederick the Great: Politics and Cultural Transfer in a European Context'; and 'Frederick the Great and the Hohenzollern Dynasty'. Even before the exhibition, the proceedings of these conferences were published on the internet.[2] In addition, the most important contributions were collected in a volume of essays published in parallel with the lavishly

[1] Jürgen Luh and Michael Kaiser, 'Einleitung', in eid. (eds.), *Friedrich der Große – eine perspektivische Bestandsaufnahme: Beiträge des ersten Colloquiums in der Reihe 'Friedrich300' vom 28./29. September 2007* (Friedrich300–Colloquien, 1), online at: <http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-bestandsaufnahme/luh-kaiser_einleitung>, published 27 Oct. 2008, accessed 13 Mar. 2014.

[2] Online at <http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien>, accessed 6 Mar. 2014.

produced exhibition catalogue. This publication is unusual in that it does not, as is often the case, merely contain a list of the objects displayed with a brief commentary on each. Rather, it brings together more than thirty essays, most of which aim to create a new image of Frederick. This is also the intention of the biography of Frederick by Jürgen Luh, the curator and academic director of 'Friederisiko'. Luh's work, *Der Große: Friedrich II. von Preußen*, was not part of the official documentation of the exhibition, but undeniably left deep traces on its concept. The ambitious revisionism expressed in the exhibition and associated publications demands critical appraisal. Looking back from a certain distance in time, we will ask whether the perspectives that the project 'Friederisiko' opened up on Prussian history are sustainable and original.

There is a tradition of exhibitions on Frederick the Great. In 1986 both East (in Potsdam)[3] and West (in Berlin-Charlottenburg)[4] commemorated the bicentenary of the Prussian monarch's death. Just a few years earlier, in 1981, the exhibition 'Preußen: Versuch einer Bilanz' (Prussia: An Attempt to Take Stock) had presented the history of the Hohenzollern state to a large audience for the first time since the end of the Second World War.[5] In just four months, 450,000 visitors made their way to the Gropius-Bau, originally the Berlin Museum of Applied Arts, where this event was held. (None of the exhibitions that followed was ever to achieve these sorts of visitor numbers.) 'Preußen: Versuch einer Bilanz' presented an overview of the whole of Prussian history, but the eighteenth century and Frederick the Great in particular loomed large. Tellingly, Frederick was the only individual featured in the exhibition to have a whole room devoted to him. As one knowledgeable observer noted, this room was pervaded by 'a touch of ice . . . which emanated from

[3] For this see Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Schlösser Potsdam-Sanssouci (ed.), *Friedrich und die Kunst: Ausstellung zum 200. Todestag*, exhibition catalogue (Potsdam, 1986).

[4] For this see Friedrich Benninghoven, Helmut Börsch-Supan, and Iselin Gundermann, *Friedrich der Große: Ausstellung des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz anlässlich des 200. Todestages König Friedrichs II. von Preußen*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, 1986).

[5] On this see Gottfried Korff (ed.), *Preußen. Versuch einer Bilanz: Eine Ausstellung der Berliner Festspiele GmbH*, exhibition catalogue (Hamburg, 1981).

Prussia's genius and was felt through all posthumous attempts to domesticate Old Fritz'.[6]

Even before its opening, the 1981 exhibition sparked a heated debate about Prussia and its history. Nostalgic sympathy for the Hohenzollern state competed with a stringent rejection of the Prussian legacy. But it was mainly the way in which the past was staged in the Gropius-Bau that exercised people's minds. The main person responsible for the exhibition's design was Gottfried Korff who, much to the annoyance of historians, was not one of them, but hailed from the Ludwig Uhland Institute for Empirical Cultural Science in Tübingen. This had grown from roots in ethnography to become the intellectual powerhouse of the study of modern mass culture and the culture of everyday life. In the Gropius-Bau, Korff and his staff put on display not only authentic artefacts, but supplemented these with reconstructions, replicas, and elements of stage design. The decision to show objects that were not original was only partly explained by the fact that the resources of museums in the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland were not available to the exhibition curators for political reasons. There was, in fact, more behind it, namely, the intention to make visitors to the exhibition think. Ten years after the exhibition 'Preußen: Versuch einer Bilanz', Korff reflected on the specific opportunities for imparting knowledge that museum exhibitions offer. Among other things, he spoke in this context of the 'opportunities for combining things, for creating unusual, bold, inspired, and disturbing arrangement of objects'. 'Confronting and juxtaposing things', he continued, 'gives rise to conversations, contradictions and reciprocal illuminations, it relativizes and creates frictions which can emit sparks of significance and meaning.'[7]

Although spoken in a completely different context, these sentences seem like an echo of what took place in 1981 in the Gropius-Bau. The room dedicated to the Enlightenment in the Frederican age,

[6] Bodo-Michael Baumunk writing in a highly informative article, published in the *Berliner Zeitung* of 26 May 2001, in which he recalled the exhibition of 1981 and the associated controversies.

[7] Gottfried Korff, 'Paradigmenwechsel im Museum: Überlegungen aus Anlass des 20jährigen Bestehens des Werkbund-Archivs', lecture delivered on 27 May 1993 at the Gropius-Bau. The text is available online at: <http://www.museumderdinge.de/institution/selbstbild_fremdbild/g_korff.php>, accessed 14 Mar. 2014.

for example, offered food for thought in this sense. A glass pyramid with sharp edges rose up out of the middle of the room, referencing the architectural vocabulary of the period. According to the catalogue, its 'transparency and crystalline form' were intended to point to the 'illumination and intermingling of world and life contexts' to which the Enlightenment movement aspired.[8] In the glass pyramid and display cases, the exhibition curators impressively recreated the Zeitgeist, among other things by presenting a breath-taking quantity and variety of published material, ranging from the peaks of contemporary philosophy to a 'treatise about teeth, containing methods of keeping them clean and healthy, making them more beautiful, and replacing those that have fallen out'. Objects were displayed that would not necessarily be expected in this context, but which demonstrated how far the eighteenth-century will for reform and innovation reached. These included a feeding bottle for infants, a flea trap, obstetric forceps, and a rough piece of wooden water pipe dating from 1760. The inspiring and contemplative atmosphere which characterized the exhibition 'Preußen: Versuch einer Bilanz' was not created by the installations in the exhibition rooms alone. The building itself, still displaying traces of Second World War damage, and its location also contributed. In the early 1980s, the Gropius-Bau lay in an inner-city wasteland, just a few metres from the Berlin Wall. The former Prussian Landtag peeped out from behind it, and it was within sight of where the Gestapo headquarters had been. A cornfield, real but artificial, had been planted in the middle of this urban desert to remind visitors that Prussia had been an agrarian state.

How different was the setting for 'Friederisiko': not a building marked by war and in an urban no-man's land, but the biggest palace built in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the site for its ambitious undertaking, the Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens selected the Neue Palais in the western part of Sanssouci park. This building, which was erected in the quickest possible time between 1763 and 1769, is generally regarded as the last big Baroque palace built in Germany and exemplifies Frederick the Great's passion for building. The internal and external design of this monumental palace largely reflects his taste, based on early eighteenth-century models. As soon as it was finished, it already seemed like an anachro-

[8] Korff (ed.), *Preußen. Versuch einer Bilanz*, exhibition catalogue, 257.

nism. With its 200 rooms, four banqueting halls, and Rococo theatre, it was not, as could be assumed, intended to be a royal residence. Frederick himself only used the building occasionally. It primarily served to accommodate guests of the Prussian court, especially members of the dynasty, but it was much too big for this purpose. The Neue Palais was, in fact, more than the court's guest house. In its monumentalism it was a gesture of triumph, a sign that in the Seven Years War, Prussia had asserted it status as a European great power.

The Neue Palais was not just the setting for 'Friederisiko'; it was also the exhibition's biggest and most important exhibit, in parts painstakingly restored for the event. What visitors saw (and still currently see) are rooms of unrivalled opulence and luxury. Frederick spared no expense in the case of the Neue Palais: precious chandeliers and mirrors; elaborate lacquerware; silk, damask, and brocade wallpaper; wall and ceiling paintings by renowned French artists; coloured marble and fine woods from all over Europe, North America, and Indonesia. Frederick dictated every detail of the facade, floor plan, interior decoration, furnishings, and the hanging of paintings. Much (some would say, too much) space is devoted to the history of this monumental building in the catalogue and volume of essays. Thus the reader discovers a great deal about the materials (precious stones, glass, porcelain, textiles, and so on) that were used in the building. It becomes clear that Frederick, with an iron will, forced his architects to execute his ideas, and that his ambitions in matters of building were not necessarily matched by his expertise (see the essay by Volker Thiele). In an illuminating essay Alfred P. Hagemann demonstrates the role of quotation and copy in Frederick's building programme. In the case of the Neue Palais, English models proved to be the main the source of inspiration (Vanbrugh's Castle Howard for the overall conception, and Hampton Court for the facade).

The Neue Palais is undoubtedly a spectacular building, but it is unsuitable as the setting for an exhibition devoted to the life of Frederick the Great. This is not only because old palaces whose rooms were laid out for the use of a court are difficult to adapt to the needs of a museum. The real problem lies deeper. Exhibition buildings have their own, unique aura. When the exhibition 'Preußen: Versuch einer Bilanz' opened it doors in 1981, the literary critic Peter Wapnewski wrote a review, still worth reading, in which he dis-

cussed the Gropius-Bau as the setting for an exhibition: 'As one enters, the whole enormous cube appears to float, it vibrates with internal tension, it is as if the pillars and stones are giving voice, as if one is stepping into an opera.'[9] Visitors to 'Friederisiko' were largely spared these sensations. Nothing 'vibrated'; rather, the atmosphere was that of a stolid museum of applied arts. Parts of the exhibition seemed like a showcase for eighteenth-century Prussian arts and crafts. The section entitled 'Im Wettstreit' (In Competition) did not present Prussia's rise to become a European great power, but displayed exquisite porcelain, intricately designed furniture, precious silks, and clocks that had been manufactured for the Prussian monarch's palaces and homes. The message that the curators were sending with these displays was that Frederick the Great loved luxury. He was not an ascetic, as he is often portrayed; courtly life and culture were of central importance to him. The curators drove this message home to such an extent that it became irritating. The section entitled 'Tagesgeschäft' (Daily Business) conveyed almost nothing about Frederick the Great's affairs of state. Instead, the rooms of the King's Apartment were used to display some of the treasures on which Frederick spent vast sums from his private purse: snuff-boxes inlaid with diamonds, crystal chandeliers, cherries for which he paid a Taler each, oysters, champagne, and burgundy wine. Parts of the exhibition descended into courtly folklore. For example, the rather trivial comedy, *Der Modeaffe*, written by Frederick in 1742, was reanimated in the form of life-sized figurines made of paper. This project by the Belgian artist Isabelle de Borchgrave occupied eleven rooms. The whole thing was pretty to look at, but devoid of any epistemological value. The same applied to the section 'Dynastie' (Dynasty), which consisted of a tiresome succession of aristocratic portraits. To avoid misunderstandings: it undoubtedly makes sense to bring the court and dynasty back into Prussian history of the eighteenth century, as the work by Thomas Biskup, Frank Göse, Daniel Schönpflug, and Karoline Zielesko in the catalogue and volume of essays demonstrates. But we should careful not to throw the baby out with the bathwater.

In 1981, in his review for *Die Zeit* mentioned above, Peter Wapnewski made the following general comments on the nature of a

[9] *Die Zeit*, issue 36, 1981.

historical exhibition: 'It is an artefact which builds up something that has never existed in this form before, it combines and assembles and attempts to give an abstract image a concrete shape. A delicate and risky undertaking.' How delicate and risky was amply demonstrated by 'Friederisiko'. Important themes were either not treated at all, or marginalized. Thus land and people, as it were, the context and setting of Frederick the Great's policies, made no appearance. How the Frederican regime functioned was another area that remained largely in the dark.[10] Two small cabinets with a few exhibits were devoted to the Prussian military, although the military apparatus devoured 70 to 80 per cent of the state's budget. The section on 'Entwicklungspolitik' (Development Policy) contained only two thematic fields: tolerance and religion; and science and Enlightenment. In the latter, visitors saw a microscope, a quadrant, a telescope, a fish preserved in alcohol, some scientific illustrations, and a small selection of Enlightenment writings. Members of the older generation remember with nostalgia the brilliant presentation, described above, of the Prussian Enlightenment in the Gropius-Bau in 1981.

Visitors who wanted to know more about the thematic fields mentioned here had to take the trouble to consult the catalogue and volume of essays. There we find solid information, for example, about the Frederican military apparatus (see the essays by Marcus von Salisch, Daniel Hohrath, and Bernd A. Windsheimer), or the Enlightened scientific milieu (see the essays by Michael Eckert and Iwan-Michelangelo D'Aprile). Tobias Schenk undoubtedly offers something new in his essay, 'Friedrich und die Juden: " . . . den hier muß ein jeder nach seiner Fasson selich werden"? Zur Rolle der Juden im Denken Friedrichs des Großen'. This essay is not only about Frederick's well-known hostility to Jews. Something else is important to Schenk. He wants to show that Frederican officialdom's Jewish policy was by no means as rational and enlightened as is often assumed. Rather, he argues, it was arbitrary and shaped by ruthless fiscal interests. Little remains of the myth of a tolerant Prussian state

[10] Another, considerably smaller, exhibition held at the same time, 'Homme de lettres—Federic: Der König am Schreibtisch' (organized by the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz and the State Library Berlin) contained an outstanding section on the working practices of the Prussian monarch, presenting highly interesting documents, but the Neue Palais had only a blank space to offer in his respect.

that promoted the emancipation of the Jews, something that Schenk has already thoroughly undermined elsewhere.[11]

If we look at the 'Friederisiko' project as a whole, we notice that there are significant gaps. For example, there is nothing on the fiscal system, nothing on social and economic life, nothing on bureaucracy and the staff that was available to Frederick. It can be argued that these are all highly conventional topics. But what are the alternatives? Does 'Friederisiko' have anything original to offer, apart from the discovery, or re-discovery, of court and dynasty? The answer is: it brings back the historiographical categories of 'fame' and 'historical greatness'. Like Wagnerian leitmotifs, these two concepts permeate the literature accompanying the project. To start with, it addresses the frequently asked question of when and why Frederick's name was linked with the epithet 'the Great'. Michal Kaiser ('Friedrichs Beiname "der Große": Ruhmestitel oder historische Kategorie') and Marian Füssel ('Friedrich der Große und die militärische Größe') attempt to provide new answers. Secondly, the motives behind the Prussian monarch's actions are up for debate. Here Jürgen Luh's book, *Der Große: Friedrich II. von Preußen*, comes into play. This is not a biography or biographical sketch in the traditional sense, but more a psychological portrait of the Prussian monarch. Using this map of Frederick's personality, however, Luh ventures on to methodically tricky terrain. What can be used as the empirical basis for this sort of study of a monarch's inner life? Luh's diagnosis is based on countless extracts from Frederick's writings and letters, and the frequency with which they appear does not make for easy reading. Luh also seeks to understand the monarch's motives from his actions, but he is on shaky ground here, as the text's frequent descent into speculation shows. Yet Luh does not hesitate to identify a 'thirst for fame' as the overriding motive for Frederick's actions. According to Luh, Frederick designed his entire life to be seen by contemporaries and posterity as 'great'. This was the aim of his military campaigns, his work as a writer and philosopher, his support for the arts, and his building activities. Frederick appears

[11] Tobias Schenk, *Wegbereiter der Emanzipation? Studien zur Judenpolitik des 'Aufgeklärten Absolutismus' in Preußen (1763–1812)* (Berlin, 2010); id., 'Die Religionen Müßen alle Tolleriret werden . . .?', in Bernd Sösemann and Gregor Vogt-Spira (eds.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa: Geschichte einer wechselvollen Beziehung*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 2012), ii. 67–79.

here as someone for whom being seen as 'great' became an obsession, whose thirst for fame was stronger than personal loyalties, even dynastic interests. Whether Luh, who regards research since the publication of Reinhold Koser's four-volume history of Frederick the Great[12] as 'stagnating', provides a sustainable paradigm for the future with this sort of psychohistory is an open question, but it may be doubted. It cannot be overlooked, however, that many of the authors involved in the 'Friederisiko' project, like Luh, examine the Prussian monarch's self-presentation and operate with the categories of 'greatness' and 'fame'.

This applies to a relatively broad range of subjects. Thus Franziska Windt analyses the painting collections in the Neue Palais, while Ulrich Sachse investigates how Frederick wanted his death to be staged. Andreas Pečar and Katrin Kohl look at the monarch's self-presentation in his philosophical and literary works. Some of this is illuminating; some of it is strained, especially when, as in the case of Pečar, a pseudo-original jargon is used (he sees the French men of the Enlightenment as the 'ratings agencies for greatness, glory, and prestige', with Voltaire handing out the 'triple As'). Overall, it is difficult to avoid the impression of a certain one-sidedness. After all, in the eighteenth century 'fame' and 'greatness' were not only the product of monarchical self-presentation, but were also decided by forces that lay outside the monarch's control. (This is hinted at only in the essay by Michael Kaiser and Frauke Mankartz, 'Die Marke Friedrich: Der preußische König im zeitgenössischen Bild'). Ever since Linda Colley's classic essay 'The Apotheosis of George III',[13] we have been aware of the social, commercial, and intellectual forces involved in this process, and how complex it is. In fact, one wonders why the curators of 'Friederisiko' were not prepared to look beyond the confines of Prussian history more often, and to be more open to a comparative perspective. Although the portraits of the other European monarchs were hung in the section 'Europa und die Welt' (Europe and the World), no closer look was taken at these figures. Perhaps this would have put some of what was said and shown about Frederick into perspective.

[12] Reinhold Koser, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1912–14).

[13] Linda Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760–1820', *Past and Present*, 102 (1984), 94–129.

No other historical figure has been the repository of so much of German society's anxieties as Frederick the Great. The cultural practices employed in this were illustrated in the German Historical Museum's exhibition 'Friedrich der Große: verehrt, verklärt, verdammt'. This exhibition also made clear the extent to which Frederick had been instrumentalized for political purposes in the past, and that the debate about him was inspired largely by political hopes and fears. These times are thankfully past. But is the necessary consequence that Frederick must decline into a figure of 'cultural-historical amusement' (Jens Bisky)? Are there no more exciting, controversial stories to tell about this monarch and his regime? The conclusions drawn by the organizers of 'Friederisiko' could easily convey this impression. A certain complacency and helplessness seems to predominate:[14] nobody really knows where the journey should end. Perhaps it would help if Frederick and his history were read from the perspective of the end of the eighteenth century. As for most European powers, the end of the 'century of Enlightenment' brought disaster for Prussia, culminating in the defeats at Jena and Auerstedt. What collapsed was largely the system that Frederick had left as a legacy to his successors. From this point, the history of Frederican Prussia was one of looming crisis and a dysfunctional system, the story of a parvenu whose position in the circle of European powers would always remain precarious because of a lack of resources. How these themes can be realized in museum practice is another story, but certainly not, as in 'Friederisiko', by creating a section entitled 'Blütezeit' (Blossoming). This was not meant metaphorically, as could be assumed, but literally. The subject was landscape gardening and the cultivation of fruit at the court of Frederick the Great.

[14] On this see Michael Kaiser and Jürgen Luh (eds.), *Friedrich der Große – eine Bilanz: Beiträge des siebten Colloquiums in der Reihe 'Friedrich300' vom 24. Januar 2013* (Friedrich 300-Colloquien, 7), online at: <http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-bilanz>, accessed 14 Mar. 2014. In this concluding colloquium, tellingly, there was little discussion of how 'Friederisiko' might stimulate future research. Instead, other questions came to the fore, such as, for example, whether Frederick was a 'marketing magnet'. The conversation conducted on this topic between Jürgen Luh and the agency Ketchum Pleon's head of campaigns, who was responsible for the exhibition's communication strategy, in part verged on the satirical.

ECKHART HELLMUTH is Professor Emeritus of Modern History at the Ludwig Maximilian University Munich. His many publications include *Naturrechtsphilosophie und bürokratischer Werthorizont: Studien zur preußischen Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1985); (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (1990); (ed. with Reinhard Stauber) *Nationalismus vor dem Nationalismus?* (1998); (ed. with John Brewer) *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (1999); (ed. with Immo Meenken and Michael Trauth) *Preußen um 1800* (1999); (ed. with Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer), *Exotica: Konsum und Inszenierung des Fremden* (2003); and (ed. with Ulrich Broich, H. T. Dickinson, and Martin Schmidt) *Reactions to Revolutions: The 1790s and their Aftermath* (2007).