

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements · ix

	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 1	The History Machine	19
CHAPTER 2	The Historian King	72
CHAPTER 3	Boatman on the River of Time	118
CHAPTER 4	Time of the Nazis	171
	Conclusion and Epilogue	211

Notes · 227

Index · 281

Introduction

AS GRAVITY BENDS LIGHT, so power bends time. This book is about what happens when temporal awareness is lensed through a structure of power. It is interested in the forms of historicity appropriated and articulated by those who wield political power. By ‘historicity’ I do not mean a doctrine or theory about the meaning of history, nor a mode of historiographical practice. Rather, I use the term in the sense elaborated by François Hartog to denote a set of assumptions about how the past, the present, and the future are connected.¹ These assumptions may find explicit rhetorical expression or may articulate themselves through cultural choices, public rituals, or the deployment of arguments or of metaphors and other figurative language that imply a ‘temporally structured form of perception’, without overtly employing temporal categories.² They may be implicit in the forms of argument deployed to justify political action, or to argue against it.³ Whatever forms they take, the historicities characteristic of cultures or regimes are marked by ‘specific interpretations of what is temporally relevant’.⁴ From this it follows that the configuration of this relationship in turn gives rise to a sense of time that possesses

an intuited shape or timescape, depending upon which parts of the past are felt to be near and related intimately with the present and which are perceived as alien and remote.⁵

The book focuses on four moments. It opens with the struggle between Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia (1620–88), known as the Great Elector, and his provincial estates after the end of the Thirty Years' War, examining how these disputes invoked starkly opposed temporalities and tracing their impact on the emergent historiography of Brandenburg-Prussia. The Elector's reign was marked, I argue, by an awareness of the present as a precarious threshold between a catastrophic past and an uncertain future, in which one of the chief concerns of the sovereign was to free the state from the entanglements of tradition in order to choose freely between different possible futures.

The second chapter focuses on the historical writings of Frederick II, the only Prussian monarch ever to have written a history of his own lands. It argues that this king consciously retreated from the conflictual view of the state expounded at the court of his great-grandfather, the Great Elector, and that this departure reflected both the changed constellation of social power sustaining the Prussian throne and Frederick's idiosyncratic understanding of his own place in history. In place of the forwards-leaning historicity of the Great Elector, I suggest, Frederick imagined a post-Westphalian condition of stasis, embracing a neoclassical, steady-state temporality in which motifs of timelessness and cyclical repetition predominated and the state was no longer an engine of historical change but a historically nonspecific fact and a logical necessity.

Chapter 3 is a study of Bismarck's historicity, as articulated in his political arguments, rhetoric, and techniques. For Bismarck, the statesman was a decision maker, carried forwards on the torrent of history, whose task was to manage

the interplay between the forces unleashed by the revolutions of 1848 while at the same time upholding and protecting the privileged structures and prerogatives of the monarchical state, without which history threatened to degenerate into mere tumult. It argues that Bismarck's historicity was riven by a tension between his commitment to the timeless permanence of the state and the churn and change of politics and public life. The collapse in 1918 of the system Bismarck created brought in its wake a crisis in historical awareness, since it destroyed a form of state power that had become the focal point and guarantor of historical thinking and awareness.

Among the inheritors of this crisis, the fourth chapter argues, were the National Socialists, who initiated a radical break with the very idea of history as a ceaseless 'iteration of the new'. Whereas Bismarck's historicity had been founded on the assumption that history was a complexly structured, forwards-rushing sequence of ever new and non-foreordained situations, the Nazis plinched the most radical aspirations of their regime on a deep identity between the present, a remote past, and a remote future. The result was a form of regime historicity that was unprecedented in Prussia-Germany, but also quite distinct from the totalitarian temporal experiments of the Italian fascist and Soviet communist systems.

The objective of this book is thus to invert the project pursued in Francois Hartog's *Regimes of Historicity* and explore instead the historicity of (a small selection of) regimes. One could do this by examining the ways in which formal state structures—ministries, military commands, electoral and royal courts, and bureaucracies—managed time, situated themselves in history, and imagined the future, though this would beg questions about whether the term 'state' can be taken to denote something that was continually present in the same sense over the period covered by this book. I have

chosen a different approach. I am interested in how those who wielded power justified their comportment with arguments and behaviours that bore a specific temporal signature. How these shapers of power related to the formal structures of government varied from case to case. The Great Elector wielded power from within an executive structure that he gradually and in a largely improvised way assembled around himself during his long reign. Frederick II's reign was marked by a drastic personalisation of power and by the semi-detachment of the monarch from many of the structures in which state authority formally resided. Bismarck situated himself in the turbulent space between the Prusso-German monarchical executive and the unpredictable forces at work in a post-revolutionary public sphere. And the National Socialist leadership cohort was the nemesis of the bureaucratic state structure—a vehement disavowal of the state as the vehicle and goal of history's striving was at the heart of Nazi historicity.

History's Temporal Turn

Time—or more precisely the variety of orders of time—is not a new theme in historical studies. Today it is a commonplace that time is not a neutral, universal substance in whose emptiness something called 'history' unfolds, but a contingent cultural construction whose shape, structure, and texture have varied. This insight has given rise over the last fifteen years to such a lively and diverse field of research that we can speak of a 'temporal turn' in historical studies, a shift in sensibilities comparable with the linguistic and cultural turns of the 1980s and 1990s, one of those re-patterning of attention by which the discipline of history periodically refreshes itself.⁶

The temporal turn in present-day historical studies can cite distinguished philosophical and theoretical antecedents. In his

1889 doctoral dissertation, the French philosopher Henri Bergson argued that time as a dimension of human consciousness was non-homogeneous and ‘qualitatively multiple’; Durkheim’s *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) laid the foundations of a sociology of time as something collectively experienced and socially constructed; in *The Social Framework of Memory* (1925), Maurice Halbwachs applied Durkheim’s insights to the social production of memory; two years later, Martin Heidegger’s *Being and Time* proposed that the ‘existential and ontological constitution of the totality of human consciousness [*Dasein*]’ was ‘grounded in temporality’; and since the Second World War, literary theorists and especially narratologists have subjected the temporal structures of texts to intensive study.⁷

Among the first historians to reflect on the implications of these theoretical currents for historical writing was Marc Bloch, who dedicated a short sub-chapter of his wartime classic *The Historian’s Craft* to the problem of ‘historical time’. By contrast with the ‘artificially homogeneous’ and abstract time of the natural sciences, Bloch wrote, ‘the time of history is a concrete and living reality with an irreversible onward rush. It is the very plasma in which events are immersed, and the field that renders them intelligible’. At its heart is an unresolvable tension between continuity and ‘perpetual change’.⁸ Bloch’s reflections on the temporality of history remained fragmentary, but the work of Braudel, Jacques Le Goff, and other historians in the *Annales* tradition deepened and expanded these intuitions, developing a sharp awareness of the diversity of temporal scales and textures. For Braudel, the relationship between the short-term disruptions known as ‘events’ and the longer-term continuities that define epochs became a central problem of the historian’s practice. Le Goff explored the diverse temporal textures of occupational, liturgical, and devotional practices.⁹

As these reflections make clear, historicity and temporality are connected but not identical categories. In this book, I use the latter term to denote a political actor's intuitive sense of the texture of experienced time. If historicity is rooted in a set of assumptions about the relationships between past, present, and future, temporality captures something less reflected and more immediate: a feeling for the motion of time. Is the future moving towards the present or receding away from it? Does the past threaten to encroach on the present, or does it fall away towards the edges of awareness? How accommodating is the temporal frame for political action, and how does the imagined flow of time relate to the propensity of decision makers to perceive it as portioned out in 'moments'? Is the present experienced as movement or as stasis? What is permanent and what is not in the minds of those who wield power?

The Modernisation of Time

If the *Annales* school temporalised history, it was a German historian, Reinhart Koselleck, who historicised temporality. In *Futures Past*, a collection of sparkling essays on the 'semantics of historical time', Koselleck explored the history of time awareness, creating a subtle array of analytical tools. At the heart of his project was the transition from premodern to modern ways of experiencing and apprehending time. He discussed changes in time awareness from the Renaissance onwards, especially processes of cultural secularisation that had undermined the hold of biblical prophecy on Christian visions of the future. But his central claim was that the period he called the 'transitional era' (*Sattelzeit*)—spanning the years from around 1750 to around 1850—witnessed a profound alteration in Western European temporal awareness. This transformation was composed of many strands: as the flow of time,

manifested in events, appeared to accelerate, the felt distance from the past increased; universal principles gave way to contingency; the authority of the past as a storehouse of wisdom and instruction for the present waned; key concepts—‘revolution’, ‘class’, ‘progress’, ‘state’—were saturated with the momentum of historical change; stories, chronicles, and anecdotes about the past merged into something processual, singular, and all-encompassing, a single totality, the ‘History’ theorised by Hegel and taught in the humanities departments of modern universities. The consequence was a profound shift in the felt texture and shape of time: the recursive timescapes of pre-modern societies made way for something called History, now understood as a sequence of transformative and irreversible events that came to be experienced as ‘the relentless iteration of the new’. The disruption, violence, and discontinuity of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras generated dissonances between the ‘space of experience’ and the ‘horizon of expectation’ that were to be emblematic for the modern era.¹⁰

In the opening essay of *Futures Past*, Koselleck interrogated Albrecht Altdorfer’s *The Battle of Issus*, an image painted in 1529 depicting the victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians at the Battle of Issus in 333 BCE.¹¹ Why was it, Koselleck asked, that Altdorfer depicted the Greeks as present-day Germans and the Persians as present-day Turks? Why did the image show crowds of men and horses swarming across a Germanic, alpine landscape decorated with recognisably European buildings, even though the original encounter had taken place in Asia Minor? Why did the details in his painting so closely resemble contemporary representations of the Ottoman siege of Vienna, still under way in 1529 when Altdorfer painted his image? The answer, Koselleck proposed, was that for Altdorfer the relationship between the Battle of Issus and the Ottoman siege was prophetic and allegorical. The first battle had

ushered in the end of the Persian Empire, as foreseen in the prophetic dream recorded in the Book of Daniel. The second seemed to herald the end of the Roman Empire (i.e., the Holy Roman Empire), seen as the next step in the timetable adumbrated by Daniel's prophecy. Both events existed within the same envelope of prophetic time. Only this made it possible to pleat time as Altdorfer did, superimposing sixteenth-century Turks onto ancient Persians.

To sharpen the contrast with modern temporal awareness, Koselleck brought in as witness the German poet, critic, and scholar Friedrich Schlegel, who, it so happens, viewed the Battle of Issus in the 1820s and wrote an enthusiastic essay on it. Schlegel praised Altdorfer's painting as 'the greatest feat of the age of chivalry'. Koselleck zeroed in on this observation—for Schlegel, it seemed, there was a distancing expanse of time between himself and the painting. More than that, Schlegel felt that the painting belonged to a different age—*Zeitalter*—from his own. So it was a question not just of the quantity of time elapsed, but of a break in the fabric of time, a tectonic fault between this time and a previous one. Something, Koselleck reasoned, had intervened between the time of Altdorfer and the time of Schlegel, with the paradoxical result that a greater expanse of time seemed to separate Schlegel from Altdorfer than appeared to separate Altdorfer from the deeds of Alexander. The Battle of Issus, in other words, exemplified a pre-modern, *untemporalised* sense of time and with it the lack of what we would call historical consciousness. Schlegel, by contrast, stood proxy for a modern temporal awareness that apprehended the past as distant, superseded, and ontologically separate.¹²

It would be difficult to overstate the influence of Koselleck's work on the historical study of temporality. He asked bold and original questions, unfolding their implications with

impressive subtlety, lucidity, and depth of reasoning. His use of semantic change to track epochal mutations of awareness was foundational. He borrowed analytical categories from philosophy and literary theory and developed them as tools for calibrating processes of change—the ‘horizon of expectation’ (*Erwartungshorizont*) came from the reception theory of Gadamer and Jauss; *Zeitlichkeit*, a term denoting both the quality of time (its ceaseless motion, its texture) and the condition of existing in time, was drawn from Heidegger; ‘temporalisation’ (*Verzeitlichung*), meaning the historicisation of past and present time in the modern era, derived from Arthur O. Lovejoy’s *Great Chain of Being*; the concept of acceleration as a hallmark of modern sensibility was already associated with Nietzsche. But if Koselleck did not invent these categories, he ‘occupied, filled and popularised them’, assembling them as tools for charting the mutation of temporal orders over time. All of them have entered the repertoire of the temporal turn.¹³

Even more influential was Koselleck’s preoccupation with the transition from premodern to modern temporal orders.¹⁴ The literature of the temporal turn has been predominantly concerned with mapping this threshold. There have been studies of the acceleration of travel in the railway era; the rising salience of punctuality and lateness; the scandal of ‘wasted’ time as a symptom of modern time regimes; the commodification of ever smaller amounts of time in the era of telegraphy; the shrinking of space through the advent of high-speed mass transit; the rise of nostalgia as a signature malady of modernity.¹⁵ In studies of this kind, the advent of modernity and the attendant modernisation of temporal awareness have been the focus of attention.

Yet uncertainties remain about the qualitative nature of the transition from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ temporality. Rather than producing a stable toolkit of widely used hermeneutical

categories, recent writing on modern temporalities has generated a thicket of heterogeneous metaphors. The transition from traditional to modern temporalities is variously conceptualised as a process of acceleration, expansion, narrowing, regeneration, compression, distanciation, splitting, fracturing, emptying, annihilation, intensification, and liquefaction.¹⁶ And the category ‘temporality’ has itself been used in a variety of senses. In some studies, the term denotes an experiential domain, a tendency on the part of individuals or communities to orient themselves towards cyclical markers such as the seasons or liturgical celebrations, the perceived texture of time as it unfolds, fluctuations in the experienced duration of specific events, the relationship between experience and expectation, a divergence in the rhythms of private and public life, or patterns of time-management practices associated with certain occupational cultures.¹⁷ Other studies focus on ‘chronosophical’ questions, or philosophical reflections on time and its relationship with history or with human existence more generally.¹⁸

Power and Time

Agentless processes of change, whose narratives have often been anchored in the systemic and processual arguments of modernisation theory, have tended to dominate the temporality literature.¹⁹ But there have also been excellent studies of how regimes of power intervened in the temporal order. These have explored the use of calendars, for example, as an instrument of political power. The transition from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar in Western Europe, a process that took over three centuries, was always intertwined with power struggles.²⁰ In Habsburg Austria, the accession to the throne of the enlightened Jansenist reformer Joseph II broke the traditional dominance of the liturgical cycle at court, while the

drastic reduction of feast days alienated elements of the population attached to their traditional devotions and the sociable rhythms of the old Catholic year.²¹ On 24 October 1793, the Jacobin-controlled National Convention adopted a new ‘republican calendar’ intended to mark a radical break with the past and the inauguration of a new era. Had it succeeded in establishing itself over the longer term, the ten-day week (*décade*) would have transformed the living and work cycles of the French, alienating them from the cycles of the Christian liturgical year and setting them apart from the rest of the European continent.²²

Historians of empire, too, have examined the ‘intimate connection’ between time and imperial power—especially as manifested in the imposition of standardised regimes of clock discipline on labour and production processes.²³ Here, the emphasis has been on the partially coerced transition from pre- or nonmodern (aboriginal) to modern (imperial or Western) temporalities, though many studies have also drawn attention to the survival of indigenous temporalities in the face of pressure from colonial authorities.²⁴ Vanessa Ogle’s magisterial study of the global standardisation of clock time revealed an ‘additive and unintended process’ in which the uncoordinated efforts of numerous actors converged with global disruption (the Second World War) and the requirements imposed by new infrastructure (military and commercial aviation) to bring about the introduction of uniform time zones.²⁵ Sebastian Conrad has illuminated how the extension and intensification of imperial power interacted with nineteenth-century semantic and cultural shifts to produce ‘global transformations of the time regime’.²⁶

The disruption of systems of power from below can also generate shifts in time sense, as studies of late Qing China have shown.²⁷ The period of violent upheaval comprising the

Taiping, Nian, Gelao, and Hui rebellions of the 1850s to 1870s and the incursions by the Western powers that followed gave rise to such profound ruptures with the remembered past, Luke S. K. Kwong has argued, that they transformed historical awareness, at least within the cultural elite. In traditional China, history was upheld as a treasury of good examples reflecting a state of cosmic interconnectedness and the harmonious management of human affairs. Events in the present were interpreted in the light of analogies drawn from the past. This did not mean that Chinese scholars and administrators were incapable of constructing 'specific kinds of linear progression', but these, Kwong argued, were embedded in a cyclical, strongly recursive, and nonlinear timescape.

The hold of this traditional temporality was broken only when immense waves of social turbulence and political violence undermined the authority of the imperial government, severing the thread of continuity with the past, placing the survival of the country in question and with it the authority of a history that had been counted out in imperial reigns. The time-honoured practice of seeking instruction from the historical record broke down, just as, for Koselleck, the topos of history as the teacher of life had waned in Western Europe. The notion that the current era of destruction would make way, as in the past, for an age of restoration and redemption no longer seemed trustworthy. Faced with what they saw as the radical unprecedentedness of contemporary conditions, late Qing Chinese intellectuals reached for more linear and developmental, Western- and Meiji-inspired narratives in order to capture a sense of the accumulation and acceleration of events that were 'gathering momentum in a forward thrust towards the future'.²⁸

Among the most ambitious modern interventions in the temporal order were those of the totalitarian regimes of

twentieth-century Europe. In January 1918, the Soviet Union abandoned the Julian calendar adopted by Peter the Great in 1699 and replaced it with the Gregorian calendar commonly in use in the West, pulling the country thirteen days forward. The rise of Stalin to unchallenged dominance brought further initiatives. In 1930, Stalin proclaimed a new five-day week. There was to be no Saturday or Sunday, just a sequence of five days identified by numbers and colours—yellow, orange, red, purple, and green.²⁹ This particular project was eventually abandoned as impracticable, but the Soviet Union launched a revolutionary experiment in reordering the human relationship with time; it aspired to inaugurate a temporality in which the vanguard party overcame the constraints of conventional ‘bourgeois’ linear time through the infinite intensification of work.³⁰

Recent studies of Italian fascism have focused on the efforts of fascist intellectuals and propaganda to establish a new temporality centred around the party itself as the ultimate historical agent.³¹ And the historian of transnational fascism Roger Griffin has characterised the advent of National Socialist government in Germany as a ‘temporal revolution.’³² Eric Michaud’s exploration of the ‘Nazi myth’ focused on the paradoxical relationship between ‘motion’ and ‘motionlessness’ in Nazi visual imagery and related this to the logic of Christian eschatology, in which the subject is suspended between the memory of a past redemption (in the form of Christ’s incarnation) and the anticipation of a future collective salvation.³³ Emilio Gentile has spoken of a fascist ‘sacralisation of politics’ through which the rites and usages of the Christian tradition were adapted to the purposes of the Mussolini regime, creating an ‘internal symbolic universe’ in which timeless universality of liturgical performance was transferred to the collective experience of politics.³⁴ All three totalitarian dictatorships, Charles Maier and Martin Sabrow have suggested,

represented far-reaching interventions, not only in the social and political, but also in the temporal order.³⁵

Framing temporality as an effect or epiphenomenon of power shifts the focus of attention from diffused processes of change towards ‘chronopolitics’, the study of how ‘certain views toward time and toward the nature of change’ become implicated in processes of decision making.³⁶ And this in turn means enquiring after ‘the imagination of time and history’ that has, in various countries and epochs, given ‘meaning and legitimacy’ to the actions and arguments of the sovereign authority.³⁷ It means, to borrow the words of Charles Maier, addressing the ‘question of how politics is about time’ and of what kind of time is ‘presupposed by politics’.³⁸

None of the regimes discussed in this book attempted formally to restructure the collective experience of time in the manner of the French National Convention, through the imposition of a new calendar. But all of them captured and selectively intensified ambient temporalities, weaving them into the arguments and representations with which they justified themselves and their actions. One of the distinctive features of this book is that it offers a longitudinal survey, following the same ancestral territorial entity (Brandenburg-Prussia) through successive political incarnations. An advantage of this approach is that it allows us to pick up the reflexive, self-historicising dimension of chronopolitical change. States have deep memories, and there is a cumulative logic to their self-awareness, even when one regime abjures the claims or practices of its predecessor. Joining the dots diachronically might thus enable us to plot the outlines of a ‘time-history’, at least within one rather narrow domain of human activity.³⁹ The German (Prussian) focus of this study arises above all from a pragmatic decision to focus on what I know best. But Germany is an especially interesting case study for an enquiry

into the relationship between temporality, historicity, and power. The frequency and depth of political rupture in German Europe over the last four centuries allows us to observe again and again the impact of political change on temporal and historical awareness. I return in the conclusion to the question of whether there was anything specifically Prussian or German in the trajectory that emerges from this exercise.

A further advantage of the longitudinal approach is that it allows us to probe the relationship between ‘modernisation’ and temporality. Several recent studies have suggested that the transformations associated by Koselleck with the *Sattelzeit* can in fact be discerned in earlier regimes—the city-state courts of Renaissance Italy and early modern Germany, for example, or even medieval Europe and the Middle East.⁴⁰ Merely moving the threshold backwards leaves the teleology of the paradigm intact, of course, if this is achieved simply by retrofitting the analytical categories of modernisation to an earlier era. But it is also worth asking whether we need to read Koselleck’s typology of temporalities in chronological sequence; an alternative view would understand him as a theorist of multiple parallel temporalities.⁴¹

In this book, I have tried to attend closely to the specific temporal textures of each regime. The sequence that results is more oscillating, recursive, and nonlinear than a strongly sequential and modernisation-based theory would allow. This need not mean that modernisation was not taking place; it might simply reflect the obliqueness and contingent quality of the relationships between the wielders of power and the kinds of processes that have tended to interest modernisation theorists. The Great Elector aligned himself with an activist understanding of history that pitted him against the contemporary defenders of privilege and tradition. Frederick II attempted to counter the processes of social change that were transforming

his kingdom from within, articulating a highly aestheticised political vision marked by stasis and equilibrium. Otto von Bismarck adapted his politics to the political and social forces driving the turbulent movement of history, but also remained committed to an idea of the monarchical state as unchanging and transcendent that he believed he had inherited from the age of Frederick. And the National Socialist regime broke with all of these precedents, rejecting the very idea of a history composed of disruptions and contingency and embedding its political vision in a millennial timescape, in which the distant future was merely the fulfilled promise of the past.

In none of the four eras this book examines did the temporalities of power explored here crowd out other forms of time awareness, even if they were sometimes directed against them. Throughout the period under review in this book, political life was structured by a plurality of coexistent temporal orders.⁴² Yet the temporality of political power as wielded by its most influential agents retained and retains a special importance. It was the place where the political rationalisations of power expressed themselves as claims about the past and expectations of the future.

The salience of regime chronopolitics has not waned, and the appeal to imagined timescapes remains one of the key tools of political communication. This book was written during the crescendo and triumph of the Brexit campaign in Britain, a campaign driven by the aspiration to ‘take back control’. The Brexiteer Boris Johnson was the chief propagator of this slogan, but he was also the author of a biography of Winston Churchill (subtitle: *How One Man Made History*) in which the iconic statesman bore an uncanny resemblance to Johnson himself. And the Brexit campaign was animated by the appeal to an idealised past in which the ‘English-speaking peoples’ had effortlessly dominated the world. The prominence of such

motifs among Brexiteer arguments was evidence, Duncan Bell suggested, ‘of the mesmeric grip that the Empire retains over swathes of the British governing class’.⁴³

The impact of the Brexit referendum was still reverberating in the United Kingdom when Donald Trump won the US presidential elections. Trump, whose trademarked campaign slogan was ‘Make America Great Again®’, brought to the most powerful elected office in the world a political vision founded on a trenchant disavowal both of the neoliberal future of globalisation and of the scientific anticipation of climate change, which he described as a hoax perpetrated upon the rest of humankind by the Chinese.⁴⁴ The most influential ideologue on his staff, Stephen Bannon, later dismissed from his post, subscribed to the esoteric historical theory expounded by William Strauss and Neil Howe in a book called *The Fourth Turning: What Cycles of History Tell Us about America's Next Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York, 1997), in which it was argued that the histories of nations unfold in eighty- to hundred-year cycles, divided by violent periods of ‘turning’ that can last a generation. Whether President Trump himself ever immersed himself in these ideas is unknown, but he too has mounted a challenge at least to conventional American historicity by becoming the first president of modern times overtly to reject the notion that America occupies an exceptional and paradigmatic place at the vanguard of history’s forwards movement. On the contrary, he has suggested, today’s America is a backwards country with a broken society and infrastructure, whose task is to reach back into a past where American values were still uncontaminated and American society was intact.⁴⁵ ‘When we win’, Trump told the working-class voters of Moon Township Pennsylvania in 2016, ‘we are bringing steel back, we are going to bring steel back to Pennsylvania, like it used to be. We are putting our steel workers and our miners back to work.

We are. We will be bringing back our once-great steel companies'.⁴⁶ At the same time, his febrile communicative style has opened up a rift between the hyper-accelerated present of Twitter and the slow deliberative processes that are the daily fare of traditional democracies and administrations attuned to constitutional norms.

In the United States, Poland, Hungary, and other countries experiencing a populist revival, new pasts are being fabricated to displace old futures. Celebrating the success of Donald Trump, the French National Front leader Marine Le Pen observed that in the United States 'people [were] taking their future back'; the French, she predicted, would soon do the same.⁴⁷ Reflecting on how the wielders and shapers of political power temporalised their politics in one small province of the past will do little to diminish the contemporary allure of such manipulations, but it may at least help us to read them more attentively.

INDEX

- Abstufungen* (planes of action), 154
Acceleration, 9–10, 12, 144, 172, 185,
220–21
Achilles, Albrecht, 85
Activist-oriented history, 15
Adam of Bremen, 89
Ahnenerbe (Ancestral Heritage),
200–201, 206; rediscovery of,
195–96
Albrecht the Elder, Political Testa-
ment of, 45
Algarotti, Count, 105
Alliances: in composite monarchy,
22–23; shifting, 37–38, 141–42
Altdorfer, Albrecht, 7–8
Alvensleben Convention of 1963, 129
Ancient rights, 30–31; continuity of
with modern privileges, 88–89;
restoration of, 68
Anderson, Perry, 221
Andersson, Jenny, 220
Anglo-American supremacy, era of, 167
Anthony, Edwyn, on chess, 124–25
Anti-Jewish boycott, 206–7, 274n.93
Anti-Machiavel (Frederick II), 99
Anti-religious museums, Soviet,
178–80, 188, 269n.21
Antisemitism, 208–9; redemptive,
202–4
Apocalyptic belief: of racial self-reali-
sation, 212; Stalinist, 269–70n.33
Archaeology, Nazi interest in, 194–97
Augsburg, Peace of, 43
August III, 115–16
Bach, C.P.E., Frederick II and, 72, 73,
246n.1
Bacon, Francis, 66
Bannon, Stephen, 17
The Battle of Issus (Altdorfer), 7–8
Being and Time (Heidegger), 5
Bell, Duncan, 17
Bell of life, meaning of, 171–72,
266n.1
Bergius, Johan, 239–40n.74
Bergson, Henri, 5
Berlin Revolutionsmuseum, 174–79,
207; location of, 267–68n.6
Berlin Wall, 218
Besser, Johann von, 70–71
Bismarck, Otto von: Catholic Church
and, 122–24; chess metaphor of,
122–31; collapse of state and, 3,
162–70; decisive moments for,
147–54; denouncing Catholics
and Papacy, 159–60; develop-
mental historicity of, 160–61; in
emergence of German national
constitution, 144–45; epoch-mak-
ing moments of decision of,
153–54; first salaried post of, 138;
handling of press by, 260n.48,
260n.51; historical thinking of,
120–21; historicity of, 2–3, 16,
211–12, 214; identification of with
state, 168; Kaiser Wilhelm II and,
139–40; lack of futurity in leader-
ship of, 161–62; on monarchical
state as stabilising force, 154–62;
newspaper posting of, 259n.35; on
political change, 140–46; Prussian
constitution and, 157–59; Prussian
sovereign and, 155–56; push for
universal suffrage by, 143; religious
belief of, 161; resignation of, 211;
revolutions of 1848 and, 131–40;

- Bismarck, Otto von (*continued*)
on salience of moment, 146–54;
shifting alliances of, 141–42; on
Social Democrats, 160; temporal
concept of, 118–19, 213; on tran-
scendence of state, 162–65
- Bloch, Marc, 5
- Bornitz, Jakob, 66
- Borussian School of historiography,
115–16
- Brady, Andrea, 66
- Brandenburg: Electorate of, 22; Elec-
tors of, 22–23; Estates' opposition
to Elector's military campaigns,
39–40; under foreign occupation,
25–26
- Brandenburg campaign, dramatic
growth of, 40–41
- Brandenburg composite monarchy,
22–25; restoration of, 19–20
- Brandenburg-Prussia, 2, 39–40,
65, 69–71; construction of, 96,
116–17; of Frederick II, 75–78,
82–83; legitimacy of, 71
- Braudel, Fernand, 5, 215, 216
- Brexit campaign, 16–17
- British historiography: *vs.* German
historic narrative, 214; Whigish,
68, 214
- Burke, Peter, 66
- Burney, Charles, 72–73
- Butler, Judith, 113–14
- Butterworth, Emily, 66
- Calendars: in French Republic, 14,
172, 231n.22; as instruments of
political power, 10–13, 231n.20;
Soviet reforms of, 232n.29
- Calvinism, 42–51; of Frederick
William, 21–22; theological histo-
ricity of, 48–49
- Calvinist-Lutheran divide, 42–51
- Calvinist-Lutheran irenicism,
239–40n.74
- Camphausen, Ludolf, 157
- Capitalism: predictions of end of,
222–23; social inequality and,
222
- Carmina* (Horace), 110
- Carroll, Lewis, *Through the Looking
Glass*, 125–26
- Catholic Church: Bismarck's Prus-
sian-German administration
and, 122–24; in fascist Italy,
275–76n.103
- Catt, Henri de, 82, 107–8
- Caylus, Anne Claude de, 105
- Central Agency for Press Affairs, 137
- Central executive, necessity of, 32–33
- 'Ceremonialwissenschaft,' 69
- Charles X Gustav, 46
- Charles XII, 82–83
- Chess: in domestic politics, 258n.27;
moments of opportunity in, 147;
as political metaphor, 122–31,
257n.21
- Chimerical politics, 101
- China: modernising developments
in historiography of, 232n.27;
rebellions in, 11–12
- Chladenius, Johann Martin, 84
- Christian confessions, 84–85; of
rulers *vs.* population, 42–51
- Christian eschatology: of Nazi re-
gime, 13; secularisation of, 160–61
- Chronopolitics, 14–17; fascist,
276n.103; regime, 16–17
- Cicero, 81
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 162–63
- Clinton, Bill, 278–79n.32
- Clock time: global standardisation of,
11; hyperawareness of momentary
and, 150
- Colloquy of Thorn, 60–61
- Confessionalisation, 46–51
- Confino, Alon, 275n.101
- Conrad, Sebastian, 11
- Conring, Hermann, 243n.120

- Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence* (Montesquieu), 83
- Contingency, triumph of prophecy over, 198–210
- Continuity, 113; denial of with recent past, 178–80; disruption of, 66–67; in Frederick II's historicity, 103–17; of French royal house, 67–68; with past, 31–34; with remote past and remote future, 3, 190–91, 194–98, 208; sovereign authority disrupting, 69
- Continuum, ahistorical and racial, 198–210
- Coup d'état, legal, 158–60
- Court historians, 54–57, 69, 112–13, 116. *See also* Pufendorf, Samuel
- Court reformation (Hofreformation), 43
- Crawford, O.G.S., photos of Berlin Revolutionsmuseum, 267–68n.6
- Critical moments, 147–54
- Culture War of 1870s (*Kulturkampf*), 122–24
- Current constellations, 149
- Custom, study of (*Brauchtforschung*), 197
- Darré, Richard Walter, 208–9
- De rebus gestis* (Pufendorf), 57, 71, 87–88; sources for, 243n.114
- The Death of Caesar* (Jérôme), 146–47, 148
- Deactivstved politics, 278n.30
- Decision: moments of, 147–48, 150–54; times of, 98–103
- Decision makers/making: in battle, 262n.84; outside history, 121
- Decisive moments, 147–54
- Deutsche Gröss, 192
- Discontinuity, 112–13; with recent past, 178–80, 184; violent eras of, 7, 120, 184
- Discours Préliminaire* (Frederick II), 79
- Droysen, Johann Gustav, 149
- Ducal Prussia: conflict with Estates in, 29; Frederick William's full sovereignty over, 236n.29; Thirty Years' War and, 25
- Durkheim, Emile, 5
- Dutch Republic, 49–51
- East Germany (GDR), 217–18; construction of socialism in, 277n.11
- Economic history, 200–201
- Edict of Tolerance, 46
- Ehrenhalles (Halls of Honour), 174, 180–82, 184
- Electoral military, Estates' opposition to, 34–40
- Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Durkheim), 5
- Elements of Universal Jurisprudence* (Pufendorf), 55
- Eliade, Mircea, 170, 189, 198, 214, 216–17
- Emergency, necessity of state in, 32–33
- Enlightenment historiography, 119; Frederick II and, 84–92
- Esposito, Ferdando, 266n.2
- Estates, 22–24; in conflict with sovereign authority, 88–92; diminished power of, 90–93; Frederick II and, 75; in historic accounts, 88–89; in Hohenzollern lands, 29–30; as independent *vs.* bound to Elector, 30–31; opposition of to Electoral military, 34–40; preservation of privileges of, 28–29, 31–32; rejection of in Frederick I's coronation, 70–71; sovereignty of state *vs.* privileges of, 31–34, 58–59; taxation of, 26–31; *vs.* Frederick William, 2, 25–31

- European history, as connected system, 52-53
- European Union, 224-25
- Events: acceleration of, 12; as disruptions in history, 5-8; time-limited character of, 150, 262n.79
- Ewiges Deutschland, 191
- Fame, transtemporal circuitry of, 110-11
- Fascism, 172, 266n.2; Roman antiquity in chronopolitics of, 204-5, 210, 275n.102
- Five-day week, introduction of, 13, 232n.29
- Flasch, Kurt, 166
- Fleury, Claude, 85
- The Fourth Turning* (Strauss, Howe), 17
- France, continuity of royal house of, 67-68. *See also* French Revolution
- Frank, Walter, 206
- Frankfurt Confederal Diet in 1851, 138
- Frederick I, 90-91; coronation of, 69-71
- Frederick II: artistic taste of, 103-7; C.P. E. Bach and, 72-73, 246n.1; Charles XII and, 82-83; concept of power of, 113-14; countering social change, 15-16; cult of, 111-12; cultural conservatism of, 72-74; decisive moments for, 153; dismissing historical templates, 212-13; on fame, 110-11; Frederick William contrasted with, 112-13; geopolitical setting of, 75-78; Greco-Roman antiquity idealisation by, 108-11; historical writings of, 2, 76-79, 115-16; historicity of, 84-92, 214; homosexuality of, 114-15; hostility of toward Schwarzenberg, 250n.48; immutable, universal historicity of, 92-98; interest of in paintings, 253n.90; interment plans of, 109-11; *Machtstaat* of, 155, 213; Mark Brandenburg history of, 87-88; objectivity of histories of, 81-82; as philosopher king, 76-77, 102, 111; poem to Jordan by, 253n.87; Political Testament of, 100; power wielding of, 4; pro-nobility measures of, 93-95; quest for stasis of, 216; rejection of discontinuity by, 212; rejection of Estates-crown conflict by, 89-92; removal of from structures of state, 74-75; research assistants of, 77-78; research methods of, 247n.7; sceptical standpoint of, 75; sense of time of, 103-12; Seven Years' War history of, 246-47n.6; state as central in histories of, 96-97; steady-state quality of court culture of, 72-74; times of decision of, 98-103; vanity of, 113; Voltaire and, 83-84
- Frederick III of Brandenburg. *See* Frederick I
- Frederick V, 42
- Frederick William: activist understanding of history of, 15; becoming history, 51-64; Calvinism of, 42-51; composite monarchy of, 22-25; confessional dynamic of, 42-51; creation of own troops by, 26-27; death of, 69; depictions of, 19; disputes of with provincial estates, 2, 25-31; in Dutch Republic, 49-51; Estates' conflict with, 26-31; 'Fatherly Instruction' of, 20; foreign policy of, 38-39, 62-63; Frederick II contrasted with, 74-76; futurity of, 42, 64-67, 216; geopolitical setting of, 75-78; historicity of, 20-22, 31-41, 214; Lutherans and, 44-51; neostoicism's influence

- on, 240n.82; in Northern War, 236n.29; Political Testament of, 47–48, 88; portrait of, *xiii*; power wielding of, 4; Pufendorf's biography of, 87–88; rejection of past by, 112; tension between estates and, 25–31; threats to state and sovereignty of, 42, 56–57, 59–67, 212; as unitarising monarch, 237n.37. *See also* Pufendorf, Samuel
- Frederick William I, 90–91
- Frederick William IV, 156
- French National Convention, 14
- French Revolution, 165, 178; Nazi neutralisation of, 207–8
- Friedrich, Ernst, 175
- Frisch, Max, 171–72, 266n.1
- Fritzsche, Peter, 207
- Fuchs, Paul von, 38
- Fukuyama, Francis, 223
- Future(s): as available for manipulation, 66; exhaustion of, 218; Frederick William's focus on, 40–41, 42; multiple, 64, 66; neoliberal, 17–18; remote, 3, 16; threats of, 42, 65–66, 212; uncertain, 2–3, 63–64; visions of, 6–7
- Futures Past* (Koselleck), 6–9
- Futurity, 42, 69; of East German state, 218–19; of state, 65–66
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 215–16
- Gangl, Sonja, 225–26
- Gebt mir vier Jahre Zeit exhibition, 192–93
- Gelao rebellion, 11–12
- General History of Spain* (de Mariana), 67
- General War Commissioner (*Generalkriegskommissar*), 41
- Gentile, Emilio, 13
- Gerlach, Leopold von, 129, 136, 142; Revolution of 1848 and, 131
- Gerlach, Ludwig von, 164
- German Empire, Nazi rejection of historicism of, 189–91
- German national constitution, emergence of, 144–45
- German postwar states, 217–18
- Germanic prehistory, Nazi fascination with, 194–210
- Germany: frequent political ruptures in, 14–15; historic narrative of *vs.* British historic narrative, 214; late unification of, 152–53
- Ghosh, Amitav, 223–24
- Global financial crisis, 222, 224
- Global society, 167
- Glorious Revolution, 140
- Goebbels, Joseph, 176, 192–93; on anti-Jewish boycott, 206–7, 274n.93; on Revolutionsmuseum exhibition, 177–78
- Goering, Hermann, 194
- Great Chain of Being* (Lovejoy), 9
- The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Ghosh), 223–24
- Great Elector. *See* Frederick William
- Greco-Roman antiquity, idealisation of, 108–11
- Greek antiquity, splendid public buildings of, 204–5
- Gregorian calendar, 13
- Grell, Chantal, 68
- Griffin, Roger, 13
- Grumbkow, Joachim von, 41
- Grünthal, Günther, 134
- Haardt, Oliver, 145
- Hahne, Hans, 184; promotion of Germanic prehistory by, 195–98
- Halbwachs, Maurice, 5
- Halle Museum of the National Socialist Uprising, 180–84
- Hanson, Stephen E., 187
- Hartknoch, Christoph, 88–89, 213; on Estates-crown conflict, 91

- Hartog, François, 1, 3
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 117, 163; on history, 119–20; as theorist of state and history, 214
Hegemony without conflict, 92–98
Heidegger, Martin, 5, 9
Henriade (Voltaire), 91
Himmler, Heinrich: racism of, 208–9; support of for archaeology and Germanic prehistory, 194
Hind Swaraj (Gandhi), 215–16
Hintze, Otto, 162, 168–69
Hirsch, Francine, 187–88
Histoire de la guerre de Sept Ans (Frederick II), 81–82, 246–47n.6
Histoire de mon temps (Frederick II), 77, 80, 98
Histoire Écclésiastique (Fleury), 85
Historia marchica, 54
Historians: of court, 54–57, 69, 112–13, 116; Frederick II as, 84–92; sovereign as, 76–84
The Historian's Craft (Bloch), 5
Historical culture, 244n.131
Historical romanticism, 275–76n.103
Historical thinking: crisis of, 166–70, 217, 265n.116; of non-historians, 274–75n.88
Historical time, 5, 6, 65, 98–99, 202, 220
Historicity: Calvinist, 21; definition of, 1; forms of, 31–41; temporality and, 5–6
Historiography: British *vs.* German, 214; of Frederick II, 84, 115–16; of Frederick William, 55, 86; of *Völk*, 206, 274n.90
History: as bourgeois religion, 265n.125; changing ideas of, 118–19; contemporary events and, 51–64; as cyclical, 2, 10–12, 17, 98, 100–103, 115, 197–210, 213, 269–70n.33; disappearance of, 270n.35; end of, 222–23; flux and change of, 121; as forwards-driving, 42, 188; immutable, universal laws in, 92–98; linear, 212–13, 220–22; as moments suspended in time, 103–12; monarchical state and meaning of, 154–62; as myth, 169–70; nineteenth-century awareness of, 120; for posterity, 79–81; processual character of, 85–86; as providentially ordained, 66; recursive, 220–21; rejection of, 215–16; right and wrong sides of, 222, 278–79n.32; as school of princes, 79; state as central in, 96–97; as storehouse of good examples, 7, 69, 95, 99–100, 113, 119; as struggle for existence, 199–200; temporal order in, 4–18; temporalisation of, 235n.7; terror of, 198, 214, 216–17; theological presumptions of, 168–69
History-as-progress concept, Nazi denial of, 189–91
'History of the First Silesian War' (Frederick II), 77
'History of the Second Silesian War' (Frederick II), 77
History of the United Netherlands (Motley), 150, 262n.79
Hitler, Adolf, 189–91; economic historicity of, 200–201; on extermination of Jews, 273n.78; political modus operandi of, 201–2; on politics as art of the possible, 272–73n.76; as prophet, 202–3; scepticism of for Germanic archaeology, 194–95; on splendour of ancient Rome, 204–5; view of history as struggle for existence, 199–200
Hohenzollern: Calvinism of, 42–43; conflict with Estates in, 29–30; Electors of, 22
Hölscher, Lucian, 166–67

- Holzappel, Carl Maria, 188–89
Horace, 110
Horizon of expectation (*erwartungshorizont*), 7, 9
Howe, Neil, 17
Hübner, Joachim, 54
Huguenots, refuge to, 47
Humanitarian policy, 167
Huyghe, René, 104–5
- Imperial power, time and, 11
International relations, Pufendorf's accounts of, 62–64
Inter-Protestant collaboration, 239–40n.74
Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe (Pufendorf), 56–57
Italian fascist regime: characteristics of, 172; Christian symbolism in, 13; historical romanticism of, 275–76n.103; museum exhibitions of, 184–87; Nazi regime contrasted with, 210; new temporality of, 13; Roman antiquity connection to, 210
- Jérôme, Jean-Léon, 146–47, 148
Jewish Central Museum, 204, 205
'Jewish' liberal political theory, 213
Jewish Question, 202–4
Jews, extermination of, 202–3, 273n.78
Johnson, Boris, 16
Jordan, Gauleiter Rudolf, 182
Julian calendar, Soviet abandonment of, 13
- Kaerst, Julius, 167
Kaiser Wilhelm II, 128; Bismarck and, 139–40
Kavanagh, Thomas, 105
Kayser, Paul, 128
Keller, Vera, 66
- Kempen, Martin, 54
Kiefer, Anselm, 225
King as historian, 76–84
Kleve Estates, 23; Frederick William's conflict with, 27–29; opposition of to Elector's military campaigns, 35–36, 38–39; power of, 24
Klutsis, Gustav, 185
Koenigsberger, Helmut, 214
Kohl, Horst, 128, 159
Koinonia, Calvinist notion of, 48–49
Körner, Gerhard, 195
Koselleck, Reinhart, 6–9, 12, 202, 207, 274–75n.88
Kraus, Hans-Christof, 134–35
Krefeld Estates, historicity of, 68–69
Kroll, Frank-Lothar, 208
Küster, Georg Friedrich, 78
Kwong, Luke S. K., 12
- Land sales, control of, 93–94
Landed nobility: crisis period of, 92–93; Frederick II's support of, 93–94
Landesanstalt für Volkheitskunde (Provinzialmuseum zu Halle), 196
Landtag crises, 136
Lasker, Emanuel, 127
Latour, Bruno, 220–21
Le Goff, Jacques, 5
Le Pen, Marine, 18
Lebensraum, 209; conquest of, 201
Legutko, Ryszard, 221–22
Leonhard, Jörn, 165
Leopold of Dessau, 78
Lessing, Theodor, 169–70
Leti, Gregorio, 242n.100; chronicle of House of Brandenburg of, 54–55
Leuchtmar, Johann Friedrich von, 25–26
Liberal democracy, 221–22; temporal uncertainty in, 223; universalization of, 223

- Liberalism, 141
The Limits to Growth (Club of Rome), 218
Linear history, 213, 220; in liberal democracies, 221–22; rejection of, 212
Linear stadialism, 74
Loccelius, Elias, 59; on Estates-crown conflict, 91; history of, 87, 88
Longitudinal approach, 14–15
Longue durée, 215, 216
Louis Napoleon, 130
Louis Napoleon III, election of, 143
Louis XIV, 47; cult of, 68; royal memoirs of, 53–54
Louise Henriette, 43–44
Love in the Italian Theatre (Watteau), 103–4
Lovejoy, Arthur O., 9
Low Countries revolt, provocation of, 244n.133
Luh, Jürgen, 80, 113
Luhmann, Niklas, 227n.4
Lünig, Johann Christian, 71
Lutherans, Frederick William and, 44–51
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 99, 167
Machine utopia, 233n.30
Machtstaat, 155–56, 213
Macron, Emmanuel, 224–25
Maier, Charles, 13–14
Manteuffel, Otto von, 135–38, 140, 141, 157
Marchia Illustrata (Loccelius), 59
Marcus Aurelius, 110
Mariana, Juan de, 67, 244n.133
Mark Estates, opposition of to Electoral military, 34–35
Markus, Willi, 174
Marxist-Leninist time, linearity of, 233n.30
Maurice of Orange, 50
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 189–90, 199, 270n.38, 272–73n.76; on splendour of ancient Rome, 204–5
Meinecke, Friedrich, 167
Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg (*Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, Frederick II), 77, 78–79, 84, 86–88, 91, 115–16
Mencken, Wilhelmine, 129
Merian, Matthäus, 51–52
Mevissen, deputy, 139–40
Michaud, Eric, 13, 205
Millennial temporality: of Bolshevik temporality, 269–70n.33; Nazi, 192, 194–95, 201–5, 216–17
Minister-President, authority of, 136, 139
'Miracle of Life' exhibition, 171–72
Modern temporal awareness, 8, 150
Modernisation: failure of, 220; narrative of, 218–21; of socialism and neoliberalism, 221–22; theory of, 213
Modernity, 212
Moment(s): of decision, 147–48, 150–54, 262n.79; hyperawareness of, 150; salience of, 121, 146–54
Monarchical principle, Bismarck's belief in, 155–56
Monarchical state: collapse of, 162–70, 165–70; conflicting with Prussian constitution, 158–59; constitutional preeminence of, 134–35; as stabilising force, 121, 154–62; transcendence of, 162–65
Monarchy, as ruinous to state, 67
Montecuccoli, Count, 37
Monzambano, Severinus de, 242–43n.107
'Monzambano' (Pufendorf), 56, 63
Morier, Sir Robert, 128
Moscow Museum of Atheism, 188

- La Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista, 184–88, 193
- Motley, John Lothrop, 150, 262n.79
- Muhlack, Ulrich, 96
- Müller, Karl Alexander von, 192
- Museum der Deutschen Erhebung (Halle), 174–75
- Museums: of Italian fascists, 184–88; as manipulator of temporal awareness, 177–78; Nazi compared with Soviet, 184–93. *See also* Revolutionsmuseums
- Mussolini, Benito, 13, 185
- Napoleon III, 129
- Nassau-Siegen, Moritz von, 27–28
- Nation-building, failure of, 222
- Nation-state, historiography of, 169
- National Socialists. *See* Nazi regime
- Nazi regime: belief in ahistorical, racial continuum, 198–210; Bismarck and, 213; continuity of with remote past and remote future, 3, 190–91, 194–98, 208; cyclical temporality of, 197–210; discontinuity of with Weimar era, 177–78; economic historicity of, 200–201; Germanic prehistory obsession of, 194–98; historicity of, 3, 16, 188–89; millennial temporality of, 216–17; ‘Miracle of Life’ exhibition of, 171–72; new temporality of, 13; power structure of, 4; racist perspectives of, 195–97, 275n.98; redemptive antisemitism of, 202–4; rejection of linear history by, 212, 214–15; rejection of recent past of, 275–76n.103; rejection of state by, 214; Revolutionsmuseums of, 173–84; as temporal revolution, 13; triumph of over Communists, 176–77; triumph of prophecy over contingency in, 198–206; unique temporal awareness of, 208; urban transformation plans of, 204–6
- Necessity of state, 55–56; as justification for permanent centralized power, 40–41; *vs.* Estate privileges, 31–34
- Neostoicism, 240n.82
- Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 164
- ‘New Era,’ 157–58
- News management, post-1848 revolution, 137
- Newspapers, as history sources, 53, 241n.95
- Nicolai, Friedrich, 111–12
- Nordic racial consciousness, 200–201
- North German Federation, 217
- Northern War, 36–38, 41, 62–63, 236n.29
- Nostalgia, in contemporary political rhetoric, 9, 225
- Obama, Barak, 278–79n.32
- ‘Ode on Glory’ (Frederick II), 110–11
- Ode on Time* (Frederick II), 106–7
- Ogle, Vanessa, 11
- Olivia, Peace of, 58
- Olmütz, Punctuation of, 150–51
- Paris World Expo of 1937, German museum exhibits at, 193
- Past: denial of continuity with, 178–80; as storehouse of good examples, 7, 69, 95, 99, 113, 119
- Pečar, Andreas, 82, 111, 113
- Pendulum policy (*Schaukelpolitik*), 38
- Perspectivism, 84
- Philip II, provoking Low Countries revolt, 244n.133
- Philippson, Martin, 242–43n.107
- Philosophical historians, 87
- Plaggenborg, Stefan, 270n.35
- Plebiscitarian patrimonialism, 278n.30

- Pocock, J.G.A., 66
- Poland: conflict with, 38; First Partition of, 102
- Poland-Lithuania, Swedish invasion of, 236n.29
- Political religions, 172, 266n.29
- Politics: as art of the possible, 272–73n.76; chess as metaphor in, 257n.21, 258n.27; flux of, 140–46; moments of opportunity in, 147–54
- Pomerania: driving Swedes from, 61–62; Elector's campaign against, 39; Swedish occupation of, 25, 28
- Pope Pius IX, Bismarck and, 122–24
- Populist revivals, 17–18
- Posterity, 33–34; writing history for, 79–81
- Power: defining state's legitimacy, 71; inner projection of, 116–17; outwards projection of, 59–60, 116–17, 167; personalisation of, 4, 74–75; psychic life of, 113–14; time and, 10–18; warping temporality, 212–13
- Power shapers, 4, 18, 212
- Presentism, 225
- Prince-Estates conflict, 25–31
- Privileges, traditional and hereditary, 22–24; continuity with past and, 31–41; defenders of, 15–16; mobilisation of future against, 65–67; *vs.* necessity, 31–34; *vs.* state, 26–30
- Progress: disbelief in, 197–98; as secularised Christian eschatology, 160–61; towards liberty and plenitude, 223
- Progressivism, 170; communist and neoliberal, 217–19
- Proletariat and Society* (Stein), 164
- Prophecy, triumph of over contingency, 198–210
- Proton pseudós*, 152–53
- Prussia: establishing place in history of, 78–79; historic accounts of, 88–89; historiography of, 116–17; post-1848 revolution, 132–40; preemptive invasions by, 76. *See also* Ducal Prussia
- Prussian Cabinet Order of 1852, 136, 139–40
- Prussian constitution, 133–34; Bismarck and, 157–59; in conflict with monarchical state, 158–59
- Prussian coronation of Frederick I, 69–71
- Prussian empire, collapse of, 165–70
- Pufendorf, Samuel, 21, 55–64, 67, 71, 86–88, 112–13, 213, 243n.114; conflict theme of, 95; on decision-making, 100, 101–2; decisive moments for, 153–54; on Estates-crown conflict, 91; Hobbesian history of, 116; unforeseeable contingencies in history of, 97
- Putin regime, 221, 278n.30
- Qing China, temporal shifts in, 11–12
- Quantz, Johann Joachim, 72–73
- Queer temporality, 255n.112
- Race, redemptive power of, 190–92
- Radziwill, Prince, 58
- Ranke, Leopold von, 119–20, 163, 256n.5
- Raulff, Ulrich, 150
- Realpolitik*, 146
- Réaumur, René-Antoine Ferchault de, 78
- Réflexions sur les talents militaires et sur le caractère de Charles XII* (Frederick II), 82–83
- Reformed Religion, 47, 49, 75
- Regimes of Historicity* (Hartog), 3
- Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, 206

- Reichardt, Sven, 266n.2
Religion, history of, 84–85
Remote past, continuity with, 198–210, 208
Republican calendar, 11
Revolution: as hours of renewal, 189; universal principle of, 138–39
Revolution of 1918–19, 165–66, 167–70, 275–76n.103
Revolution Show (Düsseldorf), 183
Revolutions of 1848, 131–40, 216; transformative impact of, 141; unleashing masses, 149–50
Revolutionsmuseums, 173–84, 207; advertising of, 179; Berlin, 174–79, 207, 267–68n.6; focused on redemptive power of race, 191–92; incorporating memory and remembrance, 183–84; objectives of, 176–77
Rochau, Ludwig, 145–46
Rocolles, Jean Baptiste de, 54
Rodbertus, Carl, 164
Roman antiquity: in fascist chronopolitics, 210, 275n.102; splendid public buildings of, 204–5
Rome, Frederick II's affinity for, 109–11
Room O, 185–86, 193, 269n.28
Rosenberg, Amt, 194, 206, 208–9
Ross, Anna, 136
Roth, Martin, 177
Rothfels, Hans, 167–68
Runciman, David, 222–23
Russian tsarist autocracy, 140–41
Rust, Bernhard, 206

Sabrow, Martin, 13–14
Savigny, Carl von, 118–19
Saxony, Prussian invasion of, 76
Schachzug (chess move), as political metaphor, 257n.21
Schlegel, Friedrich, 8
Schleinitz, Alexander von, 158–59

Schmitt, Carl, 133, 166
Schmoller, Gustav, 164–65
Scholz, Wilhelm, chessplayers cartoon of, 122–24
Schoock, Marten, 54–55
Schwarzenberg, Count Adam, 24, 89–90
Scientific revolution, 66
Seven Years' War, 75, 82, 102, 106, 246–47n.6
Siècle de Louis XIV (Voltaire), 91–92, 95–96
Sigismund, John, conversion of, 42–43
Silesia, Prussian invasion of, 76
Silesian Wars, 76
Social Democrats, 143, 148, 160
The Social Framework of Memory (Halbwachs), 5
Social policy, 164–65
Social turbulence, temporal shifts with, 11–12
Sombart, Werner, 165
Soul-force, 215–16
Sovereign: decision making of, 60–64; protection provided by, 59–60
Sovereign authority: as disastrous to state, 67; dynamism of, 64–65; Estates' conflict with, 88–92; in France, 67–68; overriding tradition and continuity, 66–67, 69
Sovereignties: domestic consolidation of, 57–58; necessity of, 31–34, 40–41, 55–56
Soviet ethnography, 187–88
Soviet millenarian temporality, 187–88, 269–70n.33
Soviet regime: anti-religious museums of, 188, 269n.21; calendar reforms of, 232n.29; collapse of, 221, 222; futurology of, 217–19; historylessness of, 270n.35; machine utopia of, 233n.30

- Spanish monarchy, 67
Spatial turn, 227n.7
Speer, Albert, 209
Stahl, Friedrich Julius, 138–39, 161
Stalin regime, calendar changes of, 13
Stalinism, as apocalypse, 269–70n.33
State: as central to progress, 96–97; collapse of, 162–70; Estates’ conflict with, 88–92; futurity of, 65–66; importance of, 55–56; as means to an end, 189–90; Nazi rejection of, 198–99; necessity of, 31–34, 40–41, 55–56; power defining legitimacy of, 71; sub-merged in global society, 167; as timeless and continuous, 103–17; transcendence of, 162–65; *vs.* provincial privilege, 58–59. *See also* Monarchical state
Steady-state temporality, 2–3
Stein, Adolf, 177
Stein, Lorenz, 164
Steinitz, Wilhelm, 126–28
Strauss, William, 17
Streeck, Wolfgang, 222
Stresemann, Gustav, 200
Sun-king cult, 68

Taiping rebellion, 11–12
Taxation: gap theory of, 158; for military forces, 26–37
Taylorist romanticism, 233n.30
Temple of Friendship, 254n.110
Temporal awareness, museums as manipulator of, 177–78
Temporal turn, 4–6, 9, 221, 227n.6
Temporal uncertainty, 223–25
Temporalisation (*Verzeitlichung*), 9
Temporality: power warping, 212–13; recursive and nonlinear, 74, 103–17; transition from traditional to modern, 9–10; trauma and, 215–16
Terminal scenarios, 222–23

Terragni, Giuseppe, Room O of, 185–86, 193, 269n.28
Thadden, Johanna von, 161
Theatrum Europaeum, 51–52; engraving from, 53
Third Empire, millennial time of, 201–2
Thirty Years’ War, 23–25, 89, 216; end of, 241n.94
Thoughts and Memoirs (Bismarck), 130
Through the Looking Glass (Carroll), 125–26
Time: as cyclical, 188–89; in historical studies, 4–6; imperial power and, 11; modernisation of, 6–10; as non-homogeneous, 5; power and, 10–18; shifting sense of, 11–12; sociology of, 5; as structure of perception, 227n.2; suspension of, 103–12; texture and shape of, 7
Time discipline, 187–88, 231–32n.23. *See also* Clock time
Time orders, fracturing of, 232n.27
Tooze, Adam, 200
Totalitarian regimes: commonalities of, 172, 208–10; comparisons of museums of, 184–93; denial of time of, 233n.35; temporal order changes with, 12–13; variations in, 206–8. *See also* Italian fascist regime; Nazi regime; Soviet regime
Tradition: mobilisation of future against, 65–67; rejection of in Prussian coronation, 70–71; sovereign authority overriding, 69
Transitional era, 6–7
Trauma, temporality of, 215–16
Troeltsch, Ernst, 120, 160–61, 166, 169, 217
Trump, Donald: hyper-accelerated communication style of, 18; Make America Great Again slogan of, 17

- Uhse, Erdmann, 59
Ulbricht, Walter, 218, 277n.11
Unitarisation, by Frederick William, 237n.37
Universal suffrage, Bismarck's account of consequences of, 143-44
Universality, inherent in particular, 256n.5
Valéry, Paul, 169
'A Victory at Chess—An Oriental Fable' (Kohl), 128
Voigt, Jorinde, 225
Völk: in Nazi regime, 190-97, substitution of for state, 197-209
Völkheitskunde, 196
Voltaire, 83-84, 95; correspondence with Frederick II, 108-9; 'era' paradigm of, 95-97; on Frederick II's hostility toward Schwarzenberg, 250n.48; linking conquest with domestic elites' subordination, 91-92
Wagener, Hermann, 164
Wars: composite monarchy and, 22-25; effects of, 216-17; as scourge on people, 244n.132; of Unification, 216. *See also specific wars*
Warsaw, Battle of, 51, 242n.100
Watteau, Antoine, 103-6, 108
Weber, Max, 64, 165
Wehlau, Treaty of, 236n.29
Weimann, Daniel, 32-33
Weimar Republic, 165-66, 176; confining to past, 177-78; social museums of, 177
Weiss, Bernhard, 176
Weiss, Isidor, 176
Wessel, Horst, 174, 183
West Germany, 218-19
Westphalia, Peace of, 20, 44, 241n.94; tolerance of Calvinists and, 43
What Is the Revolution? (Stahl), 138-39
Whig historiography, 68
Wilhelm, August, 174
Wilhelm, Georg, 89
Wilhelm I, 148-49
William, Crown Prince, 156-58
William I, Bismarck and, 154, 155-56
William III, 68
Winkler, Heinrich August, 220
Wirth, Hermann, 200-201
Wolff, Helmuth, 140
Wolter, Heinz, 132
Woolf, D. R., 244n.131
World War I (1914-18), 165-66; crisis of historical thinking after, 165-70, 217
Xenophon, 81
Zeitlichkeit, 9
Zemka, Sue, 150