

*Bernd Krysmanski*

## **Does Hogarth Depict Old Fritz Truthfully with a Crooked Beak? – The Pictures Familiar to Us from Pesne to Menzel Don't Show This\***

**Published 2022 on ART-Dok**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00008019>

---

\* This online essay is a slightly revised English version of a paper originally written in German, entitled “Nur Hogarth zeigt den Alten Fritz wahrheitsgemäß mit krummem ‘Zinken’ – die uns vertrauten Bilder von Pesne bis Menzel tun dies nicht”. It was published at the same time on ART-Dok <<https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00006399>> and in the Webfestschrift, *Von analogen und digitalen Zugängen zur Kunst: Festschrift für Hubertus Kohle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2019) <<https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.493.c6566>>.

# **Contents**

<b>The many representations of “Old Fritz”, as Frederick II was nicknamed</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Voices from the 18th century prove it: The truth was very different</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>The Prussian king was not a handsome man</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>The death mask reveals it: Frederick had a crooked nose</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>The classic straight nose in portraits</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Menzel continues to idealise the king’s nose</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>William Hogarth is the only artist who shows the gay Fritz truthfully with a brown complexion and an aquiline nose</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Evidence for the homosexuality and the anal erotic desires of the Prussian king</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>The Prussian engraver Georg Friedrich Schmidt as an informant?</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Hogarth’s portrayal is and will remain the most authentic</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Photo credits</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>38</b>

# Does Hogarth Depict Old Fritz Truthfully with a Crooked Beak? — The Pictures Familiar to Us from Pesne to Menzel Don't Show This

*Bernd Krysmanski*

**Abstract** Did you know that Frederick the Great had a sharply curved nose and thought himself as ugly as a scarecrow? You didn't know? No wonder, because all historically transmitted, official portraits which are still depicted in history books today show the face of Old Fritz with a classically straightened nose and also in a highly embellished, idealised way. These portraits were more or less freely invented by contemporary artists, such as the Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne. In the 19th century, Adolph Menzel still portrayed Frederick II with a straightened nose, although he must have known that he had a crooked one. Only one artist showed the Prussian king as he really was, namely with an aquiline nose and playing the flute in front of a symbol of homosexuality: the Englishman William Hogarth in a painting completed in 1744, which is now on display in the National Gallery, London, and which was widely disseminated in the engraving by Simon François Ravenet after Hogarth.

**Keywords** Frederick the Great, idealised portraits, aquiline nose, homosexuality, William Hogarth, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Antoine Pesne, Adolph Menzel, Georg Friedrich Schmidt.

## The many representations of “Old Fritz”, as Frederick II was nicknamed

This is how patriotically-minded Germans love “their” Old Fritz: with a tricorne on his head and wearing a soldier's coat, sitting on a wooden water pipe, one hand resting on his walking stick, the famous Fritz stick with the Fritz grip, thinking about a lost battle — as in a painting by the history painter Julius Schrader from 1849 (Fig. 1) — or with a piercing, steely look and



Fig. 1. J. Richard Schwager after Julius Schrader, *Frederick the Great after the Lost Battle of Kolin* (1851)

---

The present essay, with detailed annotations, is based on a lecture with illustrations entitled “Des Königs krumme Nase offenbart es: Die populären Bildnisse des Alten Fritz sind samt und sonders Fake-Porträts!” (“The King's crooked nose reveals it: The popular portraits of Old Fritz are all fake portraits!”), held at the Haus der Brandenburgisch-Preußischen Geschichte on 4 April 2018. The author thanks Kurt Winkler, the director of the House, for the invitation to Potsdam and the audience for the stimulating discussion following the lecture. Deep gratitude goes also to Friedrich Wilms for his help in translation.

with the next battle victory in mind.<sup>1</sup> But do such representations reflect reality? Frederick II of Prussia was many things at the same time: not only a successful military campaigner but also a reform-minded servant of his state, an enlightened monarch, the builder of Sanssouci, and a flautist. Adolph Menzel depicts him as an esthete, who, as crown prince, climbed a scaffolding in order to take a close look at an allegorical ceiling painting by the court painter Antoine Pesne,<sup>2</sup> or when he, as the philosophising Prussian King, is listening to Voltaire's arguments at his round table in Sanssouci.<sup>3</sup>

While in the past the glorious military leader was present in the minds of many Germans, according to recent surveys only every third person is supposed to have a concrete idea of the famous king.<sup>4</sup> Yet, one question is rarely asked to this day: *What did he really look like?* Given the many portraits of Frederick, this question may seem astonishing at first glance, but it is not at all easy to answer, because there are countless depictions from the 18th to the 21st centuries found in museums, in books and on the World Wide Web which claim to represent the Prussian King, but do not look alike at all. How can that be when these pictures show the same person?

Those portraitists who still knew the monarch personally include Antoine Pesne (1683–1757),<sup>5</sup> who came from France to Prussia and was primarily responsible for depictions of the younger Frederick; the Hanoverian court painter Johann Georg Ziesenis (1716–1757);<sup>6</sup> and the first-class Swiss celebrity painter Anton Graff (1736–1813),<sup>7</sup> who painted the most famous portrait of Frederick the Great.

However, if one compares their three portraits of Frederick from 1745, 1763 and 1781, which show the monarch's face in half profile and from roughly the same angle (Fig. 2), one could have doubts whether it is the same person, even if one takes into account the age difference and

<sup>1</sup> Schrader's original painting, completed in 1849, of which there is also a reduced version in oils on copper by J. Richard Schwager from 1851 (Fig. 1), is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Leipzig. See Irmgard Wirth, *Berliner Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert: Von der Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: W. J. Siedler, 1990), 332–33 and Fig. 418; Gisold Lammel, *Adolph Menzel: Bildwelt und Bildregie* (Dresden and Basel: Verlag der Kunst, 1993), 30. For the heroic depictions of Frederick II as a combat-ready commander, see the numerous picture examples in Leonore Koschnick (project manager), *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt. verklärt. verdammt*, exh. cat., Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 21 March–26 August 2012 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), particularly chap. 3: "Der Aufstieg zum monumentalen Helden Preußens", 58–75, and chap. 9: "Die Heroisierung und Verdammung des unerbittlichen Feldherrn", 154–79.

<sup>2</sup> See Matthias Winner, "Der Pinsel als 'Allégorie réelle' in Menzels Bild 'Kronprinz Friedrich besucht Pesne auf dem Malgerüst in Rheinsberg'", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 45 (2003), 91–130; Werner Busch, *Adolph Menzel: Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit* (Munich: C. H. Beck 2015), 53, 223–224.

<sup>3</sup> On this painting, which was probably destroyed at the end of the Second World War, and on its forerunners, see Busch, *Adolph Menzel: Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit* [as in note 2], 133–39. For the background to such works and other depictions of Frederick by Menzel, see also Hubertus Kohle, *Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder: Theorie und Praxis der Geschichtsmalerei im Berlin der 1850er Jahre* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), especially 71–75.

<sup>4</sup> See Eckhard Fuhr, "Wie die Deutschen sich den Alten Fritz schufen", *Die Welt*, 21 March 2012. On the other hand, even nowadays, advertisers as well as caricaturists seem to have the apparently still popular Prussian king in their mind's eyes. See Koschnick, *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt. verklärt. verdammt* [as in note 1], particularly chap. 7: "Die (politische) Werbeikone", 128–43, chap. 12: "Die Wiederauferstehung des Helden: Festtage und Jubiläen", 202–13, and chap. 13: "Der König im Spiegel der Satire", 214–35.

<sup>5</sup> Ekhart Berckenhagen/Pierre du Colombier/Georg Poensgen/Margarete Kühn, *Antoine Pesne* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958); Gerd Bartoschek, *Antoine Pesne, 1683–1757: Ausstellung zum 300. Geburtstag*, exh. cat., Neues Palais and Römische Bäder Potsdam-Sanssouci, June–September 1983, and Märkisches Museum Berlin, October–December 1983 (Potsdam-Sanssouci: Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, 1983); Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Der Maler Antoine Pesne: Franzose und Preusse* (Friedberg: Podzun-Pallas, 1986); Rainer Michaelis, *Antoine Pesne (1683–1757): Die Werke des preußischen Hofmalers in der Berliner Gemäldegalerie* (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003). For Pesne's depictions of Frederick (and their many repetitions and variations), see also Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis", in Oswald Hauser (ed.), *Friedrich der Grosse in seiner Zeit* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1987) [*Neue Forschungen zur brandenburg-preussischen Geschichte*, vol. 8], 260–61, 263–66 and Figs. 3, 4, 7, 9, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Karin Schrader, *Der Bildnismaler Johann Georg Ziesenis (1717–1776): Leben und Werk mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), esp. 101–19.

<sup>7</sup> Ekhart Berckenhagen, *Anton Graff: Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1967); Robert Eberhardt (ed.), *Anton Graff: Porträts eines Porträtisten* (Berlin: Wolff Verlag, 2013); Marc Fehlmann/Birgit Verwiebe (eds.), *Anton Graff: Gesichter einer Epoche*, exh. cat., Museum Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, 22 June–29 September 2013; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 25 October 2013–23 February 2014 (Munich: Hirmer, 2013).

the fact that there are 18 years between each of the portraits. There are certainly some differences in the features if one looks more closely at the eyes, the more curved brows in Pesne's depiction, the more pointed nose and narrower shape of the mouth in Graff's or the much more rounded chin in Ziesenis's, in which the dimples are missing that are shown, though only slightly, by Pesne and Graff.



Fig. 2. Portraits of Frederick II by Antoine Pesne (1745; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg), Johann Georg Ziesenis (1763; private collection), and Anton Graff (1781; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin)

The differences among the engraved portraits are even more blatant. If one looks at the multitude of existing engravings<sup>8</sup> that show Frederick when he was still a crown prince, in his middle reign or as an elderly man with a tricorn (Fig. 3), any impartial observer would think that these portraits are all of different people.

Two of the most popular depictions of Frederick the Great are certainly the portrait painted by Johann Heinrich Christian Franke in 1763/64, which shows a straightforward bourgeois king in a dark blue uniform holding up his tricorn in greeting (Fig. 4, centre),<sup>9</sup> and the portrait by Anton Graff, who in 1781 portrayed him as a serious but kind-looking monarch, just as the artist had supposedly observed him when his troops marched past him on parade (Fig. 2 right).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For the graphic representations, see Edwin von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Großen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1958); id., *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Großen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder: Ergänzung* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1970); Andrea M. Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs: Friedrich der Große in der Graphik* (Limburg/Lahn: C. A. Starke, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> This portrait was created shortly after the hardships of the Seven Years' War and was distributed in a number of variants — probably in deliberate contrast to the splendid Baroque depictions of European potentates that were still common until then. Some of them were given away by Frederick himself, although the artist was certainly not one of the best portraitists. See Arnold Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen: Zeitgenössische Darstellungen*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1942), 121–22 and Plates 40–41; Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Kunst in Brandenburg-Preußen: Ihre Geschichte von der Renaissance bis zum Biedermeier dargestellt am Kunstbesitz der Berliner Schlösser* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 151–52 and Fig. 107; id., “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 257 and Fig. 2; Wirth, *Berliner Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert* [as in note 1], 21, Fig. 6; Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern, *Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen* (Munich: Hirmer, 1992), 382–83; Koschnick, *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt* [as in note 1], 24, 84. The motif was no coincidence. The Prussian king was known for saluting in public with the tricorn more than a hundred times. See Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Penguin Books, 2016), 349–50.

<sup>10</sup> Hildebrand: *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 133–35 and Plates 59–60; Berckenhagen, *Anton Graff: Leben und Werk* [as in note 7], 119–20; Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 255–57; Martin Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs: Zum schwierigen Umgang Friedrichs des Großen mit dem eigenen Bildnis”, in Bernd Sösemann/Gregor Vogt-Spira (eds.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa: Geschichte einer wechselvollen Beziehung*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), vol. 1: 329, 330; Eberhardt, *Anton Graff: Porträts eines Porträtisten* [as in note 7], 78–82; Fehlmann/Verwiebe, *Anton Graff: Gesichter einer Epoche* [as in note 7], 128–29. In this context, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the young Anton Graff had to copy constantly portraits of Frederick by Antoine Pesne during his training as a painter, because the demand for these pictures was so great. However, this did not prevent him from preferring a very different type of depiction of the older king for his portrait later. “I lack all evidence that Graff ever came into direct

Both are pictures that even today many people still consider to be the most realistic representations of the king. Both paintings have been copied and published as prints in several versions and have probably had the most lasting impact on the popular image that people have of Old Fritz. And they still have, as countless illustrations that circulate on the World Wide Web and Andy Warhol's screen-printed versions of the well-known Graff portrait prove.<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 3. Graphic portraits of Frederick the Great by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1743), Thomas Burford, Antoine Benoist, Charles Spooner (1756), Johann Benjamin Brühl, Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1746), Alfred Alexandre Delauney (after Ramberg) and Johann Friedrich Bause (1761)

But there are also depictions of the “sweet” Frederick. He appears as a chubby child next to his sister Wilhelmine in an early picture by the court painter Pesne (c.1714–15; Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin). He is a cute, slightly dreamy youth in prints by the second-class Berlin engraver

contact with the king”, Paul Seidel wrote. It should make one think “that the picture has very little of the fine, individualising study of nature that characterises Graff’s portraits”. See Paul Seidel, “Die Bildnisse Friedrichs des Großen”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 1 (1897), 110–11. The view that the portrait was created because Graff studied the face of Old Fritz several times on parade visits in 1781 goes back to a statement made by the engraver Johann Friedrich Bause on August 23, 1786. See Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 255. In my opinion, the artist only seems to have refined the facial features that he found in Franke’s portrait of Frederick, completed in 1764. Börsch-Supan similarly assumes that Graff “corrected” the facial features that appear carved in Franke’s so that they have become more carnal, “softer and more human”. *Ibid.*, 257. It could even be that for his portrait Graff only had one of the many engravings after Franke’s portrait in mind, which, according to a report by the *Teutsche Merkur* of 1788, in January 1786 a “traveller from Berlin” found “in a lot of private lodgings and in almost every public building”. Cited in Bruno Preisendörfer, “Das Bildnis des Königs”, in *id.*, *Staatsbildung als Königskunst: Ästhetik und Herrschaft im preußischen Absolutismus* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 92. Bause’s reference that the Frederick portrait he had copied can be traced back to Graff’s observations on the living object does not necessarily have to correspond to the facts, but may be based on business considerations in order to give his engraving the appearance of greater “authenticity” compared to the many competing products. However, Hildebrand additionally refers to a privately owned portrait by Friedrich Georg Weitsch of 1780 as a possible model for Graff, which in turn can be derived from Franke’s portrait. See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 134.

<sup>11</sup> There are nine Frederick serigraphs made by Warhol. See Koschnick, *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt. verklärt. verdammt* [as in note 1], 94–95. For more details, see Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs” [as in note 10], 326–29, 334–37.

Georg Paul Busch. As the crown prince, shortly before his accession to the throne, he is shown with rounded, smooth features in some representational late Baroque-style portraits by Pesne, such as the one from 1739 in which the future king wears an ermine-lined, purple coronation cloak over his dark cuirass (Fig. 4 left).



Fig. 4. Left: Antoine Pesne, *Crown Prince Frederick* (1739; Gemäldegalerie Berlin). Centre: (Copy after?) Johann Heinrich Christian Franke, *Frederick II saluting* (1763–64; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg). Right: Anon., Third-class variant of Franke's portrait of Frederick (Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg)

By way of contrast, the militaristic 19th century and later the Nazi era propagated the view of a heroised Frederick in uniform with a piercing gaze and with his hand placed self-confidently on his hip. This pose is also found in a number of statues that are publicly displayed, e.g. the Szczecin marble statue completed by Johann Gottfried Schadow in 1793 (Fig. 5).<sup>12</sup>

Such heroising tendencies can also be seen in films.<sup>13</sup> Cinephiles will surely remember the character actor Otto Gebühr, who embodied Old Fritz sixteen times because he supposedly looked much like the “real” Frederick (Fig. 6). Things are quite different in the 2011 documentary drama *Friedrich — Ein deutscher König*: here, for the first time, two women play the male lead: Katharina Thalbach the elderly Prussian king and her daughter Anna the young Frederick, although nobody would argue that these two actresses portray the monarch in a way that is particularly true to life.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> As only fragments remained of this statue after 1945, a full restoration was not completed until 2011 by the Wrocław sculptor Ryszard Zarycki (see Klaus Gehrman/Dariusz Kacprzak/Jürgen Klebs [eds.], *Friedrich der Große, Johann Gottfried Schadow, aus der Sammlung des Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie [Nationalmuseum Stettin]* [Berlin: Schriftenreihe der Schadow Gesellschaft Berlin e.V., vol. XIV, 2011]; Eckhard Fuhr, “Schadow-Statue: Wie Polen Friedrich den Großen rettete”, *Die Welt*, 22 December 2011; René Du Bois, *Denkmale und Denksteine für Friedrich den Großen: Lebe er wohl ...*, 4th rev. edn [Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2017], 164–74). Copies in bronze were made of this sculpture, one of which can be seen in front of Charlottenburg Palace, another one next to the Pomeranian State Museum in Greifswald. Cf. also the well-known equestrian statue by Christian Daniel Rauch, unveiled in 1851, which stands on a multi-storey pedestal in the Berlin boulevard “Unter den Linden” and shows the king on his favourite horse, Condé. See Frank Pieter Hesse/Gesine Sturm (eds.), *Ein Denkmal für den König: Das Reiterstandbild für Friedrich II. Unter den Linden in Berlin = A Monument for the King: The Equestrian Statue of King Friedrich II on the Boulevard Unter den Linden in Berlin* (Berlin: Schelzky & Jeep, 2001) [*Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, vol. 17]; Wieland Giebel (ed.), *Das Reiterdenkmal Friedrichs des Großen, enthüllt am 31. Mai 1851* (Berlin: Berlin-Story-Verlag, 2007); Du Bois, *Denkmale und Denksteine für Friedrich den Großen* (op. cit.), 23–35. Such monuments were only erected after the monarch’s death because Frederick refused to be publicly glorified in this way during his lifetime.

<sup>13</sup> Helmut Regel, “Die Fridericus-Filme der Weimarer Republik”, in Axel Marquardt/Heinz Rathsack (eds.), *Preußen im Film: Eine Retrospektive der Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek* (Reinbek near Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981), 124–34; Andreas Kilb, “Der Mann aus Marmor: Friedrich der Große als Heldenfigur in den Filmen der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus”, in *Friedrich300 – Friedrich und die historische Größe* (2009) <[https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kilb\\_mann](https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kilb_mann)>; Annette Dorgerloh/Marcus Becker (ed.), *Preußen aus Celluloid: Friedrich II. im Film* (Berlin: Jaron Verlag, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> See the review of this TV production by Andreas Kilb, “Friedrich der Grosse im Film: Clips und Bits vom Alten Fritz”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 January 2012.



Fig. 5. Johann Gottfried Schadow, *Frederick the Great* (1793; Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie). Shown is a photograph of the newly restored statue as it was displayed at the Bode Museum, Berlin, between 2011 and 2015

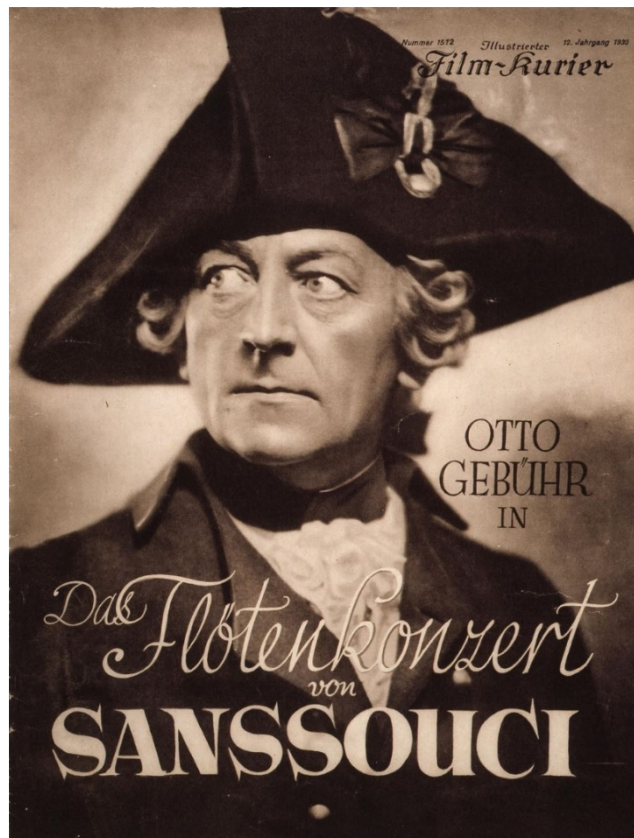


Fig. 6. *Film-Kurier*: *Das Flötenkonzert von Sanssouci* (Berlin, 1930)

To this day, pictures of Old Fritz are also sold to enthusiasts in the commercial souvenir and kitsch industry. For the well-to-do customers there are, for instance, Frederick busts and statuettes, which in reduced form imitate well-known models, such as the sculptures by Johann Gottfried Schadow. Either we see Old Fritz in uniform and with a tricorne, usually leaning on his Fritz stick or his field marshal's baton, or he is shown to us as a philosopher with a broad



furrowed brow — based on busts of Roman emperors, poets and thinkers. Even china lovers and fans of tin soldiers are catered for. Less well-heeled contemporaries can buy Frederick mugs in souvenir shops and on the Internet, apparently with whatever likeness they want — just as one imagines his Old Fritz personally. And for childlike persons there is Frederick on horseback as a Playmobil figure. Such souvenirs were already in circulation during the monarch's lifetime, and some of them were given to visitors as gifts by the king himself. In the 19th and 20th centuries these articles were mass-produced.<sup>15</sup>

For numismatists there are numerous coins that show the head of the Prussian king.<sup>16</sup> They were produced from the time of his accession to the throne in 1740 to his death in 1786 and beyond, and new ones are issued on the occasion of Frederick anniversaries. Most of these coins depict him in profile with curly hair or with a pigtail wig. After the end of the Seven Years' War he was made to look like an ancient emperor or victorious general with a laurel wreath, as he appears with his head held high proudly on the Reichsthaler coin from 1786 (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. *Fridericus Borussorum Rex* (Reichsthaler, 1786)

We mustn't forget the many biographies of the Prussian King. The traditional likeness of Frederick — whether young or old — is often used for the cover illustration of these books. We see Old Fritz cheered by the people on the cover of an edition of Franz Kugler's story of Frederick the Great; as a well-fed young monarch on the cover of the English version of a biography by Theodor Schieder; as a slim crown prince on a recent edition of Anton Friederich Büsching's insights into Frederick's private life; and as a military leader with a steely soldierly look on the cover of the German translation of Christopher Duffy's *The Army of Frederick the Great*. In contrast, Pesne's picture of the unwarlike handsome monarch adorns Rudolf G. Scharmann's booklet on Frederick's palaces and gardens. In Ziesenis's painting adorning the cover of Jürgen Luh's study *Der Große* the king appears in a more sober, bourgeois atmosphere. Johannes Kunisch, on the other hand, chose for his standard biography what is probably the best-known

<sup>15</sup> For example, snuff boxes with miniature portraits or porcelain and bronze statuettes showing Frederick on horseback were given by the king to diplomats and other high-ranking personalities. See Frauke Mankartz, "Die Marke Friedrich: Der preußische König im zeitgenössischen Bild", in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April – 28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung*, 212, 218; Preisendörfer, "Das Bildnis des Königs" [as in note 10], 91, 93. On the collectors' items from later times, see Leonore Koschnick, "Das Idol im Wohnstübchenformat", in ead., *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt* [as in note 1], 76–95. For the 300th birthday of the monarch even Steiff teddy bears were put into Prussian uniforms and, in a limited edition of 1000, were sold under the name "Frederick the Great". Pictured *ibid.*, 111. On the extremely popular Playmobil figure, see Erik Wenk, "Friedrich der Kleine", *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten*, 19 April 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Gunther Hahn/Alfred Kerndl, *Friedrich der Grosse im Münzbildnis seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein Verlag; Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1986); Bernd Kluge, *Die Münzen König Friedrichs II. von Preussen, 1740–1786: Auf der Grundlage der Werke Friedrich Freiherr von Schröters neu bearbeitet unter Mitarbeit von Elke Bannicke und Renate Vogel* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2012); Künker, *World Money Fair '18 Berlin: Spitzenstücke von Brandenburg-Preußen: Die Sammlung Gunther Hahn*, Auction 300, 1 February 2018 in Berlin (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Estrel Hotel, Berlin, 2018), 64–104.

portrait of the elderly monarch, painted by Graff. Last but not least, the Penguin edition of Tim Blanning's highly acclaimed English-language monograph shows a close-up view of a sculpture of Old Fritz, namely the head of Schadow's recently restored marble statue in Szczecin.<sup>17</sup> But which image represents the face of the monarch most authentically and would most deserve to be used to decorate a cover?

### Voices from the 18th century prove it: The truth was very different

While early portraits show Frederick as a really pretty child and a handsome young man, a statement by the Austrian ambassador General Friedrich Heinrich Graf von Seckendorff about the 14-year-old Crown Prince said that he “looked old and stiff when he was still so young because of the hardships imposed on him by his father and acted as if he had already fought many campaigns”.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, he does not seem to have been a rather handsome boy. But if his actual appearance was stiff and old at a very young age, how could it be that he looks so handsome in the group portrait painted by Francesco Carlo Rusca or Georg Lisiewski (Fig. 8),<sup>19</sup> which shows the crown prince in his mid-twenties in a Prussian uniform jacket and cuirass with a command baton in his right hand as the head of his three younger brothers Augustus Ferdinand, Augustus William and Henry? Apparently his face was properly beautified with the help of the brush. There is evidence for this assumption in an anonymous miniature made several years later, which shows the king between his brother Henry and his nephew Frederick William II<sup>20</sup> — a representation of Frederick which is unfavourable in terms of beauty.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See the cover designs for Franz Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, n.d.); Theodor Schieder, *Frederick the Great*, edited and translated by Sabina Berkeley and H. M. Scott (London: Longman, 2000); Anton Friederich Büsching, *Friedrich der Große privat: Bericht eines Zeitgenossen* (Karwe: Ed. Rieger, 2013); Christopher Duffy, *Friedrich der Große und seine Armee* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch-Verlag, 2009); Rudolf G. Scharmann, *Friedrich der Große: Seine Schlösser und Gärten* (Berlin: Braus, 2012); Jürgen Luh, *Der Große: Friedrich II. von Preußen* (Munich: Siedler, 2011); Johannes Kunisch: *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004); Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia*, Penguin edition [as in note 9].

<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Christoph Förster, *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preußen*, 3 vols (Potsdam: Verlag von Ferdinand Riegel, 1834–1835), vol. II: 43. See also Paul Seidel, “Die Kinderbildnisse Friedrichs des Großen und seiner Brüder”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 15 (1911), 29; Uwe A. Oster, *Sein Leben war das traurigste der Welt: Friedrich II. und der Kampf mit seinem Vater* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 2011), 33. When a marriage between the crown prince and the English princess Amalie was considered and the English royal family wanted a portrait of Frederick, his father said that Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the wife of King George II, should have a large monkey painted for her because that was Frederick's likeness. See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 96; Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 27. Even if one assumes that Frederick William I was annoyed about his son and the request of the Hanoverians in England, such a statement suggests that Frederick wasn't a beauty even at a young age and expressions to the contrary were part of the usual flattery.

<sup>19</sup> Paul Seidel, “Die Bildnisse Friedrichs des Großen” [as in note 10], 105–106; Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 263–64 and Fig. 8; Franziska Windt, “Ahnen und Heroen: Friedrichs dynastische Strategie im Bild”, in *Friedrich300—Friedrich der Große und die Dynastie der Hohenzollern* (September 2013) <[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256843332\\_Friedrich300\\_-\\_Friedrich\\_der\\_Grosse\\_und\\_die\\_Dynastie\\_der\\_Hohenzollern\\_Ahnen\\_und\\_Heroen\\_Friedrichs\\_dynastische\\_Strategie\\_im\\_Bild](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256843332_Friedrich300_-_Friedrich_der_Grosse_und_die_Dynastie_der_Hohenzollern_Ahnen_und_Heroen_Friedrichs_dynastische_Strategie_im_Bild)>, 6 and Fig. 1. Börsch-Supan more recently attributed the picture to Georg Lisiewski because it bears similarities to Lisiewski's portraits of the family of General Karl Friedrich von Derschau and the seventeen-year-old crown prince. See Helmut Börsch-Supan/Wolfgang Savelsberg, *Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (1725–1794)*, exh. cat., Museum Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau, 29 August–31 October 2010; Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 10 December 2010–6 March 2011, ed. Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 24. For Seidel, the uniforms the brothers are wearing in this group portrait seem to have been more important than questions about the likeness of the portrayed. See Seidel, “Die Kinderbildnisse Friedrichs des Großen und seiner Brüder” [as in note 18], 34.

<sup>20</sup> *Frederick II with his brother, Heinrich, Prince of Prussia, and his nephew Friedrich Wilhelm II, the future King of Prussia*. After a miniature of 1770 <<https://www.gettyimages.ac/detail/news-photo/frederick-ii-with-his-brother-heinrich-prince-of-prussia-news-photo/171102564>>.

<sup>21</sup> However, Frederick's brother Henry was not a handsome man either; he is said to have been even smaller than his famous brother and to have had a rather long nose that ended in a knob and a pockmarked face. One eye is also said to have protruded over the years like that of the late English comedian and actor, Marty Feldman. See Lutz Unterseher, *Antifritz: Hommage an Prinz Heinrich von Preußen* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2015), 53–54. Cf. Eva Ziebur, *Prinz Heinrich von Preußen [Preußische Köpfe: Geschichte]* (Berlin: Stapp Verlag, 1999).



Fig. 8. Left: Francesco Carlo Rusca or Georg Lisiewski, *Crown Prince Frederick and His Three Younger Brothers* (1737; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg). Right: Head of the crown prince. Detail from the same picture

The traditional portraits must be judged from two aspects: On the one hand there are the highly idealised late Baroque portraits of the handsome monarch done by the court painter Antoine Pesne and his imitators, which apparently have little to do with Frederick's real appearance. On the other hand there are the rough imitations of Johann Heinrich Christian Franke's popular depiction of Old Fritz (hardly significant numerically), which show him with bulging eyes and a wrinkled face, in other words particularly ugly (Fig. 4 right).<sup>22</sup>

Evidence that Pesne's embellished portraits did not correspond to reality can occasionally be found in contemporary comments. When, after a long absence, the crown prince returned to court to attend the wedding of his favourite sister Wilhelmine on November 23, 1731, she hardly recognised him because his face was so very different and no longer handsome.<sup>23</sup> Even if she may have found her brother to be rather pretty when he was a boy, he was no longer so at the age of 19, after his imprisonment in Kostrzyn nad Odrą. It is no wonder, then, that Charles Étienne Jordan, Frederick's secretary, advisor and close confidant, could find "only little resemblance" to the 30-year-old monarch in a portrait engraving made by Johann Georg Wille after a portrait by Pesne in 1742 (Fig. 9).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Mankartz, "Die Marke Friedrich" [as in note 15], 205, Fig. 2. When the Austrian Chancellor Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg asked Frederick for a portrait done by Charles-Amédée Philippe van Loo, because all portraits of the king that he had "did not resemble him in any way", he was sent a knee-length portrait by Franke, namely the picture of Frederick with the tricorne on his head and unflattering facial features standing in front of the Temple of Janus. See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 122 and Plate 42. Apparently the king believed that this portrait looked most like him, and Kaunitz really seems to have been satisfied with it. It is also worth mentioning that the king was depicted with large protruding eyes only on coins dating from around 1754 to the present day. See Hahn/Kernd'l, *Friedrich der Grosse im Münzbildnis seiner Zeit* [as in note 16], 108, 116 and Figs. 32, 39, 45, 48, 49, etc. Some authors even consider the big eyes, as they appear in some portraits of the old king, to be a typical feature of the monarch and assume that he suffered from an overactive thyroid and thus had "the bulging eyes like a frog". See Norbert Leithold, *Friedrich der Grosse – wie er wirklich war oder Die beliebtesten Irrtümer über den König von Preussen* (Taucha: Tauchaer Verlag, 2005), 15–16.

<sup>23</sup> *Memoiren von Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, Markgräfin von Baireuth, Schwester Friedrichs des Großen, vom Jahre 1706 bis 1742. Von ihr selbst niedergeschrieben. Nach dem französischen Original übersetzt von Th. Hell*, vol. I (Braunschweig: Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1845), 324; Reinhold Koser, "Die Berichte der Zeitgenossen über die äußere Erscheinung Friedrichs des Großen", *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 1 (1897), 89.

<sup>24</sup> On September 8, 1742, Jordan reported to the king: "The last portrait of Your Majesty painted by Pesne was engraved in Paris; I could only find little resemblance in the engraving." Cited in Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 107–108. Even in the 18th century critics had accused Pesne of portraying all women equally beautifully and lacking



Fig. 9. Johann Georg Wille, *Charles Frederic, Roy de Prusse Electeur de Brandebourg* (1742)

In other words: Frederick almost certainly did not look like the one in this picture. But what did he actually look like? Is there any image at all that accurately depicts the monarch's facial features?

Andrea M. Kluxen, who has dealt a little more intensively with different types of portraits of Frederick — from idealising representational Baroque images to more popular representations — comes to the conclusion that “there is no realistic image of Frederick”.<sup>25</sup> And statements by contemporaries who met the king personally raise considerable doubts as to whether a truly authentic portrait even exists. In 1761, during a meeting with Frederick, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim saw “a royal face that not a single painting depicts truthfully”.<sup>26</sup> In 1769, Emperor Joseph II wrote to his mother Maria Theresa after his visit to the Prussian King in Neisse: “He does not resemble any of the pictures you have seen of him [...]”.<sup>27</sup> Four years later, the

---

any sharper characterisation. See *ibid.*, 115; Paul Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient, 1922), 186–87. The same applies to his Frederick portraits. The crown prince was aware of these tendencies towards idealisation, because in his poem of praise “To Antoine Pesne” (1737) he says: “Your knowledge and your art surpass nature. / And from the bottom of the picture your shadows bring out / The object that your hand depicts so vividly. / Such is the magic of art, such its prestige; / You know to make your drawings, your portraits truly dazzling.” See Gustav Berthold Volz (ed.), *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, vol. 10: *Dichtungen*, part 2 (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1914), 29. In the original wording: „Ton savoir et ton art surpassent la nature. / Et du fond du tableau tes ombres font sortir / L’objet que de clarté ta main sut revêtir. / Tel est l’effet de l’art, tels en sont les prestiges; / Tes dessins, tes portraits sont autant de prodiges.“ Cited in Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* (op. cit.), 189. Kunisch’s opinion, on the other hand, that all Pesne portraits of the crown prince and young king “should faithfully represent the characteristics of his appearance” is certainly wrong, especially because, as the author himself admits, Pesne’s idealising portraits were “not primarily an authentic representation of Frederick”. See Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 90.

<sup>25</sup> Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 34.

<sup>26</sup> Letter from Gleim to Karl Wilhelm Ramler dated 8 January 1761. See Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 3: *Geistesleben, Alter und Tod* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901), 40.

<sup>27</sup> Letter dated August 29, 1769. See Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 2: *Siebenjähriger Krieg und Folgezeit bis 1778* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901), 213; Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 266.

French ambassador Count Jacques Antoine Hippolyte Guibert remarked on a portrait of Frederick that he had bought: “It is true as far as the clothing is concerned [...], but it in no way resembles the prince who spoke to me.”<sup>28</sup> In 1775, Dr John Moore, who accompanied the Duke of Hamilton on his travels abroad, said after his meeting with the king in Potsdam: “although I have seen many [portraits] which have a little resemblance of him, and some which have a great deal, yet none of them do him justice.”<sup>29</sup> For the chronicler Friedrich Nicolai it was clear: “[...] no portrait is like him.”<sup>30</sup> Last but not least, Johann Georg Sulzer, author of a general theory on the fine arts which was very well known at the time, wrote in 1779: “All the pictures I have ever seen of the king are caricatures; there are so many subtleties in his physiognomy that no one has rendered and no one will ever render fully truthfully.”<sup>31</sup> In view of these comments, it is not surprising that Gustav Ludwig von der Marwitz reported from London that many Englishmen stormed him with questions about “Fridericus” engravings because they wanted to find out which print looked most like the king.<sup>32</sup>

We now know what Frederick the Great didn’t look like, namely not like in the traditional portraits, but there doesn’t seem to be any specific clues as to what he actually looked like. Or does it?

### The Prussian king was not a handsome man

First of all, one thing is certain: the Prussian king himself felt ugly! He didn’t like his reflection in the mirror and loathed most of his portraits. Commenting to the Marquis d’Argens, he remarked: “There is so much talk about the fact that we terrestrial kings are made in the image of God. Then I look in the mirror and am obliged to say to myself: How unlucky for God!”<sup>33</sup> These external defects were probably the main reason why the monarch did not sit for portrait painters.<sup>34</sup> He did not consider himself worthy of a portrait; he said that he bore no resemblance to Apollo, Mars or Adonis.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 2 [as in note 27], 239.

<sup>29</sup> John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany: With Anecdotes relating to some Eminent Characters*, vol. II, 3rd edn (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, 1780), 245. Cf. also Koser, “Die Berichte der Zeitgenossen über die äußere Erscheinung Friedrichs des Großen” [as in note 23], 97.

<sup>30</sup> Seidel, “Die Bildnisse Friedrichs des Großen” [as in note 10], 107; Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 113; Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 31.

<sup>31</sup> Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Große im Bilde seiner Zeit* (Berlin and Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1926), 36.

<sup>32</sup> Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 33.

<sup>33</sup> Cited by Gisela Groth, “Wie Friedrich II. wirklich aussah”, *Preußische Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 November 2012.

<sup>34</sup> When Voltaire asked him for an up-to-date portrait in 1743, Frederick informed him: “I am not painted, nor will I be painted, so I can give you only medals.” See Karl Heinrich Siegfried Rödenbeck, *Tagebuch oder Geschichtskalender aus Friedrich’s des Großen Regentenleben* (1740–1786), vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag der Plahn’schen Buchhandlung, 1840), 92. Cf. Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 91. However, in 1733, as crown prince, Frederick sat for a portrait by Pesne once, but with displeasure. See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 98. See also Rainer Michaelis, “Kronprinz Friedrich von Preußen en miniature: Notizen zu einer Arbeit Antoine Pesnes”, *Pantheon*, 54 (1996), 190–92. He never did it again later. Apparently not for the portrait by Ziesenis either, although this has occasionally been claimed. See Jean Lulvès, *Das einzige glaubwürdige Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen als König* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1913); Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 118–21; August Fink, “Herzogin Philippine Charlotte und das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen”, *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 40 (1959), 117–35; Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 266; Schrader, *Der Bildnismaler Johann Georg Ziesenis* [as in note 6], 101–19, esp. 110. Because of its alleged authenticity, the portrait painted by Ziesenis fetched 670,000 euros at an auction in 2009. See “Porträt von Friedrich II. bringt über halbe Million”, *Die Welt*, 10 October 2009.

<sup>35</sup> “You have to be Apollo, Mars or Adonis to be painted, but since I do not have the honour of resembling one of these gentlemen, I have withdrawn my face from the painters’ brush as much as it depended on me,” Frederick wrote on 14 December 1774 to Jean-Baptiste le Rond d’Alembert. Cited in Hans Dollinger, *Friedrich II. von Preußen: Sein Bild im Wandel von zwei Jahrhunderten* (Munich: List Verlag, 1986), 82; Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 28. Martin Schieder regards this statement as an ironic allusion to the glorification of Louis XIV as a god-like king, for example in the French portraits by Hyacinthe Rigaud — a glorification the Prussian king didn’t think much of. See Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs” [as in note 10], 331–32. Even as crown prince he had told his sister Wilhelmine in 1735: “To have me painted as a

But if he did not sit for portraits, where do the many portraits, which were produced in Berlin and elsewhere, come from? The demand for a portrait of the Prussian king was considerable at all European courts and even among the bourgeoisie.<sup>36</sup> Artists were occasionally allowed an audience with the monarch, during which time they could examine his facial features at close range for a few minutes, in order to later use from memory what they had seen for a painting. Otherwise they had to rely on roughly examining the appearance of the king for such portraits from a distance, for example when he was reviewing a troop parade or appearing in public on another occasion. Some painters didn't even do this, but simply invented a portrait at their own discretion. What ultimately emerged as pictures of Frederick were hardly realistic representations. The king, too, was aware of this. When Count Albert Joseph von Hoditz asked him for a portrait in 1767, he told him that he could easily send him one, but could not guarantee whether it would look like him.<sup>37</sup>

It is interesting to note that the monarch himself was not entirely satisfied with the portraits commissioned by his relatives. When he sent one of these unloved portraits to his nephew, Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who had ordered it for his masonic lodge, he recommended to place the picture in the garden as an alternative to a scarecrow.<sup>38</sup>

Despite such clues, we only know that Frederick was not a handsome man, but still not what he actually looked like. Let us therefore try to approach the problem from a different angle.

### **The death mask reveals it: Frederick had a crooked nose**

A few hours after the Prussian king died on August 17, 1786, his successor, Frederick William II, ordered the Potsdam sculptor Johann(es) Eckstein to take a plaster cast from the face of the deceased in order to create a wax death mask from it (Fig. 10 left).<sup>39</sup> He did it while the body

---

god would be bad for me, because I am not even suited to be portrayed as a miniature god. Not even in the smallest format.” Nevertheless, in 1736 he allowed his court painter Pesne to comply with his sister's request for a portrait, but asked the artist “not to put so much emphasis on the facial features”, but above all to express the feelings the crown prince had for Wilhelmine. Cited in Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 106. Years later, when the head equerry Count Friedrich Albert von Schwerin wanted a portrait of the king, he said that pretty young girls could be painted, but not an old guy like him. Cited *ibid.*, 123, and in Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs” [as in note 10], 325. And when he was asked by Pesne to be available for a portrait intended for the Russian Tsarina Elizabeth, the artist received the negative reply that he should “only paint a handsome young man, it will be fine that way”. See Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs” [as in note 10], 333.

<sup>36</sup> Portraits of Frederick were also in demand abroad. On 5 February 1758, Landgravine Karoline von Hessen-Darmstadt wrote to Princess Amalia in a somewhat exaggerated manner: “Half of the Parisian women have a picture of Frederick next to their bed [...]” See Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 2 [as in note 27], 44.

<sup>37</sup> J[ohann] D[avid] E[rdmann] Preuß, *Urkundenbuch zu der Lebensgeschichte Friedrichs des Großen*, 2nd part (Berlin: In der Nauckschen Buchhandlung, 1833), 228. When Voltaire asked Frederick for a current portrait in 1772, Frederick only sent him a foam coin, adding: “You will know that, since I have never had myself painted, neither my portraits nor my medals are like me. [...] In addition, the medals testify more to the events of the time than to serve the similitude.” Cited in Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 135, and in Hahn/Kernd'l, *Friedrich der Grosse im Münzbildnis seiner Zeit* [as in note 16], 80. However, in 1775 he sent Voltaire the portrait that Anna Dorothea Therbusch had probably painted together with her brother Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (Fig. 22 left), noting with a wink of the artist's idealising portrayal: “In order not to dishonour her brush, she has adorned my contorted face again with the grace of youth.” See Mankartz, “Die Marke Friedrich” [as in note 15], 209, Fig. 8. On the joint projects of the siblings, see Gerd Bartoschek, “Gemeinsam stark? Anna Dorothea Therbusch und ihre Zusammenarbeit mit Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky”, in Börsch-Supan/Savelsberg, *Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (1725–1794)* [as in note 19], 77–84.

<sup>38</sup> Letter dated 30 January 1777. See Emil Knorr, “Friedrich der Große als Freimaurer”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 3 (1899), 122. See also Schieder, “Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs” [as in note 10], 331; Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 24.

<sup>39</sup> See L[eopold] Heine, “Totenmasken der Hohenzollern, Friedrichs des Großen, seines Vaters, Großvaters und Urgroßvaters”, *Zeitschrift für Konstitutionslehre*, 17, no. 5 (1933), 635–40; Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 140–42 and Plates 65–69; Friedrich Benninghoven/Helmut Börsch-Supan/Iselin Grundermann, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ausstellung des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz anlässlich des 200. Todestages König Friedrichs II. von Preußen* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1986), XIV, 327–28; Michael Hertl, *Totenmasken: Was vom Leben und Sterben bleibt* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002), 159–63; Linda Brüggemann, *Herrschaft und Tod in der frühen Neuzeit: Das Sterbe- und Begräbniszeremoniell preußischer Herrscher vom Großen Kurfürsten bis zu Friedrich Wilhelm II. (1688–1797)* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2015), 290–91.

was being washed. A bust was later made by the same sculptor based on this death mask. According to Frederick William, this “is very much like the deceased king. Although his face has changed a lot after death, the bust looks just like he was at the point of death.”<sup>40</sup> In other words: Both the death mask and the bust depict Frederick what he looked like at the time of his death. And this death mask makes one thing clear, even if you take into account that the cheeks and temples are more sunken in his old age than when he was younger: Old Fritz had a strongly curved nose and no other attractive facial features that would match the classic ideal of beauty. It is interesting that in a first version of the bust, Eckstein emphasised the sunken parts of the face to be seen in the death mask, but then later in his definitive version (Fig. 23 left) softened these details and also the curve of the nose.<sup>41</sup>

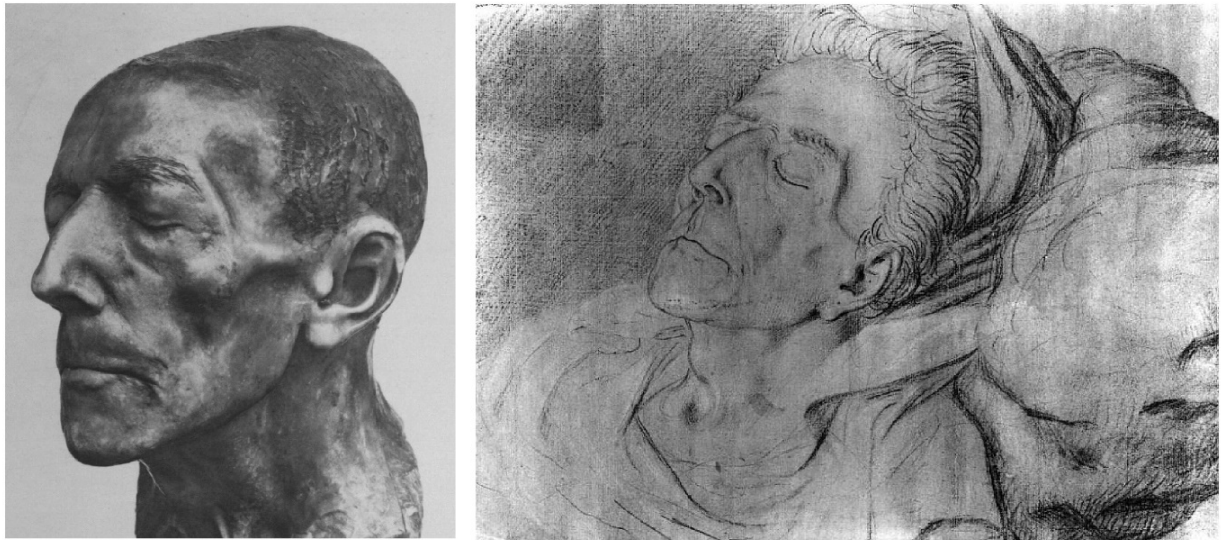


Fig. 10. Johann Eckstein, Death mask of Frederick the Great (1786) and drawing of the recently deceased king on his death bed (Graphic Collection, Schloss Charlottenburg)

The fact that the monarch’s nose was actually strongly curved is clear not only from the death mask, but also from a drawing by Eckstein depicting Frederick on his death bed in the Sanssouci concert room (Fig. 10 right).<sup>42</sup> The only acceptable conclusion is that the Prussian king must have had this huge crooked nose, which you can see in this sketch, during his lifetime, because it is not possible that its shape changes due to age or that a relatively straight nose only becomes curved on the death bed.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 3 [as in note 26], 245; Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 62.

<sup>41</sup> Profile views of the heads of the first and second model of Eckstein’s bust are shown in Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], Plates 72 and 73. In addition, there are numerous cast variants of both the death mask and the bust in museums and private collections that differ more or less strongly from the original.

<sup>42</sup> On the wax cast of Frederick’s face and on Eckstein’s drawing, see Saskia Hüneke, “Friedrich der Grosse in der Bildhauerkunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts”, *Jahrbuch/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2 (1997–1998) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001), 70–71 and 73, Fig. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Because the face becomes narrower with age, the nose can appear a little larger than in younger years; its tip can also sink slightly, and because of the expanding, slacker connective tissue it could even become a few millimeters longer, but a relatively straight shape will not change into a strongly curved one. The view of Arnold Hildebrand must also be rejected, who tried to justify the straight nose shape deviating from the death mask in a portrait of Frederick by Pesne, arguing that the nose of the Prussian king must have changed significantly in death: “it curved down, became narrow and angular”. Already during his lifetime this would supposedly “have prepared itself noticeably”, namely “through the gradual loss of the teeth and the resulting collapse of the mouth, through sharper features”. See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 114. Cf. *ibid.*, 142. But even cheeks that have sunken due to age cannot transform a straight nose into a crooked one, as shown by numerous other death masks, in which the original shape of the nose was retained, although the teeth had fallen out. It can therefore be concluded that Frederick’s nose must have been curved before.

In the spring of 1785, Countess Henriette von Egloffstein reported that, as a young girl, probably in June 1783, around three years before Frederick's death, she saw a "mummy-like old man in a shabby uniform" riding past her carriage. "The big feather hat was pushed diagonally into the face, which was disfigured by an enormous nose, small pinched mouth and large bullock eyes."<sup>44</sup> The fact that the king had an extremely distinctive nose long before his death, which some contemporaries apparently made fun of, is also indicated by the following biting remark made by him about himself: "My nose may be large, but it's not for dancing around."<sup>45</sup>

## The classic straight nose in portraits

Why was Frederick almost always depicted with a straight nose in the traditional portraits? In the 18th century it was not customary for portraitists to represent their usually high-ranking clients in pictures as ugly as they looked in real life. They generally flattered their models by adapting the facial features according to the prevailing ideal of beauty. The only exceptions to this rule were satirical depictions and caricatures. When reproducing Frederick's nose, most of the artists seem to have oriented themselves to the classical Greek ideal of beauty.<sup>46</sup> This becomes particularly clear in pure profile views, for example in a pastel by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff (Fig. 11 left).<sup>47</sup> It shows the crown prince's head from the right. With the

<sup>44</sup> Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 3 [as in note 26], 198; Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 57 and 77n149. That Old Fritz must have had an unusual nose is also evident from the fact that Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, the king's nine-year-old godchild who was allowed to look at the body of the deceased monarch laid out in the yellow audience hall of the Potsdam City Palace, noticed that, next to the "sublime, almost unchanged facial features", the otherwise straight nose was "somewhat sunk at the root, raised in the middle, now almost an aquiline nose". Without doubt, the boy, who was an enthusiastic fan of the Prussian king, had above all the "beautiful bust of Master Paine" [= Pesne] in mind, which, as he himself writes, hung on his wall and which the crown prince "had it painted for his friend, the then Captain La Motte Fouqué". As usual, this portrait showed Frederick with his nose straightened, which is why the boy was so amazed to see the "aquiline nose", which "compared to the king's earlier busts" was so different. See *Lebensgeschichte des Baron Friedrich de La Motte Fouqué* (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1840), 31, 34–35. See also Johannes Kunisch, "Das Begräbnis eines Unsterblichen? Die Trauerfeierlichkeiten für Friedrich den Großen", in id., *Friedrich der Große in seiner Zeit: Essays* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), 113. In 1952, Prince Louis Ferdinand had Frederick's remains brought to the Swabian castle of Hohenzollern. When Adolf Rudolph, a plumber, opened the coffin and saw the crooked nose of the corpse, he was totally amazed and prompted to say: "The king lay in the coffin as if he had just been put in it in boots reaching up to the thigh, wearing a neatly curled wig and being perfectly embalmed. 'Only the nose was buckled' [...]" See "Eingeknickte Nase: Kanzler Kohl ist Ehrengast, wenn der Leichnam Friedrichs des Großen nach Potsdam umgebettet wird", *Der Spiegel*, 45, no. 30 (22 July 1991), 31–33.

<sup>45</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 362 (28 December 1854), 5784.

<sup>46</sup> Saskia Hüneke also noticed in her analysis of the Frederick busts and statues that many of them depict the bridge of the nose in a relatively straight line. "In comparison, the wax pouring from the original form of the death mask does not show this line, so that it is more an ideal of the ancient Greek profile derived from the self-image of the king." See Hüneke, "Friedrich der Große in der Bildhauerkunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts" [as in note 42], 62. Preisendörfer emphasises, however, that "Frederick did not order the idealisation of his portrait", because the portrayal of his person had become "increasingly indifferent" to him. See Preisendörfer, "Das Bildnis des Königs" [as in note 10], 99. In addition, Frauke Mankartz points out that although Frederick withdrew from portraits of his "natural body", he fulfilled his "royal duties of representation" by making his idealised "political body" [...] available for official portraits, but apparently hardly anyone was bothered that these representations deviated from reality. See Mankartz, "Die Marke Friedrich" [as in note 15], 209. As for the convention of that time, which differentiated between the "corpus politicum" and the "corpus naturale", i.e., between the ruler as the representative of a supra-individual, if not God-given, office, who was consequently to be depicted in an unrealistic and exaggerated way, and the mortal, real appearance of the monarch, which contradicted the current ideals of beauty and had nothing to do with the "political body", Ernst H[artwig] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957); Claudia Breger, "A Hybrid Emperor: The Poetics of National Performance in Kantorowicz's Biography of Frederick II", *Colloquia Germanica*, 35, nos. 3–4 (2002), 287–310. More recently, Kristin Marek even suggests "three bodies of the king" with regard to their representative function: the natural, the political and the sacred bodies. See Kristin Marek, *Die Körper des Königs: Effigies, Bildpolitik und Heiligkeit* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> Ute-G. Weickardt/Tilo Eggeling (eds.), "Zum Maler und zum Großen Architekten geboren": *Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, 1699–1753*, exh. cat., Weißer Saal, Schloss Charlottenburg, 18 February–25 April 1999 (Berlin: Generaldirektion der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), 170; Benninghoven/Börsch-Supan/Grundermann, *Friedrich der Grosse* [as in note 39], 32; Alfred P. Hagemann, "Im Schatten des großen Königs: Königin Elisabeth Christine und ihr Verhältnis zu Friedrich II.", in *perspectiva.net: Friedrich300 – Friedrich und die historische Größe* <[http://www.perspectiva.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/hagemann\\_schatten](http://www.perspectiva.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/hagemann_schatten)>, 6. Cf. also the very similar profile in the oil painting version from 1737 (Schlossmuseum Wernigerode), shown in Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern,



nose straightened by Knobelsdorff in the classic manner, the bridge of the nose continues in a straight line into the forehead. This type of representation seems to have had an immense influence on countless later profile portraits of the king, as can be seen on an overview page of the graphic portraits of Frederick published by Edwin von Campe (Fig. 11 right). Classically straightened noses wherever you look — sometimes even over-long!<sup>48</sup> Many reliefs and coin portraits also adopt the straight profile line of the forehead and nose as depicted by Knobelsdorff. An aquatint etching (Fig. 12 left),<sup>49</sup> which shows the death mask in a three-quarter profile, makes the curve of the nose disappear, as if to confirm that Old Fritz had the straight nose due to a king as if by right.



Fig. 11. Left: Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, *Crown Prince Frederick* (Pastel, c.1737; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg). Right: various graphic profile representations of Old Fritz from a page in Edwin von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Grossen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* (Munich, 1958)

So it is not surprising that the self-proclaimed physiognomist Johann Caspar Lavater also spoke of Frederick the Great's "forehead extending straight ahead with a straight nose", "whose profile would be the same as half an Egyptian pyramid".<sup>50</sup> And as early as 1758, Frederick's reader and private secretary Henri de Catt remarked: "The king's profile shows a very straight line [...]."<sup>51</sup>

*Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen* [as in note 9], 126, Fig. 42. On Knobelsdorff's portraits of Frederick, see also Börsch-Supan, "Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis" [as in note 5], 262–63 and Figs. 5–6.

<sup>48</sup> Von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Grossen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* [as in note 8], 94.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. no. 6, Fig. 217.

<sup>50</sup> Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung von Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, Dritter Versuch (Leipzig and Winterthur: Weidmanns Erben & Reich; Heinrich Steiner & Compagnie, 1777), Paragraph XII, Fragment X, 349, 353.

<sup>51</sup> Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski/Gustav Berthold Volz (eds.), *Gespräche Friedrichs des Grossen* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1919), 70.



Fig. 12. Left: Eduard d’Alton, Death mask of Frederick the Great with a laurel wreath (aquatint). Centre: Daniel Chodowiecki, Profile representation of Frederick the Great for Johann Caspar Lavater’s *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775–1778). Right: Side view of Johann Eckstein’s death mask of Frederick the Great (1786)

What we may think of such statements is shown by a direct comparison of the side view of the death mask (Fig. 12 right) with the profile portrait of Old Fritz, which is found in Lavater’s *Physiognomic Fragments* (Fig. 12 centre). The illustration was a print made by the Berlin engraver and illustrator Daniel Chodowiecki. In his other works, he also portrayed the king with a straightened nose. Lavater admitted that, viewed up close, Frederick was “not beautiful in the way that unphysiognomic painters idealise him — not great in this way! — not at all beautiful”,<sup>52</sup> but showed his greatness in a different way. So he selected an engraving based on a gouache by Chodowiecki from 1776 as an illustration of Frederick on horseback for his *Physiognomic Fragments* of 1777 (Fig. 13), because he was of the opinion that “the great one, himself, rode past”<sup>53</sup> as he believed he knew him in person. Both in the gouache and in the re-engraving, which only depicts the colourful original in outlines, the king is sitting on his horse, strictly in profile, small and slightly bent, wearing his typical tricorne, with the nose appearing overemphasised and straight. Apparently it was incompatible with Lavater’s image of man that the king could have a crooked nose, just as it was inconceivable for Lavater that one could find a profile of Christ with a dented or aquiline nose as acceptable.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente*, Dritter Versuch, Paragraph XII, Fragment X [as in note 50], 348.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. The opaque colour picture of 1776, which shows Frederick on horseback (a representation that also circulated in numerous copies and engraved versions), is based on Chodowiecki’s gouache *Frederick the Great on Horseback to Inspect the 2nd Battalion of Life Guards*, made in 1772. See Ingeborg Preuß, “Daniel Chodowieckis ‘Roy à Cheval’ und sein General Zieten zu Pferde”, *Berlinische Notizen: Zeitschrift des Vereins der Freunde und Förderer des Berlin Museums e.V.*, 4 (1987) [Jubiläums-Ausgabe], 7–22 and Figs. 2, 4–8; Preisendörfer, “Das Bildnis des Königs” [as in note 10], 91; Rainer Michaelis, “Friedrich der Große im Spiegel der Werke des Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April– 28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. II: *Die Essays*, 265–67 and Fig. 6. On Chodowiecki’s widespread depictions of Frederick, which the king himself did not think much of, in more detail, see Wolfgang von Oettingen, “Daniel Chodowieckis Arbeiten für Friedrich den Großen und seine Darstellungen der königlichen Familie”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1904), 1–18; Paul Dehnert, “Daniel Chodowiecki und der König”, *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 14 (1977), 307–19; Michaelis, “Friedrich der Große im Spiegel der Werke des Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki” (op. cit.), 262–71; Leonore Koschnick/Thomas Weißbrich, “Bilder aus einem (Nach-)Leben voller Anekdoten”, in Koschnick, *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt* [as in note 1], 33–34, 36–40.

<sup>54</sup> Johann Caspar Lavater, *Von der Physiognomik: Zweytes Stück, welches einen in allen Absichten sehr unvollkommenen Entwurf zu einem Werke von dieser Art enthält*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1772), 116n. When Lavater writes “A word about the nose” in his *Physiognomic Fragments*, it all reads in a rather half-baked way. One thing is certain for him: “A beautiful nose will never be the result of a bad face. You can have an ugly face and delicate eyes. But not a beautiful nose and an ugly face.” On the other hand, there are “countless excellent people with ugly noses”, including some celebrities whom he names. Rather briefly, he takes a position on the crooked noses: “At the top of the root, bent noses [...] are more excellent for dominating, ruling, working, asserting, destroying.” Obviously, the energy, boldness and strength of will that have been attributed to the eagle since antiquity play a role in such utterances — qualities that could then be flatteringly transferred to an illustrious head, provided it had an unsightly aquiline nose, as was the case with Louis XIV. Lavater did not mention Old



Fig. 13. Left: (Copy after?) Daniel Chodowiecki, *Frederick II on Horseback* (1776). Right: Illustration for Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1777)

Besides the death mask, are there any other indications that Frederick the Great had a curved nose? If you take a closer look at the traditional portraits, you will notice that a few depictions certainly suggest the curvature of the nose — even if only slightly so because the artists had shied away from reproducing this detail too realistically. Among these we find Pesne's portrait of the young crown prince (Fig. 14 left) and a coin that was minted in 1740, i.e. the year Frederick ascended the throne (Fig. 14 half left), but also depictions of the king in his mid-forties, such as the engraved portrait from 1757 by Johann Georg Wille (Fig. 14 half right).

If, however, the young crown prince was depicted with a slightly curved nose, this suggests that Frederick must have had a crooked nose from early childhood. In this context, it is most noteworthy that a re-engraving by Johann Friedrich Bause after Wille's widespread portrait of the monarch straightened the slightly curved nose of the original (Fig. 14 right). Obviously it was impossible for the artist not to depict the king with a straight nose. Most of the other portraitists must have felt the same way.

---

Fritz in this context, because he believed that he had a straight nose. The widespread anti-Semitic prejudices of the time are most likely responsible for the remark that “the Jews mostly have hawk noses”. See Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung von Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, Vierter Versuch (Leipzig and Winterthur: Weidmanns Erben & Reich; Heinrich Steiner & Compagnie, 1778), Paragraph IV, Fragment V, 257–58. Incidentally, on 22 February 1786, Duke Karl Augustus of Saxony-Weimar wrote in a letter to Lavater about the head of the still living Old Fritz: “His forehead, nose, the outer surface of the upper head and the strength of the occiput seemed to me the strangest parts of his formation. The transition from forehead to nose did not seem so abrupt to me as it is usually depicted; there is a slight inflection in between. The forehead is not exactly straight either, but curves make it very lovely.” See Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 3 [as in note 26], 263. Apparently, even then, this statement was an admission — even if it was only tentatively expressed — that the usual straightened profile views of the king did not correctly reflect the true facts. If Lavater had known Frederick's death mask before he wrote his theory of physiognomics, he might have come to a different conclusion in his writings, since he was of the opinion that “plaster casts of the dead” can depict the “definiteness” of the features of the person concerned “much more sharply than in the living and sleeping”. “What makes life shaky, death fixes. What is indeterminate is determined. Everything comes to its level — all traits in their true proportions — unless serious illnesses and coincidences have preceded it.” Which is why he recommends nothing so much to physiognomists “as the study of true and unchangeable plaster casts”. See Lavater: *Physiognomische Fragmente*, Vierter Versuch (op. cit.), Paragraph II, Fragment V, 154; Moritz Siebert, “Die Totenmaske im 19. Jahrhundert”, in id., *Totenmaske und Porträt: Der Gesichtsabguss in der Kunst der Florentiner Renaissance* (Baden-Baden: Tectum Verlag, 2017), 54–55. Lavater does not question the authenticity of the facial features in death masks.



Fig. 14. Left: Antoine Pesne, *Crown Prince Frederick* (c.1729; detail). Half left: Coin issued on the occasion of Frederick's accession to the throne (1740). Half right: Johann Georg Wille, *Frederick II* (engraving, 1757; detail). Right: Johann Friedrich Bause, *Frederick II* (engraving after Wille; detail)

### Menzel continues to idealise the king's nose

In the 19th century, Adolph Menzel avoided representing Old Fritz with a crooked nose. He worked meticulously in libraries and archives with written and pictorial documents from Frederick's time and a collection of death masks hung on his studio wall, including apparently that of the Prussian king.<sup>55</sup> Yet, in his illustrations for Franz Kugler's story of Frederick the Great and in his paintings of Frederick, when depicting his facial features, he still uses the idealising representations of the 18th century. This, as Hubertus Kohle has pointed out,<sup>56</sup> was in spite of the fact that as a realist he deviates from the early modern tradition of apotheosising rulers in portraits. This becomes obvious when one takes a closer look at the wood engravings for Kugler, based on Menzel's models, which were made between 1839 and 1842 (Fig. 15).<sup>57</sup> Frederick, who in these illustrations usually doesn't appear as a triumphant hero, but rather as a "man of the people" and even as a suffering and doubting person, is depicted by Menzel as a

<sup>55</sup> Gisela Hopp, "Menzels 'Atelierwand' als Bildträger von Gedanken über Kriegsnot und Machtmissbrauch", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 41 (1999), supplement: "Adolph Menzel im Labyrinth der Wahrnehmung, Kolloquium anlässlich der Berliner Menzel-Ausstellung 1997", 131–38. We shouldn't be surprised by the many plaster casts in Menzel's studio. In the 19th century in particular, many artists used such face casts to ensure the likeness of the portraits to those portrayed. Voltaire's death mask, taken by Jean-Antoine Houdon in 1778, served as a template for extremely realistic busts. Marie Tussaud began collecting death masks in 1780 in order to make the wax work figures look particularly lifelike. And Lessing's death mask, which was taken in 1781, is considered to be the trigger for the flood of death masks made in 19th-century Germany. The public cult of remembrance and genius promoted this process. Death masks were primarily produced of heads of state and prominent intellectuals. Goethe owned no less than ten casts of death masks. See Siebert, "Die Totenmaske im 19. Jahrhundert" [as in note 54], 40–66.

<sup>56</sup> See Hubertus Kohle, "Adolph Menzels Friedrich: Eine Apologie historischer Größe", in *Friedrich und die historische Größe: Beiträge des dritten Colloquiums in der Reihe „Friedrich300“ vom 25./26. September 2009*, ed. Michael Kaiser and Jürgen Luh [*Friedrich300 – Colloquien*, 3], published on 21 September 2010 <[https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/kohle\\_menzel](https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/kohle_menzel)> and <[https://pub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/25622/1/oa\\_25622.pdf](https://pub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/25622/1/oa_25622.pdf)>.

<sup>57</sup> See Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Adolph Menzel's 'Daguerreotypical' Image of Frederick the Great: A Liberal Bourgeois Interpretation of German History", *Art Bulletin*, 59, no. 2 (June 1977), 242–61; Dorothee Entrup, *Adolph Menzels Illustrationen zu Franz Kuglers 'Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen': Ein Beitrag zur stilistischen und historischen Bewertung der Kunst des jungen Menzel* (Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1995); Hubertus Kohle, "Adolph Menzels Inszenierung des Herrschers in Franz Kuglers 'Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen'", in Bernd Sösemann (ed.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa – gefeiert und umstritten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 95–111; Kathrin Maurer, "Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in Franz Kugler and Adolph Menzel's Illustrated History Book *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (1842)", *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory*, 87, no. 2 (2012), 103–22; ead., "Franz Kugler and Adolph Menzel's *History of Frederick the Great* (1842)", in *Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in German Historicism* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter 2013), 118–44; ead., "Affective Battlefields: Royal Gender Hybridity and the Cultural Afterlife of Friedrich II," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41, no. 4 (December 2018), special issue: "Passions of War: Gender, Sexuality and Conflict in the Long Eighteenth Century", 597–613. In the latter article, Maurer points out that, in addition to the scenes in which Menzel shows the king on horseback as a battle leader and thus emphasises his heroic masculinity, a certain "gender hybridity" emerges in several of his wood engravings, which runs counter to such heroic tendencies, and even seems to emphasise the feminine side of the monarch (ibid., 604–605). More on this aspect below.

child; as a youth; as a crown prince; as a younger and as an older king nearly always with a straight nose, for example, when he looks a bit sullen at his own wedding; is together with his father in his last hour; gives a speech to his generals; goes for a walk with Voltaire; takes part in the Battle of Hohenfriedberg in the Second Silesian War; or exhaustedly rides through the city in his elder years.

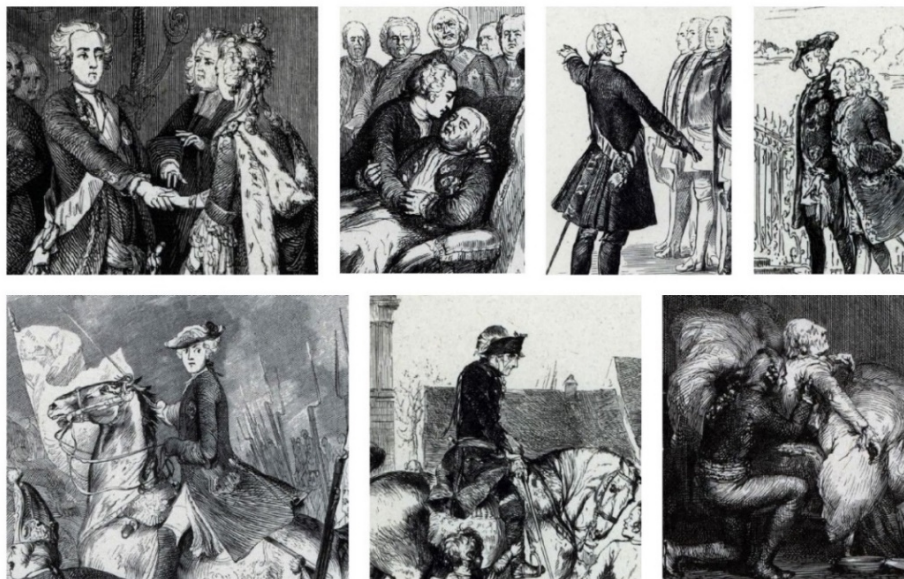


Fig. 15. Details from Adolph Menzel's illustrations for Franz Kugler's *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (1839–1842)



Fig. 16. Left: Adolph Menzel, *The Meeting of Frederick II and Emperor Joseph II in Neisse in 1769* (1857; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin; detail). Right: Adolph Menzel, *Flute Concert in Sanssouci* (1850–1852; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin; detail)

Menzel also depicted the king with a straightened nose in his oil paintings. In the scene of the meeting of Frederick II with Emperor Joseph II in Neisse (Fig. 16 left)<sup>58</sup> the two monarchs embrace amicably in the presence of high-ranking nobles and officers in the stairwell of Neisse Castle. Joseph, who happily rushes up from below, has a more crooked nose than Old Fritz,<sup>59</sup> who is approaching him from above and whose nose lacks any bend. In Menzel's *Flute Concert in Sanssouci* (fig. 16 right), which shows a private evening concert by candlelight modelled in every detail, the king wears a blue Prussian coat, soldier's knee-length boots and a pigtail wig.

<sup>58</sup> See Werner Busch, "Adolph Menzels 'Begegnung Friedrich II. mit Kaiser Joseph II. in Neisse im Jahre 1769' und Moritz von Schwinds 'Kaiser Rudolphs Ritt zum Grabe'", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 33 (1991), 173–83; Kohle, *Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder* [as in note 3], 89–91.

<sup>59</sup> Joseph II still seems to have the crooked Habsburg nose. However, probably because of his Lorraine father he lacks the protruding lower lip that was typical for earlier rulers of the Habsburg dynasty.

Playing the flute and concentrating on the sheet of music, he appears to have been realistically painted, but nevertheless in an exalted ambience. And we mustn't be surprised: of course, Frederick the musician is portrayed in his flute solo with idealised facial features and a classically straightened nose bridge.<sup>60</sup>

### **William Hogarth is the only artist who shows the gay Fritz truthfully with a brown complexion and an aquiline nose**

Is there no contemporary depiction of Frederick in which the crooked nose stands out as a characteristic feature? Yes, there is: in scene 4 of the six-part picture series *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1743–44; National Gallery, London),<sup>61</sup> the English artist William Hogarth, best known for his social satires, shows a morning reception in the bedroom of a fictional English countess (Fig. 17 left). There Frederick (and I am sure that is who it is) appears with a clearly visible aquiline nose as a flute player behind a singing Italian castrato and in front of a picture hanging on the wall, which — based on Michelangelo<sup>62</sup> — depicts a homoerotic scene, namely Jupiter in the form of an eagle, as he kidnapped young Ganymede, whom he had fallen madly in love with, to Olympus (Fig. 17 right).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See Günther Thiersch, “Das Flötenkonzert”, in id., *Deutsche Maler im 19. Jahrhundert: Zwanzig Meisterwerke aus dem Besitz der Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1979), 130–40; Jost Hermand, *Adolph Menzel: Das Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci. Ein realistisch geträumtes Preußenbild* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985); Kohle, *Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder* [as in note 3], 75–80; Gabriele Busch-Salmen, “Adolf Menzels ‘Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen in Sanssouci’: Ein vertrautes Gemälde, 150 Jahre nach seiner Fertigstellung neu gesehen”, *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography*, 28, no. 1–2 (Spring–Fall 2003), 127–46; Busch, *Adolph Menzel: Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit* [as in note 2], 139–44. It is highly remarkable that the realist Menzel opted for the straightened nose shape in all of his depictions, although he knew full well the death mask of Frederick. Obviously, in this case it was not the close historical authenticity that mattered to him as in other cases, but rather the preservation of that traditional, idealising, though false image of the monarch, which was firmly fixed in the minds of his compatriots through the many embellished portraits made since the 18th century.

<sup>61</sup> For the entire series, see Arthur S. Wensinger/William B. Coley (eds.), *Hogarth on High Life: The ‘Marriage à la Mode’ Series from Georg Christoph Lichtenberg’s Commentaries* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1970); Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 3rd edn (London: The Print Room, 1989), 114–24; id., *Hogarth, Volume 2: High Art and Low, 1732–1750* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1992), 208–45; Robert L. S. Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode: a re-view of Hogarth’s narrative art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); Judy Egerton, *Hogarth’s ‘Marriage A-la-Mode’*, exh. cat., The National Gallery, London, 15 October 1997–18 January 1998; Bernd Krysmanski, “Der pädophile Adelspross: Warum die arrangierte Ehe ‘nach der Mode’ scheitern musste. Eine Neubewertung von Hogarths *Marriage A-la-Mode* aus sexualgeschichtlicher Sicht zum 250jährigen Todestag des Künstlers”, *Lichtenberg-Jahrbuch 2013* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 57–141; Elizabeth Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2016), 256–65.

<sup>62</sup> Copies of Michelangelo’s lost original drawing, which in the past were often mistaken for the original, can now be found in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA (inventory no. 1955.75) or in Windsor Castle (RCIN 913036). Numerous copperplate versions, e.g. the engravings by Quirin Bol or Nicolas Beatrizet (Fig. 18 right) made the drawing known in England. See Michael Hirst, “A Drawing of ‘The Rape of Ganymede’ by Michelangelo”, in Sergio Bertelli/Gloria Ramakus (eds.), *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1978), vol. 2, 253–60; Paul Joannides (ed.), *Michelangelo and His Influence: Drawings from Windsor Castle*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 27 October 1996–5 January 1997; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 19 January–30 March 1997; Art Institute of Chicago, 12 April–22 June 1997; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 7 October–14 December 1997; The Queen’s Gallery, London, 25 January–5 April 1998 (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries Publishers, 1996), 72–74 (cat. no. 15); Marcella Marongiu, “Il fanciullo amato da Giove: Il *Ganimede* di Michelangelo a Firenze”, *Art e Dossier*, 17, no. 180 (2002), 27–32; Jenny Bergel, “Michelangelos Ganymed und die Homosexualität in der italienischen Renaissance”, student’s paper, University of Vienna, 2009 (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2009); Achim Gnann, *Michelangelo: Zeichnungen eines Genies*, exh. cat., Albertina, Vienna, 8 October 2010–9 January 2011 (Ostfildern: Hatje/Cantz, 2010), 276–80 (cat. no. 83); Carmen C. Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman and Designer*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 13 November 2017–12 February 2018 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), 149, 151, 153, 154–55; Berthold Hub, “Neoplatonism and Biography: Michelangelo’s *Ganymede* before and after Tommaso de’ Cavalieri”, in Berthold Hub/Sergius Kodera (eds.), *Iconology, Neoplatonism, and the Arts in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 106–36.

<sup>63</sup> On the hypothesis that this picture within the picture disclosed the Prussian king was gay, see Bernd Krysmanski, *Das einzig authentische Porträt des Alten Fritz? Entdeckt in Hogarths ‘Marriage A-la-Mode’. Is the only true likeness of Frederick the Great to be found in Hogarth’s ‘Marriage A-la-Mode’?* (Dinslaken: Krysmanski Press, 2015). There, on pages 39–42, it is additionally stated that Hogarth dealt with Frederick the Great in two other of his works. See also Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works* [as in note 61], 142, 179.



Fig. 17. Left: William Hogarth, *The Toilette*. Scene 4 of the series *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1744; National Gallery, London). Right: The flautist mocking the young Earl. Detail from the same painting

But what is an image of Frederick the Great doing in this picture?<sup>64</sup> Representing adultery, the scene shows the lady of the house, who is having her hair done, flirting shamelessly with her lover on the one side of the picture, who invites her to an erotic masquerade ball, whereas her husband, the young Earl on the other side of the picture,<sup>65</sup> is sipping a cup of hot chocolate, rather disinterested. The curlers in his hair together with the horned Actaeon statuette to which a coloured page boy points with a twinkle in his eye satirically degrade him to a complete cuckold. But that's not all: the previous scene, which shows the young Earl together with an underage whore,<sup>66</sup> reveals his pedophilic tendencies. This may be the reason why his wife is cheating on him. The auction catalogue of a certain "S[i]r Tim[oth]y Babyhouse" lying on the floor also refers to the pedophilia of the young Earl: the name "Timothy" was used for a child's penis at that time!<sup>67</sup> In order to mock the cuckolded husband even more scornfully for his abnormal sexual needs, in the *Levee* picture he is framed by homosexuals: a castrato lavishly bejewelled with diamond-studded rings on his ear and fingers is sitting next to him; a little further back a man is waving a fan on his wrist; and Old Fritz, the most prominent of all "sodomites" of the time, is standing behind the cuckolded lord, playing the flute. The fact that Frederick's likeness has a rather brown complexion in contrast to the others present in the oil

<sup>64</sup> The assumption, originally made by John Nichols and often repeated, that the flautist was not Frederick II, but Karl Friedrich Weidemann, a member of the Royal Society of Musicians and a musician in Handel's opera orchestra, who died in 1782 (see *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth: With a Catalogue of his Works chronologically arranged, and occasional Remarks*, 2nd edn, London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, 1782, 223), is, to my mind, completely unfounded. In the print *The Modern Orpheus*, which was wrongly attributed to Hogarth and was supposed to represent Weidemann, the flute player looks very different. Cf. the illustration in Jeremy Barlow, *'The Enraged Musician': Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 205. Elizabeth Einberg additionally points out that John Phillips, born around 1791, did not take the flautist for Weidemann, but for John Lewis, who died in 1803, a nephew of Hogarth's wife Jane. See Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* [as in note 61], 262, 378–79. However, this assumption is unjustified either, because Lewis was only in his mid-twenties, which does not correspond to the age of the flautist in Hogarth's picture. Furthermore, the artist would hardly have disparaged a younger relative of his wife as an older-looking homosexual.

<sup>65</sup> In the late 18th century, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg impressively demonstrated that this person is actually the husband of the unfaithful lady and not the then relatively unknown Prussian ambassador Abraham Louis Michell (1712–1782) or even a dance master, as has been claimed in the Anglo-American secondary literature. See Wensinger/Coley, *Hogarth on High Life* [as in note 61], 69–72. Cf., with further arguments, also Krysmanski, "Der pädophile Adelspross" [as in note 61], 87–89.

<sup>66</sup> Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* [as in note 61], cat. no. 171; Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* [as in note 61], cat. no. 160.

<sup>67</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs, from the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 2, 2nd edn (London: John Russell Smith, 1852), 875; Joseph Wright (ed.), *The English Dialect Dictionary, Being the Complete Vocabulary of all Dialect Words Still in Use, or Known to have been in Use during the Last Two Hundred Years*, vol. VI (London: Henry Frowde, 1905), 153.

painting is explained in a contemporary comment by the Hanoverian Minister Baron August Wilhelm von Schwicheldt, which he made in 1742, around two years before the painting was done: “Because the king exposes himself during the harshest winters and hottest summers to all extremes of wind and weather, the complexion of his face has become quite brown and burned, and his skin rendered hard.”<sup>68</sup> (In the 18th century upper-class people were more into whitish or pale pink skin tones.)

It is also noticeable that the flautist is positioned exactly between the castrato in front of him and the Ganymede painting behind him. This is not a coincidence. Frederick the Great not only played the flute excellently,<sup>69</sup> he also wrote 121 flute sonatas and is said to have picked up the flute at least four times a day to get new ideas. In addition, he raved about Italian castrati; he praised their “special caliber” enthusiastically even before they arrived in Prussia and said that they “will turn the heads of all in Berlin”. He even took the singers he liked best with him on trips. On December 12, 1743, a few months before the completion of Hogarth’s painting, the castrato Felice Salimbeni, who was engaged by Frederick and whom the music-loving monarch considered the best singer in Italy, arrived in Berlin.<sup>70</sup> In Hogarth’s picture, the king aptly appears behind the singing castrato.

The *Ganymede* painting is suitably placed on the wall directly behind the flautist (Fig. 18 left). In it, the eagle, the heraldic animal of Prussia, is shown seizing its victim from behind, which is an unequivocal reference to the anal intercourse practiced by homosexuals.<sup>71</sup> In addition, Hogarth

<sup>68</sup> Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 1: *Jugend und Schlesische Kriege bis 1756* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901), 177. Frederick’s later chamber hussar Schöning commented on the appearance of the king in a similar way: “His complexion was red-brown and showed a man who had never escaped the hot and cold weather, a soldier.” See Anton Friederich Büsching, *Charakter Friedrichs des zweyten, Königs von Preußen* (Halle: Joh. Jac. Curts Witwe, 1788), 5; Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 64.

<sup>69</sup> On Frederick and his transverse flute, see Claudia Terne, “Querflöte”, in Simone Neuhäuser (ed.), *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2012), 144–146; Conny Sibylla Restle, “Der König und seine treue Begleiterin”, *Museumportal Berlin* <<https://www.museumportal-berlin.de/de/magazin/friedrich/seine-flote/>>; Leonardo De Lorenzo, *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1992), 78–87; Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutist of Sanssouci: King Frederick ‘the Great’ as Performer and Composer”, *The Flutist Quarterly*, 38, no. 1 (Fall 2012), 18–26.

<sup>70</sup> See Sabine Henze-Döhring, *Friedrich der Große: Musiker und Monarch* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012), 40–41. This commitment cost Frederick a lot: Salimbeni’s annual earnings amounted to the impressive sum of 3,000 Reichsthalers! In January 1744 he was paid 1000 Thalers, while the court painter Pesne received “only” 250 Thalers in the same month. In March, the Italian virtuoso Porporino had to be content with 16 Thalers and the alto-castrato Pasqualino with 50 Thalers, while Salimbeni received an allowance of 240 Thalers. Until February 1745 the monthly allowance to Salimbeni was 120 Thalers. During the same period Pasqualino was paid 50 Thalers, while the monthly salary of the castrato Cassati from May 1744 to March 1745 was only 20 Thalers. See the information on the salaries of these and other singers and musicians whom Frederick hired for his entertainment in Christoph Henzel, “Die Schatulle Friedrichs II. von Preußen und die Hofmusik (Teil 1)”, *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 1999, 36–66, particularly 39 and 49. In contrast to Frederick the Great, William Hogarth did not have a crush on castrati. He made fun of the Italian singers in his works and disapproved strongly of the contemporary enthusiasm for them and the exaggerated fees they received. See Barlow, “*The Enraged Musician*”: *Hogarth’s Musical Imagery* [as in note 64], 190–95.

<sup>71</sup> See also Norbert Lennartz, “*My Unwashed Muse*”: *(De-)Konstruktionen der Erotik in der englischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009), 62; Frank Zöllner/Christof Thoenes/Thomas Pöpper, *Michelangelo 1475–1564: Das vollständige Werk* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen, 2007), 260; Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 89; Hub, “Neoplatonism and Biography: Michelangelo’s *Ganymede* before and after Tommaso de’ Cavalieri” [as in note 62], 112, 124. Since the Renaissance, the Ganymede story has been a prime example of homosexual desire, and not just in Italy. See Anette Kruszynski, *Der Ganymed-Mythos in Emblematik und mythographischer Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1985); James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986); Barkan, *Transuming Passion* (op. cit.). An example from England is the dialogue between Jupiter and Ganymede in Thomas Heywood’s *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas* (1637), quoted by Marie Helena Loughlin (ed.), *Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern England, 1550–1735: An Anthology of Literary Texts and Contexts* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), 256–60. Thomas Blount’s *Glossographia Anglicana Nova: Or, A Dictionary, Interpreting Such Hard Words of whatever Language, as are at present used in the English Tongue, with their Etymologies, Definitions, &c.* (1707) proves that the term “Ganymede” was even adopted into everyday English in the 17th century to designate a catamite, because the definition for “Ganymede” found in this lexicon is: “the name of a Trojan Boy; now it commonly signifies any Boy loved for Carnal Abuse, or hired to be used contrary to Nature, to commit the Sin of Sodomy.” See also Tony McEnery/Helen Baker, “The public representation of homosexual men in seventeenth-century England – a corpus based view”, *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 3, no. 2 (October 2017), 197–217. Hogarth must have chosen his secondary motif quite deliberately to refer to the Prussian king’s sexual



depicted the eagle's beak as if it were about to approach Ganymede's genitals. Because the flautist in front of the picture has the matching aquiline nose and is fondling a phallic symbol, the flute, with his lips, it is clear that the Ganymede motif refers to Frederick II and his homosexuality, especially since the monarch was interested both in the Ganymede story as well as in the other erotic escapades of Jupiter. This is also proved by the fact that pictorial representations of such stories were executed on his behalf on the ceiling of one of the adjoining rooms of the large music hall in Rheinsberg Castle,<sup>72</sup> on the ceiling of the marble hall in the New Palace<sup>73</sup> and on the walls of the Ovid Gallery in the New Chambers.<sup>74</sup>

---

inclination. Both in Michelangelo's lost original drawing of the *Rape of Ganymede*, which he gave to his pupil and friend Tommaso de' Cavalieri together with a drawing of the *Punishment of Tityos* (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle), and in letters and poems to his beloved youth, homoerotic desires are expressed by the Italian master almost 40 years his senior. See Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance* (op. cit.), 17–62; id., “‘A Veil of Ice between My Heart and the Fire’: Michelangelo's Sexual Identity and Early Modern Constructs of Homosexuality”, in Wayne R. Dynes/Stephen Donaldson (eds.), *Studies in Homosexuality* (New York: Garland, 1992), 135–48. More information on Michelangelo's relationship to his pupil can also be found in Alexander Perrig, “Bemerkungen zur Freundschaft zwischen Michelangelo und Tommaso Cavalieri”, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, vol. 2: *Michelangelo* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1967), 164–71; id., *Michelangelo's Drawings: The Science of Attribution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 75–85; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Michelangelo und Tommaso Cavalieri* (Amsterdam: Castrum Peregrini 1979); Robert S. Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 270–311; Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, “Postscriptum to Tommaso Cavalieri”, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1984), 399–405; Christopher Ryan, “Poems for Tommaso Cavalieri”, in id., *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Introduction* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 94–128; Zöllner/Thoenes/Pöpper, *Michelangelo 1475–1564* (op. cit.), 256–60, 586, 589; Stephanie Buck (ed.), *Michelangelo's Dream*, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries, London, 18 February–16 May 2010 (London: The Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010); Hub, “Neoplatonism and Biography: Michelangelo's *Ganymede* before and after Tommaso de' Cavalieri” [as in note 62]. Tityos, tormented in Hades, whose liver (as the seat of physical passions) is threatened by the beak of an eagle-like vulture, is said to represent the agony of earthly love, whereas Ganymede, who was kidnapped by the eagle (= Jupiter) and lifted up into the air, represents (from a Neoplatonic point of view) the quasi-erotic rapture and ecstatic self-abandonment of the soul freed from the body during the “mystical union” with God. See Erwin Panofsky, “The Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo” [1939], in id., *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 213–18; Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. III: *The Medici Chapel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 111–12; Gerda Kempter, *Ganymed: Studien zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Ikonologie* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1980), 85–90. Even if evidence of the Neoplatonic interpretation of Michelangelo's *Tityos* and *Ganymede* can be found in the literature of the time, too little attention has been paid to the fact that homosexuality in Renaissance Italy was an everyday phenomenon and that in the two Michelangelo drawings a strongly masochistic homosexual component clearly predominates, as expressed in some of the artist's slave sculptures (such as the famous *Dying Slave*). See also Hub, “Neoplatonism and Biography: Michelangelo's *Ganymede* before and after Tommaso de' Cavalieri” [as in note 62], 112–13, 127n39, who refers to numerous written and pictorial sources that have always emphasised the physical-sexual aspect of the Ganymede myth. Most viewers of Michelangelo's drawing are unmistakably aware of this physical-erotic aspect. This will not have been any different for Hogarth when he included the Ganymede motif in his London painting to underline the homosexual context. Whether he consciously and ironically wanted to draw parallels between Michelangelo's love for his attractive pupil and Frederick the Great's dreams of anal eroticism by choosing his picture within the picture may remain an open question. More on the latter point below. In this context, it is most noteworthy that in scene 1 of Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode* there is a painting on the wall that shows the *Punishment of Tityos* (here, however, based on Titian). See Egerton, *Hogarth's 'Marriage A-la-Mode'* [as in note 61], 18–19; Bernd Krysmanski, “Lust an der Gewalt? Brutalität und Grausamkeit in Hogarths Bildern”, *Lichtenberg-Jahrbuch 2014* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 95. Maybe this is not a coincidence.

<sup>72</sup> On behalf of the crown prince, Pesne represented Ganymede in this painting, as he sits on the eagle, handing a golden bowl to Venus. See Paul Seidel, “Friedrich der Große als Kronprinz in Rheinsberg und die bildenden Künste”, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 9 (1888), 121; id., *Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* [as in note 24], 50; Laurence Dehlinger, *Die zeitgenössischen Deckenbilder im Schloss Charlottenburg und ihre Folgen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997), 33, 187.

<sup>73</sup> Here Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo depicted the *Abduction of Ganymede to Olympus* on an oversized oil painting commissioned by the king. See Franziska Windt, “Künstlerische Inszenierung von Größe: Friedrichs Selbstdarstellung im Neuen Palais”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. II: *Die Essays*, 131, 143–47, 149n55, and Figs. 1, 2, 16–18; Rolf Toman (ed.), *Potsdam: Kunst, Architektur und Landschaft/ Art, Architecture, and Landscape/ Art, architecture et paysage* (Potsdam: h.f. ullmann publishing GmbH, 2013), 158, 162–63.

<sup>74</sup> Toman, *Potsdam: Kunst, Architektur und Landschaft* [as in note 73], 108–11. The gilded stucco reliefs of this ballroom, which were executed by the brothers Johann David and Lorenz Wilhelm Rantz, show motifs after the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. On the window side, for instance, there is Jupiter in the shape of a swan approaching Leda with obvious intent of seducing her. Furthermore, in 1755, the king acquired Correggio's highly erotic *Leda with the Swan* for his picture collection in Sanssouci (around 1530; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). See Thomas Röske, “Correggio's ‘Leda’: ein verdrängtes Bild”, in Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel (eds.), *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art*



Fig. 18. Left: Simon François Ravenet after William Hogarth, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Plate 4. Detail: flautist in front of the *Ganymede* picture. Right: Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo, *The Rape of Ganymede* (1542; detail)

## Evidence for the homosexuality and the anal erotic desires of the Prussian king

The fact that Frederick had homosexual tendencies was well known even during his lifetime, both in Prussia and abroad.<sup>75</sup>

*held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 265–74; Jana Schmalisch, *Il Correggio: Leda mit dem Schwan* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag H. Heenemann, 2001) [*Der Berliner Kunstbrief*]. Hogarth seems to have been informed of Frederick's interest in such fables of gods, because in the fourth scene of his *Marriage A-la-Mode*, in addition to the *Ganymede* picture, Correggio's naked *Io* (c.1530; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) hangs on the wall — a work that Frederick was also enthusiastic about, because a copy of this painting, which, like the *Leda*, came from the collection of Charles Coypel, was in his possession a little later. See Franziska Windt, "Die italienischen Gemälde", in ead. (ed.), *Die Bildergalerie Friedrichs des Großen: Geschichte – Kontext – Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), 220n86, and Fig. 16, no. 17. Furthermore, a basket with objects acquired at an art auction appears in Hogarth's picture. Apart from an Actaeon statuette (whose deer antlers allude ironically to the cuckolded young Earl), there is a painted plate depicting *Leda with the Swan* (based on Giulio Romano). Perhaps Hogarth had heard that the young Prussian king not only bought pictures of ancient gods at art auctions, but also identified himself with Leda in his erotic dreams and compared the beautiful Algarotti with the swan penetrating her. This is hinted at in a lascivious poem contained in Frederick's letter of 18 April 1742 to the Italian esthete. See Francesco Algarotti, *Briefwechsel mit Friedrich II.*, ed. Wieland Giebel (Berlin: Berlin Story Verlag, 2008), 54. Thus the *Leda* motif in Hogarth's scene could be understood as a hidden additional reference to the presence of Frederick the Great and his homoerotic desires, especially since such allusions can be found elsewhere in the picture: Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon's book *Le Sopha* (1742) on the couch also refers to the Prussian king, because the author had claimed that this erotic parody of the fairy tales from *Thousand and One Nights* was privately commissioned by Frederick II and only made public through unauthorised printing. See Krysmanski, *Das einzig authentische Porträt des Alten Fritz?* [as in note 63], 37–39; Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode* [as in note 61], 105–106; Hans-Günter Funke, *Crébillon fils als Moralist und Gesellschaftskritiker* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1972), 142–43; Viktor Link, "The Reception of Crébillon's *Le Sopha* in England: An Unnoticed Edition and Some Imitations", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 132 (1975), 199–203; Carole Dornier, "Orient romanesque et satire de la religion: Claude Crébillon, *Tanzai et Néadarné et Le Sopha*", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 11, no. 4 (1999), 445–59; Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 176–87.

<sup>75</sup> Even Denis Diderot was sure that Frederick the Great had not touched a single woman and did not sleep with his wife. See Morris Wachs, "Diderot's 'Parallèle de César et de Frédéric'", in Otis Fellows/Diana Guiragossian (eds.), *Diderot Studies*, 14 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1971), 259–65. The physician Johann Georg von Zimmermann wrote about the views of his contemporaries: "Frederick lost a great deal of 'sensual pleasure', says Mr. Büsching, a Prussian ecclesiastic counsellor, 'by his aversion to women; but he indemnified himself by his intercourse with men, recollecting from the history of philosophy, that Socrates was reported to have been very fond of Alcibiades'. Not only Mr. Büsching, however, but also Voltaire, la Beaumelle, the Duke de Choiseul, innumerable Frenchmen and Germans, almost all the friends and enemies of Frederick, almost all the princes and great men of Europe, even his servants—even the confidants and friends of his later years, were of the opinion that he had loved, as it is pretended, Socrates loved Alcibiades." See Ritter von Zimmermann, *Fragmente über Friedrich den Grossen zur Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Regierung, und seines Charakters*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: in der Weidmannischen Buchhandlung, 1790), 41–42. Anton Friederich Büsching described what the king expected from his male servants as follows: "He did not tolerate His domestics having fellowship with women. He demanded that they not only be and remain unmarried, that they should not have mistresses, and that they should not even speak to women. If He learned the opposite about them, or if He himself noticed it, either their dismissal, or at least harsh treatment, was the inevitable consequence." See Büsching, *Charakter Friedrichs des zweyten* [as in note 68], 190. When Johann Georg Hamann mentions "Those warm brothers of the

His father, the strict soldier king, thought he was too effeminate.<sup>76</sup> The young crown prince felt too little attracted to women and was more enthusiastic about attractive servants or young cadets. His father gave the order to execute the cuirassier lieutenant Hans Hermann von Katte, Frederick's childhood friend, probably not only because this intimate friend was privy to the crown prince's plans to flee to England, but also to set an example against the "sodomitical" tendencies of his son,<sup>77</sup> who may also have had homosexual relationships with his personal page Peter Karl Christoph von Keith,<sup>78</sup> with his close confidant Dietrich Graf von Keyserlingk<sup>79</sup> and with his valet and chamberlain, Michael Gabriel Fredersdorf.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Frederick sent lustful, erotic love poems to his Italian friend, the "beloved Paduan Swan" Francesco Algarotti,<sup>81</sup> and in the "Fourth Canto" of his comical, frivolous, blasphemous heroic poem *Palladion* (1749), he openly described the homosexual adventures of his secretary and reader, Claude Étienne Darget.<sup>82</sup> Voltaire described how the king regularly invited pages, young cadets or lieutenants from

---

human race, the Sophists of Sodom-Samaria [...] in *Des Ritters von Rosencreuz letzte Willensmeynung über den göttlichen und menschlichen Ursprung der Sprache* (1772), he alludes to the men around Frederick. See Paul Derks, *Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie: Homosexualität und Öffentlichkeit in der deutschen Literatur 1750 bis 1850* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1990), 90–91. On Hamann's critical stance towards the king, see also James O'Flaherty, "Bemerkungen zu Hamann und Friedrich II.", in Bernhard Gajek (ed.), *Johann Georg Hamann: Acta des Internationalen Hamann-Colloquiums in Lüneburg 1976* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1979), 298–308; Sven-Aage Jørgensen, "Unzeitige Modernisierung: Friedrich der Große und sein Zöllner Johann Georg Hamann", in Walter Göbel/Stephan Kohl/Hubert Zapf (eds.), *Modernisierung und Literatur: Festschrift für Hans Ulrich Seeber zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2000), 183–90 (esp. 188 ff.); Pierre Pénisson, "Pamphlet und dialektisches Bild: Johann Georg Hamanns *Au Salomon de Prusse*", in Brunhilde Wehinger (ed.), *Geist und Macht: Friedrich der Große im Kontext der europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 99–104.

<sup>76</sup> The soldier-king disparaged his effeminate son as a "sodomite" and a useless, effeminate person without proper masculine inclination, who does his hair like a fool, makes grimaces, constantly prances around on tiptoe and is only interested in various amusements instead of hunting or the military. See Koser, "Die Berichte der Zeitgenossen über die äußere Erscheinung Friedrichs des Großen" [as in note 23], 89; Seidel, "Die Kinderbildnisse Friedrichs des Großen und seiner Brüder" [as in note 18], 29; Reinhard Alings, "'Don't ask – don't tell' – War Friedrich schwul?," in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012 (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung*, 238.

<sup>77</sup> Detlef Merten, *Der Katte-Prozeß: Vortrag gehalten vor der Berliner Juristischen Gesellschaft am 14. Februar 1979* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) [*Schriftenreihe der Juristischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 62]; Jürgen Kloosterhuis, *Katte, Ordre und Kriegsartikel: Aktenanalytische und militärhistorische Aspekte einer „facheusen“ Geschichte*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2011), esp. 91; Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 29–48; Oster, *Sein Leben war das traurigste der Welt* [as in note 18], 78–140.

<sup>78</sup> Frederick's sister Wilhelmine realised her brother's homosexual orientation relatively late: Young Keith, she wrote, "knew how to ingratiate himself with him so much that my brother loved him passionately and put all his trust in him. I knew nothing about this way of life, but had noticed how confident he was with the page and repeatedly held it against him, with the remark that such manners were not right and proper for him." Cited in Wolfgang Burgdorf, *Friedrich der Große: Ein biografisches Porträt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2011), 79.

<sup>79</sup> This best friend of Frederick, who was "everything" to the crown prince and young king, but died in 1745, was also called "Caesarion" in the inner circle. August Wilhelm von Schwicheldt said that no lover could "deal with his lover in a more pleasant and obliging manner" than the king with this urbane man. See *ibid.*, 79–80.

<sup>80</sup> See *ibid.*, 83–86; Klaus Büstrin, "'Ich habe gemeinet, du häst mihr lieb': Friedrichs enge Beziehungen zu seinem Kammerdiener Fredersdorf", *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten*, 1 September 2012; Johannes Richter (ed.), *Die Briefe Friedrichs des Großen an seinen vormaligen Kammerdiener Fredersdorf* (Berlin: Hermann Klemm, 1926); and the article on Fredersdorf in Anna Eunike Röhrig, *Mätressen und Favoriten: Ein biografisches Handbuch* (Göttingen: MatrixMedia Verlag, 2010).

<sup>81</sup> Brunhilde Wehinger, "'Mon cher Algarotti': Zur Korrespondenz zwischen Friedrich dem Großen und Francesco Algarotti", in Hans Schumacher (ed.), *Francesco Algarotti: Ein philosophischer Hofmann im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2009), 71–97; Norbert Schmitz, *Der italienische Freund: Francesco Algarotti und Friedrich der Große* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2012); Ursula Pia Jauch, "Eros zwischen Herr und Knecht: Friedrich der Grosse und Francesco Algarotti im Land der Lust", in Bernd Sösemann (ed.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa – gefeiert und umstritten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 59–70; Wolfgang Nedobity, "Frederick's Swan: Francesco Algarotti and the Expression of Desire", *SSRN [Social Science Research Network] Electronic Journal*, July 2012, 1–5.

<sup>82</sup> Eduard Cauer, "Über das Palladion, ein komisches Heldengedicht Friedrichs des Großen", *Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 3 (1866), 481–501, esp. 491; Burgdorf, *Friedrich der Große* [as in note 78], 90–93; Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 183, 447–448. It is interesting that in the German translation of the *Palladion*, published in 1914, the homoerotic-blasphemous passages of the French original, which compare the disciple John, who is sleeping with Jesus, with Ganymede, were deliberately "overlooked". See Gustav Berthold Volz (ed.), *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, vol. 9 (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing 1914), 177–278. Apparently, under Kaiser Wilhelm II, it was consciously avoided to publish such statements from the pen of Frederick II in the complete edition of the works of Frederick the Great. Compare, however, the uncensored new edition: Friedrich der Große, *Das Palladion: Ein ernsthaftes Gedicht in sechs Gesängen / Le Palladion: Poème grave*, ed. Jürgen Ziechmann, 2 vols (Bremen: Edition Ziechmann, 1985).

his regiment to have coffee with him and then withdrew with the favourite, who was thrown a handkerchief, for a quickie, in which he preferred the passive role in sexual intercourse.<sup>83</sup>

His preference for anal eroticism is also evidenced by the constant purchase of new enema syringes, which is documented in the king's privy purse accounts ("Schatullrechnungen").<sup>84</sup> It

<sup>83</sup> Voltaire wrote: "[...] when His Majesty was dressed and booted, the Stoic gave some moments to the sect of Epicurus; Two or three favourites would be summoned, either lieutenants of his regiment, or pages, or haidouks, or young cadets. They would take coffee together and the one to whom the handkerchief was thrown stayed for another quarter of an hour for a twosome. Things were not pushed to the limit, because during his father's lifetime the prince had been badly maltreated and poorly healed in his fleeting liaisons; he could not play the first role and had to settle for the second [according to Blanning: for the passive]." Cited in German in Wilhelm Bringmann, *Friedrich der Große: Ein Porträt* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2006), 74. Cf. Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 446. Whether people loved each other from the front or from behind was a private matter for the monarch: "Certains font l'amour par devant, d'autres par derrière, qu'importe la manière, puisqu'ils ne persécutent personne." See Michel Larivière, *Dictionnaire historique des homosexuel-le-s célèbres* (Paris: Éditions La Musardine, 2017), 175. That means: Frederick probably did not practice active, but rather passive anal intercourse with young men. According to recent surveys, 21.8% of all homosexuals prefer the passive part in sexual intercourse. 7.1% of them even state that they are fixated on the passive role. 43.4%, on the other hand, are not determined in their sexual behaviour and like both the active and passive role in anal sex. See Thomas Hertling, *Homosexuelle Männlichkeit zwischen Diskriminierung und Emanzipation: Eine Studie zum Leben homosexueller Männer heute und Begründung ihrer wahrzunehmenden Vielfalt* (Münster, Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, London: LIT Verlag, 2011), 198. This may not have been much different in the 18th century. The assumption held by some historians to this day that the king might have suppressed his sex drive contradicts the following contemporary statement by Joseph Richter about the "love" of the monarch, who over the years seemed to have "lost all feeling for the fair sex": "Frederick believed he could fill the empty moments no better than with Socratic love. Instead of suppressing his lust for a lecherous life, he just gave it another direction. What a woman could have done, a page now did." See Joseph Richter, *Lexikon aller Anstössigkeiten und Prahlereyen: welche in denen zu Berlin in funfzehn Bänden erschienenen sogenannten Schriften Friedrichs des Zweytten vorkommen* (Leipzig: in der von Schönfeldschen Handlung, 1789), 103–104. From Frederick's letter of October 23, 1732 to Friedrich Wilhelm von Grumbkow and from his rediscovered poem "La Jouissance" it is also clear that he was quite receptive to carnal desires. See Robert Horzetzky, "Liebe", in Simone Neuhäuser (ed.), *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2012), 96; Kathryn Hadley, "Frederick the Great's Erotic Poem", *History Today*, 21 September 2011. Significantly, in July 1750, the king wrote to Darget: "Mes hémorroïdes saluent affectueusement votre v..." ("My hemorrhoids affectionately greet your cock.") See Ursula Pia Jauch, *Friedrichs Tafelrunde & Kants Tischgesellschaft: Ein Versuch über Preußen zwischen Eros, Philosophie und Propaganda* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2014), 318n28. The fact that he did not live asexually, but that his court was a paradise for homosexuals for decades is also confirmed by Voltaire, who in 1740 praised Berlin as the new Athens for the "joys of flesh" (cited in Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 69–70), and by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, when he mentioned, in a letter in 1752, the "lust" which could be experienced with the "divine monarch" in Potsdam in a similar way as in "Athens and Sparta" and which he could enjoy so immensely that he would never again be allowed to. Cited in Martin Disselkamp, *Die Stadt der Gelehrten: Studien zu Johann Joachim Winckelmanns Briefen aus Rom* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993), 151n104. On Winckelmann's homosexuality, see also Wolfgang Cortjaens (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Das göttliche Geschlecht*, exh. cat., Schwules Museum Berlin, 16 June–9 October 2017 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017). This is why gays who had sex with each other were called "Potsdamists" [sic] until the 1890s. See Leithold, *Friedrich der Grosse – wie er wirklich war* [as in note 22], 78. How, in view of these facts, one can come to the conclusion that Frederick was heterosexual at a young age and that he could have contracted a venereal disease with "one-day love affairs with peasant 'nymphs' smelling of garlic", and that he only loved beautiful men having followed a French "fashion trend" in order to "deliberately make oneself interesting" is more than a mystery. See Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 79–80, and the critical remarks on such statements, which are based on unproven speculations by the physician Johann Georg von Zimmermann (1728–1795), in Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 51 and 479n34. What Kunisch says in his well-known Frederick biography about the king's possible homoerotic tendencies Jakob Michelsen calls "hair-raising psychologising, even pathologising ahistoricity". See Jakob Michelsen, "Die Verfolgung des Delikts Sodomie im 18. Jahrhundert in Brandenburg-Preußen", in Norbert Finzsch/Marcus Velke (eds.), *Queer|Gender|Historiographie: Aktuelle Tendenzen und Projekte* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2016), 241n63. The assumption, which also goes back to Zimmermann, that a surgical intervention, which was carried out because an alleged sexually transmitted disease had not healed, maimed Frederick, so that he had to forego any sexual contact with women, is very likely false; the medical examination of the monarch's corpse revealed that his genitals were intact. See Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* [as in note 17], 232–33; Burgdorf, *Friedrich der Große* [as in note 78], 102–103; Brüggemann, *Herrschaft und Tod in der frühen Neuzeit* [as in note 39], 291n146; Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 52–53. Even Frederick's deep affection for Elisabeth Dorothea Ritter, his friendship with the married Eleonore von Wreech and his temporary crush on the famous dancer Barberina, which mocking contemporaries such as Voltaire explained by saying that she must have had the legs of a man (see Anna Eunike Röhrig, *Die heimliche Gefährtin Friedrichs von Preußen: Das Schicksal der Doris Ritter* [Tübingen: Tauchaer Verlag, 2003]; Ingelore M. Winter, *Friedrich der Große und die Frauen* [Esslingen: Bechtle Verlag, 1985], 34, 51–56, 141–45; Leithold, *Friedrich der Grosse – wie er wirklich war* [as in note 22], 36–39; Claudia Terne, "Barberina", in Neuhäuser, *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König*, op. cit., 29–31; Renate du Vinage, *Über Frauen um Friedrich II. den Großen* [Göttingen: MatrixMedia Verlag, 2018]), can, from today's perspective, easily be explained by the phenomenon of the often female "gay icons" that is widespread among male homosexuals. See Georges-Claude Guilbert, *Gay Icons: The (Mostly) Female Entertainers Gay Men Love* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2018).

<sup>84</sup> As early as March 1747, a "clyster syringe" sent to Potsdam was mentioned in Frederick's privy purse accounts ("Schatullrechnungen"). Later more of these syringes were bought, which is certainly not only due to the monarch's problems with constipation,

is no coincidence that Voltaire nicknamed Frederick “Luc”. Read backwards, it says “cul” (the French word for “butt”).<sup>85</sup> Casanova also confirms the monarch’s homosexual activities in his *Story of My Life*, when he writes that every soldier of the First Potsdam Battalion “had a gold watch in the fob of his breeches. It was thus that the king rewarded the courage with which they had subjugated him, as Caesar once subjugated Nicomedes in Bithynia. No secret was made of it.”<sup>86</sup> Even the monarch’s passion for collecting works of art was influenced by his sexual preferences. In 1747, for example, the famous antique bronze statue of the naked *Boy in Prayer*, which Frederick thought to be a representation of Antinous, was acquired primarily because of

---

if one calls to mind the relevant erotica of the Rococo. See, for instance, Eduard Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. II: *Die galante Zeit* (Berlin: Klaus Guhl, n.d.), 151 and Figs. 115–17; Peter Wagner, *Lust & Liebe im Rokoko / Lust & Love in the Rococo Period* (Nördlingen: GRENO Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), 19 and Figs. 26 and 52. The latter draws attention to the fact that in erotic depictions in which a secret observer appears (who quasi stands for the viewer of the image), the enema syringe symbolises the erect penis of the voyeur.

<sup>85</sup> Oliver Das Gupta, “300 Jahre Friedrich der Große – Der schwule Fritz”, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23 January 2012; Michael Hertel, “Hahn: ‘Er war stolz, unbeugsam, verschlagen und heimtückisch’: Friedrich der Große ohne Legende: Das vollständige Interview zum ‘Friedrich-Jahr’ 2012 mit Prof. Dr. Peter-Michael Hahn (Universität Potsdam)”, *mhv-buecher.de* <<https://www.mhv-buecher.de/interview-mit-prof-hahn/>>. Hamann said the same thing when he called Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in *Des Ritters von Rosencreuz letzte Willensmeynung über den göttlichen und menschlichen Ursprung der Sprache* (1772) “Markantonin Aftokrator” (instead of Markos Antoninos Autocrator), but actually meant the Prussian King and his preference for anal eroticism. See Derks, *Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie* [as in note 75], 90–91. Both Hamann and Frederick may have been familiar with the fact that the Roman Emperor wrote erotic love letters to his tutor Marcus Cornelius Fronto, although his father had advised him to suppress his passion for men. See Rictor Norton, *My Dear Boy: Gay Love Letters through the Centuries* (San Francisco: Leyland Publications 1998), 23 ff. The fact that a small antique bust which was thought to represent Marcus Aurelius stood on the marble mantelpiece of the fireplace in the royal bedroom in Sanssouci reveals a lot. See Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam, aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten, und der umliegenden Gegend*, 3rd edn (Berlin: bey Friedrich Nicolai, 1786), vol. III, 1215. Even Goethe could have known about the Prussian monarch’s special sexual inclination, because an erotic illustration from the poet’s former private collection apparently shows how young Frederick (wearing his tricorne) allowed himself to be penetrated anally by a Priapus Herme. See W. Daniel Wilson, *Goethe, Männer, Knaben: Ansichten zur „Homosexualität“*, aus dem Englischen von Angela Steidele (Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2012), 101–102 and Fig. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Giacomo Casanova, Chevalier de Seingalt, *Geschichte meines Lebens*, ed. Erich Loos, trans. Heinz von Sauter, vol. 10 (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1966), 87. In the original wording: “A Potzdam, nous vîmes le roi à la parade commander son premier bataillon, dont les soldats avaient tous dans le gouchet de leurs culottes montre d’or. Le roi avait ainsi récompensé le courage qu’ils avaient eu de le subjuguier comme César en Bithinie subjuguait Nicomède. On n’en faisait pas un mystère.” See Jacques Casanova de Seingalt Vénitien, *Histoire de ma vie*, Édition intégrale, ed. Arthur and Angelika Hübscher, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus and Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961), 78. See also Marie-Françoise Luna, *Casanova mémorialiste* (Paris: Honoré Champion 1998), 415; Uwe Schultz, *Giacomo Casanova oder Die Kunst der Verführung: Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016), 227. Although the famous womaniser despised the love of men in his writings, described it as an aberration of nature and also considered it immoral (Schultz, *Giacomo Casanova oder Die Kunst der Verführung*, op. cit., 45, 64), more recent research has shown that he — in addition to his many heterosexual affairs — was also quite familiar with homosexual practices. See Ted Emery, “Queer Casanova: Subversive Sexuality and the (Dis)embodied Subject in *History of My Life*”, *Italian Culture* 24–25, no. 1 (2006–2007), 23–44. The fact that, during a conversation in the park of Sanssouci, the king called Casanova, to his amazement, a “very handsome man” (Schultz, *Giacomo Casanova oder Die Kunst der Verführung*, op. cit., 226–227), could also indicate that he had his eye on the attractive Italian. Thus we may safely assume that Casanova’s statement about the monarch’s lived-out homosexuality seems to be in keeping with the facts. The truth of the words quoted is also supported by the fact that in the king’s privy purse accounts (“Schatullrechnungen”), e.g. for February 1743, the purchase of gold watches is recorded. In addition, Frederick decreed in his personal will of 1752 that every officer in his Infantry Life Guards Regiment (“Leibregiment”) should receive a gold or silver medal and every soldier in his bodyguard (“Leibgarde”) a gold coin, a Friedrichsd’or. See Friedrich der Große, “Das Testament vom 11. Januar 1752”, in Gustav Berthold Volz (ed.), *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, vol. 7: *Antimachiavell und Testamente* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1912), 276–80, esp. 279; Hahn/Kernd’l, *Friedrich der Grosse im Münzbildnis seiner Zeit* [as in note 16], 84. Furthermore, when Étienne-François de Choiseul commented on the monarch’s love life, he described how comfortable Frederick felt in the arms of his drum majors. See Larivière, *Dictionnaire historique des homosexuel-le-s célèbres* [as in note 83], 175. Casanova was wrong only on one point: It is not said that “Caesar once subjugated Nicomedes”, but rather King Nicomedes IV assumed the active part in anal intercourse with the then much younger, around twenty-year-old officer Gaius Julius Caesar in the Roman province of Bithynia. Frederick, on the other hand, was evidently very well informed about the sexual preferences of his idol Caesar, because he knew that he was also called “the woman of all men” in Rome. See Friedrich der Große, *Anti-Machiavell oder Prüfung der Regeln Nic. Machiavells von der Regierungskunst eines Fürsten*, 2nd edn (Göttingen: in der Königlichen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1742), 274–75. Incidentally, Casanova also commented on Frederick’s rather passive homosexual feeling elsewhere in his *Histoire de ma vie*. When the famous Italian seducer stopped by his compatriot, the beautiful and witty Venetian Abbé Bastiani, he showed him Frederick’s love letters to him, revealing that the crown prince had fallen in love with Bastiani and wanted to become his “mistress”, that is, he would clearly have preferred the “female” role in male love. See Casanova, *Histoire de ma vie*, Édition intégrale (op. cit.), vol. 5, 212; Schultz, *Giacomo Casanova oder Die Kunst der Verführung* (op. cit.), 242; Luca Palmarini, “Giacomo Casanova: L’amore, la storia e la bella compagnia a Breslavia”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 1, no. 5 (2014), 147–75.

its erotic effect and was set up in Sanssouci in such a way that the king could have a look at it from his library as well as from his bedroom.<sup>87</sup>

### The Prussian engraver Georg Friedrich Schmidt as an informant?

Reports about the sexuality of the Prussian King had apparently reached England early on,<sup>88</sup> so that Hogarth included him in his picture as a prominent gay man, but how could he have been informed that at the time of the execution of his picture, i.e. 1743/44, Old Fritz had a curved nose? Hogarth himself had never met him and the portraits that were widespread in England all showed Frederick with a more or less attractive face and a straightened nose.

It can be assumed that Hogarth, during his stay in Paris in May and June 1743, when he was looking for French engravers for the planned engraving version of his picture series *Marriage*

---

<sup>87</sup> Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 177–78; Thomas Fischbacher, *Des Königs Knabe: Friedrich der Große und Antinous* (Weimar: VDG, 2011); Andrew Lusher, “Greek Statues, Roman Cults and European Aristocracy: Examining the Progression of Ancient Sculpture Interpretation”, *Journal of Arts & Humanities*, 6, no. 12 (2017), 25–37. The portraits of Pylades and young Orestes and other ancient friends on the medallions on the pillars of the Temple of Friendship, which Frederick had erected in the Sanssouci Park between 1768 and 1770 in memory of his late favourite sister Wilhelmine, are also to be classified as homoerotic. See James D. Steakley, “Sodomie in Enlightenment Prussia: From Execution to Suicide”, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 16, nos. 1–2 (1988), 168. The same applies to the statues of naked Mars and Mercury in the entrance hall of Sanssouci; to Jacques-Philippe Bouchardon’s bust of Charles XII of Sweden (who many thought was gay) in the marble hall; and to Alexander the Great and Hephaestion in Pompeo Batoni’s oil painting *The Women of Darius before Alexander the Great* (1764–1775), which the king acquired for his New Palace. See Edgar Peters Bowron/Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2007), 95–96; Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 176–77, 178–79. In his essay “Absent Love in Pleasure Houses: Frederick II of Prussia as Art Collector and Patron”, *Art History*, 24, no. 2 (February 2001), 231–46, Christoph Martin Vogtherr has impressively demonstrated that Frederick’s art collection in Sanssouci was based on the erotic taste of the monarch, but also represented different forms of love and unfulfilled longings. See also id., “Lusthaus ohne Liebe: Darstellungen der Liebe in Schloß und Park Sanssouci”, *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* n. s. 14 (2004), 147–69, and Saskia Hüneke, “‘Avec Privilege d’Apollon’: Apollo, Eros und die Künste: Die Bildergalerie als Teil von Sanssouci”, in Franziska Windt (ed.), *Die Bildergalerie Friedrichs des Großen: Geschichte – Kontext – Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), 281–312, esp. 305, 306, 309.

<sup>88</sup> Leithold (*Friedrich der Grosse – wie er wirklich war* [as in note 22], 68–83), Alings (“‘Don’t ask – don’t tell’ – War Friedrich schwul?” [as in note 76], 238–47), Burgdorf (*Friedrich der Große: Ein biografisches Porträt* [as in note 78], 76–103), Blanning (*Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* [as in note 9], 36–37, 50–54, 61–71, 175–80, 438–39, 445–48); Bodie A. Ashton (“‘Kingship, sexuality and courtly masculinity: Frederick the Great and Prussia on the cusp of modernity”, *ANU Historical Journal*, II, no. 1 [2019], 109–35) and Jackson Shoobert (“Frederick the Great’s Sexuality – New Avenues of Approach”, *History in the Making*, 8, no. 1 [Autumn–Winter 2021], 1–18) have more recently made the most detailed comments on the homosexuality of the king, which in the past was often hushed up or even denied in German literature. See also Susan W. Henderson, “Frederick the Great of Prussia: A Homophile Perspective”, *Gai Saber*, 1, no. 1 (Spring 1977), 46–54; Steakley, “Sodomie in Enlightenment Prussia”, 163–75. At the conference “Court and Homosexuality: Practices and Discourses from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century”, Herrenhausen Palace, Hanover, 11–13 October 2017, some contributions, including Wolfgang Burgdorf’s “Königliche Liebschaften: Friedrich der Große und seine Männer” and Christian Mühling’s “Homosexuelle Liebe am preußischen Hof des 18. Jahrhunderts”, dealt with the homosexual liaisons of Frederick the Great and their reception. See Norman Domeier/ Christian Mühling (eds.), *Homosexualität am Hof: Praktiken und Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2020), 133–50, 281–302. Hogarth may have learned of the crown prince’s homosexuality for the first time in aristocratic circles in London, for example around Lord Hervey, where Frederick’s bisexual Italian friend Algarotti stayed for a while. See Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Lucy Moore, *Amphibious Thing: The Life of Lord Hervey* (London: Viking Press, 2000); Hannah Smith/Stephen Taylor, “Hephaestion and Alexander: Lord Hervey, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Royal Favourite in England in the 1730s”, *The English Historical Review*, CXXIV, no. 507 (April 2009), 283–312; Rictor Norton, “John, Lord Hervey: The Third Sex”, in *Gay History and Literature*, Updated 3 March 2012 <<http://rictornorton.co.uk/hervey.htm>>; Julie Peakman, “Male Homosexuality at the English Royal Court”, in Domeier/ Mühling, *Homosexualität am Hof*, op. cit., 131. Hogarth portrayed Lord Hervey around 1738–39 with his bisexual and homosexual friends. See Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* [as in note 61], 188–91, cat. no. 113. At the same time, Algarotti negotiated with Hogarth’s friend John Pine on behalf of the crown prince in London about the illustration of a planned Prussian edition of Voltaire’s *Henriade*. See Seidel, “Friedrich der Große als Kronprinz in Rheinsberg und die bildenden Künste” [as in note 72], 118–19. Charles Calvert, 5th Baron Baltimore, the close confidant and “Gentleman of the Bedchamber” of the Prince of Wales, could also be an informant, because he knew both Frederick II and Algarotti personally (Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* [Stroud: Alan Sutton; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992], 219; Nedobity, “Frederick’s Swan” [as in note 81], 1–2), and Leicester House, the Prince’s London residence was only a stone’s throw away from Hogarth’s house in Leicester Fields. Baltimore is said to be depicted in the engraving *The Humours of \* \* \* \* \**, or *the Nomination at Epsom* (1741), which was incorrectly attributed to Hogarth in the 18th century. See *Gentleman’s Magazine*, LXVII, Part 1 (April 1797), 336; John Nichols/George Steevens, *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808–1817), vol. 1: 259–60.

*A-la-Mode*,<sup>89</sup> may have met the Prussian Georg Friedrich Schmidt who at that time had earned the reputation of an outstanding engraver in the French capital and, in 1743, — what a coincidence — worked on a portrait of Frederick the Great (Fig. 19).<sup>90</sup> Schmidt, who had already made several engraved portraits of the young Frederick in Berlin, had gone to Paris in 1736, where he was trained to perfection in the French style.<sup>91</sup>



Fig. 19. Georg Friedrich Schmidt, *Fridericus III. Rex Borussiae* (1743)

<sup>89</sup> Robin Simon, “Un rosbif à Paris: Hogarth’s visit to Paris in 1743”, *The British Art Journal*, 7, no. 2 (Autumn 2006), 24–33; id., *Hogarth, France and British Art: The rise of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain* (London: Hogarth Arts, Distributed by Paul Holberton Publishing, 2007), chap. 2.

<sup>90</sup> On the engraver, see Paul Dehnert, “Georg Friedrich Schmidt, der Hofkupferstecher des Königs”, *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 16 (1979), 321–39; Ниёле Казимировна Масюлионите: *Георг Фридрих Шмидт (1712–1775), Гравёр короля*, exh. cat., Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 2017; Tilman Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Chronologisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Radierungen*, 3 parts (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2021) <<https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007398>>. For the portrait of Frederick which Schmidt engraved in 1743, see J[oseph] E[duard] Wessely, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Verzeichniss seiner Stiche und Radierungen* (Hamburg: Haendcke & Lehmkuhl, 1887), 18, no. 41; von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Grossen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* [as in note 8], cat. no. 393 and Fig. 19; *Fridericus-Stiche: Eine Hommage an Friedrich den Grossen von Heinrich von Sydow-Zirkwitz für die Friderizianische Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (Frankfurt am Main: Edition Sydow, 1986), 24; Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs* [as in note 8], 66–67 and Fig. 4; Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Chronologisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Radierungen* (op. cit.), part 1: 88, no. 87. Andrea M. Kluxen points out that Frederick is referred to here and in some other prints as “Frederick III” because he was the third Prussian king.

<sup>91</sup> At the end of July 1736 he arrived in Paris with his friends Friedrich Wilhelm Hoeder and Johann Georg Wille. See Elisabeth Décultot/Michel Espagne/Michael Werner (eds.), *Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808): Briefwechsel* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999), 42; Herbert Krüger, “Die Gesellenwanderung des ‘französischen’ Kupferstechers Jean-Georges Wille aus Oberhessen über Straßburg nach Paris im Jahre 1736”, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, n. s. 74, no. 2 (1965), 389–413. Since the crown prince was already in contact with Schmidt (see Louis-Abel de Bonafous, Abbé de Fontenai, *Dictionnaire des artistes* [Paris: Vincent 1776], part 2, 535), it would even be possible that he personally sent the talented engraver — with a letter of recommendation from the court painter Pesne — to Paris for further training. And it was probably also at the instigation of the art-loving crown prince that Field Marshal Friedrich Wilhelm von Grumbkow (Frederick’s fatherly friend and mentor) discharged Schmidt from military service in 1736, much earlier than usual. This is supported by the fact that at the same time that Schmidt set out for Paris, his friend Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff was also sent by Frederick to study architecture in Rome. A letter from Baron von Bielfeld dated 30 October 1739, looking back on Knobelsdorff, states: “In order to become even more perfect in these fine arts [architecture, drawing, painting], the royal prince released him from military service — he was even appointed captain — and allowed him to travel to Italy.” See Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld, *Des Freyherrn von Bielfeld freundschaftliche Briefe nebst einigen andern*, translated from the French, Part 1 (Gdańsk and Leipzig: bey Daniel Ludwig Wedeln, 1765), 92.

Hogarth may have learned from him that his engraving depicted the face of the monarch — in accordance with the portrait conventions of the time and based on Pesne’s portrait of the crown prince of 1738 — much too young and in a very embellished form, and that he actually looked a lot uglier and had an aquiline nose. Hogarth may even have seen sketches depicting Frederick’s real appearance in Schmidt’s studio. These sketches, showing the true features, could have been called up by Hogarth with the help of his photographic memory, when he later included the flute player in his picture. In his handwritten *Autobiographical Notes* he himself writes that he had a mnemonic memory that enabled him to remember clearly everything he had ever seen, almost photographically true and retrievable.<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, Schmidt may have informed Hogarth about the homosexual tendencies of the king, because there are indications that Schmidt himself was homosexual or at least bisexual, too. There is evidence in the *Memoirs* of his friend Johann Georg Wille, that Schmidt and Wille were very close friends. The two lived in a shared apartment in Paris for years, where they could not get enough of each other. Schmidt, who happened to be born on the same day as Frederick the Great, may even have had an intimate relationship with the king. In a letter to Goethe, Carl Friedrich Zelter writes that his great-uncle Schmidt “shared the moral disposition with his king, which was not held in high esteem at that time”.<sup>93</sup>

What is certain is that the crown prince was interested in Schmidt and, after he had ascended the throne, gave him a pension of 3,000 livres a year<sup>94</sup> and tried to get him back to Prussia. In 1743, just at the time when Hogarth was looking for engravers in Paris and Schmidt had possibly accepted Hogarth’s job offer, he was appointed as the Prussian court engraver, a lucrative job, which guaranteed him an annual salary of 600 Thalers.<sup>95</sup> This of course meant that Hogarth was out of the running as a possible employer for Schmidt, and he had to look for other reproductive engravers in Paris who could execute the print version of the *Marriage A-la-Mode* series. (Evidently, he considered Schmidt’s pupil Pierre Soubeyran as an alternative.)<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty, with the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes*, hrsg. von Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), xxxvii–xli, 206; Giovanna Perini, “Hogarth’s Visual Mnemotechnics: Notes on Abstraction as an aide-mémoire for Figurative Painters”, in Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel (eds.), *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam*, 1–7 September 1996 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 837–46.

<sup>93</sup> Letter to Goethe dated September 15, 1831. See Max Hecker (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, vol. III: 1828–1832 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1918), 481. Schmidt had been married since 1746, but the prospect of a handsome dowry seems to have been the real reason for him to marry. In any case, Schmidt’s longtime intimate friend Johann Georg Wille was astonished when he was told about the wedding. See Décultot/Espagne/Werner, *Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808): Briefwechsel* [as in note 91], 23, 65–68; Krysmanski, *Das einzig authentische Porträt des Alten Fritz?* [as in note 63], 31–32. We can further deduce from Schmidt’s portrait of Pierre François Guyot Desfontaines that the engraver moved in gay circles in Paris. The sitter was not only known in the city for his journalistic activities, but also for his homosexual escapades. See *Beaux enfans de Sodome: Images homosexuelles du XVIIIe siècle, Une conférence multimédia par Louis Godbout des Archives gais du Québec*, Espace Culture de l’Université des sciences et technologies de Lille (Université Lille 1), 13 December 2002, 4ff., 112. On Schmidt’s portrait of the Abbé Desfontaines, see Wessely, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Verzeichniss seiner Stiche und Radirungen* [as in note 90], 21, no. 47; Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Chronologisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Radierungen* [as in note 90], part 1: 82, no. 81.

<sup>94</sup> Fontenai, *Dictionnaire des artistes* [as in note 91], part 2, 535.

<sup>95</sup> Wessely, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Verzeichniss seiner Stiche und Radierungen* [as in note 90], XII. The original wording of the patent of appointment is, inter alia, quoted by Nina Simone Schepkowski, *Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky: Kunstagent und Gemäldesammler im friderizianischen Berlin* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 248n932.

<sup>96</sup> That Hogarth visited Schmidt’s studio is proven by an advertisement from 8 November 1744 in the *Daily Advertiser*, which mentions that in June 1743 several Parisian engravers, including a certain “Suberan” [i.e. Schmidt’s pupil Soubeyran], had agreed to work for Hogarth and to execute one plate each from his six-part series *Marriage A-la-Mode*. It reads: “[...] In the Month of June 1743, the following French Masters, Mess. Baron, Ravenet, Scotin, Le Bas, Dupré, and Suberan, had entered in an Agreement with the Author, (who took a Journey to Paris for that sole Purpose) to engrave the above Work [i.e. *Marriage A-la-Mode*] in their best Manner, each of them being to take one Plate for the Sake of Expedition [...]” See Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 2: High Art and Low, 1732–1750* [as in note 61], 211; Simon, “Un rosbif à Paris: Hogarth’s visit to Paris in 1743” [as in note 89], 24, 29–30; id., *Hogarth, France and British Art* [as in note 89], 27, 35. However, Soubeyran, Le Bas and Dupré [perhaps a confusion with Nicolas Gabriel Dupuis] could not keep their promises because the war with France that had broken out in the meantime made it impossible for them to get from Paris to London.



The fact that Schmidt was enticed by Frederick the Great to come back to Berlin may explain why Hogarth was annoyed with the king, who, in 1744, had allied with France of all countries, the arch enemy of Great Britain, against England. These are all possible reasons why Hogarth, so deeply displeased, is likely to have included the Prussian monarch in scene 4 of his *Marriage A la Mode* as a kind of counter-design to the idealising portrait of Frederick by Schmidt, namely as an elderly-looking, pederastic flautist, especially as Hogarth tended to include one or the other of his contemporaries who he was annoyed with in his pictures in an unflattering way.

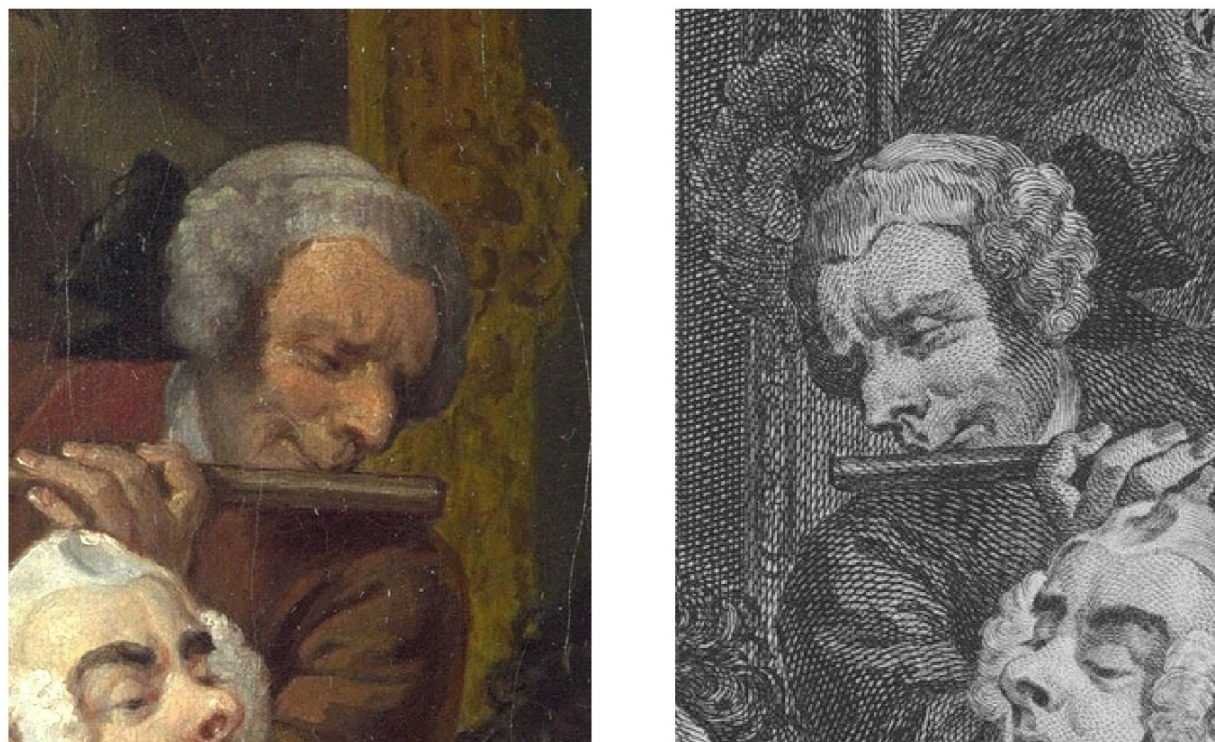


Fig. 20. Detail of the flautist from Hogarth's painting of scene 4 of *Marriage A-la-Mode* in direct comparison to Ravenet's depiction of the flautist in his engraving after the painting

Admittedly, the flute player depicted by Hogarth (Fig. 20) looks older than a 32-year-old Frederick at first glance, although the actual age of the man with the hideously ugly face is difficult to estimate because there are people who look quite old at a young age. Hogarth, as a competent trained satirist, was able to depict the facial features of his fellow men as more haggard than they actually were. In his treatise *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753) he describes how faces change when people grow older. Especially beyond the age of thirty the changes become “more and more visible”. We notice that “the sweet simplicity of many rounding parts of the face begin to break into dented shapes with more sudden turns about the muscles” until, over fifty, the wrinkles and creases become more and more prominent, and in the end only “a comely piece of ruin” remains.<sup>97</sup> On that score, Hogarth may deliberately have depicted the Prussian king in his picture older than he was. However, some contemporary comments also suggest that Frederick looked quite old in his younger years, so that Hogarth may have matched the actual facial features much better than Schmidt with his youthful, unrealistic portrait.

Is that effeminate man with the fan on his wrist waving to the castrato possibly a caricature of Schmidt? Schmidt's *Self-Portrait “with the Spider”*, etched in Rembrandt's manner (Fig.

<sup>97</sup> William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke [as in note 92], 142, 144–45; id., *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 99, 101.

21),<sup>98</sup> with its round face; the relatively narrow mouth with its full lips and the mischievously twisted laughter lines; the shape of the nose; the clearly visible dark circles; and the white ruffled shirt closed tightly around the neck approximately matches Hogarth's depiction. (Incidentally, the spider in Schmidt's self-portrait is also a detail that was apparently borrowed from Hogarth. In the sixth scene of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, a spider web appears on the inside of the lintel.)<sup>99</sup>

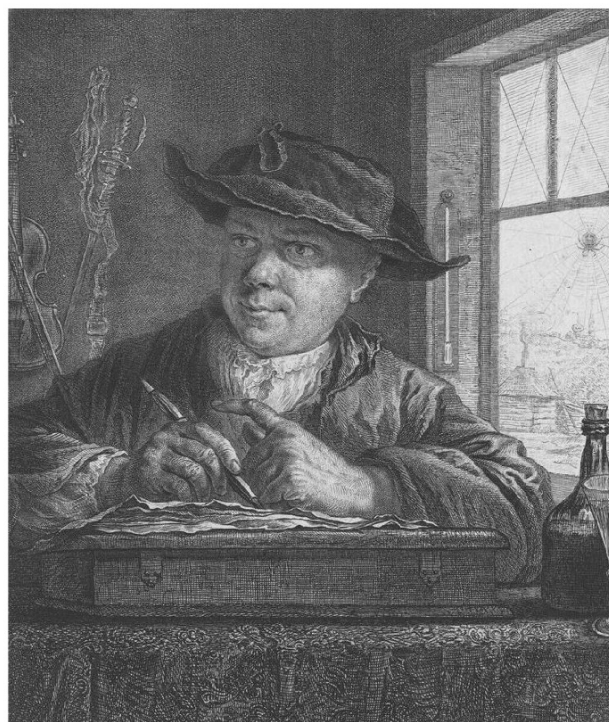


Fig. 21. Left: Simon François Ravenet after William Hogarth, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Plate 4 (1745). Detail: the waving homosexual with the fan on his wrist. Right: Georg Friedrich Schmidt, *Self-Portrait "with the Spider"* (1758)

The wig that Hogarth's flautist wears is similar to that of the young king in Schmidt's portrait. The fact that in Hogarth's depiction the flautist's wig looks grayer than the artificial hair of the other people in the picture could be due to the fact that the artist knew that Frederick, who was extremely careless as fancy fashion is concerned, wore an unkempt, not regularly powdered pigtail wig.<sup>100</sup> The simple, cinnamon-coloured clothing of the flute player could also allude to

<sup>98</sup> Kirsten Ahrens, *Das Kunstwerk des Monats, Oktober 1990: Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1712–1776): Selbstbildnis „mit der Spinne“*, 1758, Radierung, 23,3 × 17,8 cm (Platte), WLMKuK, Porträtarchiv Diepenbroick, Inv. Nr. C-6489 PAD/89-52 LM (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 1990); Krysmanski, *Das einzig authentische Porträt des Alten Fritz?* [as in note 63], 35–37.

<sup>99</sup> Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode* [as in note 61], 160 and Fig. 40b. Since Schmidt had a weakness for satirical representations and his self-portrait was created thirteen years later than the engraved version of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, published in 1745, it is quite possible that he recognised himself in scene 4 of the English picture series. It could well be that the pointing gesture depicted in his self-portrait seems to say to the viewer with a wink: "Look closely: in Hogarth's print this hand is holding a chocolate cup with two dipped biscuits, as was customary at the Prussian court at the time when Frederick invited his favourites to a quickie, and is my other, waving hand not carrying a fan on the wrist to mark me as a willing object of the king's sexual desires?" I would like to thank Jeremy Barlow and Rosemary Pemberton for pointing out that it was the custom in upper-class circles in Prussia at that time to serve two biscuits with hot chocolate. See also Rosemary Pemberton, "Chocolate Cups and their Social Context 1690–1820", *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, 20, no. 3 (2009), 533–48. But not only may this secondary motif refer to Schmidt. Even in the first scene of his *Marriage-a-la-Mode* series, Hogarth could have alluded to him and his homosexual preferences, because there is a portrait of the old Earl on the wall representing him as a French field marshal painted in the style of Hyacinthe Rigaud, whose Baroque portraits Schmidt re-engraved in Paris. The fact that a firing cannon barrel symbolises the Marshal's ejaculating penis in a significant place in the picture is rather unusual. See David Wykes, "Hogarth and Rigaud: One Portrait", *Notes and Queries*, 36, no. 4 (December 1989), 470–75.

<sup>100</sup> Groth, "Wie Friedrich II. wirklich aussah" [as in note 33].

the well-known fact that the monarch was usually quite simply dressed.<sup>101</sup> When, for example, Henri de Catt first met him on a ship, he saw “a man in a cinnamon-coloured skirt with gold buttons and a black wig coming out of a cabin, whose face and suit were quite heavily stained with Spanish snuff.”<sup>102</sup> After all, Hogarth is likely to have given Frederick, who is playing the flute, the distinctive aquiline nose mainly in order to establish a direct connection to the eagle’s beak in the *Ganymede* picture (and probably also to the crowned black eagle on the Prussian coat of arms).

### Hogarth’s portrayal is and will remain the most authentic

We can reasonably assume that Hogarth provided a likeness of the Prussian king in his scene, because no one else would fit better with his flute between the pederastic image of the eagle and the castrati sitting in front of him! Hogarth’s portrayal seems to be the only approximately authentic representation that was created during the monarch’s lifetime, especially since it resembles the death mask in a striking way. The traditional portraits by all the other artists — including the less well-known pictures by Anna Dorothea Therbusch, Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky and Edward Francis Cunningham as well as the representations by Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, which allegedly go back to studies of living objects (Fig. 22) — are for the most part portraits that distort reality and do not depict the true face of the famous monarch.

Therbusch’s portrait of Frederick of around 1775, which the king sent his friend Voltaire, was probably created in collaboration with Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (also: Lisiewski), the artist’s brother.<sup>103</sup> With regard to the question of “likeness” in portraiture discussed here, it is of course surprising that the portrait of Frederick by Lisiewsky,<sup>104</sup> painted only a few years later, in 1782, differs greatly from the portrait previously carried out by the same artist and his sister. The assumption that Frederick’s face could have become fuller in old age is in any case not sufficient to explain the differences.<sup>105</sup> The portrait by the Scottish painter Edward Francis Cunningham, which is little known in Germany, shows the king in the last year of his life accompanied by two of his greyhounds. It shows the face of the clearly aged monarch with relatively large eyes and wrinkled face, but with a markedly straight nose.<sup>106</sup> It has even been claimed that the king sat as a model for Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo, who worked

<sup>101</sup> Contemporaries report, for example, that, unlike other monarchs, Frederick spent little time on washing and dressing in the morning and wore old, dirty uniforms. See Ute Christina Koch, “‘Un jour comme l’autre’: Ein Tag im Leben Friedrichs in Berichten des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung* (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), 315. On 15 November 1741, Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld commented on the appearance of the young monarch when he was coming back from the field of battle and got out of his carriage: “The king wore a soiled uniform, his hair was not perfectly done, and his entire appearance was by no means accompanied by an external gloss. In this attire he climbed the steps of the throne and sat down in his armchair.” See *Friedrich der Große und sein Hof, oder So war es vor 100 Jahren. In vertrauten Briefen des Freiherrn v. Bielfeld, geschrieben von 1738 bis 1760*, Part 2 (Breslau: im Verlage bei Josef Max und Komp., 1838), 45–46.

<sup>102</sup> Koser, “Die Berichte der Zeitgenossen über die äußere Erscheinung Friedrichs des Großen” [as in note 23], 95.

<sup>103</sup> See above, note. 37; Katharina Küster-Heise, *Anna Dorothea Therbusch, geb. Lisiewska 1721–1782: Eine Malerin der Aufklärung: Leben und Werk* (PhD thesis, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2008), vol. 1: 96, and vol. 2: cat. no. IV.97.

<sup>104</sup> See Börsch-Supan/Savelsberg, *Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (1725–1794)* [as in note 19], 143, Plate 21.

<sup>105</sup> See also Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis” [as in note 5], 267–68, who assumes that Lisiewsky’s portrait should make visible “the physical decline and the traces of a life suffered”. In my opinion, the broad facial features to be seen in the portrait of the king’s private physician, Christian Andreas Cothenius, painted by Therbusch and Lisiewsky in 1777, had a clear influence on the portrait of Frederick from 1782. See Dominik Bartmann, “Anna Dorothea Therbusch: Porträt Christian Andreas Cothenius”, *Berlinische Notizen: Zeitschrift des Vereins der Freunde und Förderer des Berlin Museums e.V.*, 4 (1987) [*Jubiläums-Ausgabe*], 23–27.

<sup>106</sup> See Thomas Weißbrich, “Inszenierungen im Porträt”, in Koschnick, *Friedrich der Große: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt* [as in note 1], 26–27.

at the Prussian court from 1748 to 1758 and from 1763 to 1769 and who did several portraits of Frederick, but this is extremely unlikely.<sup>107</sup> In any case, the monarch is represented by this painter with a relatively narrow, perfectly straight nose that does not correspond to that of the death mask.<sup>108</sup>



Fig. 22. Left: Anna Dorothea Therbusch, *Frederick the Great* (c.1775; Château de Ferney-Voltaire). Half left: Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky, *Frederick the Great* (1782; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin). Half right: Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo, *Frederick the Great* (c.1763–1769; Royal Collection; detail). Right: Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Bust of Frederick the Great (1770; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Sculpture Collection)

It is also questionable whether the sculptor Bartolomeo Cavaceppi really had sufficient opportunity at audiences in 1768 to study the head of the king in various positions so extensively that he was able to make a bust which, as he claimed, represented a portrait which “according to the judgment of everyone [...] was considered to be the first ever made similar to the Prussian monarch”. In the marble bust completed in 1770 Arnold Hildebrand noticed, in addition to the supernaturally large eyes and the small mouth, a “saddle on the top of the nose and its curved course in the middle”. Thus, some details of the head may actually have correctly been grasped by the artist.<sup>109</sup>

It was only after Frederick’s death that some portraits — influenced by the death mask — depicted him with a crooked nose. In addition to the already mentioned bust of Johann Eckstein (Fig. 23 left), which, however, in its final version clearly weakens the curved nose shape of the death mask, only a few other depictions, including a painting by Franz Dudde (Fig. 23 right) from around 1900,<sup>110</sup> show the curvature of the nose. But such pictures remained the exception.<sup>111</sup> Obviously, to this day and apart from a few caricatures, artists are reluctant to clearly show the curve of Frederick’s nose.

One of the few who are not at all afraid to represent the king with an extremely curved nose nowadays is the Frederick impersonator Olaf Kappelt, known as “Dr. phil. Alter Fritz”, who,

<sup>107</sup> See Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 122.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Seidel (*Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* [as in note 24], 198) thinks that van Loo put the “stamp of unnatural” on his portraits of Frederick. “You can see at first glance that they are painted from memory and without a sitting.”

<sup>109</sup> Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen* [as in note 9], 39, 123–24 and Plates 43–45. See also E[rich] P[aul] Riesenfeld, “Cavaceppis Büste Friedrichs des Großen”, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, n. s. 25 (1914), 57–60; Hüneke, “Friedrich der Große in der Bildhauerkunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts” [as in note 42], 64 and Fig. 3; Thomas Weiss (ed.), *Von der Schönheit weissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 135, cat. no. 49.

<sup>110</sup> Johannes Unger, *Friedrich: Ein deutscher König* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 2011), 9 and Cover illustration.

<sup>111</sup> Johann Gottfried Schadow’s popular statuette of Frederick II with his greyhounds, modelled in 1816 and cast in bronze by the French caster François Léquine in 1822, also does not show a pronounced aquiline nose, although the artist is said to have oriented himself on the death mask and other models. See Siebert, “Die Totenmaske im 19. Jahrhundert” [as in note 54], 48; Hans Mackowsky, *Die Bildwerke Gottfried Schadows* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1951), 248, no. 274 and Figs. 208–209; Götz Eckardt, *Johann Gottfried Schadow 1764–1850: Der Bildhauer* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann Verlag, 1990), 224–29.



Fig. 23. Left: Johann Eckstein, Bust of Frederick the Great (1786; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Sculpture Collection). Right: Franz Dudde, *Frederick the Great* (c.1900; Wehrgeschichtliches Museum, Rastatt; detail)

disguised as Frederick II in a Prussian uniform, offers city tours through Berlin. He prepares himself for the tours he organises with a particularly large and crooked “nozzle” on his face.<sup>112</sup>

Otherwise, I am firmly convinced that among the many artists who tried to depict Old Fritz in his lifetime, only Hogarth succeeded in doing this in scene 4 of his *Marriage A-la-Mode* in a relatively realistic way, even if he may have somewhat caricatured the features of the Prussian king by emphasising the hooked nose (which was also slightly shortened and rendered a little more compact to match the eagle’s beak in the *Ganymede* picture).

## Photo credits

British Museum: Fig. 3; Campe, Edwin von, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Grossen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1958): Figs. 11 and 12; Château de Ferney-Voltaire: Fig. 22; Collection of Edwin von Campe: Figs. 9 and 14; DAPD: Fig. 5; Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin: Fig. 6; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: Fig. 3; Hildebrand, Arnold, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen: Zeitgenössische Darstellungen*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1942): Figs. 12, 14 and 23; Hüneke, Saskia, “Friedrich der Grosse in der Bildhauerkunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts”, *Jahrbuch/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2 (1997–1998): Figs. 10 and 22; Kluxen, Andrea M., *Bild eines Königs: Friedrich der Große in der Graphik* (Limburg/Lahn: C. A. Starke, 1986): Fig. 3; Kugler, Franz, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen, Gezeichnet von Adolph Menzel*, new edn (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1856): Fig. 15; Lavater, Johann Caspar, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung von Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig and Winterthur: Weidmanns Erben & Reich; Heinrich Steiner & Compagnie, 1775–1778): Figs. 12 and 13; Lempertz, Cologne: Fig. 1; National Galleries Scotland: Figs. 3 and 21; National Gallery, London: Figs. 17 and 20; Private Collection: Figs. 3, 7, 18, 19 and 21; Royal Collection Trust: Fig. 22; Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin-Brandenburg: Figs. 4, 8, 11, 13 and 22; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Fig. 16; Tripota (Trierer Porträt Datenbank): Fig. 3; Volz, Gustav Berthold (ed.), *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, vol. 7: *Antimachiavell und Testamente* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1912): Fig. 10; Wehrgeschichtliches Museum, Rastatt: Fig. 23; Wikimedia.org <[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Friedrich2\\_jung.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Friedrich2_jung.jpg)>; <<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Friedrich1763o.jpg>>; <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Friedrich\\_Zweite\\_Alt.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Friedrich_Zweite_Alt.jpg)>; <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoine\\_Pesne\\_-\\_Friedrich\\_der\\_Gro%C3%9Ferals\\_Kronprinz\\_\(1739\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoine_Pesne_-_Friedrich_der_Gro%C3%9Ferals_Kronprinz_(1739).jpg)>; Figs. 2 and 4.

<sup>112</sup> See Christian Schreiber, “Olaf Kappelt ist der neue Alte Fritz in Berlin”, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 21 January 2011; Barbara Schaefer, “Friedrich-II.-Stadttour in Berlin: Dr. phil. Alter Fritz”, *Der Spiegel*, 24 January 2012; “Spaziergang und Tafelrunde mit Friedrich dem Großen” <<http://www.koenig-friedrich.de/pdf/flyer-koenig-friedrich-2009-web.pdf>>.

## Bibliography

- Kirsten Ahrens, *Das Kunstwerk des Monats, Oktober 1990: Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1712–1776): Selbstbildnis „mit der Spinne“*, 1758, Radierung, 23,3 × 17,8 cm (Platte), WLMKuK, Porträtarchiv Diepenbroick, Inv. Nr. C-6489 PAD/89-52 LM (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 1990).
- Francesco Algarotti, *Briefwechsel mit Friedrich II.*, ed. Wieland Giebel (Berlin: Berlin Story Verlag, 2008).
- Reinhard Alings, “‘Don’t ask – don’t tell’ – War Friedrich schwul?” In *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012 (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung*, 238–47.
- Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 362 (28 December 1854).
- Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
- Bodie A. Ashton, “Kingship, sexuality and courtly masculinity: Frederick the Great and Prussia on the cusp of modernity”, *ANU Historical Journal*, II, no. 1 (2019), 109–35.
- Carmen C. Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman and Designer*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 13 November 2017–12 February 2018 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017).
- Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).
- Jeremy Barlow, *‘The Enraged Musician’: Hogarth’s Musical Imagery* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).
- Dominik Bartmann, “Anna Dorothea Therbusch: Porträt Christian Andreas Cothenius”, *Berlinische Notizen: Zeitschrift des Vereins der Freunde und Förderer des Berlin Museums e.V.*, 4 (1987) [Jubiläums-Ausgabe], 23–27.
- Gerd Bartoschek, *Antoine Pesne, 1683–1757: Ausstellung zum 300. Geburtstag*, exh. cat., Neues Palais and Römische Bäder, Potsdam-Sanssouci, June–September 1983; Märkisches Museum Berlin, October–December 1983 (Potsdam-Sanssouci: Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, 1983).
- Gerd Bartoschek, “Gemeinsam stark? Anna Dorothea Therbusch und ihre Zusammenarbeit mit Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky”, in Helmut Börsch-Supan/Wolfgang Savelsberg, *Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (1725–1794)*, exh. cat., Museum Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau, 29 August–31 October 2010; Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 10 December 2010–6 March 2011, ed. Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 77–84.
- Beaux enfans de Sodome: Images homosexuelles du XVIIIe siècle, Une conférence multimédia par Louis Godbout des Archives gaies du Québec*, Espace Culture de l’Université des sciences et technologies de Lille (Université Lille 1), 13 December 2002.
- Friedrich Benninghoven/Helmut Börsch-Supan/Iselin Grundermann, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ausstellung des Geheimes Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz anlässlich des 200. Todestages König Friedrichs II. von Preußen* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1986).
- Ekhart Berckenhagen, *Anton Graff: Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1967).
- Ekhart Berckenhagen/Pierre du Colombier/Georg Poensgen/Margarete Kühn, *Antoine Pesne* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958).
- Jenny Bergel, “Michelangelos Ganymed und die Homosexualität in der italienischen Renaissance”, Student’s paper, University of Vienna, 2009 (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2009).
- Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld, *Des Freyherren von Bielfeld freundschaftliche Briefe nebst einigen andern*, translated from the French, Part 1 (Gdańsk and Leipzig: bey Daniel Ludwig Wedeln, 1765).
- Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Alan Sutton; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992).
- Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Penguin Books, 2016).
- Thomas Blount, *Glossographia Anglicana Nova: Or, A Dictionary, Interpreting Such Hard Words of whatever Language, as are at present used in the English Tongue, with their Etymologies, Definitions, &c.* (London: Printed for Dan. Brown, Tim. Goodwin, John Walthoe, M. Newborough, John Nicholson, Benj. Took, D. Midwinter and Fran. Coggan 1707).
- Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Kunst in Brandenburg-Preußen: Ihre Geschichte von der Renaissance bis zum Biedermeier dargestellt am Kunstbesitz der Berliner Schlösser* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980).
- Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Der Maler Antoine Pesne: Franzose und Preusse* (Friedberg: Podzun-Pallas, 1986).
- Helmut Börsch-Supan, “Friedrich der Große im zeitgenössischen Bildnis”, in Oswald Hauser (ed.), *Friedrich der Grosse in seiner Zeit* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1987) [*Neue Forschungen zur brandenburg-preussischen Geschichte*, vol. 8], 255–70.
- Helmut Börsch-Supan, “Gemalte Menschlichkeit: ‘Der Triumph der Prosa in der Malerei’”, in Helmut Börsch-Supan/Wolfgang Savelsberg, *Christoph Friedrich Reinhold Lisiewsky (1725–1794)*, exh. cat., Museum Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau, 29 August–31 October 2010; Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 10 December 2010–6 March 2011, ed. Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 17–40.
- Edgar Peters Bowron/Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2007).
- Wilhelm Bringmann, *Friedrich der Große: Ein Porträt* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2006).
- Linda Brüggemann, *Herrschaft und Tod in der frühen Neuzeit: Das Sterbe- und Begräbniszeremoniell preußischer Herrscher vom Großen Kurfürsten bis zu Friedrich Wilhelm II. (1688–1797)* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2015).
- Stephanie Buck (ed.), *Michelangelo’s Dream*, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries, London, 18 February–16 May 2010 (London: The Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010).

- Wolfgang Burgdorf, *Friedrich der Große: Ein biografisches Porträt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2011).
- Wolfgang Burgdorf, "Königliche Liebschaften: Friedrich der Große und seine Männer", in Norman Domeier/Christian Mühlhling (eds.), *Homosexualität am Hof: Praktiken und Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2020), 133–50.
- Werner Busch, "Adolph Menzels 'Begegnung Friedrich II. mit Kaiser Joseph II. in Neisse im Jahre 1769' und Moritz von Schwinds 'Kaiser Rudolphs Ritt zum Grabe'", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 33 (1991), 173–83.
- Werner Busch, *Adolph Menzel: Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015).
- Anton Friederich Büsching, *Charakter Friedrichs des zweyten, Königs von Preußen* (Halle: Joh. Jac. Curts Witwe, 1788).
- Anton Friederich Büsching, *Friedrich der Große privat: Bericht eines Zeitgenossen* (Karwe: Ed. Rieger, 2013).
- Klaus Büstrin, "'Ich habe gemeinet, du häst mihr lieb': Friedrichs enge Beziehungen zu seinem Kammerdiener Fredersdorf", *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten*, 1 September 2012.
- Edwin von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Großen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1958).
- Edwin von Campe, *Die graphischen Porträts Friedrichs des Großen aus seiner Zeit und ihre Vorbilder: Ergänzung* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1970).
- Giacomo Casanova, Chevalier de Seingalt, *Geschichte meines Lebens*, ed. Erich Loos, trans. Heinz von Sauter, vol. 10 (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1966).
- Jacques Casanova de Seingalt Vénitien, *Histoire de ma vie, Édition intégrale*, ed. Arthur and Angelika Hübscher, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus and Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961).
- Eduard Cauer, "Über das Palladion, ein komisches Heldengedicht Friedrichs des Großen", *Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 3 (1866), 481–501.
- Wolfgang Cortjaens (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Das göttliche Geschlecht*, exh. cat., Schwules Museum Berlin, 16 June–9. October 2017 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017).
- Robert L. S. Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode: a re-view of Hogarth's narrative art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).
- Oliver Das Gupta, "300 Jahre Friedrich der Große – Der schwule Fritz", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23 January 2012.
- Elisabeth Décultot/Michel Espagne/Michael Werner (eds.), *Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808): Briefwechsel* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999).
- Laurence Dehlinger, *Die zeitgenössischen Deckenbilder im Schloss Charlottenburg und ihre Folgen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997).
- Paul Dehnert, "Daniel Chodowiecki und der König", *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 14 (1977), 307–19.
- Paul Dehnert, "Georg Friedrich Schmidt, der Hofkupferstecher des Königs", *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 16 (1979), 321–39.
- Leonardo De Lorenzo, *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1992).
- Paul Derks, *Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie: Homosexualität und Öffentlichkeit in der deutschen Literatur 1750 bis 1850* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1990).
- Martin Disselkamp, *Die Stadt der Gelehrten: Studien zu Johann Joachim Winckelmanns Briefen aus Rom* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993).
- Hans Dollinger, *Friedrich II. von Preußen: Sein Bild im Wandel von zwei Jahrhunderten* (Munich: List Verlag, 1986).
- Annette Dorgerloh/Marcus Becker (eds.), *Preußen aus Celluloid: Friedrich II. im Film* (Berlin: Jaron Verlag, 2012).
- Carole Dornier, "Orient romanesque et satire de la religion: Claude Crébillon, *Tanzai et Néadarné* et *Le Sopha*", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 11, no. 4 (1999), 445–59.
- René Du Bois, *Denkmale und Denksteine für Friedrich den Großen: Lebe er wohl ...*, 4th edn (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2017).
- Christopher Duffy, *Friedrich der Große und seine Armee* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch-Verlag, 2009).
- Georges Duplessis (ed.), *Mémoires et journal de J.-G. Wille, graveur du roi*, vol. 1 (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1857).
- Robert Eberhardt (ed.), *Anton Graff: Porträts eines Porträtisten* (Berlin: Wolff Verlag, 2013).
- Götz Eckardt, *Johann Gottfried Schadow 1764–1850: Der Bildhauer* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann Verlag, 1990).
- Judy Egerton, *Hogarth's 'Marriage A-la-Mode'*, exh. cat., The National Gallery, London, 15 October 1997–18 January 1998.
- Elizabeth Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2016).
- "Eingeknickte Nase: Kanzler Kohl ist Ehrengast, wenn der Leichnam Friedrichs des Großen nach Potsdam umgebettet wird", *Der Spiegel*, 45, no. 30 (22 July 1991), 31–33.
- Ted Emery, "Queer Casanova: Subversive Sexuality and the (Dis)embodied Subject in *History of My Life*", *Italian Culture* 24–25, Nr. 1 (2006–2007), 23–44.
- Dorothee Entrup, *Adolph Menzels Illustrationen zu Franz Kuglers 'Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen': Ein Beitrag zur stilistischen und historischen Bewertung der Kunst des jungen Menzel* (Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1995).

- Marc Fehlmann/Birgit Verwiebe (eds.), *Anton Graff: Gesichter einer Epoche*, exh. cat., Museum Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, 22 June–29 September 2013; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 25 October 2013–23 February 2014 (Munich: Hirmer, 2013).
- August Fink, “Herzogin Philippine Charlotte und das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen”, *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 40 (1959), 117–35.
- Thomas Fischbacher, *Des Königs Knabe: Friedrich der Große und Antinous* (Weimar: VDG, 2011).
- Louis-Abel de Bonafous, Abbé de Fontenai: *Dictionnaire des artistes*, Part 2 (Paris: Vincent, 1776).
- Friedrich Christoph Förster, *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preußen*, 3 vols (Potsdam: Verlag von Ferdinand Riegel, 1834–1835).
- Françoise Forster-Hahn, “Adolph Menzel’s ‘Daguerreotypical’ Image of Frederick the Great: A Liberal Bourgeois Interpretation of German History”, *Art Bulletin*, 59, no. 2 (June 1977), 242–61.
- Fridericus-Stiche: Eine Hommage an Friedrich den Grossen von Heinrich von Sydow-Zirkwitz für die Friderizianische Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (Frankfurt am Main: Edition Sydow, 1986).
- Friedrich der Große, *Anti-Machiavell oder Prüfung der Regeln Nic. Machiavells von der Regierungskunst eines Fürsten*, 2nd edn (Göttingen: in der Königlichen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1742).
- Friedrich der Große, *Das Palladion: Ein ernsthaftes Gedicht in sechs Gesängen / Le Palladion: Poème grave*, ed. Jürgen Ziechmann, 2 vols (Bremen: Edition Ziechmann, 1985).
- Friedrich der Große und sein Hof, oder So war es vor 100 Jahren. In vertrauten Briefen des Freiherrn v. Bielfeld, geschrieben von 1738 bis 1760*, Part 2 (Breslau: im Verlage bei Josef Max und Komp., 1838).
- Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Michelangelo und Tommaso Cavalieri* (Amsterdam: Castrum Peregrini, 1979).
- Eduard Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. II: *Die galante Zeit* (Berlin: Klaus Guhl n.d.).
- Eckhard Fuhr, “Schadow-Statue: Wie Polen Friedrich den Großen rettete”, *Die Welt*, 22 December 2011.
- Eckhard Fuhr, “Wie die Deutschen sich den Alten Fritz schufen”, *Die Welt*, 21 March 2012.
- Hans-Günter Funke, *Crébillon fils als Moralist und Gesellschaftskritiker* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1972).
- Klaus Gehrman/Dariusz Kacprzak/Jürgen Klebs (eds.), *Friedrich der Große, Johann Gottfried Schadow, aus der Sammlung des Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie [Nationalmuseum Stettin]* (Berlin: Schriftenreihe der Schadow Gesellschaft Berlin e.V., vol. XIV, 2011).
- The Gentleman’s Magazine*, LXVII, Part 1 (April 1797).
- Wieland Giebel (ed.), *Das Reiterdenkmal Friedrichs des Großen, enthüllt am 31. Mai 1851* (Berlin: Berlin-Story-Verlag 2007).
- Achim Gnann, *Michelangelo: Zeichnungen eines Genies*, exh. cat., Albertina, Vienna, 8 October 2010–9 January 2011 (Ostfildern: Hatje/Cantz, 2010).
- Gisela Groth, “Wie Friedrich II. wirklich aussah”, *Preußische Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 November 2012.
- Georges-Claude Guilbert, *Gay Icons: The (Mostly) Female Entertainers Gay Men Love* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2018).
- Kathryn Hadley, “Frederick the Great’s Erotic Poem”, *History Today*, 21 September 2011.
- Alfred P. Hagemann, “Im Schatten des großen Königs: Königin Elisabeth Christine und ihr Verhältnis zu Friedrich II.”, in *perspectivia.net: Friedrich300 – Friedrich und die historische Größe* <[http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/hagemann\\_schatten](http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-groesse/hagemann_schatten)>.
- Gunther Hahn/Alfred Kerndl, *Friedrich der Grosse im Münzbildnis seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein Verlag; Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1986).
- James Orchard Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs, from the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 2, 2nd edn (London: John Russell Smith, 1852).
- Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
- Max Hecker (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, vol. III: 1828–1832 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1918).
- L[eopold] Heine, “Totenmasken der Hohenzollern, Friedrichs des Großen, seines Vaters, Großvaters und Urgroßvaters”, *Zeitschrift für Konstitutionslehre*, 17, no. 5 (1933), 635–40.
- Sabine Henze-Döhring, *Friedrich der Große: Musiker und Monarch* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012).
- Christoph Henzel, “Die Schatulle Friedrichs II. von Preußen und die Hofmusik (Teil 1)”, *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1999*, 36–66.
- Jost Hermand, *Adolph Menzel: Das Flötenkonzert in Sanssouci: Ein realistisch geträumtes Preußenbild* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985).
- Michael Hertel, “Hahn: ‘Er war stolz, unbeugsam, verschlagen und heimtückisch’: Friedrich der Große ohne Legende: Das vollständige Interview zum ‘Friedrich-Jahr’ 2012 mit Prof. Dr. Peter-Michael Hahn (Universität Potsdam)”, *mhv-buecher.de* <<https://www.mhv-buecher.de/interview-mit-prof-hahn/>>.
- Michael Hertl, *Totenmasken: Was vom Leben und Sterben bleibt* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002).
- Thomas Hertling, *Homosexuelle Männlichkeit zwischen Diskriminierung und Emanzipation: Eine Studie zum Leben homosexueller Männer heute und Begründung ihrer wahrzunehmenden Vielfalt* (Münster, Hamburg, Berlin, Wien, London: LIT Verlag, 2011).
- Frank Pieter Hesse/Gesine Sturm (eds.), *Ein Denkmal für den König: Das Reiterstandbild für Friedrich II. Unter den Linden in Berlin = A Monument for the King: The Equestrian Statue of King Friedrich II on the Boulevard Unter den Linden in Berlin* (Berlin: Schelzky & Jeep, 2001) [*Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Berlin*, vol. 17].



- Arnold Hildebrand, *Das Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen: Zeitgenössische Darstellungen*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1942).
- Michael Hirst, “A Drawing of ‘The Rape of Ganymede’ by Michelangelo”, in Sergio Bertelli/Gloria Ramakus (eds.), *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1978), vol. 2: 253–260.
- William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty, with the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes*, ed. Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
- William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).
- Gisela Hopp, “Menzels ‘Atelierwand’ als Bildträger von Gedanken über Kriegsnot und Machtmissbrauch”, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 41 (1999), supplement: “Adolph Menzel im Labyrinth der Wahrnehmung, Kolloquium anlässlich der Berliner Menzel-Ausstellung 1997”, 131–38.
- Robert Horzetzky, “Liebe”, in Simone Neuhäuser (ed.), *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang), 96–98.
- Berthold Hub, “Neoplatonism and Biography: Michelangelo’s *Ganymede* before and after Tommaso de’ Cavalieri”, in Berthold Hub/Sergius Koderka (eds.), *Iconology, Neoplatonism, and the Arts in the Renaissance* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 106–36.
- Saskia Hüneke, “Friedrich der Grosse in der Bildhauerkunst des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts”, *Jahrbuch/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2 (1997–1998) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001), 59–91.
- Saskia Hüneke, “‘Avec Privilege d’Apollon’: Apollo, Eros und die Künste: Die Bildergalerie als Teil von Sanssouci”, in Franziska Windt, *Die Bildergalerie Friedrichs des Großen: Geschichte – Kontext – Bedeutung*, ed. Generaldirektion der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), 281–312.
- Ursula Pia Jauch, “Eros zwischen Herr und Knecht: Friedrich der Grosse und Francesco Algarotti im Land der Lust”, in Bernd Sösemann (ed.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa – gefeiert und umstritten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 59–70.
- Ursula Pia Jauch, *Friedrichs Tafelrunde & Kants Tischgesellschaft: Ein Versuch über Preußen zwischen Eros, Philosophie und Propaganda* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2014).
- Paul Joannides (ed.), *Michelangelo and His Influence: Drawings from Windsor Castle*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 27 October 1996–5 January 1997; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 19 January–30 March 1997; Art Institute of Chicago, 12 April–22 June 1997; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 7 October–14 December 1997; The Queen’s Gallery, London, 25 January–5 April 1998 (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Lund Humphries Publishers, 1996).
- Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern, *Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen* (Munich: Hirmer, 1992).
- Sven-Aage Jørgensen, “Unzeitige Modernisierung: Friedrich der Große und sein Zöllner Johann Georg Hamann”, in Walter Göbel/Stephan Kohl/Hubert Zapf (eds.), *Modernisierung und Literatur: Festschrift für Hans Ulrich Seeber zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2000), 183–90.
- Tilman Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Chronologisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Radierungen*, 3 parts (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2021) <<https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007398>>.
- Ernst H[artwig] Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).
- Gerda Kempter, *Ganymed: Studien zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Ikonologie* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1980).
- Andreas Kilb, “Der Mann aus Marmor: Friedrich der Große als Heldenfigur in den Filmen der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus”, in *Friedrich300–Friedrich und die historische Größe* (2009) <[https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kilb\\_mann](https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kilb_mann)>.
- Andreas Kilb, “Friedrich der Grosse im Film: Clips und Bits vom Alten Fritz”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 January 2012.
- Jürgen Kloosterhuis, *Katte, Ordre und Kriegsartikel: Aktenanalytische und militärhistorische Aspekte einer „facheusen“ Geschichte*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2011).
- Bernd Kluge, *Die Münzen König Friedrichs II. von Preussen, 1740–1786: Auf der Grundlage der Werke Friedrich Freiherr von Schröters neu bearbeitet unter Mitarbeit von Elke Bannicke und Renate Vogel* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2012).
- Andrea M. Kluxen, *Bild eines Königs: Friedrich der Große in der Graphik* (Limburg/Lahn: C. A. Starke, 1986).
- Emil Knorr, “Friedrich der Große als Freimaurer”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 3 (1899), 104–25.
- Ute Christina Koch, “‘Un jour comme l’autre’: Ein Tag im Leben Friedrichs in Berichten des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung* (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), 312–21.
- Hubertus Kohle, *Adolph Menzels Friedrich-Bilder: Theorie und Praxis der Geschichtsmalerei im Berlin der 1850er Jahre* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001).
- Hubertus Kohle, “Adolph Menzels Friedrich: Eine Apologie historischer Größe”, in Michael Kaiser/Jürgen Luh (eds.), *Friedrich und die historische Größe: Beiträge des dritten Colloquiums in der Reihe „Friedrich300“ vom 25./26. September 2009 [Friedrich300 – Colloquien, 3]*, published on 21 September 2010 <[https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kohle\\_menzel](https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-grosse/kohle_menzel)> and <[https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/25622/1/oa\\_25622.pdf](https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/25622/1/oa_25622.pdf)>.
- Hubertus Kohle, “Adolph Menzels Inszenierung des Herrschers in Franz Kuglers ‘Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen’”, in Bernd Sösemann (ed.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa – gefeiert und umstritten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 95–111.
- Leonore Koschnick (project manager), *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt*, exh. cat., Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 21 March–26 August 2012 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012).

- Reinhold Koser, “Die Berichte der Zeitgenossen über die äußere Erscheinung Friedrichs des Großen”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 1 (1897), 88–104.
- Herbert Krüger, “Die Gesellenwanderung des ‚französischen‘ Kupferstechers Jean-Georges Wille aus Oberhessen über Straßburg nach Paris im Jahre 1736”, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, n.s. 74, no. 2 (1965), 389–413.
- Anette Kruszynski, *Der Ganymed-Mythos in Emblematik und mythographischer Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Worms: Wernerische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1985).
- Bernd W. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Humour in Eighteenth-Century English Art* (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2010).
- Bernd Krysmanski, “Der pädophile Adelspross: Warum die arrangierte Ehe ‘nach der Mode’ scheitern musste. Eine Neubewertung von Hogarths *Marriage A-la-Mode* aus sexualgeschichtlicher Sicht zum 250jährigen Todestag des Künstlers”, *Lichtenberg-Jahrbuch 2013* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 57–141.
- Bernd Krysmanski, *Das einzig authentische Porträt des Alten Fritz? Entdeckt in Hogarths ‘Marriage A-la-Mode’. Is the only true likeness of Frederick the Great to be found in Hogarth’s ‘Marriage A-la-Mode’?* (Dinslaken: Krysmanski Press, 2015).
- Bernd Krysmanski, “Lust an der Gewalt? Brutalität und Grausamkeit in Hogarths Bildern”, *Lichtenberg-Jahrbuch 2014* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 79–114.
- Künker, *World Money Fair '18 Berlin: Spitzenstücke von Brandenburg-Preußen: Die Sammlung Gunther Hahn*, Auction 300, 1 February 2018 in Berlin (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Estrel Hotel, Berlin, 2018).
- Katharina Küster-Heise, *Anna Dorothea Therbusch, geb. Lisiewska 1721–1782: Eine Malerin der Aufklärung: Leben und Werk*, 3 Bände (PhD thesis, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2008).
- Franz Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, n.d.).
- Johannes Kunisch, *Friedrich der Große: Der König und seine Zeit* (München: C. H. Beck 2004).
- Johannes Kunisch, “Das Begräbnis eines Unsterblichen? Die Trauerfeierlichkeiten für Friedrich den Großen”, in id., *Friedrich der Große in seiner Zeit: Essays* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), 106–44.
- Gisold Lammel, *Adolph Menzel: Bildwelt und Bildregie* (Dresden and Basel: Verlag der Kunst, 1993).
- Michel Larivière, *Dictionnaire historique des homosexuel-le-s célèbres* (Paris: Éditions La Musardine, 2017).
- Johann Caspar Lavater, *Von der Physiognomik: Zweytes Stück, welches einen in allen Absichten sehr unvollkommenen Entwurf zu einem Werke von dieser Art enthält*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1772).
- Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung von Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, Dritter Versuch (Leipzig and Winterthur: Weidmanns Erben & Reich; Heinrich Steiner & Compagnie, 1777).
- Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung von Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, Vierter Versuch (Leipzig und Winterthur: Weidmanns Erben & Reich; Heinrich Steiner & Compagnie, 1778).
- Lebensgeschichte des Baron Friedrich de La Motte Fouqué* (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1840).
- Norbert Leithold, *Friedrich der Grosse – wie er wirklich war oder Die beliebtesten Irrtümer über den König von Preussen* (Taucha: Tauchaer Verlag, 2005).
- Norbert Lennartz, “My Unwasht Muse”: *(De-)Konstruktionen der Erotik in der englischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009).
- Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Schriften und Briefe*, vol. III: *Aufsätze, Entwürfe, Gedichte, Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche*, ed. Wolfgang Promies (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1972).
- Robert S. Liebert, *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983).
- Viktor Link, “The Reception of Crébillon’s *Le Sopha* in England: An Unnoticed Edition and Some Imitations”, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 132 (1975), 199–203.
- Marie Helena Loughlin (ed.), *Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern England, 1550–1735: An Anthology of Literary Texts and Contexts* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014).
- Jürgen Luh, *Der Große: Friedrich II. von Preußen* (Munich: Siedler, 2011).
- Jean Lulvès, *Das einzige glaubwürdige Bildnis Friedrichs des Großen als König* (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1913).
- Marie-Françoise Luna, *Casanova mémorialiste* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).
- Andrew Lusher, “Greek Statues, Roman Cults and European Aristocracy: Examining the Progression of Ancient Sculpture Interpretation”, *Journal of Arts & Humanities*, 6, no. 12 (2017), 25–37.
- Giles MacDonogh, *Frederick the Great: A Life in Deed and Letters* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).
- Tony McEnery/Helen Baker, “The public representation of homosexual men in seventeenth-century England – a corpus based view”, *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 3, no. 2 (October 2017), 197–217.
- Hans Mackowsky, *Die Bildwerke Gottfried Schadows* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1951).
- Frauke Mankartz, “Die Marke Friedrich: Der preußische König im zeitgenössischen Bild”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. 1: *Die Ausstellung*, 204–21.
- Kristin Marek, *Die Körper des Königs: Effigies, Bildpolitik und Heiligkeit* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009).
- Marcella Marongiu, “Il fanciullo amato da Giove: Il *Ganimede* di Michelangelo a Firenze”, *Art e Dossier*, 17, no. 180 (2002), 27–32.

- Ниле Казимировна Масюлионите, *Георг Фридрих Шмидт (1712–1775), Гравёр короля*, exh. cat., Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 2017.
- Kathrin Maurer, “Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in Franz Kugler and Adolph Menzel’s Illustrated History Book *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (1842)”, *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory*, 87, no. 2 (2012), 103–22.
- Kathrin Maurer, “Franz Kugler and Adolph Menzel’s *History of Frederick the Great* (1842)”, in ead., *Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in German Historicism* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 118–44.
- Kathrin Maurer, “Affective Battlefields: Royal Gender Hybridity and the Cultural Afterlife of Friedrich II”, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41, no. 4 (December 2018), special issue: “Passions of War: Gender, Sexuality and Conflict in the Long Eighteenth Century”, 597–613.
- Memoiren von Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, Markgräfin von Baireuth, Schwester Friedrichs des Großen, vom Jahre 1706 bis 1742. Von ihr selbst niedergeschrieben. Nach dem französischen Original übersetzt von Th. Hell*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig: Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1845).
- Detlef Merten, *Der Katte-Prozeß: Vortrag gehalten vor der Berliner Juristischen Gesellschaft am 14. Februar 1979* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) [*Schriftenreihe der Juristischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 62].
- Rainer Michaelis, “Kronprinz Friedrich von Preußen en miniature: Notizen zu einer Arbeit Antoine Pesnes”, *Pantheon*, 54 (1996), 190–92.
- Rainer Michaelis, *Antoine Pesne (1683–1757): Die Werke des preußischen Hofmalers in der Berliner Gemäldegalerie* (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003).
- Rainer Michaelis, “Friedrich der Große im Spiegel der Werke des Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. II: *Die Essays*, 262–71.
- Jakob Michelsen, “Die Verfolgung des Delikts Sodomie im 18. Jahrhundert in Brandenburg-Preußen”, in Norbert Finzsch/Marcus Velke (eds.), *Queer|Gender|Historiographie: Aktuelle Tendenzen und Projekte* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2016), 217–52.
- John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany: With Anecdotes relating to some Eminent Characters*, vol. II, 3rd edn (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, 1780).
- Lucy Moore, *Amphibious Thing: The Life of Lord Hervey* (London: Viking Press, 2000).
- Christian Mühlhng, “Homosexuelle Liebe am preußischen Hof des 18. Jahrhunderts”, in Norman Domeier/Christian Mühlhng (eds.), *Homosexualität am Hof: Praktiken und Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2020), 281–302.
- Wolfgang Nedobity, “Frederick’s Swan: Francesco Algarotti and the Expression of Desire”, *SSRN [Social Science Research Network] Electronic Journal*, July 2012, 1–5.
- John Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth: With a Catalogue of his Works chronologically arranged, and occasional Remarks*, 2nd edn (London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, 1782).
- John Nichols/George Steevens, *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme 1808–1817).
- Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam, aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten, und der umliegenden Gegend*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Berlin: bey Friedrich Nicolai 1786).
- Rictor Norton, *My Dear Boy: Gay Love Letters through the Centuries* (San Francisco: Leyland Publications, 1998).
- Rictor Norton, “John, Lord Hervey: The Third Sex”, in *Gay History and Literature*, Updated 3 March 2012 <<http://rictornorton.co.uk/hervey.htm>>.
- Wolfgang von Oettingen, “Daniel Chodowieckis Arbeiten für Friedrich den Großen und seine Darstellungen der königlichen Familie”, *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1904), 1–18.
- James O’Flaherty, “Bemerkungen zu Hamann und Friedrich II.”, in Bernhard Gajek (ed.), *Johann Georg Hamann: Acta des Internationalen Hamann-Colloquiums in Lüneburg 1976* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1979), 298–308.
- Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutist of Sanssouci: King Frederick ‘the Great’ as Performer and Composer”, *The Flutist Quarterly*, 38, no. 1 (Fall 2012), 18–26.
- Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski/Gustav Berthold Volz (eds.), *Gespräche Friedrichs des Großen* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1919).
- Uwe A. Oster, *Sein Leben war das traurigste der Welt: Friedrich II. und der Kampf mit seinem Vater* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 2011).
- Luca Palmarini, “Giacomo Casanova: L’amore, la storia e la bella compagnia a Breslavia”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 1, no. 5 (2014), 147–75.
- Erwin Panofsky, “The Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo” [1939], in id., *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 171–230.
- Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, “Postscriptum to Tommaso Cavalieri”, in *Scritti di storia dell’arte in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1984), 399–405.
- Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 3rd edn (London: The Print Room, 1989).
- Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 2: High Art and Low, 1732–1750* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1992).

- Julie Peakman, "Male Homosexuality at the English Royal Court", in Norman Domeier/Christian Mühling (eds.), *Homosexualität am Hof: Praktiken und Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2020), 119–32.
- Rosemary Pemberton, "Chocolate Cups and their Social Context 1690–1820", *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, 20, no. 3 (2009), 533–48.
- Pierre Pénisson, "Pamphlet und dialektisches Bild: Johann Georg Hamanns *Au Salomon de Prusse*", in Brunhilde Wehinger (ed.), *Geist und Macht: Friedrich der Große im Kontext der europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 99–104.
- Giovanna Perini, "Hogarth's Visual Mnemotechnics: Notes on Abstraction as an aide-mémoire for Figurative Painters", in Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel (eds.), *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam*, 1–7 September 1996 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 837–46.
- Alexander Perrig, "Bemerkungen zur Freundschaft zwischen Michelangelo und Tommaso Cavalieri", in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, vol. 2: *Michelangelo* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1967), 164–71.
- Alexander Perrig, *Michelangelo's Drawings: The Science of Attribution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).
- "Porträt von Friedrich II. bringt über halbe Million", *Die Welt*, 10 October 2009.
- Bruno Preisendörfer, *Staatsbildung als Königskunst: Ästhetik und Herrschaft im preußischen Absolutismus* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).
- Ingeborg Preuß, "Daniel Chodowieckis 'Roy à Cheval' und sein General Zieten zu Pferde", *Berlinische Notizen: Zeitschrift des Vereins der Freunde und Förderer des Berlin Museums e.V.*, 4 (1987) [Jubiläums-Ausgabe], 7–22.
- J[ohann] D[avid] E[rdmann] Preuß, *Urkundenbuch zu der Lebensgeschichte Friedrichs des Großen*, Part 2 (Berlin: In der Nauckschen Buchhandlung, 1833).
- Helmut Regel, "Die Fridericus-Filme der Weimarer Republik", in Axel Marquardt/Heinz Rathsack (eds.), *Preußen im Film: Eine Retrospektive der Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981), 124–34.
- Conny Sibylla Restle, "Der König und seine treue Begleiterin", *Museumsportal Berlin* <<https://www.museumsportal-berlin.de/de/magazin/friedrich/seine-flote/>>.
- Johannes Richter (ed.), *Die Briefe Friedrichs des Großen an seinen vormaligen Kammerdiener Fredersdorf* (Berlin: Hermann Klemm, 1926).
- Joseph Richter, *Lexikon aller Anstössigkeiten und Prahlereyen: welche in denen zu Berlin in funfzehn Bänden erschienenen sogenannten Schriften Friedrichs des Zweyten vorkommen* (Leipzig: in der von Schönfeldschen Handlung, 1789).
- E[rich] P[aul] Riesenfeld, "Cavaceppis Büste Friedrichs des Großen", *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, n. s. 25 (1914), 57–60.
- Karl Heinrich Siegfried Rödenbeck, *Tagebuch oder Geschichtskalender aus Friedrich's des Großen Regentenleben* (1740–1786), vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag der Plahn'schen Buchhandlung, 1840).
- Anna Eunike Röhrig, *Die heimliche Gefährtin Friedrichs von Preußen: Das Schicksal der Doris Ritter* (Taucha: Tauchaer Verlag, 2003).
- Anna Eunike Röhrig, *Mätressen und Favoriten: Ein biographisches Handbuch* (Göttingen: MatrixMedia Verlag, 2010).
- Thomas Röske, "Correggio's 'Leda': ein verdrängtes Bild", in Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel (eds.), *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam*, 1–7 September 1996 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 265–74.
- Christopher Ryan, "Poems for Tommaso Cavalieri", in id., *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Introduction* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 94–128.
- James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).
- James M. Saslow, "'A Veil of Ice between My Heart and the Fire': Michelangelo's Sexual Identity and Early Modern Constructs of Homosexuality", in Wayne R. Dynes/Stephen Donaldson (eds.), *Studies in Homosexuality* (New York: Garland 1992), 135–48.
- Barbara Schaefer, "Friedrich-II.-Stadttour in Berlin: Dr. phil. Alter Fritz", *Der Spiegel*, 24 January 2012.
- Rudolf G. Scharmann, *Friedrich der Große: Seine Schlösser und Gärten* (Berlin: Braus, 2012).
- Nina Simone Schepkowski, *Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky: Kunstagent und Gemäldesammler im friderizianischen Berlin* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009).
- Martin Schieder, "Die auratische Abwesenheit des Königs: Zum schwierigen Umgang Friedrichs des Großen mit dem eigenen Bildnis", in Bernd Sösemann/Gregor Vogt-Spira (eds.), *Friedrich der Große in Europa: Geschichte einer wechselvollen Beziehung*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), vol. 1, 325–38.
- Theodor Schieder, *Frederick the Great*, edited and translated by Sabina Berkeley and H. M. Scott (London: Longman, 2000).
- Jana Schmalisch, *Il Correggio: Leda mit dem Schwan* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag H. Heenemann, 2001) [*Der Berliner Kunstbrief*].
- Norbert Schmitz, *Der italienische Freund: Francesco Algarotti und Friedrich der Große* (Hanover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2012).
- Karin Schrader, *Der Bildnismaler Johann Georg Ziesenis (1717–1776): Leben und Werk mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995).
- Christian Schreiber, "Olaf Kappelt ist der neue Alte Fritz in Berlin", *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 21 January 2011.
- Uwe Schultz, *Giacomo Casanova oder Die Kunst der Verführung: Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016).

- Paul Seidel, "Friedrich der Große als Kronprinz in Rheinsberg und die bildenden Künste", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 9 (1888), 108–28.
- Paul Seidel, "Die Bildnisse Friedrichs des Großen", *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 1 (1897), 87–112.
- Paul Seidel, "Die Kinderbildnisse Friedrichs des Großen und seiner Brüder", *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, 15 (1911), 20–35.
- Paul Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* (Leipzig und Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient, 1922).
- Jackson Shoobert, "Frederick the Great's Sexuality – New Avenues of Approach", *History in the Making*, 8, no. 1 (Autumn–Winter 2021), 1–18.
- Moritz Siebert, *Totenmaske und Porträt: Der Gesichtsabguss in der Kunst der Florentiner Renaissance* (Baden-Baden: Tectum Verlag, 2017).
- Robin Simon, "Un rosbif à Paris: Hogarth's visit to Paris in 1743", *The British Art Journal*, 7, no. 2 (Autumn 2006), 24–33.
- Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: The rise of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain* (London: Hogarth Arts, Distributed by Paul Holberton Publishing 2007).
- Hannah Smith/Stephen Taylor, "Hephaestion and Alexander: Lord Hervey, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Royal Favourite in England in the 1730s", *The English Historical Review*, CXXIV, no. 507 (April 2009), 283–312.
- "Spaziergang und Tafelrunde mit Friedrich dem Großen" <<http://www.koenig-friedrich.de/pdf/flyer-koenig-friedrich-2009-web.pdf>>.
- James D. Steakley, "Sodomie in Enlightenment Prussia: From Execution to Suicide", *Journal of Homosexuality*, 16, nos. 1–2 (1988), 163–75.
- Claudia Terne, "Barberina", in Simone Neuhäuser (ed.), *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2012), 29–31.
- Claudia Terne, "Querflöte", in Simone Neuhäuser (ed.), *Friedrich, Fritz, Fridericus: Ein Handbuch zum König*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2012), 144–46.
- Günther Thiersch, "Das Flötenkonzert", in id., *Deutsche Maler im 19. Jahrhundert: Zwanzig Meisterwerke aus dem Besitz der Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1979), 130–40.
- Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. III: *The Medici Chapel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948).
- Rolf Toman (ed.), *Potsdam: Kunst, Architektur und Landschaft/Art, Architecture, and Landscape/Art, architecture et paysage* (Potsdam: h.f. ullmann publishing GmbH, 2013).
- Johannes Unger, *Friedrich: Ein deutscher König* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 2011).
- Lutz Unterseher, *Antifritz: Hommage an Prinz Heinrich von Preußen* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2015).
- Renate du Vinage, *Über Frauen um Friedrich II. den Großen* (Göttingen: MatrixMedia Verlag, 2018).
- Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Absent Love in Pleasure Houses: Frederick II of Prussia as Art Collector and Patron", *Art History*, 24, no. 2 (February 2001), 231–46.
- Christoph Martin Vogtherr, "Lusthaus ohne Liebe: Darstellungen der Liebe in Schloß und Park Sanssouci", *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte*, n. s. 14 (2004), 147–69.
- Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 1: *Jugend und Schlesische Kriege bis 1756* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901).
- Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 2: *Siebenjähriger Krieg und Folgezeit bis 1778* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901).
- Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Grosse im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, vol. 3: *Geistesleben, Alter und Tod* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1901).
- Gustav Berthold Volz (ed.), *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen*, 10 vols (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1912–1914).
- Gustav Berthold Volz, *Friedrich der Große im Bilde seiner Zeit* (Berlin and Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1926).
- Morris Wachs, "Diderot's 'Parallèle de César et de Frédéric'", in Otis Fellows/Diana Guiragossian (eds.), *Diderot Studies*, 14 (Genf: Librairie Droz, 1971), 259–65.
- Peter Wagner, *Lust & Liebe im Rokoko / Lust & Love in the Rococo Period* (Nördlingen: GRENO Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).
- Brunhilde Wehinger, "'Mon cher Algarotti': Zur Korrespondenz zwischen Friedrich dem Großen und Francesco Algarotti", in Hans Schumacher (ed.), *Francesco Algarotti: Ein philosophischer Hofmann im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung* (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2009), 71–97.
- Ute-G. Weickardt/Tilo Eggeling (eds.), „Zum Maler und zum Großen Architekten geboren“: *Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, 1699–1753*, exh. cat., Weißer Saal, Schloss Charlottenburg, 18 February–25 April 1999 (Berlin: Generaldirektion der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999).
- Thomas Weiss (ed.), *Von der Schönheit wissen Marmors: Zum 200. Todestag Bartolomeo Cavaceppis* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999).
- Thomas Weißbrich, "Inszenierungen im Porträt", in Leonore Koschnick (project manager), *Friedrich der Grosse: verehrt . verklärt . verdammt*, exh. cat., ed. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 21 March–26 August 2012 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 18–29.
- Erik Wenk, "Friedrich der Kleine", *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten*, 19 April 2016.
- Arthur S. Wensinger/William B. Coley (eds.), *Hogarth on High Life: The 'Marriage à la Mode' Series from Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's Commentaries* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1970).

- J[oseph] E[duard] Wessely, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt: Verzeichniss seiner Stiche und Radirungen* (Hamburg: Haendcke & Lehmkuhl, 1887).
- W. Daniel Wilson, *Goethe, Männer, Knaben: Ansichten zur „Homosexualität“*, trans. Angela Steidele (Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2012).
- Franziska Windt, “Künstlerische Inszenierung von Größe: Friedrichs Selbstdarstellung im Neuen Palais”, in *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Neues Palais and Park Sanssouci, 28 April–28 October 2012, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), vol. II: *Die Essays*, 130–49.
- Franziska Windt, “Ahnen und Heroen: Friedrichs dynastische Strategie im Bild”, in *Friedrich300 – Friedrich der Große und die Dynastie der Hohenzollern* (September 2013) <[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256843332\\_Friedrich300\\_-\\_Friedrich\\_der\\_Grosse\\_und\\_die\\_Dynastie\\_der\\_Hohenzollern\\_Ahnen\\_und\\_Heroen\\_Friedrichs\\_dynastische\\_Strategie\\_im\\_Bild](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256843332_Friedrich300_-_Friedrich_der_Grosse_und_die_Dynastie_der_Hohenzollern_Ahnen_und_Heroen_Friedrichs_dynastische_Strategie_im_Bild)>.
- Franziska Windt, “Die italienischen Gemälde”, in ead. (ed.), *Die Bildergalerie Friedrichs des Großen: Geschichte – Kontext – Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), 218–239.
- Matthias Winner, “Der Pinsel als ‘Allégorie réelle’ in Menzels Bild ‘Kronprinz Friedrich besucht Pesne auf dem Malgerüst in Rheinsberg’”, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 45 (2003), 91–130.
- Ingelore M. Winter, *Friedrich der Große und die Frauen* (Esslingen: Bechtle Verlag, 1985).
- Irmgard Wirth, *Berliner Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert: Von der Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: W. J. Siedler, 1990).
- Joseph Wright (ed.), *The English Dialect Dictionary, Being the Complete Vocabulary of all Dialect Words Still in Use, or Known to have been in Use during the Last Two Hundred Years*, vol. VI (London: Henry Frowde, 1905).
- David Wykes, “Hogarth and Rigaud: One Portrait”, *Notes and Queries*, 36, no. 4 (December 1989), 470–75.
- Eva Ziebura, *Prinz Heinrich von Preußen [Preußische Köpfe: Geschichte]* (Berlin: Stapp Verlag, 1999).
- Johann Georg Ritter von Zimmermann, *Fragmente über Friedrich den Grossen zur Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Regierung, und seines Charakters*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: in der Weidmannischen Buchhandlung, 1790).
- Frank Zöllner/Christof Thoenes/Thomas Pöpper, *Michelangelo 1475–1564: Das vollständige Werk* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen, 2007).