



Introduction

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The chapters gathered here pay tribute to Mary Lindemann’s remarkable career and draw inspiration from her exemplary contributions as scholar, teacher, colleague, mentor, advisor, and friend. The wide range of the chapters themselves embody the striking diversity of subfields Lindemann’s scholarship has influenced. Indeed, the rare combination of scholarly leadership, organizational acumen, expansive intellectual range, and profound generosity—towards fellow scholars and her historical subjects alike—are distinguishing characteristics of Lindemann’s work.

Lindemann’s oeuvre encompasses (to date) five important books, three edited/coedited volumes, and a series of seminal articles, produced across a career that has included tenured faculty positions at Carnegie Mellon University and (since 2004) the University of Miami as well as resident positions stretching from Princeton to London to Amsterdam to Wolfenbüttel. Her distinguished record of professional service includes stints as president of two flagship professional organizations in North America—for historians, the American Historical Association (in 2020), and for scholars of all fields involved in the study of German-speaking Europe, the German Studies Association (from 2017 to 2018)—as well as the presidency of the interdisciplinary body for early modern German studies, *Frühe Neuzeit Interdisziplinär* (in 1999). Her professional leadership has benefited scholars of many disciplines and areas on both sides of the Atlantic. The current volume, for instance, includes contributions from scholars based in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, in addition to those based in the United States. Lindemann has made herself essential to a host of academic communities while serving as a vital connection point between them. A skillful and tireless community builder and academic “matchmaker” committed to connecting scholars (especially junior scholars) to one another, Lindemann has been and continues to be the motive force behind myriad intellectual collaborations, projects, and friendships.

Healing and Harm

Essays in Honor of Mary Lindemann

Edited by Erica Heinsen-Roach, Stephen Lazer, Benjamin Marschke, Jared Poley, Daniel Riches

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Lindemann's varied and impressive corpus of work is marked not only by its erudition and range but also by its tone. Even when dealing with grave matters of violence, destruction, crime, illness, poverty, vice, and (most recently) environmental degradation, Lindemann never loses sight of the fundamental humanity of her historical subjects. Her ability to write with wry humor inseparably blended with penetrating compassion for the flawed yet profoundly human characters of the early modern period distinguishes her work as uniquely hers. Earthy, plainspoken, and witty language that makes her complicated material and sophisticated analysis accessible and entertaining for her readers is a hallmark of Lindemann's writing. She deploys the sharp edge of her historian's tongue never to mock her subjects or earn cheap points with her readers but rather to humanize those she studies and to communicate their complex, confounding humanity (warts and all) to readers hundreds of years removed from her subjects' lives and worlds.

The pleasure to be found in reading Lindemann's work mirrors the irrepressible joy she herself finds in archival research. A self-described "archive junkie," Lindemann approaches the archive as a bottomless well of opportunities for creative exploration and unexpected inspiration—a privileged site of deeply personal engagement with the past and the emotional lives of those who inhabited it.¹ Her work is infused with the joyfulness of archival discovery, and she is a dedicated and articulate proselytizer of the potentialities of expansive archival exploration, pointing scholars to the dazzling treasures they might find if they fish in unfamiliar archival waters. She has been an especially strong advocate of archival research across the arbitrary yet persistent divisions between historical subfields, pointing, for example, scholars of society, culture, gender, religion, economy, medicine, and identity to the "discreet charm" of diplomatic archives, which can yield insights for their chosen specializations.² Archival research, for Lindemann, provides unparalleled opportunities to cast one's historical gaze in unforeseen directions and into unfamiliar manners, a process as exhilarating as it is revelatory. Her uncanny ability to capture this excitement in approachable writing invites her readers to come along for the ride.³

Lindemann's irreverence for traditional historiographical boundaries combines with her exhortation for creative archival exploration to produce the strikingly fruitful cross-pollination between subfields that characterizes her work. Her research has contributed substantially to the array of historical approaches represented in this volume—urban history; the history of science and medicine; the history of crime, authority, and violence; diplomatic history; the history of women, gender, and sexuality—and in each case she has drawn upon the insights, methods, and source material of the others to explode staid orthodoxies and to reach innovative conclusions.⁴ Lindemann's work reminds us that early modern lives in all of their richness were not lived according to the subfield categories that structure the modern historical profession, and that

the best attempts to understand those lives should follow her lead in thinking beyond and between those categories.

One entity that appears in virtually all of Lindemann's work—as well as in many of the chapters gathered in this volume—is the state. Some of the subfields Lindemann engages have comfortably accepted the state as a substantial historical actor, while others have been more circumspect in their embrace and suspicious of studies that take the state too seriously or situate it too centrally. Lindemann's work gives caution to both sides, presenting the state as a necessary but never sufficient factor in explaining early modern phenomena. In her writing the state most frequently appears as a framework that is nevertheless most noteworthy for the other actors and forces that were always at work upon and around it. Her research is at least as invested in exposing the limitations of early modern governance as in detailing its capacities, with an eye always cast toward the experience of the individuals, not only those being governed (or resisting) but also those governing.

These individuals are the true foci of Lindemann's work. Whether exploring proud and urbane civic republicans attempting to navigate their cities through an uncertain modernizing world; medical practitioners operating on the razor's edge between respectable (state-sanctioned) science and quackery; or the shadowy cast of officers, merchants, adventurers, and courtesans enmeshed in sordid diplomatic imbroglios, Lindemann consistently portrays an early modernity populated by intertwined and interdependent individuals embedded in a latticework of affinal relationships, who were pushed and pulled by large structural forces they could not fully understand and were powerless to cast aside, but who were never completely dominated by those forces.⁵ Although constrained by circumstance, Lindemann's historical actors always have the power to make choices, and cracking the code of how they created and applied meanings to the conditions they were subjected to and why they made the choices they did is at the heart of her project as cultural historian.

At times these individuals and their choices had implications on the grand stages of high politics and statecraft, large-scale economic activity, and medical and scientific breakthroughs, and Lindemann's work has contributed importantly to our understanding of each of these things. She has been most interested, however, in the lower-profile but more pervasive realm of the everyday, in skillfully deciphering how politics, diplomacy, governance, and medicine “got done” on a quotidian basis” in early modern Europe.⁶ Her findings have fundamentally enriched the field of early modern history and have been generative of scholarship stretching far beyond those chronological and disciplinary confines.

The chapters in the present volume reflect the resonance of Mary Lindemann's influence on scholarship across a range of scales, periods, places, and disciplines. Stretching from Italian Renaissance comedies via early modern

European engagements with Morocco, Persia, and Thailand to abortion in the German Democratic Republic and witchcraft in the contemporary United States, the chapters collectively bear Lindemann's scholarly fingerprints and celebrate the indebtedness of their authors to her inspiration. Although taken as a whole, the chapters—like Lindemann's work itself—are too protean to submit to easy categorization, they can be broken down into five main groupings, each aligned with a central field of Lindemann's scholarly activity.

Urban History

Much of the action in Lindemann's work took place in early modern European cities, especially the great cosmopolitan city of Hamburg, the central location of both *Princes and Paupers* and *Liaisons dangereuses*. Cities were cauldrons bringing together throngs of people from a variety of places. They were crucibles of conflict and creativity that produced the historian's greatest ally: documentary sources. The interactions of insiders and outsiders, rich and poor, magistrates and subjects, foreign representatives and local merchants come alive as independent actors in Lindemann's work. It is no surprise that in his contribution to this volume Yair Mintzker terms the city "a living, breathing thing" (xx).

Mintzker critiques recent studies of the city as an urban "space" because they deprive the city of its organic reality. The spatial turn uses concepts that were alien to contemporaries and thus limits historians' abilities to comprehend properly the early modern city. Instead, Mintzker argues that contemporaries saw the city as "a body in two interrelated ways: it was both an independent political-legal person and a limb or an organ of a larger organism."

Other contributions to the volume bear this out. Without saying so explicitly, Basel's magistrates clearly present themselves as the city's head, speaking for the city and acting for its safety (Stephen Lazer). In Merry Wiesner-Hanks' contribution, midwives of early modern cities formed an autonomous limb of the urban body; they were part of "hierarchical health care structures made up entirely of women." Their norms were not the same as those placed on men; there were different expectations for different limbs. Neither of these chapters require any discussion of a city's physical construction: their cities were centers of human activity, not spaces.

In contrast, analyzing the city as an urban space functions best when the object of study is the physical city itself, and where scholars are attuned to how the ways cities were laid out were both affected by and influenced the city's culture. Rudolf Dekker and Tessel Dekker show that the cities of the Netherlands never developed a culture of large, grand public squares due to physical and cultural constraints. In particular, the centralizing, monarchical origins for many of Europe's grandiose squares simply never existed in the re-

publican Netherlands, where pragmatic use of space reigned supreme. Jared Poley, in turn, demonstrates how the physical construction of cities similarly affected their culture. As Poley shows, the building up of spa towns permitted their rapid growth. It was the luxury these new buildings exuded that “took a backwater and converted it in the imagination into a fairytale land.”

History of Science and Medicine

Lindemann’s groundbreaking *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (awarded the American Association of the History of Medicine’s William H. Welch Medal Book Prize in 1998) and her widely read *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (issued in multiple editions and translated into Turkish, Spanish, and Portuguese) established her as a preeminent scholar in the history of medicine. She introduced a wider audience to the “new history of medicine” that tackled outdated theories of uninterrupted progress in the fields of science and medicine, of medical professionalization, and of the dominant role of the state in leading these developments. Several chapters in the current volume pick up on those themes. Wiesner-Hanks’s chapter testifies to Lindemann’s keen observations of the central importance of “nonprofessionals” in early modern medicine and healing by examining how the male authorities in early modern German cities appreciated the skills and knowledge of female midwives and both appointed and compensated them for their practical expertise. Donna Harsch’s chapter demonstrates that medical language was also not the sole prerogative of male practitioners of medicine by showing how pregnant women and their relatives in postwar East Germany mobilized rhetorics of mental distress in order to seek approval of abortion.

The engagement of nonprofessionals in different aspects of medicine and science is also key to Jill Bepler’s chapter on the instrumentalization of medical intelligence in dynastic politics and to Sigrun Haude’s chapter on the production of widely read early modern pseudoscientific almanacs. Lindemann’s interest in the role of the state in the development of medical knowledge and practice, as well as in the projection of state power over individual bodies, animates the chapters of Julia Roos (on the efforts of a young Black German man to navigate Gestapo sterilization policies for people of mixed descent) and W. David Myers (on the physical and psychological torment inflicted by governmental authorities on early modern German bodies via judicial torture). It is also central to Harsch’s discussion of the requirement that East German women secure state permission in order to receive an abortion.

Other chapters in the volume focus less on the disciplining of the body and more on its care. Alexander Schunka’s chapter explores the actions of early modern individuals to cultivate swimming skills and of authorities to regu-

late swimming activity and assist those facing the dangers of water as matters of protecting individual safety and well-being. Poley's examination of the booming nineteenth-century spa town of Bad Homburg exposes the blending together of discourses of health, individual body care, and a new emphasis on leisure. In each case the chapters in this volume follow Lindemann's lead in approaching questions of medicine and science as products of a dialectical engagement between a wide range of (female and male) actors and authorities rather than as the exclusive purview of experts and professionals.

History of Crime, Authority, and Violence

Terence McIntosh opens his chapter by stating that “[t]wo decades ago Mary Lindemann noted keenly that law ‘served as an instrument of state power and a way to define boundaries.’” Lindemann's work avoids the overly simplistic notion of the state itself as an independent actor. Instead, it homes in on the individuals acting as the state, their particular human interests, and how they understood and justified their authority over subjects. One of Lindemann's great strengths is her ability to see the human actors behind what can appear like geological strata of treatises and memoranda. Yet despite violence being generally understood as arising from below—from rebels, criminals, and other “undesirables”—it is, as Max Weber famously noted, the state that lays claim to a monopoly on legitimate violence to justify and fortify its authority.

The narratives early modern authorities constructed for their world rarely meshed seamlessly with the understandings and desires of those living under their rule. This friction often erupted into violence as historical actors sought to defend what they understood as authoritative truth. As McIntosh describes, Protestant princes might support intellectuals who justified, to the former's benefit, reducing the clergy's right to discipline their flocks. Such ideas, based in natural law, were theoretically permanent, unchanging, and out of man's hands. They thus served to legitimize princely authority. On the other hand, as William Boehart's chapter shows, an Enlightenment thinker's radical claim that “truth was discursive: it was not something to be attained, but something to be sought,” needed to be silenced, lest it threaten the foundations of early modern society.

Political stability rested on supposedly attainable truths that were, as several chapters in the volume show, often the genuine purpose of state violence. As Myers argues, the many increments of early modern torture went beyond proving guilt to “produce truth” while offering its victims a number of chances to reach that truth in formally constrained ways. Lazer's chapter shows this process in action, as Basel's magistracies continued to inflict pain past contradictory confessions in an attempt to reach a single truth.

Even diplomats, supposed peacemakers, engaged in violence, both within their embassies (Indravati Félicité) and without (Daniel Riches). As both chapters reveal, diplomats assumed a share of the sovereignty of the princes they acted for, including the legitimate use and suppression of violence. After all, diplomats could only attempt to end violence if they had some power over its continuation and its form, and while ending violence creates “we,” it simultaneously creates “them.” Diplomats’ efforts could even make organized violence possible. Lucien Bély’s chapter, for example, shows how long-distance diplomatic missions between France and Siam led to representatives of the former occupying parts of the latter.

Lindemann’s work shows us how historical actors consistently took advantage of the expectations of political authorities for their own purposes. M. J., the anonymous subject of Roos’s chapter, played with competing discourses surrounding young biracial men and respectable behavior in Nazi Germany to construct a self-presentation to Nazi officials to avoid punishment, something at which several figures in the early modern chapters failed (Lazer, Félicité). Characters in Italian Renaissance plays were more successful, threatening and avoiding violence by playing into the expectations of their audiences (Guido Ruggiero.)

Diplomatic History

Lindemann pushed historians to take advantage of the “discreet charm of the diplomatic archive” because of its value to historians of all stripes. It remains essential, of course, for diplomatic historians above all. Riches’s chapter discusses a fundamental aspect of diplomatic negotiation: the creation and formalizing of new “we” (and, by extension, “they”) groups. Peacemaking was, at best, a distant second, and as Riches notes, “negotiation itself, of course, need not have peace as its object.” Several chapters in the volume bear this out. Lazer’s chapter details how France and Basel (“we”) cooperated as partners in pursuing violent criminals (“them”). Success was never guaranteed. As Bély shows, a series of “cultural incidents” and self-interested interlocutors prevented French and Siamese envoys from capitalizing on their goals.

Individual personalities remained paramount in early modern diplomacy. An embassy’s goal was to protect the interests and status of the ruler, not an impersonal state. Ambassadors required decision-making power to enforce social standards because misbehaving representatives reflected poorly on the prince and undermined the ambassadors’ missions (Félicité). Following Lindemann’s lead, Benjamin Marschke’s chapter reminds us that “personalities and personal interests mattered,” all the way to the top. The controversy between Great Britain and Prussia he describes occurred largely because their rulers personally

disliked each other. Much of what occurred in the Franco-Siamese negotiations described by Bély, with envoys from one or the other far from home, was likewise personality driven. As different personalities entered and exited the scene, the thrust of the negotiations changed markedly.

European contemporaries would have agreed wholeheartedly with Lindemann's call to the diplomatic archive. Printed diplomatic sources proved quite popular. Marschke's chapter shows a classic case of diplomatic maneuvering that spilled over into the public sphere, with both parties publishing pamphlets that reproduced diplomatic records in order to appeal to a broader reading public. Diplomatic sources also served as fodder for public edification and entertainment. As Gerhild Williams's chapter describes, Erasmus Francisci's collection of global stories drew heavily from diplomatic sources by necessity. Indeed, Francisci and Félicité, separated by over three centuries and writing for dramatically different purposes, make use of the same source—Olearius's travelogue—to inform their publications, confirming Lindemann's assessment of the endless fecundity of diplomatic sources.

History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality

Lindemann's interest in the history of women, gender, and sexuality is perhaps most visible in her past work as coeditor (with Ann Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki) of the award-winning *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, as well as in a series of articles exploring issues such as wet-nursing, maternal politics, midwifery, and female poor relief.⁷ As is true of all of Lindemann's works, these studies overlapped with her other core interests and often investigated and critiqued paternalistic governmental efforts to regulate the poor in general and poor women in particular.

David Luebke's chapter in this volume addresses disciplinary concerns of state and church with another gendered social institution that mattered greatly in women's and men's lives: marriage (in this case across confessional lines). Harsch's chapter on abortion in East Germany also focuses on dialectics of power between women and the state. Wiesner-Hanks pushes further on the relationship by stressing (as Lindemann herself has done) early modern women's medical agency through institutions such as midwifery. Revisiting her own magisterial work through the lens of Allyson Polka's theme of "agentic gender expectations," Wiesner-Hanks concludes that the male establishment did in fact respect specific women's roles, such as midwives, and found these women capable of performing their work.

Much of Lindemann's work has dealt with women who were, to borrow Natalie Zemon Davis's famous phrase, "on the margins" because of their poverty, transgressive sexuality, or participation in dramatic actions such as child

murder or incest.⁸ Links between gender, love, and violence are also explored in Ruggiero's chapter in this volume, which focuses on Renaissance Italians' fears of love and passion's potential to boil over into irrational violence that could undermine the social order.

Several other chapters in the volume uncover the power of women's agency beneath the dominant yet flawed narratives of female victimhood and helplessness. Jason Coy unravels the claims of modern American practitioners of wicca to be part of an uninterrupted yet persecuted ancient tradition to show how such claims simultaneously occlude female agency in the past and present while also creating a false collective memory that diminishes the experience of the true victims of early modern witch hunts. Bepler's chapter demonstrates the tremendous power wielded by childless aristocratic widows in possessing, maintaining, and redistributing financial and territorial resources. Erica Heinsen-Roach's study of Maria ter Meetelen's account of her position as a slave at the Moroccan court in Meknes, and her search for agency within those circumstances, contributes to discourses on autonomy and the emergence of individual rights in the eighteenth century. In doing so, Heinsen-Roach's chapter, along with the others presented here, pays homage to the importance of Lindemann's iconoclastic scholarship and unforgettable personality in shaping the lives and work of countless other scholars.

Indeed, Mary Lindemann's influence on this volume's authors and the subfields their chapters represent is the common denominator that binds the volume together. Her transformative contributions to any one of these areas would be enough to denote a career of distinction. What makes Lindemann truly unique, however, is her ability to demonstrate how these seemingly disparate themes fit together as pieces in a larger mosaic of dynamic and unexpected interconnections. Our collective understanding of the past has been made incomparably richer by her efforts.

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He is the author of *State Formation in Early Modern Alsace, 1648–1789* (University of Rochester Press, 2019) and has published peer-reviewed articles in the *Journal of Early Modern History* and *French Historical Studies*. His current project focuses on cross-border crime between Basel and France in the eighteenth century.

Daniel Riches is an associate professor and the director of graduate studies in the Department of History at the University of Alabama. His research centers on the role of intellectual, cultural, and religious forces in the political and diplomatic history of early modern Europe, especially in the German- and Scandinavian-speaking lands. He is the author of *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Brill, 2013), as well as articles, chapters, and reviews on various aspects of early modern European history that have appeared in venues such as *Central European History*, *Scandinavian Studies*, and *German History*. He is currently working on a book on the enduring role of religion in European foreign relations from the Peace of Westphalia into the early eighteenth century.

Notes

1. Lindemann, “Confessions of an Archive Junkie.”
2. Lindemann, “Discreet Charm of the Diplomatic Archive.”
3. The clearest example may be her *Liaisons dangereuses*, a historical page-turner if ever there was one.
4. To this list could be added Lindemann’s career-spanning commitment to questions of social and cultural history, her important engagements with economic history, and her emerging work on environmental history.
5. For Lindemann’s chief work on urban history, see *Patriots and Paupers* and *The Merchant Republics*; for medical history, see *Health and Healing* and *Medicine and Society*; for diplomatic history, see *Liaisons dangereuses*.
6. The quoted passage is from Lindemann’s *Merchant Republics*, 14.
7. See Lindemann’s “Love for Hire,” “Fürsorge für arme Wöchnerinnen,” “Maternal Politics,” and “Professionals? Sisters? Rivals?”
8. Davis, *Women on the Margins*. For Lindemann’s work on child murder, see Lindemann, Rodegra and Ewald, “Kindermord und verheimlichte Schwangerschaft.” For Lindemann’s work on transgressive sexuality, see “Die Jungfer Heinrich” and “Gender Tales.” For Lindemann’s work on incest, see “Die schöne Charlotte.”

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