



STEPFAMILIES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD, 1400-1800

Budapest, 30–31 May, 2019 Conference venue:

HAS ERC, Institute for Musicology, Erdődy-Hatvany Palace, 7 Táncsics Mihály street, 1014 Budapest

Co-organizers:

Gabriella, Erdélyi, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, "Momentum" Integrating Family Research Group, Hungary **Lyndan Warner**, Saint Mary's University, Canada

Conference program

		,
Thursday 30 May		
9:15am	WELCOME	Antal Molnár (Director of the Institute of History) and co-organizers
0-20	PANEL 1: THE IMPACT OF RELIGION	
9:30am-	ON STEPFAMILY FORMS AND BONDS	Dr Nere Ione Intrauctedi Izuredi Public
11:15am		Dr Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi, Public University of Navarre, Spain Stepfamilies in early modern Bilbao: Catholic customs and habits
	CHAIR: JUDIT MAJOROSSY	
		Dr. Gila Hadar, University of Haifa, Israel Sephardic Jewish families confronting crisis, 1680-1800: conversion, divorce and agunot in the Balkans
		Dr Katalin Simon, Budapest City Archives, Hungary A society within society? – Orthodox families in Pest-Buda in the 18th century
Coffee Break 11:15 to 11:30		
11:30 am-1:15pm	PANEL 2: TRACKING STEPFAMILIES	Svitlana Dudka, Ph D candidate,
	AND THEIR PRACTICES	Poltava V.G. Korolenko National
	Chair: Mónika Mátay	Pedagogical University, Ukraine Family households of peasants of Hetmanate in the second half of the 18th century





		(according to the confessional records of the Pyriatyn Protopresbyterate)	
		Dr Péter Őri, Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, Hungary Life courses in 18–19 th century Hungary: the impact of the parents' widowhood and remarriage on their children's life events, Zsámbék, 1720–1850	
		Dr Jürgen Schlumbohm, Independent Scholar Stepfamilies and inheritance in a rural society of Germany	
Lunch	Terrace of the Institute of Musicology		
1:15 to 2:30pm			
2:30pm-3:40pm	PANEL 3: STEPFAMILIES ACROSS GLOBAL CONTEXTS CHAIR: LYNDAN WARNER	Sam H. Bass, Ph.D candidate, Indiana University, USA Testamentary legitimation and the dynamics of family strategies in Qing Mongolia	
		Dr Claudia Jarzebowski, Free University, Berlin, Germany 'With no direction home'. Family dynamics in 17th and 18th century world families	
Coffee Break 3:40 to 4pm			
4pm–5pm Plenary	KEYNOTE	Professor Matthew Sommer, Stanford University, USA Polyandry, wife sale, and unorthodox household formations in Late Imperial China	
Evening	Cruise on the Danube with dinner on board		
Friday 31 May 9:30am-10:40am	PANEL 4: HOUSEHOLDS & RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH MARRIAGE AND LABOUR IN SWEDEN	Paul Borenberg, PhD candidate, University of Gothenburg, Sweden Children, stepchildren and servants in the patriarchal household	
	Chair: Marianna Muravyeva	Dr Bonnie Clementsson, Lund University, Sweden Marriage applications and early modern family hierarchies in Sweden 1700–1800	
Coffee Break			



10:40 to 10:55		
10:55am- 12:05pm	PANEL 5: SISTER OR BROTHER FROM ANOTHER MOTHER CHAIR: TIM STRETTON	Dr. Lisa Dallavalle, Independent Researcher Fighting for legitimacy: probate disputes in early modern England
		Dr Leanne Calvert, University of Hertfordshire, UK 'Your marage will make a change with them all When you get another famely': illegitimate children and the making of stepfamilies in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland.
Lunch 12:05 to 1:15	Restaurant (pre-order)	
1:15pm- 2:25pm	PANEL 6: EMOTIONS IN THE STEPFAMILY CHAIR: GABRIELLA ERDÉLYI	Dr Dóra Mérai, Central European University, Hungary Family, death and emotions in early modern Transylvania
		Dr Maria Cannon, University of Portsmouth, UK Individual subjectivities and emotional practices in the correspondence of a sixteenth-century English stepfamily
Coffee Break 2:25 to 2:45		
2:45 to 3:45 Plenary	KEYNOTE	Professor Marianna Muravyeva, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia
		Honour thy stepmother? Violence in early modern stepfamilies.
Coffee Break		
4:00pm -5:10pm	PANEL 7: HONOURING STEPFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MEDITERRANEAN CHAIR: TIM STRETTON	Dr Holly S. Hurlburt, Southern Illinois University, USA 'Two Sultans cannot live in the same country': The fraternal relations of Bayezid II and Çem Sultan
		Dr Blake de Maria, Santa Clara University, USA Carlo Maggi: Sojourner, spy, and stepfather
Evening	Walking tour of Budapest	





30 MAY PLENARY LECTURE

Professor Matthew Sommer, Stanford University, USA, msommer@stanford.edu Polyandry, wife sale, and unorthodox household formations in Late Imperial China

31 MAY PLENARY LECTURE

Professor Marianna Muravyeva, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia, marianna.muravyeva@helsinki.fi

Honour thy stepmother? Violence in early modern stepfamilies

There is a trope in literature and mythology about evil stepparents (equally acknowledged, but applied differently to stepmothers and stepfathers). In early modern Europe both religious and secular ideologies insisted on treating one's stepparents or stepchildren equally with natural children, but in the cases of violence against step-relatives brought to the attention of the authorities, the discourses played differently than in cases of abuse of "natural" or "blood relatives". It is especially obvious in cases of violence against parents, in which stepparents had to think twice about bringing charges against their stepchildren, but also had twice the opportunity to obtain the sympathy of the judge. The presentation focuses on the ways violence was justified and tolerated when perpetrated against stepparents, especially stepmothers.

PANEL 1: THE IMPACT OF RELIGION ON STEPFAMILY FORMS AND BONDS

Dr Nere Jone Intxaustegi Jauregi, University of Deusto, Spain, nere.intxaustegi@deusto.es Stepfamilies in early modern Bilbao: Catholic customs and habits

Bilbao was the main city in northern Spain and it was full of merchants, lawyers, priests or scribes that stayed in this Basque city or travelled to Europe or America. In spite of that diversity, Catholic customs prevailed, and so only Catholic marriages were allowed. However, due to the high female mortality rate, many men remarried. Documents show that the daughters of the first marriage often took religious vows and professed in a convent. Sexual relations before marriage were common as a way to prove the fertility of the brides and grooms. But, sometimes those couples did not end up married, so there were illegitimate children. Documents also demonstrate that when the mother of those children died or the father got married, the daughters also entered into a convent. In Spain it was not possible to get divorced until 1932, but during the early modern period the term divorce was often used to refer to legal separations. So when a woman got a 'divorce', she also professed into a convent. Finally, when a woman's husband was alive but lived either in Madrid working at the royal court or overseas, these wives as well as widows often took vows since in the mentality of that period, an honest and decent woman could not live alone.

So, this paper focuses on the stepfamilies that existed in Bilbao during the 16th and 18th centuries. As we have seen, the term stepfamilies is used to refer to an extant branch of cases such as daughters born in first marriages or in extramarital relations, or the cases of 'divorced' wives and widows. What is most surprising is the connection that existed between all those women and the convents. Bilbao was part of a very Catholic society, and so it is possible to see that convents were used not only as a religious place but also as an answer to other social needs.





Dr Gila Hadar, University of Haifa, Israel, gilahadar1492@gmail.com

Sephardic Jewish families confronting crisis, 1680-1800: conversion, divorce and agunot in the Balkans At the end of the 16th century and during the early 17th century after a wave of Messianism swept the Jewish world, many Jews converted to Islam following the apostate messiah Shabtai Tzvi. The Sabbatean Movement was one of the most wide-ranging messianic phenomena in Jewish history, both in its theological character and in the dissemination of its social influence.

In this lecture I will examine the impact of the conversions to Islam on the family and household as reflected in the Responsa of the 18th century. What were the patterns of conversion in the Sephardic Jewish Communities in the Balkans? Was the conversion a family or a group action? Did the converts continue to live in the same house in the Jewish neighborhoods? How did they solve problems regarding inheritance, property and assets? Special attention will be focused on marriage, divorce and agunot (anchored wives). And when the family freed itself from the bonds of Judaism and bound itself to the Sabbatean faith did they create a new kind of family? A mixture of Muslim, Jewish, Sabbatean family?

Dr Katalin Simon, Chief archivist, Budapest City Archives, Hungary, <u>simonk@bparchiv.hu</u> A society within society? – Orthodox families in Pest-Buda in the 18th century

It is well-known that the Orthodox Christian inhabitants played an important role in commerce and business life in Hungary in the 18th century, especially in major cities. In some places their community also formed a separate part of the city: so-called 'Rascian towns' (Rácváros) existed in Buda, Szolnok, Pécs, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár. Historical research has mainly focused on the settlement of the Rascian people in Hungary during and after the Turkish wars, and their military role against the Kuruc soldiers and the Hungarian population during Rákóczi's War of Independence. While some ethnographical studies have reviewed one town or minor regions, a countrywide overview is still missing.

Therefore we know little about the various Rascian (Serbian, Aroman, Greek) families and their private lives in the 18th century. Did they have a different or similar type of family structure to Catholic citizens? In the case of Pest-Buda, various sources are available. Parish registers remain from the end of the century such as death and marriage records since 1792, and, in the case of Pest, birth and death records since 1779, and marriages since 1777. In the Budapest City Archives we can find marriage contracts, testaments and probate documents. There are also many files about Rascian people among the documents of the Hungarian Royal Council of Governor. Research for the temporary exhibition of the Budapest City Museum about Serbian people's past in Buda, Tabán has revealed various examples of family life. Opulent noble merchant-families with a countrywide family-network or penniless three-generation stepfamilies lived in the shadows of Buda Castle. Remarriage (after becoming a widow or widower) was so widespread that in 1777, a fourth marrige was officially banned and became canonically forbidden. The indigency [in stepfamilies] caused tensions between (step)parents and their children, which sometimes also had an impact on the future marriage of the children. The sources sometimes also refer to relatives and family-members who lived in the periphery of Pest-Buda, and thereby give us glimpses of the life of Rascian population within the two cities as well as the surrounding areas.





PANEL 2: TRACKING STEPFAMILIES AND THEIR PRACTICES

Svitlana Dudka, PhD candidate, Poltava V.G. Korolenko National Pedagogical University, Ukraine, svetlana1993poltava@gmail.com

Family households of peasants of Hetmanate in the second half of the 18th century (according to the confessional records of the Pyriatyn Protopresbyterate)

In historical demography, the concept of the British researcher J. Hajnal on the existence of European and Eastern European marriage patterns remains dominant with the boundary line from St. Petersburg to Trieste. According to Hajnal, the area of Central-Eastern Europe is considered to be the territory of the existence of early marriages and large families. There is no doubt that the territory of the Cossack Ukraine - the Hetmanate falls into this category. With the influence of Hajnal's thesis, a wide number of modern social historians believe that by the beginning of the 19th century the main characteristic of the Ukrainian family was a joint coresidence along with a married couple (husband, wife, children) and a large number of other close or distant relatives (parents, married children, grandchildren, cousins, nephews, sons and daughters-in-law) or even persons who were not connected with them by blood affinity or marital ties. This idea is also amplified by ethnographic representations of the traditional Ukrainian family, dating back to the end of the 18th century. To draw a conclusion on the viability of such an approach can only be possible based on the empirical study of local family structures of the population at that period. This paper centres on the family and a network of family ties of inhabitants of several typical rural settlements of the Hetmanate in the second half of the 18th century. Based on the confessional records of rural Hetmanate peasant households, the number of families, the generational composition, typology and structure of the family formations can be determined.

Dr Péter Őri, Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, Budapest, Hungary, ori@demografia.hu

Life courses in 18–19th century Hungary: the impact of the parents' widowhood and remarriage on their children's life events, Zsámbék, 1720–1850

While we know well that becoming widowed and remarrying were very common phenomena in pre-modern societies, and these events must have significantly influenced the orphans' or stepchildren's life, in Hungary very few quantitative analyses of these life events have been carried out so far. Our family reconstitution database derives from the Roman Catholic village Zsámbék, inhabited mostly by German settlers in the 18th century. Using Zsámbék parish records and a genealogy book of the parish together with a longer series of household lists (*Status Animarum*) may provide an exceptional opportunity to examine these connecting demographic events. In our analysis we are going to focus on the period 1720–1850 which can be considered pre-modern or traditional in demographic sense. We will use multivariate statistical method (event history analysis) in order to reveal the link between children's and young adults' chances of surviving or getting married and their parents' deaths or remarriages. We will follow individuals from birth up to death, marriage or age 30, and in two models we will examine the likelihood of dying and marrying. Among other variables such as sex or socio-professional status of fathers, the paper analyses the impact of becoming an orphan or stepchild. In this way, one can statistically test the widespread negative view on being a stepchild in traditional societies.





Jürgen Schlumbohm, Independent Scholar, j.schlumbohm@gmx.net Stepfamilies and inheritance in a rural society of Germany

In much of northern Germany, farms were impartible and inheritance was under state and manorial control, at least up to the agrarian reforms of the nineteenth century. In this region of Germany, the youngest son was the preferred heir, although if a remarriage occurred the farm was supposed to go to a child from the first marriage.

In a microhistorical study of a large parish near the town of Osnabrück, I have done a family reconstitution 1650-1860, and linked it to household lists, sources on landholding and other nominative data. With this database, we can study the frequency and timing of remarriages of both sexes. In addition, we can explore how the rules of inheritance were used in practice, and try to explain those cases where stepparents deviated from the legal norms. Finally, we can see whether the living arrangements between the elder and younger generations differed in stepfamilies as compared to other families. The documents of some disputes reveal where tensions arose in stepfamilies.

PANEL 3: STEPFAMILIES ACROSS GLOBAL CONTEXTS

Sam H. Bass, PhD candidate, Indiana University, Bloomington, USA, samhbass@indiana.edu Testamentary legitimation and the dynamics of family strategies in Qing Mongolia

Administrative records from Qing Mongolia (1636/1691-1912) depict a variety of family and cohabitation arrangements created by remarriages, adoptions, and monastic vows. Contemporary understandings of those relationships are difficult to tease out of historical sources; scholarship tends to flatten the history of family dynamics in Mongolia, beckoning to universalized ethnographic accounts of genealogically-structured kinship societies, or portraying a declensionist narrative of traditional families breaking down in the face of colonial and modernizing forces. However, references to genealogy and extended kinship networks do not often appear in Mongolian language archives until after the 1840s, at which point they are proliferate. Mongolian language probate records before and after the 1840s portray blended families dividing inheritance between natural and adopted siblings as well as families blending themselves for the sake of securing heirs; yet the strategies these families employed to achieve their goals changed in the first third of the nineteenth century.

This paper describes and analyzes blended families in Qing Mongolia by tracing those changes in the practice of testamentary legitimation in inheritance records. Testamentary legitimation was necessary in cases where property-holders sought to make heirs of people defined as illegitimate; illegitimate people were prohibited from inheriting wealth or titles and the approval of local administrators was needed to guarantee legitimation, leaving a documentary trail of definitions of illegitimacy and the familial patterns that led to situations which required testaments. The perspective of testamentary legitimation presents a story of an increasingly complex system of familial incorporation related to policy changes in the Qing imperial administration of Mongolia, starting in the late eighteenth century and plateauing at the end of the 1830s. This thesis stands in contrast to the static model of a genealogical society or the declensionist narrative of traditional family. The history of Qing Mongolian society cannot be understood apart from changing patterns of family dynamics and strategies of incorporation and inheritance.





Dr Claudia Jarzebowski, Free University, Berlin, Germany, claudia.jarzebowski@fu-berlin.de

'With no direction home'. Family dynamics in 17th and 18th century world-families.

The proposed paper takes its vantage point in the following observation: Family politics were scrutinized in 17th and 18th century. Families, family norms, and emotional ties changed dramatically after the 1650s on a European scale. Traditionally, enlightenment and the making of bourgeois gender and family patterns serve as prevailing paradigms in explaining the fundamental shifts in family politics and norms, social and emotional. In this paper, the main argument focuses on global experience as a mediator for changing family patterns and practices. Stepfamilies are at the core when it comes to explain change from a global perspective. The perception of the world changed through travel and observing labour, cultural, and sexual practices. All this reverberated in social and emotional norms in general, not only abroad (as some historians of global history appear to think). My paper intends to unveil the role that global experiences played in re-shaping family norms and practices in European countries.

In early modern Europe, stepfamilies were less of an exception, but very common and high in demand – compared to what bourgeois ideology makes us think until today. Because, widows and widowers remarried fast and often, it is often difficult to identify the 'step'-part in early modern families. A 'daughter' could be a daughter as much as she could be a god-child or a stepdaughter. The social integrity of early modern stepfamilies, I think, is the main difference to modern conceptions (or, as I will argue, collapsing post-bourgeois conceptions). Therefore, it is interesting to follow a few biographies through their navigation through the world, and through their family challenges coming with that. Because, and this is I think special, the increasing accessibility of experiencing the world affected family practices, affected (self)-conceptions of being a parent (stepparent) and also left its footprints on children of absent or substitute parents.

My examples at the moment come from Dutch and German-English global families, such as the Imhoffs and the Forsters. Also, from 17th century, I wish to include Maria Sybilla Merian's families. My main sources will be biographical and autobiographical, also relating to testimonies of other relatives. So, my paper will most obviously tackle the issue of emotions, household types, legal and domestic arrangements within families that had global experiences such as long-term separation, education, marriage alliances, emotional upheaval, to name but a few. In my conclusion, I aim to think about early modern (step)-families as a blueprint for modern debates on legal and legitimate kinship and kinship creation through marriage, children, practice, and the challenges of migration.

PANEL 4: HOUSEHOLDS & RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH MARRIAGE AND LABOUR IN SWEDEN

Paul Borenberg, PhD candidate, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, paul.borenberg@gu.se Children, stepchildren and servants in the patriarchal household

Peter Laslett described the role of life-cycle servants in the household as that of hired children to their master. Within the early modern household, the master acted both as a father and employer to the servants of the household so the boundaries between children, stepchildren, apprentices and servants were vague at best, and sometimes non-existent. The terminology of the seventeenth century adds to this vagueness in the words used for servants in Swedish and other Germanic and Latin languages, by using the same terms to describe young persons in general, such as *gosse* (boy), *flicka* (girl). These confusions about status are not only problems for the contemporary scholar.



The vague boundaries between child and hired labour could also be a matter of dispute for people in the past as well.

In this paper, I will map and compare the experiences of servants, stepchildren and apprentices. Through the court records from the town court of Stockholm in the years between 1600 and 1635, I will gather cases that concern matters of household authority or questions of inheritance as well as, most importantly, testimonies that provide information of the everyday life of stepchildren within the household in passing. Through what is mentioned in passing, I will explore how the parental household authority compared to the authority of the master, thereby highlighting the nuances of and subtle differences between the status as child, stepchild, apprentices and hired servant in the early modern household. In addition to the comparative study of household authority, I will also map the social interactions of stepchildren and their relationships within the household. What people did the stepchildren spend their time with? These kinds of interactions will provide clues about how the stepchildren and apprentices themselves tried to position themselves within the household and within the society.

Dr Bonnie Clementsson, Lund University, Sweden, bonnie.clementsson@hist.lu.se Marriage applications and early modern family hierarchies in Sweden 1700–1800

In this presentation I will highlight how contemporary notions of age versus family position affected the legal outcome of marriage applications between related couples in Sweden 1700–1800. I will also show that even though the official laws remained the same there was a significant change of legal practice the last decades of the 18th century caused by a change of the cultural values in the society.

During the early modern period, kinship by blood (consanguinity) and kinship by marriage (affinity) were treated equally according to Swedish law. About 85 per cent of the criminal incestuous relationships handled by the Swedish courts concerned non-biological relatives of which a majority seem to have been of a consensual nature. From the second half of the 18th century and about 150 years thereafter, marriages between related persons (for example two cousins, a man and his wife's sister, his brother's widow, or his uncle's widow etc.) became very popular among the bourgeoisie as well as among ordinary farmers and craftsmen. The same development took place in several countries in Europe, for example the Netherlands, England, France, Austria, Switzerland and German speaking areas. Although it is obvious that religion greatly influenced how the incest prohibitions were designed during this period, there were several other social and cultural values in society that implicitly but decisively affected the assessment of marriage applications.

PANEL 5: SISTER OR BROTHER FROM ANOTHER MOTHER

Dr. Lisa Dallavalle, Independent Researcher, Lisa. Dallavalle@alumni.eui.eu Fighting for legitimacy: probate disputes in early modern England

Every country and state in early modern Europe had laws and customs that dictated the manner in which wealth and property were transmitted from one generation to another. Under English common law, primogeniture was the dominant method, although from 1670, if a parent was declared intestate then the Statute of Distribution stated that all children should receive an equal share. When members of the English gentry and nobility had children from more than one wife, they often adopted complex marriage strategies between the step-siblings and the children of half—



siblings to strengthen the precarious ties and to ensure that the wealth remained within the family. Even with these strengthened family ties, probate disputes were relatively common.

Placed within this broader European and English context, this paper will examine the legal and social position of legitimate and illegitimate heirs in early modern England through a fascinating probate court case between the Wyne and Wyatt half-siblings in the 1680s. John Wyne, a gentleman from Somerset, married Jane Ryder, the sister of a publican in the 1660s while practising at the bar at the Inner Temple in London. He kept the marriage a secret from his family, and instead established himself and their growing family in the city under the surname Wyatt. Twelve years later John's natal family arranged a marriage for him to Theophilla Selleck, the daughter from a socially prominent family, with whom he set up a house in Somerset. John maintained this double life successfully until his death and wrote two testaments as if he were two different men, leaving his property in London to the sons of his first marriage, and his property in Somerset to the sons from his second one. The problem occurred when both wills were probated, and the lie was uncovered, as according to common law, the first-born legitimate son was entitled to all his father's land and property in Somerset and in London, and only one family could be declared legitimate. This paper will examine, how the Prerogative Court of Canterbury resolved this issue, and speculate on the social positions of the half-siblings and stepmothers within the Wyne and Wyatt families.

Dr Leanne Calvert, University of Hertfordshire, UK, 1.calvert@herts.ac.uk

'Your marage will make a change with them all ... When you get another famely': illegitimate children and the making of stepfamilies in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland.

In February 1805, Anne Henry wrote a passionate letter to her lover, William Tennent, in which she begged him to remember their children. Heavily pregnant with their fourth child, Henry had just heard news that Tennent was to be married the following month to a woman named Eleanor Jackson. Worried that the marriage would alter Tennent's sense of paternal duty, Henry expressed her hopes that Eleanor would 'adopt the [children] as her owne' and warned Tennent that 'Marage will make a change with them all ... When you get another famely they will be but distant to you'. Indeed, the 'famely' referred to was much larger and complex than we might expect. Henry was not Tennent's only lover. Before marrying in March 1805, Tennent fathered at least thirteen illegitimate children, eleven of whom survived infancy. The child he would go on to have with his wife, Eleanor, would be his only legitimate heir.

What makes Tennent's case such an intriguing study of stepfamily relationships is that not only did he publicly recognise each of his children and provide for them financially, he raised them as a connected family unit. Contrary to wider public (and even family) opinion, Tennent's children maintained close relationships with their father, their mothers, and with each other. Drawing on the letters of Tennent, his mistresses and their children, this paper considers what the presence of illegitimate children can tell us about stepfamily and family relationships in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland. Questions to be considered include: To what extent did illegitimacy shape the emotional quality of family relationships? In what ways did illegitimacy affect the family experiences and relationships of half-siblings? Was Anne Henry right to worry-did marriage alter the paternal responsibilities that men held towards their legitimate and illegitimate children?





PANEL 6: EMOTIONS IN THE STEPFAMILY

Dr Dóra Mérai, Central European University, Austria, MeraiD@ceu.edu Family, Death, and Emotions in Early Modern Transylvania

The organization of space designated for burials as well as acts, rituals and material culture around death such as funerary monuments all serve to help heal the grieving individuals and the damaged social fabric. This paper is about sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funerary monuments from the territory of the Transylvanian Principality. What do these monuments reveal about the relationships and emotions between family members? To what extent did funerary monuments serve to express, share, and consolidate emotions? In what respect do stone memorials and burial sites serve as sources on early modern social relations, specifically, on structuring and re-structuring families and stepfamilies? The analysis is based on a database created by the author, which contains about 320 funerary monuments produced between 1540 and 1700 in the Transylvanian Principality combined with a set of last wills, descriptions of funeral ceremonies, and information about archaeologically excavated burial sites dating from the period.

Dr Maria Cannon, University of Portsmouth, UK, maria.cannon@port.ac.uk Individual subjectivities and emotional practices in the correspondence of a sixteenth-century English stepfamily

This paper analyses a selection of letters between the children of Margaret, Countess of Bath's three marriages, born between 1530-1550. Correspondence was the vehicle through which the half-siblings continued to manage their relationships well after their mother's death in 1561. It explores how status, gender and age impacted on the emotional strategies they used to negotiate authority in their blended family network. These sources are analysed as examples of how individuals developed emotional practices to create and negotiate familial bonds throughout the life course. This case study is presented as part of broader research looking at how families managed the process of family reconstitution by creating emotional hierarchies of affection and obligation. Blended families were composed of members of different ages, genders and social ranks who did not always share ties of blood or name, however, these individuals were regarded by society as part of the same family network. This meant that developing emotional connections to manage their shared responsibilities and reputations was crucial. A focus on the negotiation of family bonds within blended family structures can shed light on how emotions were managed in practice. By considering personal correspondence, this paper will engage with the problem of how far historians can claim to understand individual subjectivities through narrative sources that had a performative element and were often intended to regulate and influence the behaviour of others. It asks how far did individual subjectivities and emotional practices form part of familial strategies in early modern England? The paper will explore an under-researched but widely experienced aspect of family life and demonstrate the value of family correspondence to the field of the history of emotions.

PANEL 7: HONOURING STEPFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MEDITERRANEAN

Dr Holly S. Hurlburt, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, USA, hurlburt@siu.edu

'Two Sultans cannot live in the same country': The fraternal relations of Bayezid II and Çem Sultan





Ottoman Emperor Mehmed II ("the Conqueror") died in 1481. His two surviving sons, Bayezid and Çem, fought a grueling civil war to succeed him. What the victor, Bayezid, did next was most unusual in Ottoman succession – he allowed his half brother to live. Interregnal instability had resulted in turmoil and civil war in the Ottoman past, as is suggested by the quote in my title attributed to Sultan Mehmed I Chelebi. To prevent such unrest his grandson and namesake had decreed that whichever of his sons ascended the throne, he could legally kill the others for the good of the people. Yet Bayezid invoked neither fratricidal precedent nor his father's decree – instead he allowed Çem to escape, first to the custody of the Knights of Rhodes, and from there to gilded and celebrated captivity in France, Rome, and Naples where Çem Sultan died in 1495, after which Bayezid engaged in a lengthy series of negotiations to have his brother's body returned. Bayezid finally received Çem's remains in the summer of 1499 and interred them with royal honor at the tomb complex and mosque built by their grandfather, Sultan Murad in Bursa.

This paper will examine Çem's remarkable life in exile as a means to consider the complexities of the fraternal relationship between these two adversaries. More than just a continued struggle for domination of the Ottoman Empire, Çem and Bayezid's kinship shaped the fraught politics of the Mediterranean and Europe in the late fifteenth century, as kings from Hungary to France, the pope and other power players inserted themselves into this ongoing family dispute in search of political advantage.

Dr Blake de Maria, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, USA, bdemaria@scu.edu Carlo Maggi: Sojourner, spy, and stepfather

In the span of his sixty-two years, the Venetian bureaucrat and voyageur Carlo Maggi both witnessed and made history. Acutely aware of the fact that his life as a member of Venice's covert intelligence community was a life far from ordinary, Maggi deemed his personal accomplishments worthy of commemoration. His voluminous will includes biographical details and elements well beyond the information usually found in testaments of the period, rendering the document as much an autobiography as an account of bequests. However, this autobiography in testamentary form did not sufficiently satisfy Maggi's drive for self-commemoration. Rather, prior to the appearance of this literary exercise in self-glorification, Maggi also commissioned a gifted, yet still anonymous manuscript painter, with the responsibility of creating a visual biography depicting key events from his life. The result: The Codex Maggi, an extraordinary manuscript owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The manuscript, which dates to 1578, measures 32.5 cm by 22.8 cm boasts seventeen illuminations recounting important events in Carlo's life, including his sevenyear captivity as an Ottoman slave. There is no doubt the manuscript is unique and worthy of scholarly interest. However, when viewed in conjunction with his will, Carlo's true motivation becomes clear: the Codex Maggi was commissioned to legitimize the social standing and legal status of his stepson, Antonio Maggi. Viewed in isolation, the Codex Maggi could easily be dismissed as an exercise in narcissism expressed within the confines of the private arts, a visual expression of the phenomenon of self-fashioning that was occurring throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. The early modern recognition of a self geared toward an exterior audience and the ability to craft an ideal public persona – whether through literature or art - had its roots in antiquity. As will be demonstrated, Maggi was not alone in his drive to use the visual arts to record his own history. Rather other members of Maggi's extended circle also utilized the arts to celebrate, and in certain cases - such as Maggi's - to legitimize their blended families.