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Chapter 5. ENTERING THE REPRODUCTIVE PHASE OF LIFE: FIRST MARRIAGES IN ZSÁMBÉK, HUNGARY (1720–1945)[1]

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Introduction

Family is a social institution ensuring the demographic reproduction of populations. It starts with the creation of a stable partnership, in the past almost exclusively a marriage according to prevailing norms. Thus, this ritual generally began the demographic reproduction in historical societies, at least in Europe where the first marriage and first birth were close in time (Lundh, Kurosu, 2014). Consequently, marriage customs had a direct impact on population development. The frequency of marriages and the time spent in marriage significantly affected fertility. The percentage ever married was closely related with the level of fertility, whereas the timing of marriages affected marital fertility by determining the length of women's reproductive phase together with the frequency and timing of widowhood and remarriages.

Besides, marriage can be considered one of the key turning points in the life course. Even if it is not identical with becoming adult or leaving the parental household for a new with more independence, it is a considerable step in this direction.

In this paper we analyse the frequency and timing of first marriages (and to some extent the characteristics of first births) in the Hungarian village (Zsámbék) between the 18th century and WWII. Our goal is to better understand the determinants of first marriage at the individual level and in the longer run. In order to achieve this goal, we use longitudinal family reconstitution data from the Roman Catholic parish registers of the village, and analyse these data using event history models (Cox regression; Cleves, Gould, Gutierrez, 2004).

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Former research on marriage

Research on marriage and household formation have been a central field of family history and historical demography since the 1960s. Therefore, the literature on the topic is extremely rich, and a survey cannot be the task here. Besides some general statements on international literature, we shall concentrate on marriage customs and Hungarian research findings.[2]

Research on household structure and family history has been dominated by the works of John Hajnal and Peter Laslett since the 1960s (Hajnal, 1965, 1982, Laslett, 1972, Laslett, 1983, 1988). Regarding marriage, mostly the mean age at first marriage and the share of the never married were studied using population censuses, parish records and vital statistics as data sources. These researchers considered the western marriage pattern (late marriage and a high proportion of final celibacy) a unique model in history worldwide. This model reflects a certain individual and rational decision making with respect to marriage and reproduction, playing a key role in moderating childbearing. In other words, these norms functioned as preindustrial birth control. Such demographic behaviour and the norms and values behind them had far reaching consequences as they were linked to the development of capitalism or modernity.

Even though modified and refined (Laslett, 1983), the model's static approach and simplifying classification remained while being strongly criticised.[3] Because of the creation of the 'West-East' model, a great number of case studies and micro-level analyses were carried out in the last decades, revealing the complexity of European marriage customs and household formation rules. Naturally, proving the existence of different models weakens the simplifying binary Hajnal-model. Stressing economic and social factors in marriage and household formation

[2] In this respect, we quote the work of Tamás Faragó (2003) which provides a very useful survey of the international research up until the millennium. Also see: Oris – Ochiai 2002. For more recent summaries see: Gruber, Szołtysek, 2012 and Szołtysek, 2012. A newer attempt to survey the research field is Őri, Pakot, 2014. The two volumes of basic importance published recently also provide us with detailed summaries of research on family and household history (Lundh, Kurosu et al., 2014, Szołtysek, 2015).

[3] See for instance Fertig 2003: a theoretic criticism and the use of event history models in analysing first marriage in 19th century Germany. A detailed picture of the regional models of marriage and household formation can be found in Szołtysek, 2015, p. 41–85. Also see: Lundh, Kurosu, 2014c.

offers a more complex model than the explanation based on mechanic geographic division which dominated Hajnal's and Laslett's works. In addition, a dynamic approach to the understanding of how households worked and how their structure changed over time or during the household life-cycle, got more stress during the last two or three decades. Thus, the timing of marriage, migration prior to or related directly to marriage, the social and economic determinants of marriage, the effect of household composition on the chances of marrying were increasingly emphasized besides comparisons by region or culture. This process was accompanied by the emergence of new historical sources and new statistical techniques for demographic analysis.

The creation of large, individual level and longitudinal databases and the use of event history analysis based on population registers or family reconstitutions have brought new results while intercultural comparisons also got a new impetus. In this respect the EurAsia project's volume on marriage is particularly worth considering here (Lundh, Kurosu et al., 2014). It shows that economic and social factors, as well as household composition impacted the incidence of marriage and its timing, as well as outmigration. At the same time, it has become clear that pure differences e.g. in the timing of marriage between regions and cultures can hardly be interpreted without understanding the whole demographic system of a given population, or the role of marriage within it. Thus, the timing of marriage might have differed a lot in Europe and Asia, but the timing of reproduction (the age at first childbirth) proved surprisingly similar. It can be explained by the different meaning of marriage: in Europe it was the beginning of the reproductive phase in the life of couples, while in Asia it was only a step towards reproduction, resulting in early marriage (Lundh, Kurosu, 2014b, p. 443).

At the same time, the use of more traditional methods and sources related to regions that have been hardly studied before also brought exciting new results. In this respect, we have to mention the work of Mikolaj Szołtysek (2015), which reinterpreted this regional approach of marriage and household formation showing new subtypes and boarder lines and modifying the predecessors' simplifying picture. The Mosaic database (Szołtysek, Gruber, 2016) related to continental Europe might also bring significant new results for a vast region that was much less studied so far.

The Hungarian research literature on the topic is less rich but still too large to be detailed here. Various authors have emphasized that historical Hungary – characterized by geographic, economic, social and

cultural heterogeneity – cannot be classified by a dichotomous model as suggested by Hajnal some fifty years ago (Hajnal, 1965, 1982). This is in particular true for household formation rules, but to some extent for marriage customs too. Age at first marriage in Hungary was indeed low in the 18th century, but ethno-cultural factors have played much less role in this regard than socioeconomic factors, local ecotypes or the type of settlement (urban versus rural) (Faragó, 1998, 2003; Őri, 2009, 2016). Later in the 19th century, age at first marriage increased among males (in 1869 around 26), while that of females remained low (in 1869 around 21) (Őri, Pakot, 2014, p. 20). In the first half of the 20th century males married on average at 26–27, while females married at about 23 (Csernák, 1997, Őri, 2016). After WWII, in the era of socialist modernization, the trend of age at marriage reversed and decreased until the 1980s (Csernák, 1997). To sum up, early and general marriage and forming complex, multigenerational households cannot be regarded as characterizing Hungary as a whole, regardless of sex, socio-occupational status, place of residence or time period. Particularly females and landowning peasants married young, and the latter remained longer in the parental households, but other social groups (urban populations, rural artisans, servants, farm hands and intellectuals) married later, with oftentimes considerable differences (Faragó, 2000, Őri, 2016). Keeping these differences and time changes in mind, several scholars have argued that Hungary had some sort of medium position between the 'eastern' and 'western' marriage patterns and household formation models (Andorka, Faragó, 1983; Faragó, 2003).

Historical sources in Hungary suitable for studying marriage

The sources of historical demography resemble those in other European countries. Household lists, population censuses and ecclesiastic records of marriages together with civil marriage records are suitable for analysing the timing and the frequency of marriages or remarriages. Longitudinal family reconstitution databases created by using parish records and civil registrations can reveal changes in marriage customs and make possible the analysis of the determinants of marriage with event history models.

Cross-sectional census-like sources appeared in greater numbers in the 18th century. Roman Catholic *Status Animarum* should have been composed by the local parsons every year. Similarly, Protestant clergymen created such lists for their communities from the 18th century

onwards. However, most of the enumerations were not made originally or were lost in later periods. In most cases, we have household lists only for one or some consecutive years. These sources allow the calculation of *singulate mean age at first marriage – SMAM* (Henry, Blum, 1988, p. 34) and the rate of the never married in different age groups.[4] Longer series have been preserved only exceptionally, among which the lists of the Roman Catholic Zsámbék village can be considered the richest regarding content and length, especially complete from the 1795 to 1867. Then, besides the longitudinal analysis of marriage, we can study other relevant topics: service, the leaving of parental household, mobility within the villages or out-migration from the community, post-nuptial residence, etc. The database from this source is still under construction, with links to the parish records. Such a complex database containing both demographic events and household composition will allow statistical analysis of diverse demographic phenomena in a rich context. So far, we can use only the data of the parish register (family reconstitution data) in the present analysis.

The nominative manuscripts of later full count censuses did not survive except for the censuses 1850, 1857 and 1869 from which much was preserved, plus the representative 25% sample of the census 1970. These sources make the analysis of marriage possible in a rich context (timing, celibacy rate, determinants of marriage, the frequency of service). From the census 1869 a representative sample has been created within the Mosaic-project.[5] Aggregate level data for the counties were published by the Hungarian Statistical Office from 1870 onwards, and the unpublished material at the settlement level can be found in the Hungarian National Archive from 1880 onwards. These summary tables make possible the calculation of SMAM or celibacy rates for each age group for every settlement by decade.

The other possible sources for studying marriage are the parish records containing the vital events from the middle of the 18th century and the civil registers from 1895 onwards. Besides the marriage registers with age, place of birth or residence, profession, religion, parents and witnesses, the data linked between the three types of registers in a family reconstitution database allow the analysis of individual demographic life courses in the context of the sources. Not only basic

[4] For the 18th century Tamás Faragó has recently created a larger digitalized database from local ecclesiastic household lists. See: Faragó, 2016.

[5] About Mosaic see: Szołtysek, Gruber, 2016. About the Hungarian sample and the results of analysis of household structure see: Őri, Pakot, 2014.

marriage differentials can be calculated and analysed, but also the determinants of marriage or the setting of the marriage in the life-course can be studied by using multivariate statistical methods such as event history analysis (Kurosu, Lundh, 2014, p. 66). Using purely parish registers for this purpose means the lack of household level contextual data in the analysis, but the exceptional combination of the registration of demographic events and continuous series of household lists provide us with this kind of information. Moreover, in this case the problem of migration can be controlled since the continuous (yearly) enumeration of household members makes the timing of migration calculable. For Zsámbék such analysis will become possible but – as mentioned above, database building and data linkage is not ready yet. In this paper, we exclusively use family reconstitution data for analysing marriage customs where we can calculate some variables of family context (the life and death and ageing of parents or birth order) but we have inadequate data on the composition of families or households, or on the co-residence of family members.

The community under study

Zsámbék is close to Budapest (circa 30 kilometres westward from the capital) in a small basin surrounded by low hills. It was a local centre with rural economy, its legal status as "market town" with three to four thousand inhabitants[6]) reflected the local importance. The status of market town meant that the settlement was owned by a landlord (the royal chamber in this case), its inhabitants lived under the landlord's jurisdiction but enjoyed some autonomy even in the feudal era prior to 1848. They used their plots relatively freely, they paid taxes once a year, and the inheritance of plots and marriage and to some extent migration were also free. After the abolishment of serfdom in 1848, former serfs became the owners of their rented plots.

Roman Catholic German settlers repopulated the village after the Ottoman wars in the early 18th century. It remained mainly German (although the share of Hungarians increased in the period studied) and it was Roman Catholic even in the first part of the 20th century. The Hungarian population living in the settlement were also Roman Catholics,

[6] The population size of the settlement was around 2500 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. The number increased to 3500 by the middle of the 19th century, reached 4000 at the turn of the century and was around 4500 according to the census 1941 (Őri, 2014, p. 219).

and a considerable Jewish community also settled there. The population mostly lived on agriculture (more than 60% even in the inter-war period), specializing in wheat production, wine production (especially in the 19th century) and animal husbandry, and the village possessed a considerable part covered by forests. In 1900, the agricultural population consisted of equal parts of smallholders[7] and agricultural workers, most of whom were day labourers). The relative closeness of Budapest was a decisive factor: the capital offered an easily available market for agricultural products, had a perpetually increasing labour-force demand and thus remained the most important destination for out-migrants. But the region was full of smaller or larger villages inhabited by Germans and geographic mobility to these neighbouring villages (related mainly to marriage) was also significant.

Population growth was more or less continuous until WWII, in spite of strong out-migration and high infant and child mortality even at the turn of the century. The main factor behind the population growth was high fertility, which also characterized other Roman Catholic German communities in the region. Besides favourable opportunities for out-migrants to find life partners and jobs in the surrounding area, the stem inheritance system prevailing among German settlers (Husz, 2002) might have supported high and uncontrolled marital fertility together with the custom of early and common marriage.

Goals of the analysis, data and methods

In this paper we study the timing and intensity of first marriages in Zsámbék over the period of 1720–1945. We regard first marriage as a key momentum in the individual life course, closely connected with entering adulthood and the reproductive phase both among males and females. Thus, we do not consider the marriage act itself but concentrate on its determinants and relationship to childbearing in and before marriage. We would like to explore the long-term changes in the age at first marriage, the role of socio-economic status and to some extent the effects of family context (the ageing and death of parents or birth order of the individual concerned) and migration. In this way, we hope to better understand the circumstances under which decisions related to marrying were made, instead of the pure registration of early or late marriage.

[7] Serfs on their rented but inheritable plots owned by the Royal Chamber, who became the owners of their rented plots after the abolishment of serfdom in 1848.

Using the genealogical book (*Ortsfamilienbuch*)[8] of the Roman Catholics living in Zsámbék has facilitated the process of family reconstitution (Gallina, Jelli, 2002). Based on the Roman Catholic parish registers of the village, the book contains linked demographic data for all Roman Catholic parishioners, both German and Hungarian. The book has been turned into a complete family reconstitution database, the data of which have been checked and corrected as well as completed with missing information on socio-economic status.

In our analysis we deal with males and females separately considering that they differed not only in the timing and frequency of marriage but also in post-nuptial residence (females mostly left the parental household when marrying while some married men stayed with their parents). Because of the nature of our data and the differing age at first marriage, the samples of males and females considered here are not entirely comparable. First of all, individuals born in Zsámbék with no further information were omitted. Since we do not know their date of leaving, we do not know until when they belonged to the population at risk of marrying. We followed unmarried individuals after the age of 18 in the case of males and after 15 in the case of females. We concentrated on the length of time until marriage or other event which could close the observation. This was if they died unmarried, in the case of females alternatively their first birth out-of-wedlock if we had no further information on them. When someone gave birth to an illegitimate child, it was certain that she had been present until the event was recorded by the priest. Given no further information, she might have out-migrated after the birth. In these cases, we closed the observation one year after giving birth. Thus, the sample of females is a little larger and makes the combined study of marriages and first births possible. Besides the entire sample of males and females that we consider, we analyse separately the sample of those who married in the village. In the latter case, we obviously focus on the timing of first marriage, whereas in the former, the frequency of marriages also counted to some extent. First marriages above the age of fifty are not considered, we close the observation at that age if one of the above mentioned events had not taken place earlier.

First, we present some statistics on ages at first marriage and first birth in and outside marriage, together with the distribution of women at marriage or the end of observation by their status with respect to first pregnancy and childbirth. Then we use event history analysis to

[8] The description and evaluation of this kind of sources can be found in Imhof, 1976 and Knodel, Shorter, 1976. A well-known example for the use of the source is Knodel, 2002.

study the timing and the determinants of first marriage.[9] We study the duration of time since the 18th or 15th birthday up to marriage or the end of observation with Cox continuous-time proportional hazard models (Cleves, Gould, Gutierrez, 2004, p. 121–157). Our co-variates are the period of observation, place of birth (to include the role of migration), marriage number of the spouse in the models of marrying persons, socio-economic status by HISCLASS categories (van Leeuwen, Maas, 2011), fathers' and mothers' ageing and deaths, and birth order related to the same sex. Giving illegitimate birth was also a co-variate in the case of women.

Hypotheses

Based on former research, we suppose that the likelihood of first marriages will decrease over time as the age at first marriage increases. Migration before marriage may also lessen the likelihood by delaying marriage, and similarly if a man married a widow. On the contrary, if a woman married a widower who might have been older than was generally the case of first marrying persons, it may have affected to a smaller extent the age of the bride at first marriage (in such cases marriages with larger age difference were usual). We expect that profession or social status had considerable impact on the timing and frequency of marriages, but the effect's direction is hardly predictable. Persons with higher social status had a better position in the marriage market, rented or real land property also resulted in a better position and required the future spouse's labour force. Since male heirs might live with the parents after marriage, their marriages were likely to be early. Daughters of landowners left the parental household after marrying, thus their marriages were also early and general. At the same time, non-heirs might remain in the parental household longer, enter into service or out-migrate, events probably delaying their marriage. The landless were in a weaker position in the marriage market, their households were less stable, since they probably left the parental household earlier and more frequently, migrating with a higher probability than the more well-off. Artisans were also more mobile which might have delayed their marriage but this could have less effect on their daughters' age at marriage.[10]

[9] About the use of family reconstitution data in event history analysis see: Gutman, Alter, 1992.

[10] About the factors affecting the timing and frequency of marriages see Lundh, Kurosu, 2014a.

We expect that the richer married earlier, but these differences among men may be lessened by impacts of different direction while age differences among women must have been smaller than among men. The ageing of parents probably promoted the children's marriage since they also grew older and retirement among landowners could ease the heirs' marriage. The same was true for the death of parents, opening the way towards heritage, causing the dissolution of the parental household or entering widowhood, thus needing to renew the labour force, which the marriage of a child could fulfil. On the other hand, parental death might result in increased poverty, a worse position in marriage market, or the widowed parent might request the work and company of children. Moreover, a competition can be imagined between widowed parents and unmarried children with respect to marriage. Birth order could also affect marriage not through the timing of marriages but through leaving their parental household, or the non-marrying of younger children (especially the non-heirs) if elderly parents needed them at home. These possible effects often seem contradictory, making it difficult to estimate the results of the multivariate statistical analysis in advance.

First marriages in Zsámbék

Descriptive statistics

Between the 18th century German in-migration and WWII we can study more than five thousand first marriages (Table 1) taking place in the village, and included in the local Roman Catholic parish register with an exact date. Men married on average around the age of 25 while women at the age of 21–22. In this respect the custom of early marriage (the so-called "Eastern" marriage pattern) seems to have existed in the case of both sexes.[11] Moreover, the changes over time do not appear considerable. In the first third of the 19th century age at first marriage rather decreased, from 1840 onwards the mean age of men began increasing and it rose above 25 after 1880. Among women we witness stagnation after 1840, and a considerable increase can be observed only after 1900. An increasing trend among men fits into the picture we have of 19th century Hungary (Faragó, 2000), while decreasing ages in the beginning

[11] Hajnal himself drew the border line of Western marriage pattern at 26 (men) and 21 (women) years of age (Hajnal 1982, 452). In this respect Zsámbék (25 and 21.5 years of age respectively) can be regarded as a transitory model but we would like to avoid here this kind of detailed classification.

of the century cannot be interpreted so easily. The first two decades of the century were characterised by war and inflation, but were favourable for food producers, both noble landowners and their tenants, which might explain the decreasing ages at first marriage. After the Napoleonic wars the economic decline and after 1840 the new crisis can be a good explanation of increasing ages at first marriage. We also know that in Zsámbék in the first 30 years of the 19th century, the household structure became increasingly complex. Thus, leaving the parental home for non-heirs became difficult, and the situation changed only after the cholera epidemic in 1831 and during the growing labour force demand from the 1830s (Husz, 2002). Thus, the longer stay in the parental household and the more complex household structure went together with a somewhat lower age at first marriage, but this problem must be studied by involving the entire data set of the local Status Animarum.

Table 1

Mean age at first marriage in Zsámbék

	Men	Women	Women in marriages with child	Women's age at 1st pregnancy in marriage	Women's age at illegitimate births
-1799	24.8	21.9	21.2	22.0	31.9
1800-1819	23.4	21.1	20.0	20.7	22.0
1820-1839	23.9	21.9	21.1	21.7	21.3
1840-1859	24.6	21.5	20.8	20.3	22.1
1860-1879	24.9	21.4	20.8	20.9	21.8
1880-1899	25.4	21.4	20.9	20.5	21.9
1900-1919	25.5	22.4	21.9	21.1	19.7
1920-	25.3	22.1	21.6	20.6	20.1
Mean	24.8	21.5	21.1	21.1	21.6
N	5004	5526	3975	3975	633

Source: Family reconstitution database of Zsámbék (Gallina-Jelli 2002 and parish registers), own calculation

Considering marriages where at least one child was born, the dynamics of ages at fist marriages are very similar to those of all marriag-

es, but the ages themselves were a bit lower.[12] These women remained in the village after the wedding and most married local bridegrooms. This result confirms our assumption that migration related to marriage somewhat delayed the event.

First pregnancies in marriages or just before marriages when the father was known and identical with the later husband were similar to first marriages; the age difference was minimal. Before 1840 conception immediately followed the wedding, after this date the events followed each other closely. From 1880 onwards, first conceptions seem to have preceded first marriages, clearly showing some kind of trial marriage and changing norms in the village. Ages at first illegitimate birth show that in the 18th century illegitimate birth was characteristic of women who did not marry or married much later than the others, whereas in the 19th and 20th centuries the women giving birth outside marriage were young.

Table 2

The distribution of women at the end of observation

	-1799	1800-1819	1820-1839	1840-1859	1860-1879	1880-1899	1900-1919	1920-	Total
All women									
Childless, non pregnant	86.4	85.0	73.9	75.0	65.9	66.1	66.6	66.7	74.3
With child	1.8	2.2	5.5	6.2	11.4	12.6	11.9	9.2	7.1
Pregnant	11.9	12.8	20.6	18.4	21.1	20.6	20.6	23.8	18.2
With child, pregnant	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.6	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1737	579	651	712	754	681	864	1170	7148

[12] The number of first marriages with at least one child is considerably lower than that of all marriages because of the exogamous marriages. In these cases, the wedding and the registration of the marriage took place in the village of the bride although the new couple began their common life in the bridegroom's place of residence. Thus, one part of the first marrying women did not give birth in their former place of residence.

	-1799	1800-1819	1820-1839	1840-1859	1860-1879	1880-1899	1900-1919	1920-	Total
Women getting married									
Childless, non pregnant	84.0	84.9	75.4	76.6	68.0	68.2	67.8	66.4	74.7
With child	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.8	2.9	2.1	2.7	1.6	1.2
Pregnant	16.0	14.9	24.0	22.0	27.0	28.7	28.3	31.5	23.5
With child, pregnant	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.0	1.0	1.3	0.5	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1288	498	558	595	588	487	630	882	5526
Women who died unmarried or outmigrated after giving birth outside marriage									
Childless, non pregnant	93.1	85.2	64.5	66.7	58.4	60.8	63.2	67.4	72.9
With child	6.9	14.8	35.5	33.3	41.6	39.2	36.8	32.6	27.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	449	81	93	117	166	194	234	288	1622

Source: Family reconstitution database of Zsámbék (Gallina-Jelli 2002 and parish registers), own calculation

Table 2 displays the distribution of women at the end of observation (marriage, death or out-migration after giving an illegitimate birth). The share of pregnant brides almost doubled during the studied period. Since most married after conception, the same holds true for marrying women. The percentage with an illegitimate child at the end of the observation (at marriage or before out-migration) also rose until the end of the 19th century, when a slight decrease followed in the first decades of the 20th century. Altogether mothers formed a

modest proportion of marrying women (the father of their illegitimate child was unknown, but naturally he could be the later bridegroom), their majority left the village after giving birth unmarried. The share of those who gave birth and were pregnant before marriage (here the father and the bridegroom could also be the same person) was also insignificant, although the dynamics of changes were the same as in the case of premarital pregnancy and childbearing. In those cases, where we closed the observation before marriage, its cause was mainly the death of the observed individual, but during the 19th century the role of illegitimate childbearing and out-migration continuously increased as mortality decreased and the frequency of illegitimacy rose. To sum up, we can conclude that almost one third of the women getting married were pregnant by the end of the 19th century. The rate of illegitimacy also increased, peaking between 1860 and the end of the Great War when about 2–3% of the marrying women had at least one illegitimate child (whether with the later husband, we do not know). Based on this, we may assume the existence of trial marriage (prenuptial sexuality in order to get certainty about the fecundity of the planned marriage) and changing norms which became more tolerant by the 20th century. First marriage was the entry into the reproductive phase of life as it was elsewhere in Europe (Lundh–Kurosu 2014b). First marriage and first birth were very close in the life course of women, sexual relations were not excluded before marriage as the fecundity of marriages was crucial. Childbirth outside wedlock was not rare either, it did not exclude later marriage (assumingly the father married the mother with a common illegitimate child in most cases) but a considerable part of the unmarried mothers left the community and their further life course remains hidden because of the nature of the source we used.

Event history analysis

We shall now analyse the impact of several covariates on the timing and – in part – the frequency of first marriages. For each sex we created two models: people who married in the village and the complete sample (marrying persons, those who died unmarried and women who gave birth to an illegitimate child and had no further event in the parish book). In each case we measure the impact of a covariate as compared to a reference category (1). Results are displayed as hazard ratios, values above 1 mean higher likelihood (first of all earlier marriage) while values under 1 show lower likelihood (basically later marriage). Thus,

an increasing hazard ratio means a higher likelihood to marry, and in other words a lower age at marriage.

Among men the two samples show no significant differences (Table 3). The likelihood of first marriages decreased over time (men married later), only in the first two decades of the 19th century some increase appeared among those getting married (earlier marriages). We have already witnessed this decrease in the marriage age when studying descriptive statistics. In the second model we cannot see this change, maybe due to rising mortality counterbalancing the effect of earlier marriages as more young men died unmarried in this period. This decreasing trend of the hazard ratios stopped only after 1920 when they started to increase modestly. This means that after the war period, there was a slight decrease in the age at first marriage.

Place of birth mattered little; prenuptial migration had no significant effect on the timing of marriage. A different place of birth naturally could mean migration at any age before marriage. It would have been better to include only moves directly preceding the wedding, but our family reconstitution data do not make it possible.

If a first marrying man chose a remarrying widow, this factor significantly delayed the age at marriage. In these cases, the wives were probably older than the grooms or than first marrying brides. Thus, men marrying first time to widows were themselves also relatively older as compared to other men getting married first time.

Socio-occupational status had a strong and significant effect on first marriages: landowners (landowners' heirs) married the earliest while day labourers and artisans married later. Landowners and their heirs were attractive partners in the marriage market, they could more easily cover the wedding expenses and there were fewer obstacles for their early marriage in the stem family system. Artisans were more mobile, day labourers were poorer and they did not need early marriage to maintain family property as landowners did.

Ageing parents (after 50th birthday) and their death significantly increased the likelihood of marriage. As expected above, a father's death could open the way to inheritance, independence and/or household headship for male children. Similarly, reaching age 50 might have meant the fathers' retirement, triggering the marriage of sons. The ageing and death of mothers oftentimes resulted in the dissolution of the parental household which also accelerated the sons' marriages.

Finally, birth order did not affect considerably the timing of first marriage. Maybe a more complex model where the marital status and

number of brothers and sisters are included will show larger effects in future studies. Another fact that we need to take into account is that the percentage of the missing cases is the highest when the analysis includes family relationship variables. In many instances we do not know the birth date of parents, their age and/or death date, etc., making our results uncertain.

Table 3

The likelihood of first marriage among men, Zsámbék, 1720-1945

		Men getting married			All men		
		Hazard ratio		%	Hazard ratio		%
Periods	-1799	1		20.3	1		27.3
	1800-1819	1.151	*	8.8	0.837	**	8.0
	1820-1839	0.881	†	10.2	0.598	***	9.0
	1840-1859	0.762	***	11.3	0.503	***	10.1
	1860-1879	0.714	***	11.3	0.453	***	10.4
	1880-1899	0.595	***	10.2	0.378	***	9.5
	1900-1919	0.539	***	12.9	0.342	***	12.1
	1920-	0.613	***	15.0	0.394	***	13.6
Place of birth	local	1		72.6	1		62.0
	foreigner	0.906	†	15.5	1.012		15.0
	missing	0.689	***	12.0	0.514	***	23.0
Marriage number of wife	1	1		94.9			
	2	0.672	***	4.8			
	3	0.595	*	0.3			
	4	1.875		0.1			
SES	landowner	1		23.0	1		18.1
	day-labourer, worker	0.718	***	38.8	0.754	***	32.7
	artisan	0.686	***	16.0	0.730	***	13.7

		Men getting married			All men		
		Hazard ratio		%	Hazard ratio		%
	intellectual	0.537	***	1.6	0.629	***	1.5
	missing	0.695	***	20.7	0.449	***	34.0
Fathers	<50	1		46.8	1		40.1
	>50	1.266	***	11.4	1.223	***	10.2
	dead	1.336	***	5.7	1.184	*	5.3
	missing	0.925	†	36.0	1.000		44.4
Mothers	<50	1		47.9	1		41.4
	>50	1.430	***	9.4	1.281	***	8.7
	dead	1.311	**	4.4	1.345	***	4.1
	missing	1.081	†	38.4	1.193	***	45.8
Birth order	first born	1		36.3	1		28.1
	other	0.965		11.6	0.954		9.0
	last born	0.995		16.9	1.029		12.9
	missing	0.748	***	35.3	0.627	***	50.0
	Number of observations	7127			8141		
	Number of marriages	5003			5003		
	Number of persons	5003			5467		
	Time at risk (months)	408286			514475		
	LR chi2 (22)	637.46			1506.82		
	Log likeli-hood	-37352.76			-38108.5		
	Prob > chi2	0.000			0.000		
Note: *** p<0.001 ** p<0.01 * p<0.05 † p<0.1							

Source: Family reconstitution database of Zsámbék (Gallina-Jelli 2002 and parish registers), own calculation

In the case of women, the picture is slightly different compared to men. Ages at and intensity of first marriages did not change until 1820, but afterwards the decrease in likelihoods is continuous until 1920 in the case of all women in the sample. Although brides' ages at first marriage were rather unstable (sample 1), the same increase can be seen after 1920 but it was not without precedents. At the same time, differences in the ages at first marriage were not large as we see in Table 1.

Place of birth did not count in the case of those getting married, but in the other model in-migrants (independently of the date of the move) married later and/or with lower intensity. We may assume that in part social position (servants), childbearing outside marriage and outmigration could cause this lower likelihood. Women of foreign origin might have been overrepresented among these persons.

If a bridegroom was a widower, it had a strong impact on age at marriage: remarrying and consequently older husbands had a little bit older wives, the difference in the hazard ratios is considerably large. To marry to second time remarrying men meant almost half of the likelihood of a first marriage as compared to other cases where both partners were never married before.

The SES of the fathers shows the same effect as the bridegrooms' profession: landowners' daughters married the earliest. They were more attractive in the marriage market, and their marriage was based on strategic decisions about status reproduction. They married primarily to landowners' sons, and as they were mutually prone to marry earlier their intentions strengthened each other.

As mentioned above, childbirth outside marriage did not make later marriage impossible. If someone married after this event, it accelerated her marriage with a likelihood almost 50% higher. But if we include non-marrying women too, this effect reversed. In reality a birth out-of-wedlock could significantly decrease the chance to marry in the village if the mother did not manage to wed the father of the child.

Fathers' and mothers' ageing and death had a different effect on daughters' marriage as compared to the sons. The likelihood of marriage decreased significantly after these events which can be explained by the different consequences of marriage among men and women. Men – at least in part – could remain in the parental household after the marriage, and the parents' ageing and death could open the way towards inheritance, household headship and marriage. Women almost always left the parental household when marrying. Old and/or widowed parents' presence might increase the need of their work at home, result-

ing in later marriage. Naturally, the number and marital status of the siblings also mattered, but is not considered here.

As for birth order, the differences are significant, and the two models are different in this case too. Among marrying women, first born daughters married earliest. But considering all women in the sample we witness a totally different effect: daughters of higher birth order show higher likelihood – they married more frequently. Some first born daughters remained single longer, were more likely to die unmarried than others and more often gave birth to children outside marriage – probably not independent factors. They had to care for their old and widowed parents, younger brothers and sisters, etc. Those who married did so early, but others could remain unmarried more easily than their younger sisters.

Table 4

The likelihood of first marriage among women, Zsámbék, 1720–1945

	Women getting married				All women		
		Hazard ratio		%	Hazard ratio		%
Periods	-1799	1		16.3	1		17.1
	1800-1819	1.052		8.3	1.086		7.6
	1820-1839	0.815	**	10.2	0.795	***	9.5
	1840-1859	0.849	**	11.8	0.738	***	11.4
	1860-1879	0.939		12.0	0.712	***	12.4
	1880-1899	0.850	**	10.7	0.673	***	11.2
	1900-1919	0.685	***	13.0	0.587	***	13.3
	1920-	0.753	***	17.8	0.665	***	17.5
Place of birth	Local	1		84.4	1		79.2
	Foreigner	0.976		6.8	0.659	***	8.7
	Missing	0.940		8.8	0.561	***	12.1
Marriage number of husband	1	1		88.2			
	2	0.586	***	8.5			
	3	0.364	***	0.7			
	4	0.532		0.0			
	missing	0.769	**	2.6			

	Women getting married				All women		
		Hazard ratio		%	Hazard ratio		%
Father' SES	landowner	1		21.6	1		19.2
	day-labour-er. worker	0.727	***	24.2	0.760	***	22.8
	artisan	0.776	***	7.0	0.775	***	6.6
	intellectual	0.955		0.6	1.105		0.6
	missing	0.789	***	46.6	0.780	***	50.7
State of woman	no birth	1		99.3	1		97.8
	illegitimate birth	1.473	***	0.7	0.534	***	2.2
Fathers	<50	1		52.7	1		47.9
	>50	0.727	***	10.4	0.712	***	9.6
	dead	0.892		6.3	0.776	**	6.0
	missing	0.824	***	30.6	0.728	***	36.5
Mothers	<50	1		53.3	1		48.5
	>50	0.713	***	9.8	0.667	***	9.1
	dead	0.801	*	4.6	0.622	***	4.5
	missing	0.981		32.4	0.848	***	37.9
Birth order	first born	1		42.7	1		42.8
	other	0.914	*	16.6	1.101	*	13.8
	last born	0.915	*	22.2	1.224	***	18.5
	missing	0.802	**	18.5	0.973		24.9
	Number of observations		9575			12839	
	Number of marriages		5524			5523	
	Number of persons		5527			7157	
	Time at risk (months)		453481			818298	
	LR chi2 (22)		496.57			949.94	
	Log likelihood		-41891.7			-44551.3	
	Prob > chi2		0.000			0.000	
Note: *** p<0.001 ** p<0.01 * p<0.05 † p<0.1							

Source: Family reconstitution database of Zsámbék (Gallina-Jelli 2002 and parish registers), own calculation

Conclusion

First marriages in Zsámbék village, originally inhabited by Roman Catholic German settlers, took place at a young age and thus fit well into the model of the "Eastern" marriage pattern. However, the pattern of early marriage may conceal important differences, e.g. differences over time or by socio-economic status. Age at marriage increased in the 19th century especially among men, and probably not independently of economic conditions. Early marriage was characteristic especially among women and the sons and daughters of landowners (either serfs or free smallholders after the abolition of serfdom). First birth followed first marriage closely, so first marriage was literally the beginning of the reproductive phase of life similarly to in other European populations (Lundh, Kurosu, 2014b). Childbearing in marriage was not the only form of the entering reproductive period of life, however, and the rate of illegitimate births increased permanently; one part of those births was followed by marriage, while still unmarried mothers left the village. First conception often preceded first marriage, a phenomenon increasing in the period studied which permits us to assume normative trial marriage.

Our event history analysis confirmed the findings from the descriptive statistical analysis. It displayed the changes over time and the differences by SES. At the same time, it helped to explore the different meaning and consequences of marriage by sex: women had different roles in the parental households, and after marriage they left it in all probability while men could remain there. Consequently, the ageing and death of the parents had different effect on the marriage chances of men and women. Men benefited with greater likelihood in these cases, while the latter had smaller chances. Similarly, there were considerable differences by sex in birth order, which had no significant impact on men's marriage, while the specific role of first-born daughters in the parental home seems to be confirmed by the analysis.

Considering subsequent life events related to first marriage and using event history analysis helped to reveal some details about first marriages in our village in Central Hungary. We demonstrated that the picture is much more complex than what we could draw with the help of indicators like age at first marriage and the share of never married. However, in order to get a more detailed picture with more results and satisfactory explanations, we have to continue this local study by refining our models and co-variates as well as by adding further traditional sources of social history.

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