

Life cycles and family models in a Hungarian town in the 18th and 19th centuries¹

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Resumen

Los cuatro modelos masculinos y uno femenino de ciclos de vida basados en datos de un centro urbano en Hungría, a finales del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX, muestran ciclos de vida relativamente diferentes alrededor de una misma sociedad local. Según los datos de la ciudad estudiada, Miskolc, tenemos que considerar una multiplicidad de modelos de hogares y de modelos de ciclos de vida de tal manera que estos no pueden ser claramente separados territorialmente uno de otro, conviviendo en simbiosis, por lo menos, en la período pre-industrial. La división Este-Oeste de tipos de familias y hogares y de modelos de matrimonio y ciclos de vida está lejos de la realidad contemporánea. Sin embargo, durante el siglo XIX, la urbanización y la industrialización provocaron que los modelos de ciclos de vida estuvieran cada vez más estrechamente alineados con el estrato social, usualmente con los más recientemente emergentes, y al mismo tiempo empezaron a reducirse las diferencias que surgieron de las raíces culturales previas. No obstante, el estrechamiento de las diferencias culturales y la proliferación de modelos de ciclos de vida relacionados con la ocupación fue más lenta entre las mujeres.

Palabras clave: ciclo vital, familia, hogar, religión, género, Hungría, Miskolc

Abstract

The four male and one female life cycle models based on the data of an urban centre in Hungary during the late 18th– early 19th century shows relatively different life courses within one local society. According to the data of the investigated city, Miskolc, we have to reckon with a multiplicity of household and life

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cycle models in such a way that these cannot always be clearly separated from each other in a territorial sense, they lived alongside each other in a symbiosis at least in the pre-industrial period. The Eastern-Western type division of family and household types and marriage and life cycle models is far removed from the contemporary reality. In the course of the 19th century, however, urbanisation and industrialisation causes life cycle models to be far more tightly aligned with the, usually newly emerged, social strata and at the same time they begin gradually to erode differences which had arisen from earlier cultural roots. Nevertheless the shrinkage of cultural differences and the spreading of occupation-related life cycle models were slower in pace among women.

Keywords: life cycle, family, household, religion, gender, Hungary, Miskolc.

Résumé

Les quatre modèles masculins et celui féminin des cycles de vies basés dans des données d'un centre urbain en Hongrie, à la fin du XVIIIe et début du XIXe siècles, montrent des cycles de vies relativement différents au sein d'une même société locale. Selon les données de la ville étudiée, Miskolc, on doit considérer une multiplicité de modèles de foyer et de modèles de cycles de vies de telle façon que ces derniers ne puissent pas être clairement séparés territorialement l'un de l'autre, cohabitant en symbiose, du moins, dans la période pré-industrielle. La division Est-Ouest de types de familles et foyers, et de modèles de mariage et cycles de vies reste loin de la réalité contemporaine. Cependant, tout au long du XIXe siècle, l'urbanisation et l'industrialisation provoquèrent que les modèles des cycles de vies fussent de plus en plus étroitement alignés avec le statut sociale, normalement avec les plus récemment émergés, et en même temps les différences qui surgissaient de racines culturelles antérieures commencèrent à se réduire. Cependant, l'étroitesse des différences culturelles et la prolifération des modèles des cycles de vies reliés avec l'occupation furent plus lents chez les femmes.

Mots clés: cycle de vie, famille, foyer, religion, genre, Hongrie, Miskolc.

The experience of historical research has shown that the number and composition of the population are never stable, not even in the pre-industrial period when most quantitative indicators showed very slow changes outside the periods of periodically returning disasters. The research of the past decades has given graphic examples to show that

the chief moderators of change (the agents and scenes of the events of population movements) are families and households. Contrary to earlier statements of the social sciences (anthropology, sociology, demography and social history) families and households were characterised by versatility in the past centuries. This was proved quite clearly by those research projects which were associated chiefly with the Cambridge Group and within that with Peter Laslett (Laslett 1966, Laslett and Wall 1972).

The first wave of historical demographic research concentrating on families and households emerged in the 1970's and sought change mainly in terms of territorial and to some extent of social differences (Wall, – Robin and– Laslett, 1983). The attempts to systematise the growing amount of research mainly drew up models based on a territorial structure, which they thought to be characteristic of the major regions of Europe (Hajnal 1965, 1982; Laslett 1977, 1983). However, the results, partly of anthropological research, (Hammel, 1990, 1997) and partly of Eastern European source material (Mitterauer and– Kagan, 1982; Kaser, 1997; Faragó 1985, 2003) soon highlighted the fact that cultural (ethnic, denominational and custom-related) differences and the cultural diffusion of forms of co-residence can also play a great part in the emergence of various family and household types as well as in their functioning and their spread along the territorial and social dimensions.

Our own detailed studies as well as certain Italian and Spanish investigations (Benigno, 1989; Kertzer and– Brettel, 1987) have lead to the conclusion that dichotomous models which simplify reality (Hajnal, 1965, 1982) have become as untenable in their original form as the artificially constructed models (Laslett, 1983), but are in need of minor or even major alterations. We must also recognise that at the time of their conception the works of John Hajnal and Peter Laslett proved most inspiring, and research into marriage, family, household and life cycle models would not be at their current standard had these writings not been available. However, the formulation of more reliable family types and models, a more precise capturing of the regional differences in this field and a more widely applicable examination of fertility and mortality can only be successfully attempted after a great number of case studies and after using a wider base of sources for regional analysis.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that families and households are themselves dynamic units whose development can be described partly through the short-term cycle of individuals and groups

(Hareven, 1974; Mitterauer and– Sieder, 1979; Faragó, 1985) and partly in terms of the long-term secular development (Faragó, 1977; Moring, 1966). This is true of most societies even if there are populations where structural changes in families and households have been low scale for a relatively long time (Laslett, 1972).

Thus families and households, who are the moderators of demographic changes, and the life of the individuals who make up these units can and must be described through a simultaneous use of short and long-term cycles. On the other hand we have to be prepared to find that the different types of co-residence as well as the long and short terms changes in their functioning and characteristics will show significant territorial and cultural differences and may have in their background diverging life cycle patterns and, related to them, diverging practices for marriage, inheritance, co-habitation and the organisation of work.

Our research thus far has shown that Central and Eastern Europe offers an excellent field for surveys which analyse and present the above mentioned problematic, partly because of the high quality and relative plenitude of available source material and partly because of the marked regional and ethno-cultural differences that are experienced there on a daily basis (Andorka and– Faragó, 1983; Kaser, 1997; Faragó, 2003). This is what I would like to show to non-Hungarian readers through a brief and thematically well-defined example in the forthcoming pages.

2. LIFECYCLE TYPES IN THE CITY OF MISKOLC – A CASE STUDY

2.1. Historical background

In the following paper we wish to make public some observations regarding individual life cycles which emerged as part of the monographic survey of the demographic history of that city (Faragó, 2000, 2003a). The place under examination has been a significant city of the North-Eastern part of Hungary since the late 18th century. Its population size (precisely 14,000 in 1787) would only warrant us calling it a small town on a European scale but on the one hand there was no big city in the continental sense in the whole of Hungary at that time and on the other hand Miskolc is remarkable for the course of development

it has undergone – namely the dynamic development which replaced its slow growth and which characterised the population and society of the city from the second half of the 19th century onwards. Between 1880 and 1910 the population of the city grew from 24 thousand to 51 thousand, in other words it more than doubled and in the first half of the 20th century it became the regional industrial and commercial centre for Northeast Hungary. This transformation naturally brought along significant changes for the composition of the population of the city. At the end of the 18th century Miskolc still had a 61 per cent Calvinist population, while 25 per cent were Catholics and the other four denominations were each proportionally negligible. At the same time its social structure at the period in question showed a unique structural division. Miskolc had an extremely high rate of nobility inhabiting it among Hungarian towns – approximately 35 per cent of its population can be characterized by noble status at the end of the 18th century. As the majority, roughly 90 per cent, of the local nobility were Calvinist, precisely one half of the people belonging to that denomination could be called privileged while among Catholics the rate of noblemen was only 5-6 per cent, which is close to the national average (which is still a high rate in a European comparison). The majority of the population at this time still made their living as vine growers or artisans, nevertheless Miskolc was already a significant commercial centre as well. Although there are no numeric data in this respect, textual sources indicate that artisans of non-noble status were mostly of non-Hungarian origin, mainly Austrian, German and Czech-Moravian, except for some special Hungarian crafts (bootmaker, leather worker, furrier, potter). The same is characteristic of merchants, too – in the late 18th century most of them were not Hungarian but Greek or Jewish in origin. Altogether, the rate of non-Hungarian inhabitants can be estimated to be around 10%, i.e. roughly 1500 people, but the Hungarian population could also be divided into two major denominational groups each with their own culture, customs and partly different social structure, which lives segregated from each other in many respects.³

Contrary to the above, the last census which still shows the societies of historical Hungary (the Carpathian basin) in a unified data

3 Mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and Calvinists were almost nonexistent at the period we are looking at.

structure before the First World War, that of 1910, states that as many as 43 per cent of the population of Miskolc was Roman Catholic, 20 per cent Jewish and only 28 per cent Calvinist. Despite the immigration, there was an increase in the proportion of people whose mother tongue was Hungarian, so that before the First World War it reached 96 per cent. However, the city had grown more varied in cultural and social terms as a consequence of the rapid increase of the Jewish population and, not entirely unrelated, the internal structure of the local society was also transformed. The rapid population growth of Miskolc in the 19th century was not due to natural increase so much as to the immigration of people different in their denomination and social position from the indigenous population. By the beginning of the 20th century the rate of new residents and their descendents probably exceeded two thirds of the population of the city.⁴ In the period before the First World War the main source of income for the city, beside the commercial activity mainly practiced by the Jewish population, came to be transport (the railway) and heavy industry. Vine-growing and wine production, which had been significant in previous centuries, as well as handicraft, both declined. Naturally this also fundamentally transformed the social and occupational structure of the population, too.

2.2. Life cycle models

The old and new social composition of Miskolc is suitable to present jointly and in mutual comparison the life cycles and possible changes in life cycles of various occupational and cultural groups. In our analysis we relied on relatively simple methods: we compared the age, family and marital status of individuals and their employment outside the family on the basis of sources from the late 18th/early 19th century and from the 1880's. The two periods under examination also form the pattern for two different stages of the development of local economy and society. Our statements regarding lifecycles are based on the hypothesis that although the differences in the age distribution of the various statuses and positions refers to one particular temporal cross section, they are

4 Only 41% of the persons who were included in the census of 1910 had been born locally. (MStK 64:20).

also informative regarding the individual and family/household cycle which characterised the decades directly before and after the emergence of these sources.⁵

We can use three sources for presenting 18th and 19th century life cycles. A fragment survived in the city archives of Miskolc regarding a 1787 revision of the recorded data of population movements made on the occasion of the first census. This allows us to examine over 600 households and almost 1000 men living in these households who were listed with their precise age, occupation and family/household status.⁶ As far as noblemen are concerned we have recourse to the 1813 listing of the nobility, which contains the data, namely the age, and marital status of over 2000 males. Finally, a listing of inhabitants from the neighbouring industrial village Hámor (today a suburb of Miskolc) has also survived from 1816 which contains 864 people of both sexes and records ages, household and marital status alike.⁷ On the basis of the above we shall attempt to draw four models of possible male lifecycles and one possible female lifecycle characteristic of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the case of noble males we see a very simple lifecycle (Figure 1). Although there are individuals who become heads of household before the age of twenty, the majority of them only attain this position in the first half of their twenties. The process of becoming a head of household from a child (which in the case of the nobility corresponds in all probability to the age of marrying) only reaches its completion in the age group of 35 to 39-year-olds. The transition, however, is direct, intermediary states such as taking on service outside the family or marrying early and living in subjugation within the father's or father-in-law's

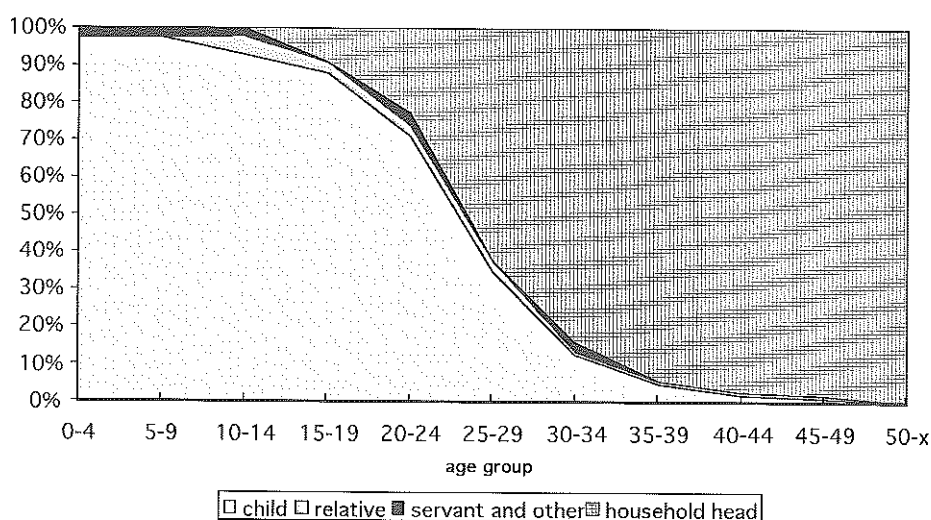
5 There was no chance to use more subtle methods than those we utilised in the present study. Data regarding women are very sparse and incomplete in the late 18th–early 19th century sources (except for about 160 households in the village of Hámor), the first volumes of the Protestant registry books of Miskolc which recorded the data of the core population perished in the fire of 1781. The preliminary list of inhabitants of the 1880, census, which is what we used, seems more or less correct in its data regarding the individuals, but it does not allow for a reconstruction of the structure of households as the relevant information was not recorded, nor can they be derived post factum from the confused order of the list.

6 As far as women are concerned, the census contented itself with simply marking their case numbers and includes no information regarding their age, marital status or household position.

7 The sources come from BML IV. 1501/b. Spec. XXI. I. 33/2. *ibid.* IV. 501/j. Vol. 18.

household seem to be practically absent in this social group. Thus we could also say that noblemen, often living in a child's status as late as the age of 30, wait until the time comes to become an independent head of household which cannot be considered a 'Western' model of marriage and household formation system even in spite of the slightly older marrying age. Sporadic sources speaking of early marriages and early arrivals at the role of head of household seem to suggest that these are exceptions to the rule, usually following the early death of the father or both parents.

FIGURE 1
Life cycle of noble males (Miskolc 1813)

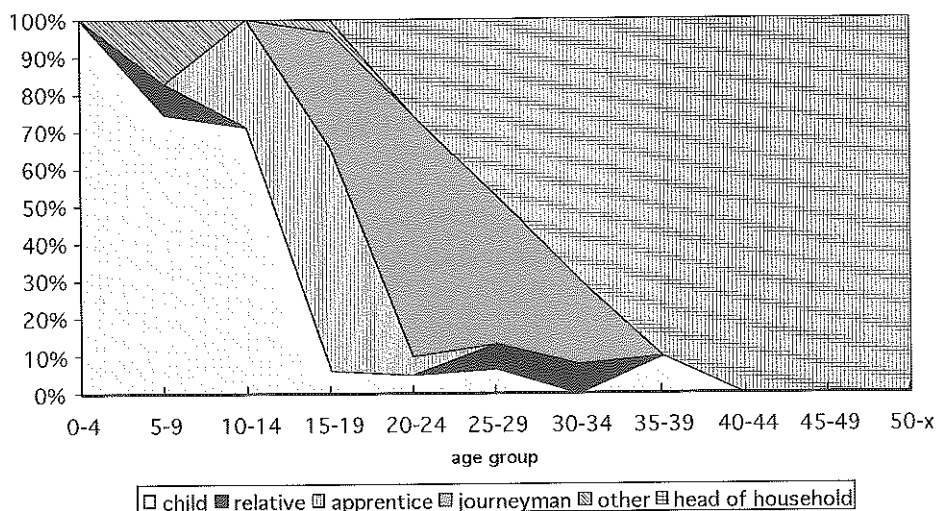


The artisans in Miskolc show a lifecycle model which differs fundamentally from the one presented above (Figure 2.). For them, childhood ended gradually between the ages of 10 to 14 and from then on for about ten years they worked as apprentices and then as journeyman (some of them into their early thirties), away from the paternal house. This was usually done so that they could learn the ins and outs of one or other of the handicrafts.

A considerable number of these men also went on a longer migrant tour during the years of journeyman life, probably in accordance with the relevant guild regulations. Consequently their marrying age presumably corresponded to the age at which they became independent and this age was probably considerably delayed. In other words, the phenomenon of living in a relative's house, whereby people married early and stayed in the household as a subjugated member of the parental household for a certain period, which is considered frequent in or even characteristic of Central and Eastern European societies, is not a life cycle that they practise, either. The period of becoming an independent head of household (and marrying) starts, similarly to the nobility, in the 20-24 age group and ends in the 35 to 39-year-old age group. Thus this lifecycle model is very close to those practised by artisans in other Central and Western European societies.

FIGURE 2

The lifecycle of male artisans (Miskolc, 1788)

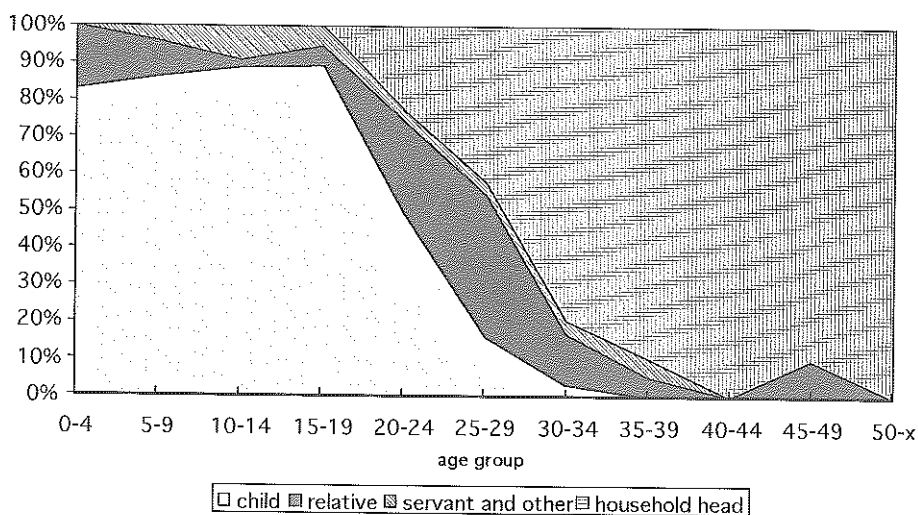


The third model is characteristic among people of other occupations – in Miskolc this mainly means vine growing farmers and day labourers (Figure 3). Although they become independent heads of household more or less at the same age as the two previously discussed groups, this is usually preceded by a phase which occurs never or hardly ever

in the life cycle of the previously mentioned groups – that of living as a relative. In other words, men marry relatively early in this group, before they mature into heads of household. They prepare for full independence and for the role of the head of household as subjugated 'heads of family' (co-resident relative) and a small number of them, probably younger brothers, can be assumed to get stuck in this inferior position till the end of their lives.

FIGURE 3

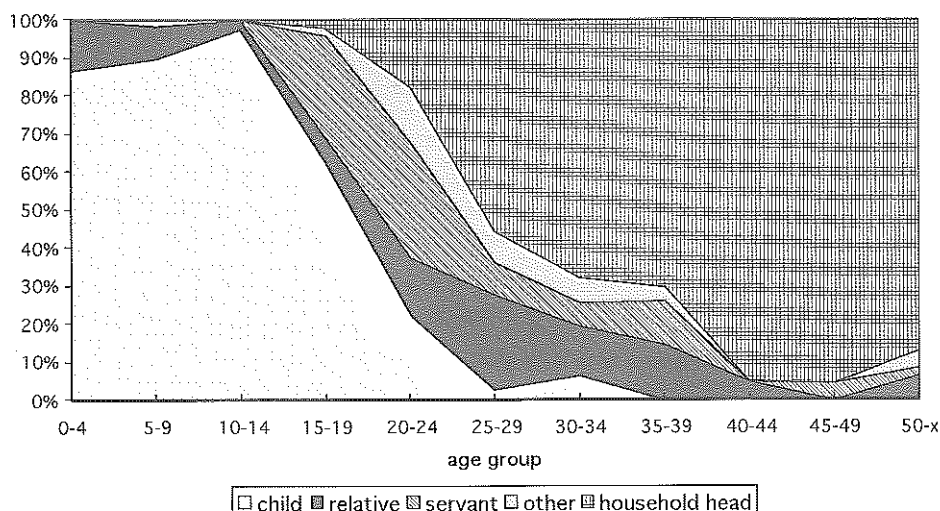
The life cycle of men of other occupations (Miskolc 1788)



In the case of the male population of the village of Hámor near Miskolc we see a peculiar mixture of the life cycles outlined above according to our early 19th century source (Figure 4). The male population between childhood and independence includes a considerable number both of relatives and of servants. In other words, the impression, which arises as though John Hajnal's Eastern and Western marriage models appeared side by side in the community of this one village. A small number of relatives, similarly to the 'others' group of Miskolc remains subjugated to the end of their lives, but the rate of men living in servitude in their early years is also considerable. Naturally, it is also possible that this multi-faceted pattern is far from independent of the origin and occupation of the population of the village. The majority of the inhabitants

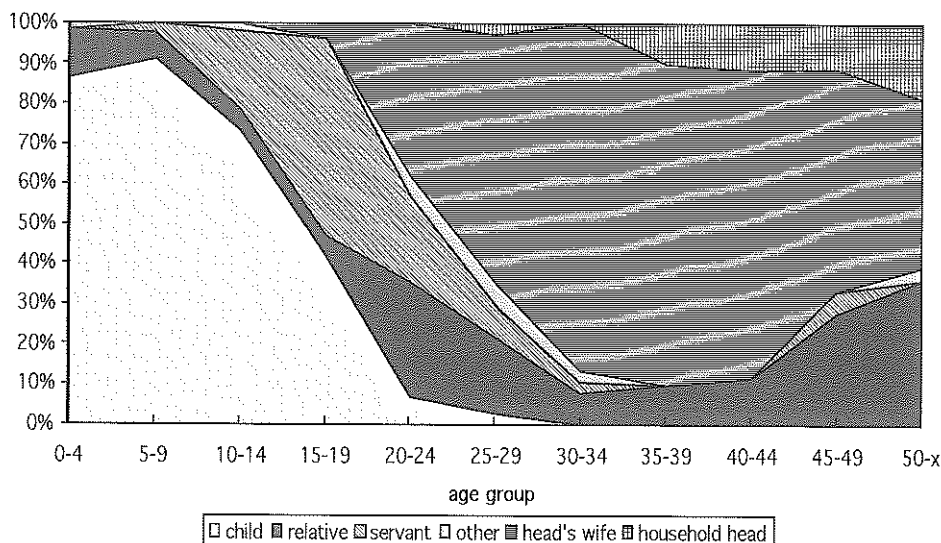
are of German speaking Saxon, and to a smaller extent Slovakian origin, from the Hungarian Uplands, people who had migrated to this village in the last third of the 18th century as industrial workers and now worked in the recently opened iron foundry near Miskolc. In other words their imported customs are different (we could say are of Western European origin) and their lifestyle is also different – they do not share the lot of the agricultural peasantry in the neighbouring villages.

FIGURE 4
Male lifecycles in Hámor (1816)



The data of the only available female lifecycle also come from Hámor (Figure 5). The outline and rhythm of this is very similar, probably through no accident, to the lifecycle of the men of that village. A period spent partly as servant and partly as relative intervenes between the phase of childhood and the point at which the woman occupies the position of head of household's wife. There are only two significant differences between the two figures describing Hámor, those about women and those about men. One is that the rate of women living as subjugated relatives is higher and about one fifth of them live out their whole life in this status. On the other hand a number of wives come to occupy the position of head of household, starting in the fourth decade of their lives, usually after they become widowed. (In other words they are likely to carry on bringing up their orphaned children and not marry again.)

FIGURE 5
Female life cycles in Hámor (1816)



The next series of lifecycle figures comes from the 1880's and reflects altered conditions from a number of aspects. On the one hand, as we have already mentioned, the society of the city itself carries on changing both in its occupational and in its social structure. The greater part of the Roman Catholic and Jewish population, who make up for the majority of the figures, are relatively fresh immigrants (or descendants of such) who are not, or barely, bound by earlier local traditions and who also differ in their occupational composition and lifestyle. On the other hand, our sources are different too – in other words, we cannot create figures, which are fully identical in structure to the first series. This is because the list of inhabitants⁸ from 1880 which served to prepare the census designed by professional statisticians, and which is the basis of our analysis, makes a far more precise distinction than earlier between the denominations as well as wage-earners and dependent persons and classifies men and women alike, but it leaves us in ignorance regarding the position of the individuals within the family/household. However, there is enough known about the question for us to be able to say that the situation is not as worrying as it seems at first sight. In the case of

8 BML 1802/g. Vol. 7.

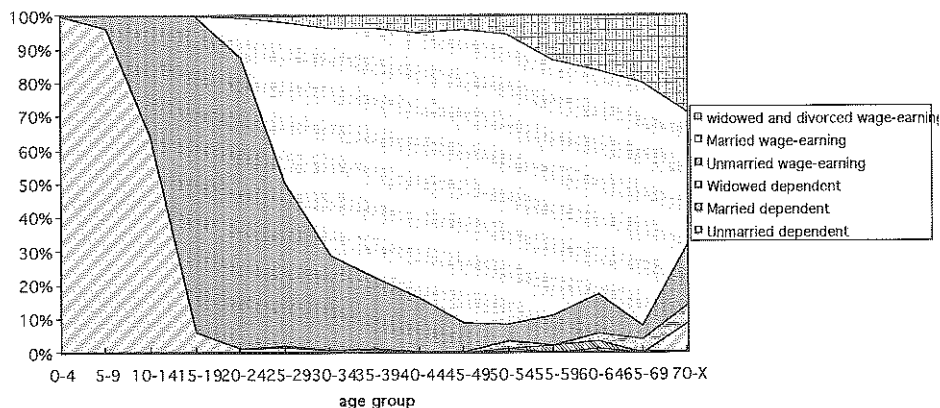
men it is obvious that the sweeping majority become heads of household no later than after their first marriage, and women's position is also quite clearly marked out within the household by becoming wage-earners and by the fact (or absence) of marriage within these communities. The only group we cannot place clearly are married female wage-earners because of the absence of information regarding status within the households, but the rate of this category was under ten percent on average in 1880 in all the population groups examined here.

As a first step, let us look at the lifecycle model of Roman Catholic men in Miskolc around 1880 (Figure 6). This shows that after a short period of going to school almost all of them became wage-earners in their teens and from their mid-twenties onwards they gradually got married, too, and stayed in that state until the end of their lives with very few exceptions. Even in old age only one in ten of them became dependent by other people and only a few of them were left widowed – most widowed men almost always got re-married.

Although all this was declared on the basis of data about Roman Catholic men, the same picture emerges from our data regarding the Calvinist and Jewish male population also. Their life cycle figures approximate the former group so much that there is no point in presenting them separately. In other words, it has become impossible to make distinctions between the lifecycles of men on a cultural or denominational basis.

FIGURE 6

Life cycle of Roman Catholic men in Miskolc (1880)

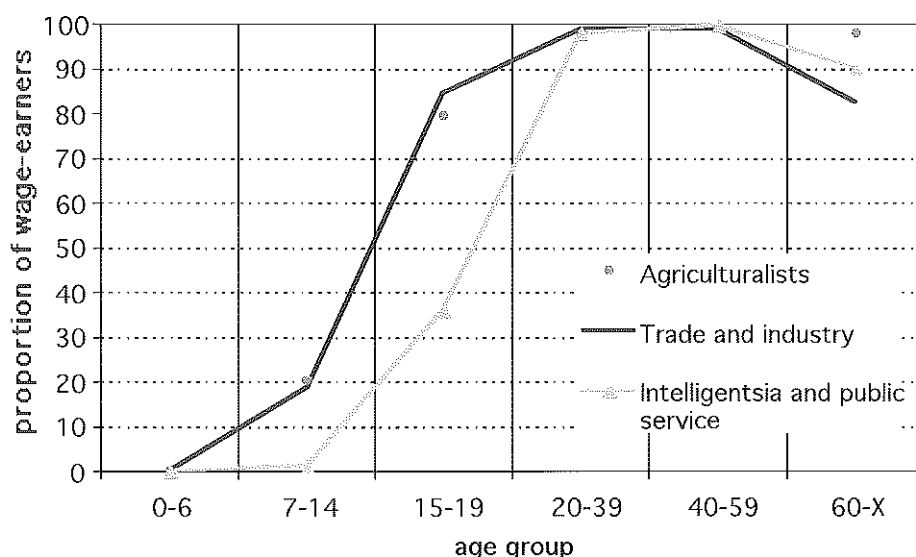


If, however, we outline the data sequences about the age distribution of wage earning men on the basis of the 1910 census, one generation later, according to occupational groups (the sources enable us to do so) we shall find that there are considerably greater differences along this dimension. The differences can be captured in social rather than denominational terms (Figure 7). On the basis of the 1910 census we can outline three clearly marked male life cycle models for Miskolc. These are that of the agricultural producer (farmers and vine-growers), trades people (artisans, merchants, transporters) and the cycle characteristic of the intelligentsia (freelancers and office clerks). People working in the fields of agriculture or of trade, industry or transportation become wage earners very early on, between the ages of 7-14. In the case of agricultural workers, although they are officially urban dwellers, the life cycle is similar to the rural peasantry and their working state does not end until their death. The situation is different with the industrial and trades population, a part of which starts to retire from work after the age of 60.⁹ The life cycle of people who fall in the category of 'intelligentsia and public servants' is even more different. Among the latter only a third were wage earners in the 15-19 age group as the majority of the jobs that fall under this heading require at least secondary level education (in other words a great part of the people who will be in this category in their later life course are still at school in their teens and thus qualify as dependent persons).

The phenomenon of retiring from work after the sixth decade is also noticeable in the 'public servant – intelligentsia' category, but on a far smaller scale than among the trade and industry. This is because a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia were 'self-employed' and thus had no chance and no need to retire. In other words the period spent in work is longer by 20-25 per cent among agricultural producers than among the population employed in trade and industry, who provide the widest stratum in Miskolc, while among the intelligentsia it is 20-25% shorter as they become wage earners considerably later.

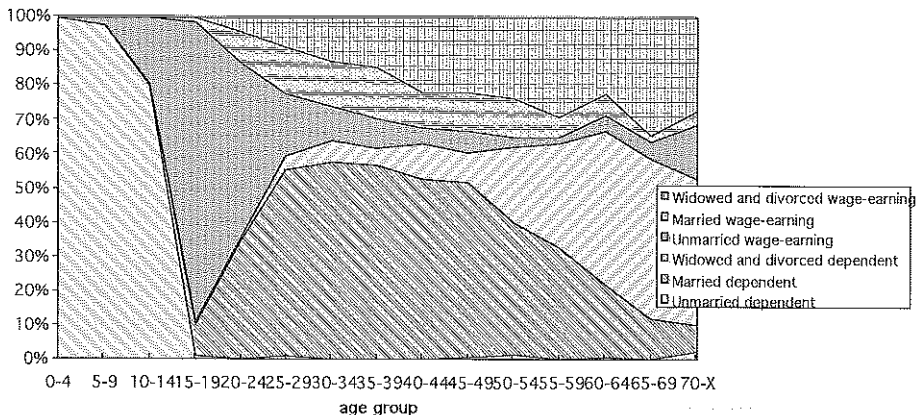
9 In this respect it is worth noting that in Miskolc a number of large companies functioned at the end of the 19th century both in heavy industry and in transportation which were among the first in Hungary to offer organised and financially secure retirement.

FIGURE 7
Lifecyle types by occupation in Miskolc (1910)



If we look at the female life cycle models of the 1880's, which we can now draw up for all the three major denominations, the Roman Catholic, the Calvinist and the Jewish, we will notice more marked differences between the individual groups. Roman Catholic women go through very rapid changes in their teens (Figure 8.). For a short period almost all of them (90%) become wage earners – this means becoming a housemaid in the sweeping majority of the cases, then after the 20-24 year old age group they all marry, practically without exception. In actual fact, however, only about a half of these women come into the category of 'married dependent person' for approximately two decades. One tenth of them have to carry on in a wage-earning occupation even as a wife and from their sixth decade onwards the growing number of widowed women are also forced to work. After their fifties (i.e. after reaching the age at which they become grandparents) Roman Catholic women of Miskolc leave the world of work outside the family in growing proportions – after the age of 60 more than four fifth of them are recorded as dependent persons.

FIGURE 8
Life cycle of Roman Catholic women in Miskolc (1880)



Calvinist (Figure 9) and Jewish women (Figure 10) differ in their life cycle from Roman Catholic women to some extent. The rate of women in an 'unmarried wage-earning' position is 40% among Jewish women and 30% among Calvinist women, in other words it is much lower than the rate among Catholics. The content of this category is also different here. It means not only servanthood: we encounter representatives of many other occupations, too, such as commercial, industrial and clerical workers. After marriage, however, a much higher rate of women in the latter two denominations stays at home (and thus fall into the category of dependent persons) than among Catholic women. The life course of women in the latter two categories also diverges from each other in the later phase of their lives after marriage. Among the Calvinists the rate of (married or widowed) wage earners increases to some extent in the later course of life while the decisive majority of Jewish women who had been wage earners before marriage (in a slightly higher proportion than Calvinists) never return to the wage earning category again, even if they become widowed.

FIGURE 9
Life cycle of Calvinist women in Miskolc (1880)

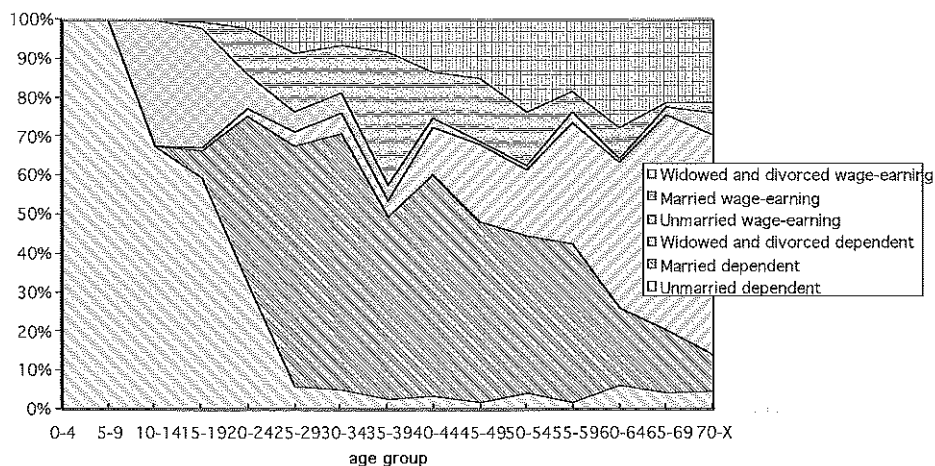
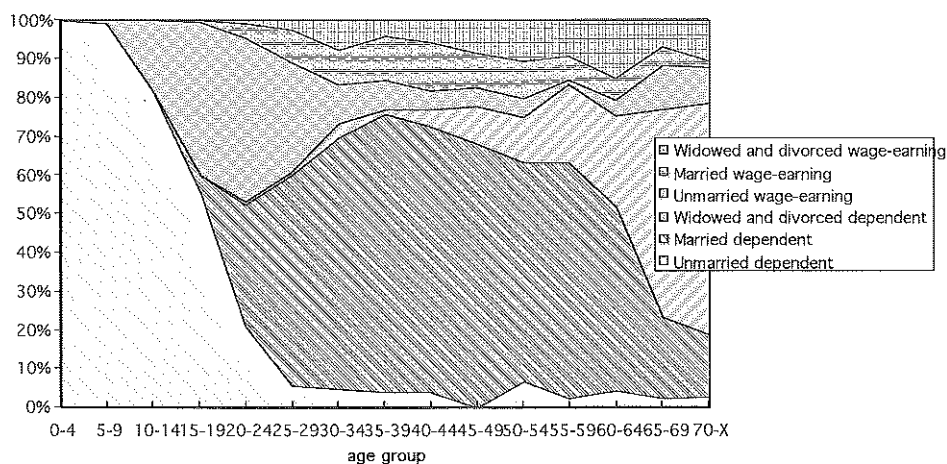


FIGURE 10
Life cycle of Jewish women in Miskolc (1880)



If, however, we look at the women of the different denominations together, it is not possible to draw clearly diverging occupational models among them as the majority (at least 60 per cent) of the women work as 'dependent persons' within the household more or less regardless of their social group after their teenage years. There is only one narrow layer, not more than 5 per cent of all women, who start industrial or commercial activity in their adulthood and carry on with that till the end of their lives. There are, however, two significant and unique temporal divergences from this life course. A number of young women, approximately one fifth of them in the teenage category, take service and become housemaids for a transitional period and only leave this status after they become married. The other difference can be observed among the over 40 age groups where the rate of women involved in various wage earning professions also goes up and reaches 20 per cent among women over 60. We know from other sources that the majority of wage earning women are widows – if women are left alone and find no way of contracting another marriage, they are forced to choose some wage-earning occupation.

Before we try to draw the conclusions that these figures offer us, let us juxtapose our information thus far with the marital data coming from the registries of the various churches. As far as the beginning of the marriage movement is concerned among the various groups, the distribution is as follows (Table 1): Roman Catholic men and women are slightly later (1-2 years) marrying than Calvinists or Jewish people and the marrying age of the village inhabitants (workers of Hámor) is also lower than that of Miskolc city residents. As far as re-marrying is concerned (Table 2), parish register data always give clear, if not emphatic confirmation of the differences between men and women. In most cases the proportion of re-marrying men is higher than that of women. A unique exception is constituted by the Roman Catholics where the above-mentioned difference is noticeable to start with but in the mid-19th century the situation becomes reversed, and after 1880 the rate of re-marrying women exceeds that of re-marrying men. (To identify the cause of such a change further research seems necessary.) Thus registry data do not really contradict the life cycle models we presented, but they do not enrich our interpretation to any significant extent, either.

TABLE 1

Average age at first marriage in the city of Miskolc and in the village of Hámor

Period	Hámor Roman Catholics	Miskolc Roman Catholics	Miskolc Calvinists	Miskolc Jews
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Male

Late 18th century	26,5 a/	27,6 b/	25,5 c/
1828-1830	27,2 d/	27,2	27,2
1879-1882 e/	27,8	27,0	26,6

Female

Late 18th century	21,5 a/	21,2 b/	19,7 c/	.....
1828-1830	21,3 d/	22,4	22,4	.....
1879-1882	..... e/	22,7	21,8	21,8

a/ 1794-1802

b/ 1786-1789

c/ 1766-1773

d/ 1826-1831

e/ marriages are missing from the parish register

SOURCES: parish registers

TABLE 2

Remarriages in the city of Miskolc and in the village of Hámor

Period	Hámor Roman Catholics	Miskolc Roman Catholics	Miskolc Calvinists	Miskolc Jews
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Male (%)

Late 18th century	(3,1) a/	22,3
1828-1830	20,0 d/	15,2	16,2
1879-1882 b/	18,6	18,4	17,3

Female (%)

Late 18th century	(6,3) a/	17,2	.....	.....
1828-1830	17,3	15,6	7,5	.....
1879-1882	.....	21,1	15,8	7,3

a/ period of repopulation

b/ marriages are missing from the parish registers

SOURCES: parish registers

DISCUSSION

On the basis of our research into household structures through the use of macro data and those into the prevalence of living in servanthood (Faragó, 2003) it appears as if data from the late 18th century reproduced the dividing line that John Hajnal drew between Eastern and Western models of marriage and household formation system one level lower within historical Hungary – on the county level rather than the regional level (and shifted the line somewhat to the East). At the same time we were also able to ascertain that there is no smooth fit between the prevalence of complex households, zones of late or early marriages by Hungarian standards and the regional map of households using a high rate of servants. The regional distribution of the above-mentioned phenomena and organisational forms suggest that there is no clear connection and definitely no obvious link between servanthood, early marriage and a high rate of complex households in the regions and local societies of the Carpathian Basin. We see this as related to the fact that the regions of Hungary, which became depopulated as a consequence of the Turkish wars in the 16th and 17th centuries were re-populated in the 18th century with settlers arriving from all points of the compass. These settlers created a society, which could be called, to use a modern term, multi-cultural in many respects and they imported and spread diverging life cycle patterns in the Carpathian basin. These structures and phenomena are partly related to regions, partly to social strata, partly to lifestyle and partly to cultural groups, which factors also interact with each other. The four male and one female life cycle models of the period which we drew up for the Miskolc area show us relatively different life courses which must have had a number of easily imaginable consequences both in the demographic and in the social sense. The model of the nobility, of the artisans and the workers of Hámor clearly suggest slightly lower fertility and a more solid and well-organised life course. Within this the worker's and artisan's models definitely seem to follow a Western-European pattern: the phase of childhood is followed by a period of learning and gaining experience partly away from home, this is followed by becoming independent and starting a family simultaneously with creating an independent household. In the noble model the phase of learning and gaining experience at distant locations is absent, young people wait at home for the chance to become independent. The fourth life course model leads from the childhood state through early marriage and co-

habitation with the parents for varying periods of time to an independent state which sets in relatively late in life. Marrying and acquiring an independent household are not necessarily closely related in these cases – the life course model either entails higher fertility or leads to contraceptive practices within the marriage. Co-resident members of the household are not bound by a contract-like relationship but by a bond based on customs and kinship ties. This implies the Eastern European route of co-habitation complicated by conflicts between relatives and family members. Although there are little specific written evidence to prove it, we assume that female life courses show fewer variants than the four male types listed above. Women's lives centred much more clearly around marrying and childbirth in the pre-industrial period (which goes up to the mid-19th century in the Carpathian basin) and thus offered less ground for variation. It seems that the symbiosis and co-existence of various groups and life strategies functioned relatively free of disturbance until the last third of the 19th century. In the subsequent period, however, urbanisation and industrialisation causes life cycle models to be far more tightly aligned with the, usually newly emerged, social strata and at the same time they begin gradually to erode differences which had arisen from earlier cultural roots.¹⁰ Our data give us the impression that the shrinkage of cultural differences and the spreading of occupation-related life cycle models were slower in pace among women. (This is certainly not unrelated to the fact that it was only in the mid-20th century that the majority of women became wage-earners outside of the family.)

On the basis of the above it is not unfounded to claim that the Eastern-Western type division of family and household types and marriage and life cycle models is far removed from the contemporary reality. The case is not simply that in the societies of Southern or Central Europe there were several systems of household emergence and several life cycle models existing simultaneously (Benigno, 1989; Faragó, 2003). In all probability we have to reckon with a multiplicity of household and life cycle models in such a way that these cannot always be clearly separated from each other in a territorial sense. In some cases

10 A paradoxical element of the situation is that nationalism, which was beginning to rise in ever-widening circles in the public life of Hungary at this time among Hungarians and non-Hungarians, was making feverish efforts to stress the differences between the various ethnic, linguistic and denominational groups.

they lived alongside each other in a symbiosis at least in the pre-industrial period as well as in larger communities which were mixed in a social and cultural sense alike, thus presenting a multi-coloured tapestry in the place of what looks, from the bird's eye perspective of the Western researcher, like a unified mass of 'Eastern', peripheral societies. Evidently, we are aware that in many respects our proposal is hypothetical and relies on a limited number of data from one single city and cries out for further, deeper and more thorough studies. But perhaps in the course of future research it is worth giving some thought to the data, points of view and differences presented above. To conclude this text with a valuable thought by Peter Laslett (1987:263) about the historian of the family 'this is the duty to search after the truth to the utmost of his capacity, or of hers, recognizing that it may be impossible to avoid some degree of bias but while doing all that can be done to reduce it'.

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Abbreviations

- BML Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megyei Levéltár (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Archives).
- MStK Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények (Hungarian Statistical Publications).