

Marriage migrations of women in Kosovo, Albania, and Serbia in comparative perspective

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Abstract

This paper examines female marriage migration in Kosovo, Albania, and Serbia from a comparative historical perspective and highlights its neglect in migration research. Using individual-level microdata from the Serbian census of 1884, the Albanian census of 1918, and Yugoslav household registers for Janjeva (1928), migration linked to marriage is reconstructed through differences between place of birth and residence. The analysis focuses on married couples in predominantly patrilocal societies. The findings reveal substantial cross-regional variation. While about two-thirds of married women in Albania and Janjeva migrated upon marriage, the majority of women in Serbia remained in their place of birth, resulting in a predominance of local marriages. Further variation is observed between rural and urban contexts and across social groups, although religion plays only a limited role. The article argues that patrilocality alone cannot explain these patterns. Instead, differences in kinship structures and exogamy rules shaped the availability of local marriage partners and thus the extent of female marriage migration. By integrating micro-level data with comparative analysis, the study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of migration and family systems in Southeastern Europe.

Keywords: marriage migration, Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, patrilocality

Introduction

Marriage migration was typically characterised by short or very short distances, often involving moves within the same or neighbouring settlements, as spouses were historically selected from the same village or nearby communities. As a result, marriage migration has often been overlooked in migration studies, either because of its limited spatial scope or because greater scholarly attention has been devoted to other aspects of marriage, such as age at marriage, residence patterns, or dowry practices.

The chapter on migration in a widely used demographic reference volume makes no mention of marriage migration.¹ The “Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies” includes chapters on “Connecting Family and Migration” and “Immigrant Inter-marriage”, but no general chapter on marriage migration.² Similarly, the “International Handbook of Migration and Population Distribution” contains only a chapter on “International migration, gender and family: a miroir from Latin America”.³

The chapter about migration in the “History of the European Family 2: Family Life in the long Nineteenth Century 1789–1913” has only two references to marriage migration: that “men tended to migrate when they were single while women tended to migrate on marriage”⁴ and that women tended to move to their husbands’ place of residence.⁵ The chapter on marriage in the same volume does not address the topic specifically.⁶ Likewise, the chapter on the Balkans in the French-language history of European populations omits marriage migration.⁷

Global migration histories contain some references, e.g., in exogamous community family systems, where marriages were arranged by parents, “migration, except for the move to the household of her parents-in-law, was considered undesirable for women”.⁸ Other studies note that “the examination of patterns of marital distance is another kind of migration study that has been carried out by biological anthropologists”⁹ and women’s migration upon marriage is also mentioned in broader discussions of migration.¹⁰ In a special volume about migration in Southeast Europe, there is a single reference that treats marriage migration as a component of local migration.¹¹

The online handbook on the History of Southeast Europe has two chapters on migration, but marriage migration is only mentioned as the reason for different rates of women and men still living in their place of birth in Serbia in the 19th century.¹²

¹ Morrison, Peter A. / Bryan, Thomas M., and David A. Swanson. 2004. *Internal Migration and Short-Distance Mobility*, in *The Methods and Materials of Demography*, 2nd ed, edited by Siegel, Jacob S. and David A. Swanson. Amsterdam etc: Elsevier, 493–521.

² Gold, Steven J. and Stephanie J. Nawyn. (eds.). 2014. *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.

³ White, Michael J. (ed.). 2019. *International Handbook of Migration and Population Distribution*. Dordrecht: Springer.

⁴ Brettell, Caroline. 2002. *Migration*, in *The history of the European family 2: Family life in the long nineteenth century 1789–1913*, edited by Kertzer, David I. and Marzio Barbagli. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 237.

⁵ Brettell, *Migration*, 241.

⁶ Ehmer, Josef. 2002. *Marriage*, in *The history of the European family 2: Family life in the long nineteenth century 1789–1913*, edited by Kertzer, David I. and Marzio Barbagli. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 282–321.

⁷ Todorova, Maria. 1998. *Les Balkans*, in *Histoire des Populations de l’Europe II. La révolution démographique 1750–1914*, edited by Bardet, Jean-Pierre and Jacques Dupâquier. Paris: Fayard, 463–486.

⁸ Lucassen, Jan and Leo Lucassen. 2014. *Measuring and quantifying cross-cultural migrations: An introduction*, in *Globalising migration history: The Eurasian experience (16th–21st centuries)* (= *Studies in global social history 15/Studies in global migration history 3*), edited by Lucassen, Jan and Leo Lucassen. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 52.

⁹ Keita, Shomarka. 2010. *A brief introduction to a geochemical method used in assessing migration in biological anthropology*, in *Migration history in world history: Multidisciplinary approaches* (= *Studies in Global Social History 3*), edited by Lucassen, Jan / Lucassen, Leo and Patrick Manning. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 61.

¹⁰ Kok, Jan. 2010. *The family factor in migration decisions*, in *Migration history in world history: Multidisciplinary approaches* (= *Studies in Global Social History 3*), edited by Lucassen, Jan / Lucassen, Leo, and Patrick Manning. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 215–250, 217.

¹¹ Lucassen, Leo. 2009. Towards a comparative history of migration and membership in Southeast Europe (1500–1900). *Ethnologia Balkanica* 13, 11–41, 15.

¹² Brunnbauer, Ulf. 2018. Die Bewegung im Raum seit dem 19. Jahrhundert. Teil 1: Arbeits- und Binnenmigrationen. Version: 1.0, in *Online-Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas. Volume: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Südosteuropa nach 1800*, edited by Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung, 15–16.

Marriage patterns in Kosovo, Albania, and Serbia

Several forms of marriage-related migration and post-marital residence patterns can be distinguished: both spouses can move and establish a new household upon marriage (neolocality), the wife can move into the household of the husband or his father (virilocality, patrilocality or patrivirilocality), the husband can move into the household of the wife or her family (uxorilocality or matrilocality), the couple can live partly with the husband's family and partly with the wife's family (bilocality), or finally, none of the spouses moves and stays in the household of origin (natolocality).

In Southeast Europe, large areas were dominated by patrivirilocal residence after marriage. Kaser attributed the patrivirilocal-household cycle complexity as a traditional household formation pattern to Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Albania, and the islands of Crete and Cyprus.¹³ "Upon the marriage of the sons, their wives came to live with them, and the grandsons did the same".¹⁴ Its "southern variant is characterised by a distinctive patriarchal cultural background [...]: strong blood ties, ancestor worship, patrilineality, patrilocality, bride-price, blood feuds and patrilineal kinship structure".¹⁵ Kaser also identified three other household formation patterns in Southeast Europe: the neolocal-nuclear household formation system (in Romania), the patrivirilocal-lifecycle complexity household formation system (in Hungary, Bulgaria, mainland Greece), and the neo- or uxorilocal-nuclear household formation system (on the smaller Aegean islands).¹⁶ Hajnal stated in his formation rules for joint household systems, which were located outside of Northwest Europe, that usually "the young wife joins her husband in the household of which he is a member".¹⁷

Such general frameworks reflect the state of knowledge at the time of their formulation and may require refinement in light of subsequent research. Moreover, their necessary level of generalisation tends to obscure local and regional variation, as well as deviations from the broader patterns they propose. Critical voices have therefore been raised, e.g. in Slovenia,¹⁸ Croatia,¹⁹ Serbia,²⁰ Bulgaria,²¹ and Greece.²²

The above-mentioned patrilineal kinship structures were combined with exogamy rules, i.e., no marriage was allowed with patrilineal kin, but they could marry close relatives on their mother's side.²³ The availability of local marriage partners was therefore dependent on the amount of different descent groups within the respective settlement. In most regions of Southeast Europe, villages were composed of different descent groups, while in Northern Albania these descent groups lived in compact territories and were known by the term *fis* (in

¹³ Kaser, Karl. 1996. Introduction: Household and family contexts in the Balkans. *The History of the Family* 1(4), 375–386, 380.

¹⁴ Kaser, *Introduction*, 383.

¹⁵ Kaser, *Introduction*, 383.

¹⁶ Kaser, *Introduction*, 381–383.

¹⁷ Hajnal, John. 1982. Two kinds of preindustrial household formation system. *Population and Development Review* 8(3), 449–494., 452.

¹⁸ Sovič, Silvia. 2008. European family history moving beyond stereotypes of 'East' and 'West'. *Cultural and Social History* 5, 141–163.

¹⁹ Čapo Žmegač, Jasna. 1996. Konstrukcija modela obitelji u Europi i povijest obitelji u Hrvatskoj. *Narodna umjetnost* 33(2), 179–196.

²⁰ Vuletić, Aleksandra. 2002. *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka* (= *Posebna izdanja* 35). Beograd: Istorijski institut.

²¹ Todorova, Maria. 2001. *On the Epistemological Value of Family Models: the Balkans within the European Pattern*, in *Family History Revisited. Comparative Aspects*, edited by Wall, Richard / Hareven, Tamara K., and Josef Ehmer. Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 242–256.

²² Hionidou, Violetta. 2011. Independence and inter-dependence: Household formation patterns in eighteenth century Kythera, Greece. *The History of the Family* 16, 217–234.

²³ Durham, Mary Edith. 1928. *Some tribal origins, laws and customs of the Balkans*. London: Allen & Unwin, 15.

ethnographic literature around 1900, the term “tribe” was used). Many of them required exogamous marriages, especially smaller ones, while larger ones preferred endogamous marriages; these *fis* were situated in the east and south of this territory.²⁴

Ethnographers reported marriage preferences between specific *fis*, e.g. Nikaj and Merturi.²⁵ Research based on the Albanian census of 1918 has verified that within the small territory of Northern Albania different patterns of endogamy and exogamy existed around 1900 and that not all marriages followed the established rules.²⁶ Greece had an enormous variation in household formation patterns and dowry systems,²⁷ while in Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania the custom of bride-price was dominant; only in Southern Albania and cities were dowries known.²⁸

Patrilocality has been included as one cluster in the calculation of the Patriarchy Index, which is designed to measure and compare household patriarchy based on census data.²⁹ The proportion of married daughters was especially low in rural Albanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian regions.³⁰ Among all elderly people (65+ years) living with at least one married child, less than 5 % co-resided with a married daughter in eleven rural regions of Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria.

The choice of a marriage partner was generally not the decision of the two people involved, but of their families. Marriages could strengthen existing alliances between families or kin groups or establish new ones. The involvement of payments to the family of the bride introduced a business component to marriages, with a higher status of the bride’s family increasing the payment and the widowhood of a bride reducing it.³¹

This paper seeks to advance the analysis of marriage patterns in Southeast Europe by drawing on individual-level data. The data allow us to take a closer look at marriage patterns at the level of individual couples and to test the theories mentioned above. We are interested here in one major aspect of patrilocal marriages: How many women migrated because of marriage? Was moving out of the village of birth upon marriage a phenomenon experienced by a majority or minority of women?

Kosovo, Albania, and Serbia were characterised by patrilocal residence after marriage, but maybe there were differences in marriage migrations of women between these neighbouring regions? National averages can hide internal differences, as can be seen in the extent of

²⁴ Coon, Carleton S. 1950. *The Mountain of giants: A racial and cultural study of the North Albanian Mountain Ghegs* (= *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University* vol. 23 no. 3). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 51–54.

²⁵ Coon, *The Mountain of Giants*, 28.

²⁶ Gruber, Siegfried. 2010. *Marriage patterns in Northern Albania in the beginning of the 20th century*, in *Many paths to happiness? Studies in population and family history. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux*, edited by Arrizabalaga, Marie-Pierre / Bolovan, Ioan / Eppel, Marius / Kok, Jan, and Mary Louise Nagata. Amsterdam: aksant, 404–426.

²⁷ Kalaitzidou, Eftychia. 2025. *The missing girls of Greece: Discriminatory practices against Girls in Greece from Late 19th to early 20th Century*. PhD thesis. Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, 68.

²⁸ Hasluck, Margaret. 1933. Bride-price in Albania. A homeric parallel. *Man* 33, 191–195.

²⁹ Gruber, Siegfried and Mikołaj Szoltysek. 2016. The patriarchy index: a comparative study of power relations across historical Europe. *The History of the Family* 21(2), 133–174, 142.

³⁰ Gruber, Siegfried. 2021. *The Patriarchy Index: A Comparative Study of Power Relations Within Southeastern Europe and Turkey*, in *Digital Historical Research on Southeast Europe and the Ottoman Space* (= *Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe* 35), edited by Mujadžević, Dino. Berlin: Peter Lang, 141–165, 155.

³¹ Kaser, Karl. 1992. *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden. Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*. Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 243–259, 264–268.

patrilocality in Southeast Europe.³² Therefore, we shall have a look at the possible influence of the rural/urban divide, religions, ethnicity, occupational groups, and literacy. And finally, we shall have a look at possible changes over time: were these patterns stable or did they change between subsequent cohorts? We aim to complement the existing knowledge on marriage patterns in Southeast Europe by providing new empirical insights.

Data used

In our analysis, we use individual-level data for Kosovo and the neighbouring countries of Serbia and Albania. The choice of the sources is determined by two factors: first, the source must provide direct or indirect information about migration upon marriage, and second, enough manuscripts of the source must have survived. We use three different sources in this analysis: the Serbian census of 1884, the Albanian census of 1918, and the Yugoslav household registers for Janjeva/Kosovo in 1928.

As these are currently the only sources available for this type of research before the Second World War, the analysis necessarily draws on data from different years and decades; this should be borne in mind when making direct comparisons, while still permitting meaningful comparative analysis. These sources do not provide information about marriage migration explicitly, and therefore we rely on the information about the place of birth. If the place of birth and the place of residence at the time of registration differ, this indicates that at least one migration event occurred prior to observation. If the place of birth coincides with the place of residence, we assume that no prior migration occurred, although some individuals may have temporarily moved and subsequently returned. We assume that such cases are limited in number and do not materially affect the results of this study.

The Serbian census of 1884 was the first census in Serbia to report the place of birth and was done after the first Law on Population and Property Census was passed. This is the last Serbian census of the 19th century with surviving manuscripts³³ and therefore the only one which can be used for analysing marriage migration. This census was the first one after Serbia gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, because the census of 1879 covered only the newly acquired territories of 1878. The surviving census manuscripts contain only about 5 % of the population and cover only a few districts; therefore, the sample cannot be representative of the whole population in a strict sense.

The Albanian data consist of the population census conducted by the Austro-Hungarian army in 1918 in Albania.³⁴ The Austro-Hungarian army occupied the majority of the territory of the newly created independent Albanian state (the Northern and Central parts of Albania) and established a new administration in 1916. Officers of the Austro-Hungarian army collected the data with the assistance of Albanian officers.³⁵ This Albanian census is the first for which the original data are still available on the level of the persons recorded, and it is of high quality given the circumstances under which it was taken.³⁶ Up to now, the data of 285

³² Gruber, Siegfried and Daniel-Armin Dumić. 2024. What are the key factors influencing household formation and co-residence patterns? Learning from Southeastern Europe. *Journal of the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" SAsA* 74(3), 383–398, 391.

³³ Vuletić, Aleksandra. 2012. *Censuses in 19th century Serbia: Inventory of preserved microdata*. Mosaic Working Paper WP2012-004. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, 19–22.

³⁴ For an evaluation see Nicholson, Beryl. 1999. *The census of the Austro-Hungarian occupied districts of Albania in spring 1918. A preliminary note on the manuscript census schedules*. (= *Centre for Scandinavian Studies Papers* 5). Newcastle upon Tyne: Centre for Scandinavian Studies.

³⁵ Seiner, Franz. 1922. *Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österr.-ungar. Truppen 1916–1918 besetzten Gebiete*. Wien and Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 3.

³⁶ Gruber, Siegfried. 2007. *Die albanische Volkszählung von 1918 und ihre Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft*, in *Seiner Zeit. Redakteur Franz Seiner und seine Zeit (1874 bis 1929)*, edited by Kostka, Helga. Graz: Academic Publishers, 257.

villages and six cities have been entered in a digital database. The data consists of two samples: a 100 % sample of the urban population, villages containing Orthodox Christians and ethnic minorities, villages being characterised by an uneven sex ratio or very large or very small households and a 10 % sample of all other villages. These two samples combined are a representative sample of Northern and Central Albania in 1918.

There are no census manuscripts registering women available for Kosovo in the 19th century; therefore, we use the Yugoslav household registers, beginning in 1928. The registers reported the status of the population in 1928, and updates were added to the registers until 1948. These updates are rather complete for a few years following 1928 and very rudimentary afterward. At present, the data covers only the Muslim population of Janjeva/Janjevo and the Muslim populations of some other villages in the vicinity.³⁷ These settlements are located near Prishtina, to the southeast of this city.

Our analysis focuses on married couples and their places of birth. In polygynous marriages, only information on the husband and his first wife is considered. The information about the place of birth is unfortunately not always reported and partly imprecise (e.g., general entries such as “Serbia”) or unclear (e.g., is “Shkodra” the city of Shkodra or the prefecture of Shkodra?). Therefore, we needed to apply some quality measures to the data files. The information about places of birth was reported in the Serbian census of 1884, but the results of this question were not published. The first census in which birthplace data was published is the census of 1890. We are using this information as a quality check for the 1884 microdata by excluding all places where no places of birth were reported or where the information on places of birth differed from the published results in 1890. In Albania, we exclude all places with less than 20 % of the population born in the respective place and all cities where more than 99 % of the population were born in this city. In Janjeva/Kosovo we use only the first reported marriage and exclude remarriages recorded in the household registers.

About one third of the analysed couples in Albania and Serbia lived in cities, which is considerably higher than their share of the overall population. We therefore weight the data accordingly to ensure that the results reflect the actual distribution between urban and rural populations at that time.

Table 1: Data used for analyses

Source	Urban couples	Rural couples	All couples
Serbia 1884	1,096	2,731	3,827
Albania 1918	7,569	15,327	22,896
Janjeva 1928	-	570	570

Source: Gruber, Siegfried, and Daniel-Armin Đumić. 2025. *1884 census of Serbia. Version 1.0* [Mosaic Historical Microdata File].; Gruber, Siegfried / Kaser, Karl / Kera, Gentiana, and Enriketa Pandejmoni. 2024. *1918 census of Albania, Version 1.1* [Mosaic Historical Microdata File].; Gruber, Siegfried / Latifi, Tahir, and Egzona Azemi. 2026. *1928 household register of Janjeva, Version 1.0* [Mosaic Historical Microdata File].

Characteristics of the populations analysed

We compare populations from three neighbouring countries at three different points in time. While this selection is largely driven by the availability of sources for this type of research, it also raises an interesting question: can their use be justified based on the shared structural characteristics of these populations?

³⁷ Additional household registers are currently in the process of being coded and checked. They will be available for research in future.

The studied populations were overwhelmingly rural, with a share of 12.4 % of the urban population in Serbia in 1884³⁸ and 12.6 % of the urban population in Albania within the territory of the census of 1918.³⁹ The Yugoslav census of 1931 yielded a share of 9.6 % of the population living in cities with at least 20,000 inhabitants.⁴⁰

The occupational structure reflects this rural domination, as in Serbia in 1890⁴¹ 84.1 % of the population still lived in the agricultural sector.⁴² In Albania in 1918, the agricultural sector accounted for 84.0 % of the adult male population in the countryside and 13.4 % of the adult male urban population.⁴³ Even in Yugoslavia in 1931, 76.6 % of the population were still employed in the agricultural sector.⁴⁴

All three populations were relatively young, with children accounting for between 35% and 43% of the total population. The main working-age group comprised only slightly more than half of the population, while the elderly made up between 5 and 9 % of the total.

Table 2: Age structure in percentages

Source	0–14 years	15–59 years	60+ years
Serbia 1890	43.4	51.8	4.8
Albania 1918	38.8	52.1	9.1
Yugoslavia 1931	34.6	57.1	8.2

Sources: Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 114; Gruber / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *The impact of WWI*, 126; Kraljevina Jugoslavija, *Definitivni rezultati III*, 2.

The Serbian census of 1884 reports a sex ratio of 104.7 men per 100 women,⁴⁵ which is consistent with the general male majority observed in 19th-century Southeast European censuses.⁴⁶ In Albania in 1918, the sex ratio was almost balanced at 100.6,⁴⁷ and in Yugoslavia in 1931 there was already a female majority within the population with a sex ratio of 97.9.⁴⁸ The primary reason for this change is World War I, which resulted in heavy losses among soldiers.

Serbia in 1884 was rather homogeneous in ethnic terms, with 89 % being Serbian and less than 8 % Romanians/Vlachs.⁴⁹ Albania in 1918 was even more homogeneous, with only 4.4 % of the population being non-Albanian, mostly Slavic-speaking.⁵⁰ The reason for this situation is the drawing of the borders at the expense of Albanians – leaving many of them outside its borders. In contrast, Yugoslavia in 1921 was a multi-ethnic state with 74.4 % speaking Serbian or Croatian, 8.5 % Slovenian, 3.7 % Albanian, and many other languages. Ethnic

³⁸ Sundhaussen, Holm. 1989. *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914. Mit europäischen Vergleichsdaten* (= *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 87). München: Oldenbourg, 99.

³⁹ Gruber, Siegfried / Kera, Gentiana, and Enriketa Pandelejmoni. 2020. *The impact of WWI on marriage patterns in Albania*, in *The impact of World War I on marriages, divorces, and gender relations in Europe* (= *Routledge Research in Gender and History*), edited by Brée, Sandra and Saskia Hin. New York & London: Routledge, 119–154, 127.

⁴⁰ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opšta državna statistika. (ed.). 1937. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 marta 1931 godine I / Résultats définitifs du recensement de la population du 31 mars 1931 I*. Beograd: Državna Štamparija, VIII and XIV.

⁴¹ No statistical data on the occupational structure in 1884 is available.

⁴² Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 180.

⁴³ Gruber / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *The impact of WWI*, 127.

⁴⁴ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opšta državna statistika. (ed.). 1940. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 marta 1931 godine IV / Résultats définitifs du recensement de la population du 31 mars 1931 IV*. Sarajevo: Državna Štamparija, VII.

⁴⁵ *Državopis Srbije / Statistique de la Serbie* 16. 1889. Beograd: Kraljevsko-Srpska Državna Štamparija, XVII.

⁴⁶ Gruber / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *The impact of WWI*, 123.

⁴⁷ Seiner, *Ergebnisse*, 8.

⁴⁸ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, *Definitivni rezultati I*, VIII.

⁴⁹ *Državopis Srbije* 16, XXVIII–XXIX.

⁵⁰ Gruber, Siegfried. 2017. The Influence of Religion on Marriage Ages in Albania around 1900. *Historical Social Research* 42(2), 134–157, 142.

affiliation was not reported; only the mother tongue of the population was published.⁵¹ In religious terms, Serbia in 1884 was even more homogeneous, with 92.8 % of Orthodox believers, 3.1 % Catholics, and 2.1 % Muslims.⁵² Albania in 1918 was much more heterogeneous, with 74.8 % Muslims, 17.1 % Catholic, and 8.1 % Orthodox believers.⁵³ Yugoslavia in 1931 was the most heterogeneous of these populations, with 48.7 % Orthodox believers, 37.5 % Roman Catholics, and 11.2 % Muslims.⁵⁴

In 1884 in Serbia, the crude birth rate was 47.6 ‰, which was the highest ever recorded in this country,⁵⁵ hence at the beginning of the secular decline of births. The earliest published crude birth rate for Albania was 35.1 ‰ in 1932,⁵⁶ while it was 43.2 ‰ for the time period of 1926-1930 for Kosovo.⁵⁷ In both countries, the demographic transition started only after the Second World War, which makes them the last countries in Europe in this respect. This serves as an additional argument in favour of the comparison, as the later Albanian and Kosovar datasets still reflect a demographic regime broadly comparable to that of Serbia in the late nineteenth century, despite the chronological distance.

As we have no direct measure of ages at first marriage, we need to use the Singulate Mean Age at Marriage⁵⁸ as an indirect measure. Women married in all three populations early; in Serbia in 1884 the range was from 19.4–21.1 years for the different regions of the sample, in Albania in 1918 from 17.8–21.4 years; and in Janjeva even at an age of 17 years. Men married later; the regions of Serbia in 1884 show a range from 21.5–28.1 years, in Albania in 1918 even from 24.5–34.3 years, while age at marriage was lowest in Janjeva in 1928 with only 20.1 years.⁵⁹ Urban residents married generally later than rural ones – for men the difference was more pronounced, as can be seen from the larger ranges in Serbia and especially Albania. These ages fit generally well into the Eastern European Marriage Pattern east of the ‘Hajnal line’, stretching from St. Petersburg to Trieste, while to the west of it ages at first marriage were higher and a significant proportion of people remained unmarried throughout their lives.⁶⁰ Hajnal proposed the maximum average age at first marriage in eastern Europe to be approximately 26 years for men and 21 years for women.⁶¹ The urban population was of course different, and in some Albanian regions the upper limit was reached or even slightly surpassed by men.

The ages reported above cannot be treated as exact, because many ages were reported as multiples of fives or tens, i.e., there was a high incidence of age heaping. In the sample of the Serbian census of 1884, 521 women with an age of 60 years were enumerated, while there

⁵¹ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opšta državna statistika. (ed.). 1932. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 januara 1921 god. / Résultats définitifs du recensement de la population du 31 janvier 1921*. Sarajevo: Državna Štamparija, 2-3.

⁵² *Državopis Srbije* 16, XXIII.

⁵³ Gruber, *The influence*, 139.

⁵⁴ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, *Definitivni rezultati II*, VI-VII.

⁵⁵ Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 142.

⁵⁶ Faron, Olivier / Dupâquier, Jacques, and Georges Siampos. 1999. *Les pays balkaniques: la Grèce, l’Albanie, la Bulgarie, la Roumanie et les États issus de l’ex-Yougoslavie*, in *Histoire des Populations de l’Europe, III. Les temps incertains 1914–1998*, edited by Bardet, Jean-Pierre and Jacques Dupâquier. Paris: Fayard, 591–631, 607.

⁵⁷ Faron / Dupâquier and Siampos, *Les pays balkaniques*, 623.

⁵⁸ Hajnal, John. 1953. Age at marriage and proportions marrying. *Population Studies* 7(2), 111–136.

⁵⁹ Ages at first marriages might be biased downwards because not for all couples it is sure that they married before the start of the household register.

⁶⁰ Hajnal, John. 1965. *European marriage patterns*, in *Population in history: Essays in historical demography*, edited by Glass, David Victor and David Edward Charles Eversley. London: Edward Arnold, 101–143.

⁶¹ Hajnal, *Two Kinds*, 452.

were only 4 women with an age of 61 years. The total modified Whipple's index⁶² yields values of 2.5–10.8 for men in Albanian regions in 1918, while they are in the range of 2.3–7.9 for Serbian men in 1884, and a value of 2.2 in Janjeva in 1928 has been calculated. Women's ages were generally of lower quality, with values ranging from 5.0–12.5 in Albania in 1918, 6.0–10.3 in Serbia in 1884, and a value of 4.1 in Janjeva in 1928. Age heaping in Albania in 1918 was among the strongest in a comparative analysis of historical European regions.⁶³ These results tell us that we need to treat ages as approximate ages only.

Age heaping is not only an effect of a less developed bureaucracy but depends very much on literacy, and therefore the amount of age heaping has been used as a proxy measure for literacy in the absence of information about literacy or education.⁶⁴ The high levels of age heaping in the data used for this paper suggest a high level of illiteracy in these populations, and this is confirmed by the available information. In Albania in 1918, only 2.5 % of the male population aged 15 years and over in rural areas were literate. The corresponding figure for women was a mere 0.1 %. The urban population had higher shares of literate people, with 29.5 % of men and 6.1 % of women. Catholics in these cities had a higher educational level than Muslims because of schools run by Catholic orders.⁶⁵ In Serbia, compulsory schooling for a period of six years was ordered at the end of 1882,⁶⁶ and therefore only 10.1 % of rural men and a mere 0.4 % of rural women were literate in 1884. Once again, the urban population had higher levels of literacy, with 49.9 % of men and 23.0 % of women.⁶⁷ In Janjeva in Kosovo the situation in 1928 was already better because the Yugoslav census of 1931 documented 39.4 % of men and 13.8 % of women as being literate in the district of Gračanica⁶⁸ Literacy was defined as being able to write in all three countries (in Albania writing in Latin script and Turkish script was separately reported)⁶⁹ and in Yugoslavia a second category was introduced for people who could read but not write. In the published tables, both categories were combined as literate.⁷⁰ No information is available about any kind of checking of this ability, so it was obviously self-declared information.

All three populations were highly patriarchal, as rural Albanian regions in 1918 were the most patriarchal in a European comparison according to the Patriarchy Index. Serbian regions followed suit,⁷¹ and the Patriarchy Index for Janjeva in 1928 ranges between these two countries.

The comparative analysis in this paper refers therefore to three populations at different points in time, but with very similar characteristics: rural populations mainly engaged in agriculture, with a young population, high fertility, low ages at marriage for women, being

⁶² Spoorenberg, Thomas. 2007. Quality of age reporting: extension and application of the modified Whipple's index. *Population* 62, 729–741.

⁶³ Szoltysek, Mikołaj / Poniat, Radosław, and Siegfried Gruber. 2018. Age heaping patterns in Mosaic data. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 51(1), 13–38, 17.

⁶⁴ A'Hearn, Brian / Baten, Jörg, and Dorothee Crayen. 2009. Quantifying quantitative literacy: Age heaping and the history of human capital. *The Journal of Economic History* 69(3), 783–808.

⁶⁵ Gruber / Kera and Pandelejmoni, *The impact of WWI*, 126.

⁶⁶ Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 526.

⁶⁷ Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 534.

⁶⁸ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opšta državna statistika. (ed.). 1938. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 marta 1931 godine III / Résultats définitifs du recensement de la population du 31 mars 1931 III*. Beograd: Državna Štamparija, 102.

⁶⁹ *Državopis Srbije* 16, VII; K. u. k. XIX. Korpskommando. 1918. *Durchführungsbestimmungen für die Volkszählung 1918*, E. V. Nr. 72.

⁷⁰ Kraljevina Jugoslavija, *Definitivni rezultati III*, III.

⁷¹ Gruber and Szoltysek, *The patriarchy index*, 155.

mostly illiterate and highly patriarchal.⁷² The only differences concern the ethnic and religious makeup of the populations, and this will be considered in the analyses. We investigate three populations before the onset of the demographic transition, because we analyse migrations which were reported in the respective censuses and which happened therefore in the years and decades before the censuses were taken.

Results

Almost all men in all three datasets still lived in their place of birth after marriage, as can be seen in Figure 1. Only a minority came from a neighbouring settlement⁷³ or further away. In Serbia in 1884, almost all married women were born in their place of residence, which is confirmed by the published results of the census of 1890: 86.85 % of men and 80.53 % of women still lived in their place of birth.⁷⁴ In contrast, only about a third of all married women in Albania and Janjeva had married within the same settlement. In Albania, about a fourth of them moved to a neighbouring place and even more to a more distant settlement (for one tenth of them this information is missing or the place has not been identified yet⁷⁵). In Janjeva, only one in twelve women came from a neighbouring village, while more than half of the married women moved in from a more distant place. There were several reasons why marrying a woman from a more distant place was favoured in Northern Albania: there were no tensions with local men over local women, and the woman could not go to her family for assistance easily in case of troubles.⁷⁶

⁷² These populations are therefore very much in line with the populations for which Hajnal developed his household formation systems, see Hajnal, *Two kinds*, 450–451.

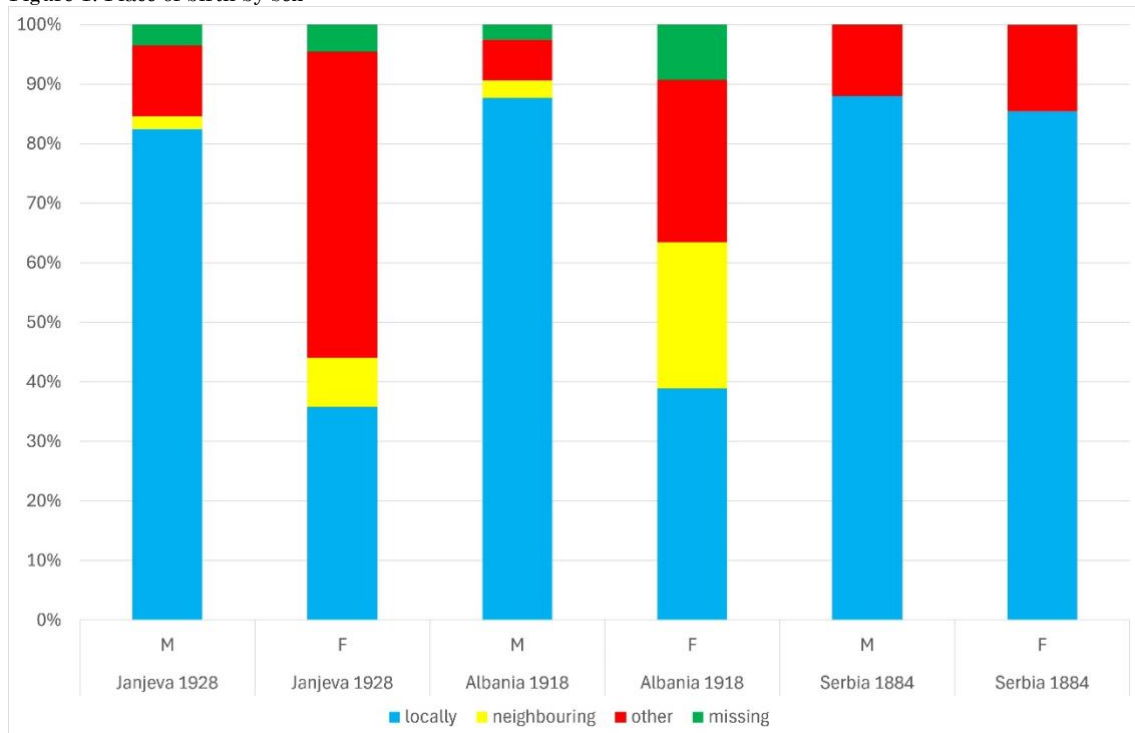
⁷³ Neighbouring places are defined as being included in the same register book (Janjeva 1928) or belonging to the same local community (“Landgemeinde” in the census) consisting of 10 to 20 villages (Albania 1918). This category has not been coded yet for the Serbian sample of 1884. This category refers generally to rural settlements.

⁷⁴ Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, 169.

⁷⁵ Some places could not be located on maps because of possible changes in place names, misspellings of place names, or incorporation into a larger neighbouring place.

⁷⁶ Coon, *The mountain of giants*, 22.

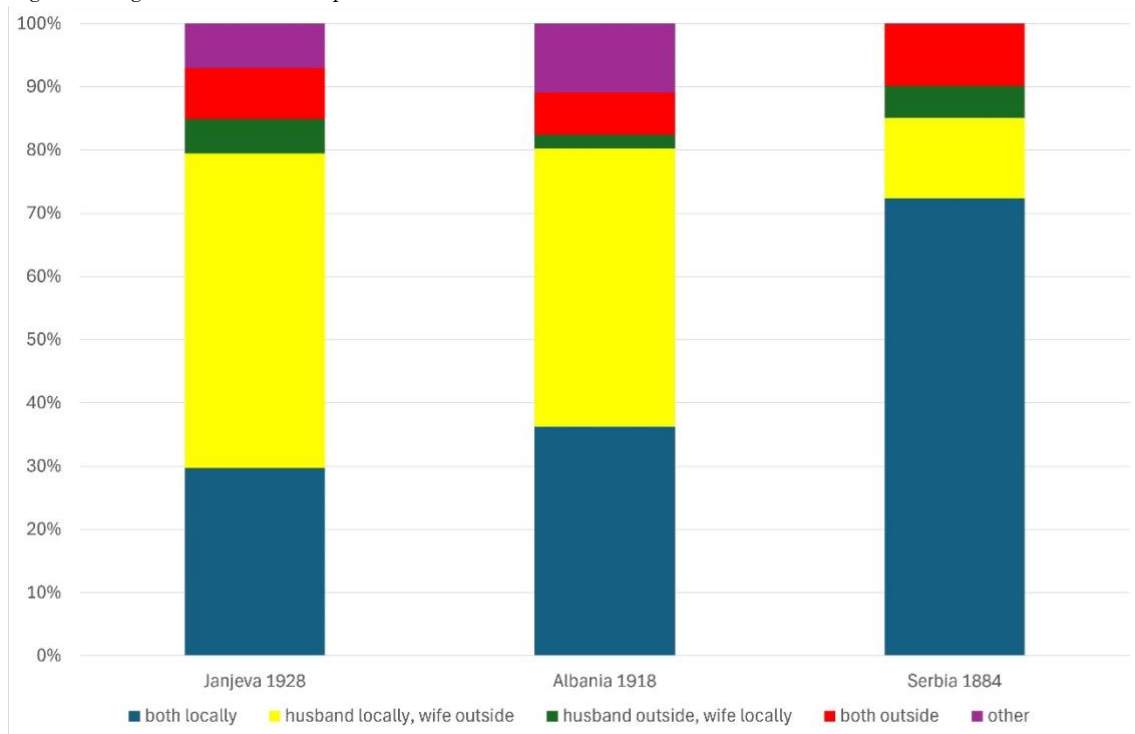
Figure 1: Place of birth by sex



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, Pandejmon, *1918 Census*; Gruber / Latifi, and Azemi, *1928 Household register*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

In the next analysis, we compare the places of birth of couples. We put all couples in five categories: both spouses locally born (“local marriage”), husband locally born and wife coming from outside (“female migrant marriage”), husband coming from outside and wife locally born (“male migrant marriage”), both spouses coming from outside (“migrant couple”), and others (including those with missing information). In Janjeva and Albania, the most common category was female migrant marriage, with about half of all cases (see Figure 2), which is a clear sign of patrilocal residence patterns after marriage. The second most common category was local marriage, with about one third of all cases. In Serbia, more than 70 % of all couples consisted of local marriages, and more than 10 % were couples of female migrant marriages. The category of male migrant marriage accounted for 2–5 % of all couples. This shows that there might have been some matrilineal residence after marriage, but only to a small degree. In the case of migrant couples, we assume that the reason for migration was not marriage, but rather economic or social/political.

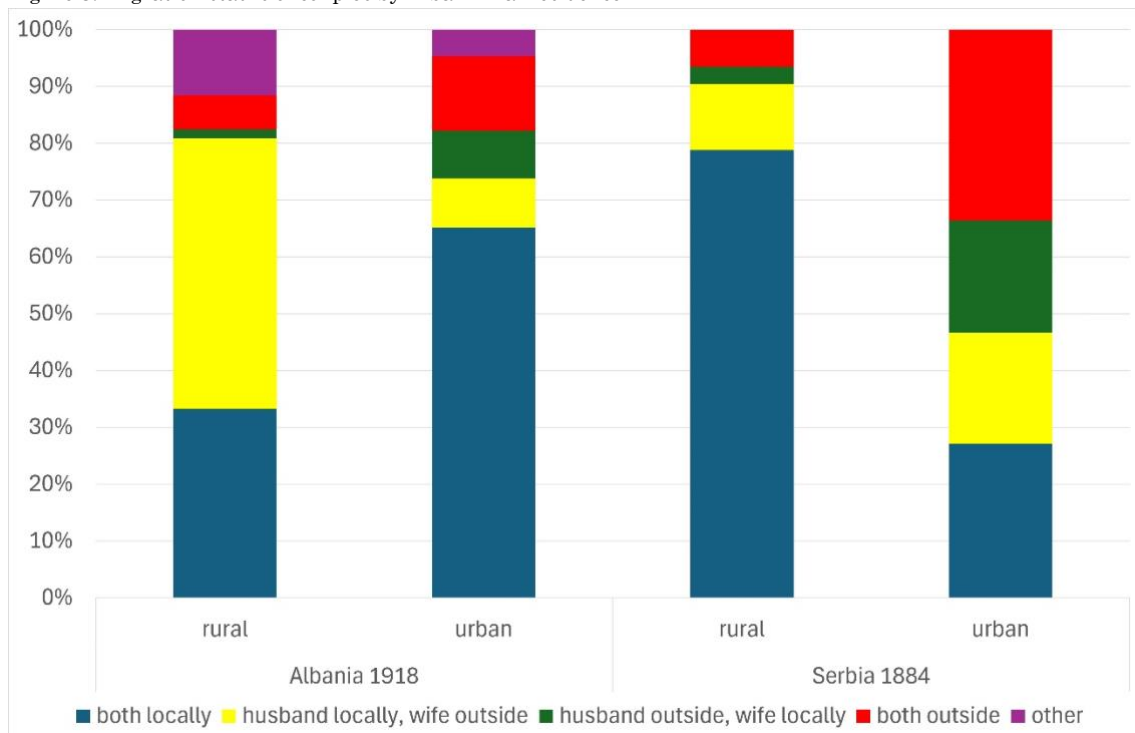
Figure 2: Migration status of couples



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*; Gruber / Latifi, and Azemi, *1928 Household register*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

The majority of the population lived in rural areas, and therefore the migration status of couples in rural areas resembles the overall pattern very closely. We expect the pattern in urban areas to be different, and it is: in Albania in 1918 about two-thirds were local marriages and less than 10 % were female migrant marriages (see Figure 3). A similar proportion was in the opposite category of male migrant marriages, and a larger proportion consisted of migrant couples. In contrast, in Serbian cities in 1884 only a quarter of all couples consisted of local marriages, while about 20 % each were female migrant marriages and male migrant marriages. The largest group were migrant couples (about a third). The difference between Albanian and Serbian cities should be attributed to two factors: stronger immigration to Serbian cities as compared to Albanian cities and a larger pool of available spouses in Albanian cities, because they had more inhabitants than Serbian cities (see below).

Figure 3: Migration status of couples by urban/rural residence



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandeļejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

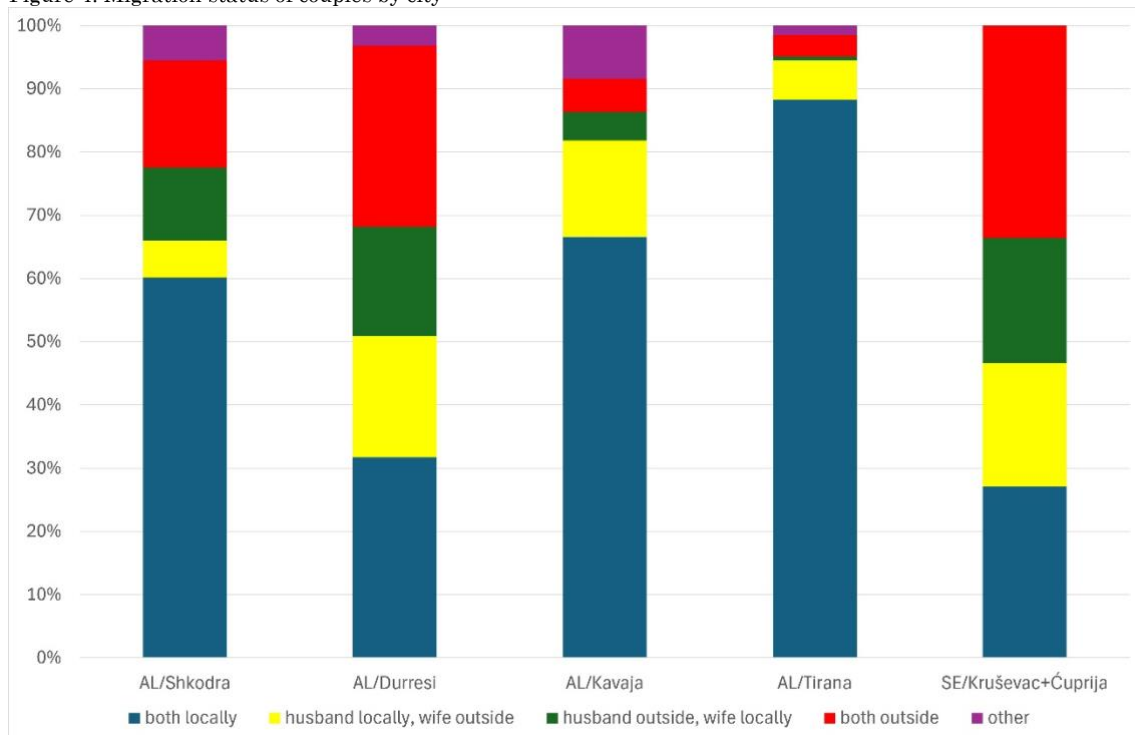
The analysed cities differed in population size: Shkodra (23,590), Tirana (10,416), Kavaja (5,522), and Durrës (4,307) in Albania,⁷⁷ and Ćuprija (3,408), and Kruševac (5,146) in Serbia⁷⁸. The population of Kruševac in 1884 was 5,146 persons, but only about 40 % of the population is available in the surviving census manuscripts. Larger cities did exist in Serbia at that time, e.g., Belgrade had more than 35,000 inhabitants, but the manuscripts of them have not survived.

The hypothesis that larger cities offer a greater pool of potential spouses is only partly supported by the data (see Figure 4): Tirana had the largest proportion of local marriages, followed by Kavaja and Shkodra. Durrës, as the smallest of these Albanian cities, had the lowest proportion of local marriages and the highest proportion of migrant couples. It resembles very much the combined figure for both Serbian cities, which were of a similar size. The immigration to these cities was quite different and is reflected in the migration status of couples. In Tirana, even in the oldest age cohorts, more than 90 % of men were born in this city, followed by Kavaja (80 %), Shkodra (two thirds), Ćuprija (50 %), Durrës (40 %), and finally Kruševac (25 %). In addition, the stronger immigration to the Serbian cities was predominantly male. The sex ratios in the two Serbian cities were 124.6 and 114.1, respectively, while in these Albanian cities there was even a slight female majority. Urban data for Kosovo is not yet available for analysis.

⁷⁷ Seiner, *Ergebnisse*, 7.

⁷⁸ *Državopis Srbije* 16, 238–241.

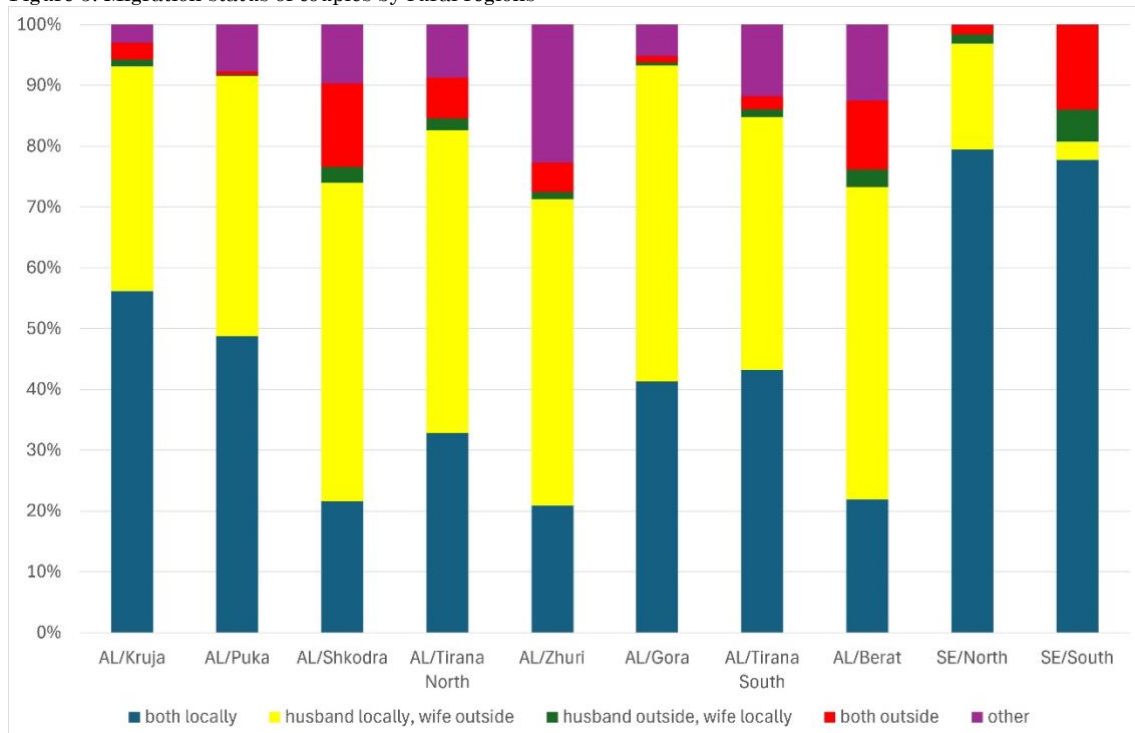
Figure 4: Migration status of couples by city



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*.

There was also considerable variation between the rural regions of Albania and Serbia, as shown in Figure 5. The Albanian regions of Shkodra (Northwest), Zhuri (Northeast), and Berat (South) had proportions of only about 20 % of local marriages, while in Kruja (North) more than half of all couples belonged to this category. This also shows that there was no consistent areal pattern within Albania. The category of female migrant marriages was of similar size in all regions. Major differences can be seen in the categories of migrant couples and the residual “other” category. In Serbia, the Northern and the Southern sample did not differ in the category of local marriages, but in the categories of female migrant marriages and of migrant couples. The internal differences were therefore larger in Albania than in Serbia.

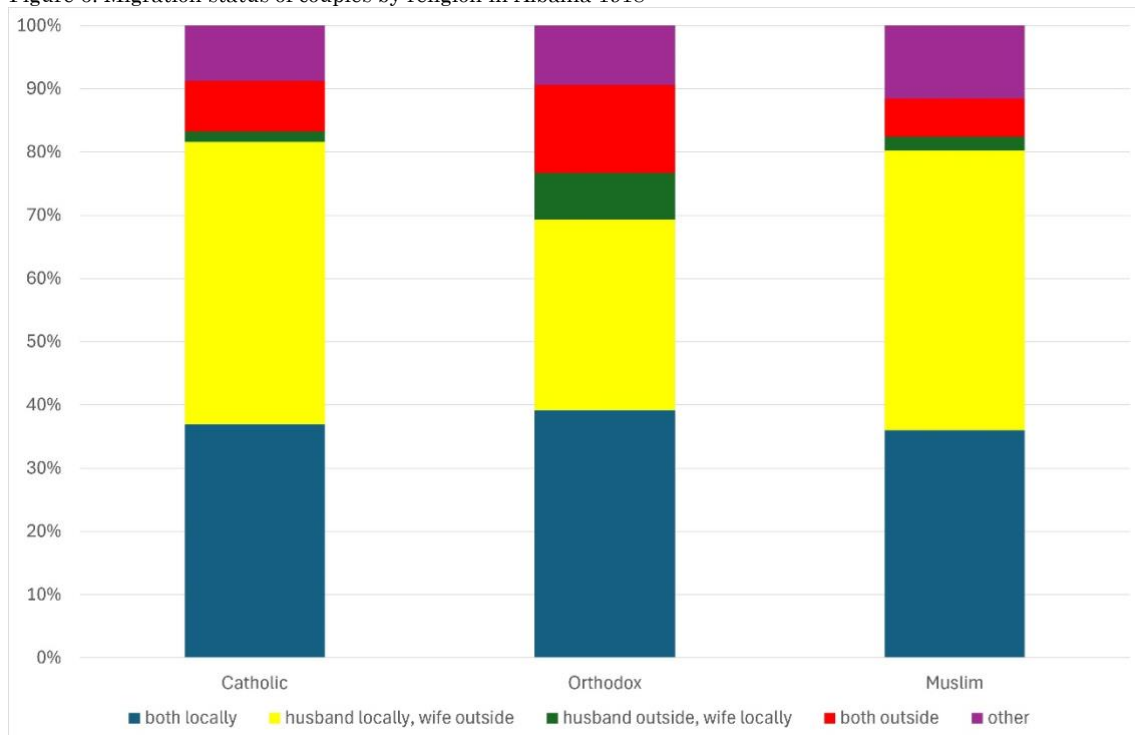
Figure 5: Migration status of couples by rural regions



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

The effect of religion can be analysed only for the Albanian data, because the Janjeva data contains only the Muslim population and the proportion of non-Orthodox population in the Serbian data is only 1.2 %. In the Albanian sample, there are Muslims (76.9 %), Catholics (20.5 %) and Orthodox Christians (2.6 %). The small proportion of the Orthodox population can be attributed to the fact that Southern Albania, with a predominantly Orthodox population, was outside the area of this census. We observe little to no effect of religious confession in the Albanian data; only the Orthodox population had a lower proportion of female migrant marriages (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Migration status of couples by religion in Albania 1918



Source: Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918.

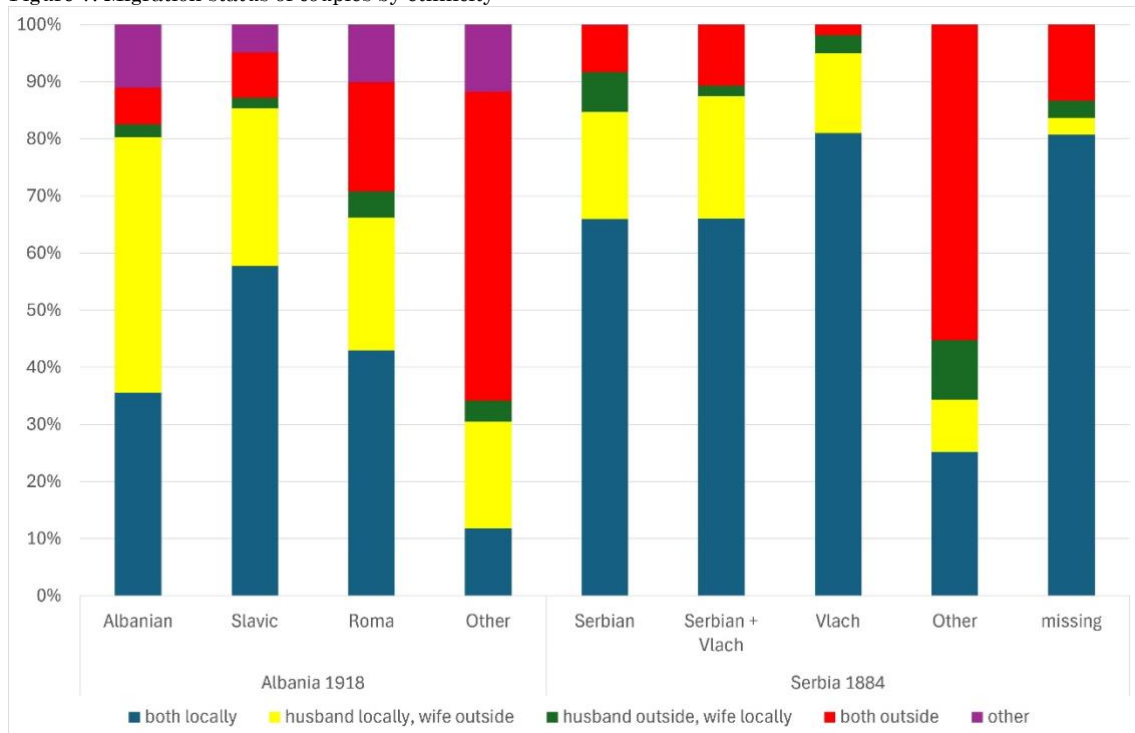
In the next step, we examine the effect of ethnicity in Albania and of mother tongue in Serbia. No information about ethnicity or mother tongue was reported in the registers of Janjeva. In the Albanian sample there are only small minorities of Slavic and Roma people. In the Serbian sample we have a considerable Vlach minority and a large group with missing information about the mother tongue (most likely, they spoke Serbian). Albanians, as the overwhelming majority, are more or less the same as the Albanian sample as a whole. Almost 60 % of Slavic people contracted local marriages, and almost 30 % of couples were female migrant marriages (see Figure 7). Among the Roma couples, about 40 % were local marriages and about 20 % were female migrant marriages, and another 20 % were migrant couples. The small group of “others” consisted mostly of migrant couples. In Serbia, the Serbs and the Serb/Vlach community were very similar (two-thirds of the couples were local marriages), while Vlachs and the missing category had even 80 % of such couples. This “other” category was to a large part made up of people born outside of Albania or Serbia, and their spouses were generally foreign-born, too.

Table 2: Couples by ethnicity/mother tongue in the Albanian and Serbian samples

Ethnicity/mother tongue	Percentage
Albania 1918:	
Albanian	95.8
Slavic	2.9
Roma	1.1
Other	0.2
Serbia 1884:	
Serbian	50.0
Serbian and Vlach	1.8
Vlach	12.6
Other	1.3
Missing	34.3

Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*.

Figure 7: Migration status of couples by ethnicity



Source: Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

The next possible influence on marriage migrations is the occupational groups of men. We cannot analyse the same for women due to the general lack of information about women's occupations apart from information like "housework" or "helping". In the 1884 census manuscripts, only half of the households have an occupation stated, but in villages we can treat them as agricultural, because non-agricultural occupations were reported. In Janjeva, we are not able to compare agricultural and non-agricultural households, because the number of non-agricultural households is too small.

Occupations have been coded according to the scheme of the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations.⁷⁹ The occupational groups are based on the major HISCO groups, but groups 0/1, 2, and 3 are combined into "white-collar workers". Men without a reported occupation of their own are assigned to the occupational group of the household head if this was a kin-related person. HISCLASS⁸⁰ cannot be used, because occupational terms are generally too simple, as e.g. there is no distinction possible between general farmers and small subsistence farmers within the largest occupational group of people.

In rural areas, almost 90 % of all married men were engaged in agricultural work, about 5–9 % in production, and even fewer in all other occupational categories (see Table 3). In Albanian cities, about a third of all married men were engaged in the production sector, almost a fourth in sales activities, a sixth in agriculture, and less than 10 % in the white-collar sector or the service sector. The "other" category also includes the married men with missing information about their occupation. Among the Serbian urban population, there was

⁷⁹ Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D. / Maas, Ineke, and Andrew Miles. (eds.). 2002. *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

⁸⁰ Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D., and Ineke Maas. 2011. *HISCLASS: A Historical International Social Class Scheme*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

still an agricultural majority, with almost 40 % of them. People in production constituted about 30 %, and white-collar workers, people in sales and service, were below 10 %.

Table 3: Couples by occupational groups, Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884, in percentages

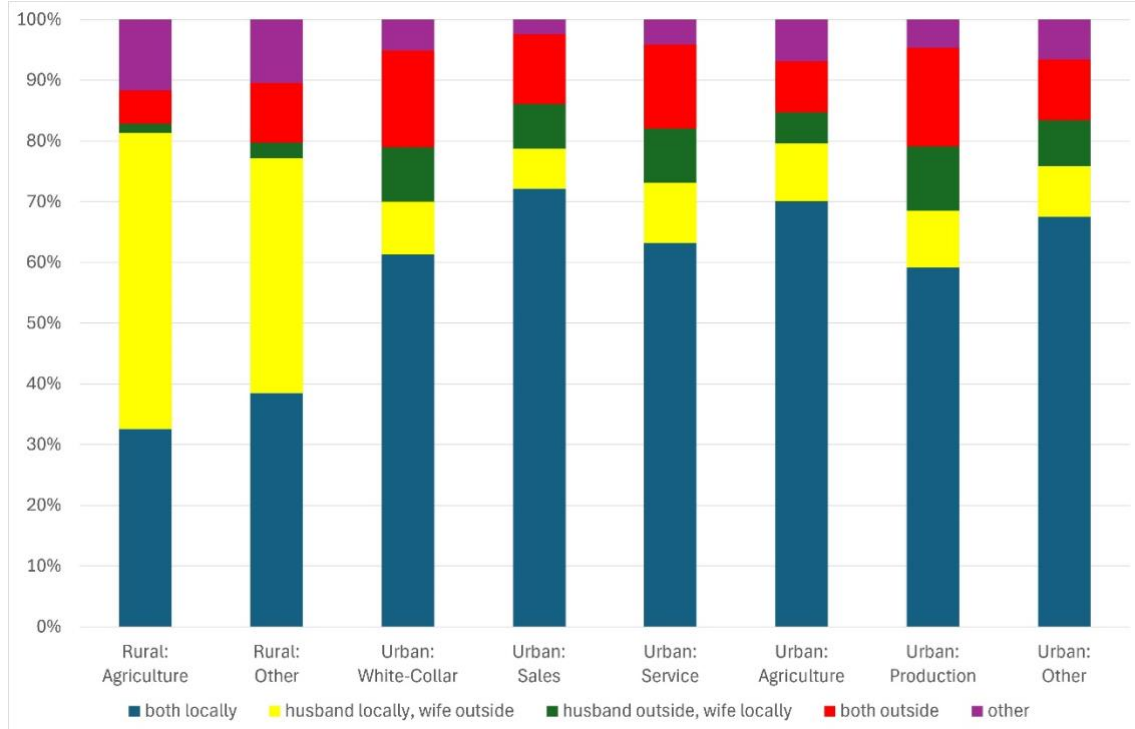
Occupational groups	Albania 1918		Serbia 1884	
	rural	urban	rural	urban
White-collar (e.g. village headman, priest, clerk)	1.5	8.9	0.6	8.8
Sales (e.g. merchant, shopkeeper, salesman)	0.6	22.6	0.3	8.3
Service (e.g. servant, innkeeper, policeman)	1.9	7.9	0.4	9.4
Agriculture (e.g. farmer, shepherd)	88.6	17.1	89.3	39.2
Production (e.g. labourer, miller, shoemaker)	5.2	35.4	9.2	31.6
Others (e.g. missing occupation, gentleman, retired, ill)	2.3	8.1	0.1	2.8

Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data.

In rural areas, the comparison was made only between agriculturalists and all the others, because the different occupational groups are too small for a detailed analysis. We expect agriculturalists to be the most locally oriented concerning marriages, because other occupational groups were smaller and possible local spouses scarcer, and in addition specific marriage networks within some occupations might have existed. This cannot be verified for Albania, as there was not too much difference between those engaged in agriculture and those outside agriculture in rural Albania (see Figure 8). Agriculturalists had slightly lower percentages of local marriages and higher percentages of female migrant marriages. In cities, the differences were similarly decent. Men in sales had the highest proportion of local marriages, with more than 70 %. Men in the production sector had the lowest percentage of these marriages, with less than 60 %.

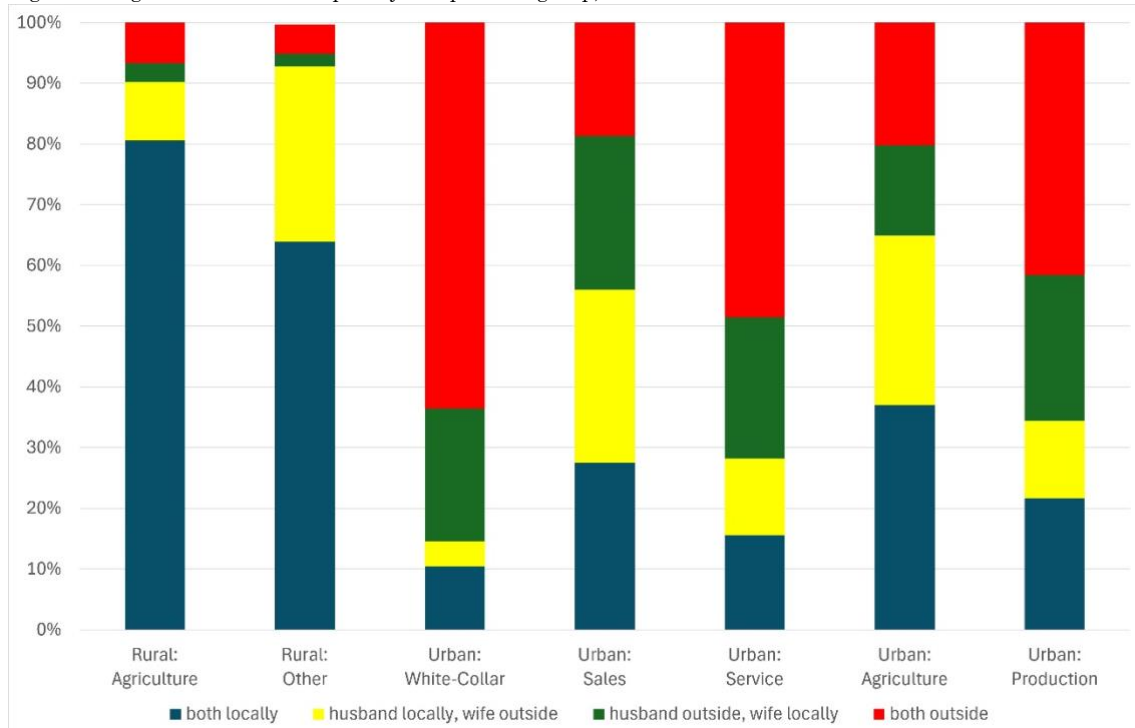
The rural Serbian data of 1884 show a more pronounced difference between the agricultural couples and other couples, with much higher proportions of female migrant couples among other couples (see Figure 9). The urban Serbian population was more diverse in marriage migration patterns than the Albanian urban population, too. Almost two-thirds of couples in the white-collar sector consisted of spouses born outside their city of residence at the time of census registration. The low share of educated people in Serbia in the 19th century (see above) led to a considerable immigration of Serbian-speaking educated people from the Habsburg Empire, who entered this occupational sector. They arrived either already married or married a spouse from their region of birth. The proportion of migrant couples was half for couples in the service sector and about 40 % in the production sector. In contrast, the sales sector and the agricultural sector had a percentage of about 20 % for such couples. People in these two sectors had the highest proportions of local marriages and female migrant marriages. The results for the Serbian data are therefore much more in line with our expectation than the Albanian ones.

Figure 8: Migration status of couples by occupational group, Albania 1918



Source: Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data.

Figure 9: Migration status of couples by occupational group, Serbia 1884

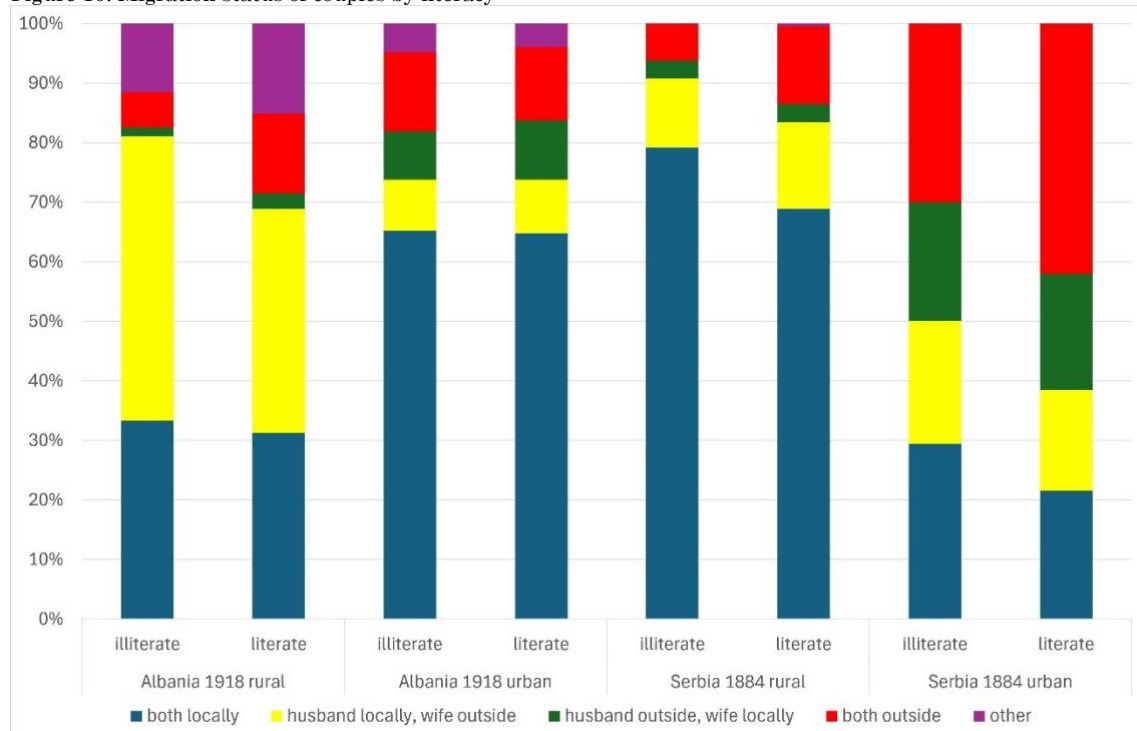


Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*.

Our assumption was that literacy increases the amount of marriage migrations, because the number of possible literate spouses would be limited and literate people could be expected to have social networks covering larger areas. The following effects of literacy on marriage migration were observed in the data analysis: in Albania, in rural areas there were more

migrant couples and fewer female migrant marriages as compared to illiterate couples (see Figure 10), while in urban areas there was no effect. In Serbia, in the second half of the 19th century, the effects in the countryside and the cities were the same: literacy led to higher proportions of migrant couples and lower proportions of local marriages. Literate couples in Serbian cities had one of the highest proportions of migrant couples among all analysed groups (more than 40 %). The results support our expectation, but the effect is less pronounced than expected.

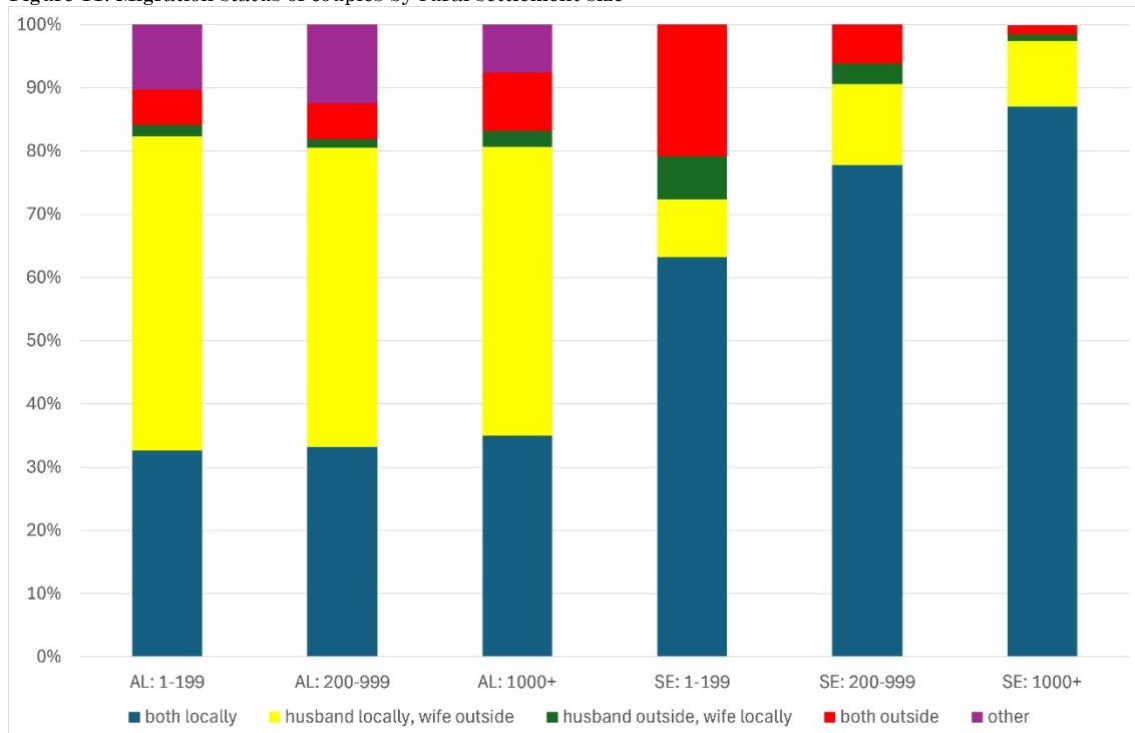
Figure 10: Migration status of couples by literacy



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

Settlement size has been popping up as a factor for limiting the amount of available spouses in the same settlement. The results show that there was no effect in rural settlements in Albania, while there was an effect in Serbia (see Figure 11). In the category of the smallest settlements (up to 199 inhabitants), the proportion of local marriages was actually lowest. If the smallest settlement category is defined as places up to 299 or 399 inhabitants, this effect will disappear for Serbia, too. In Albania, other factors like exogamy rules were obviously more important.

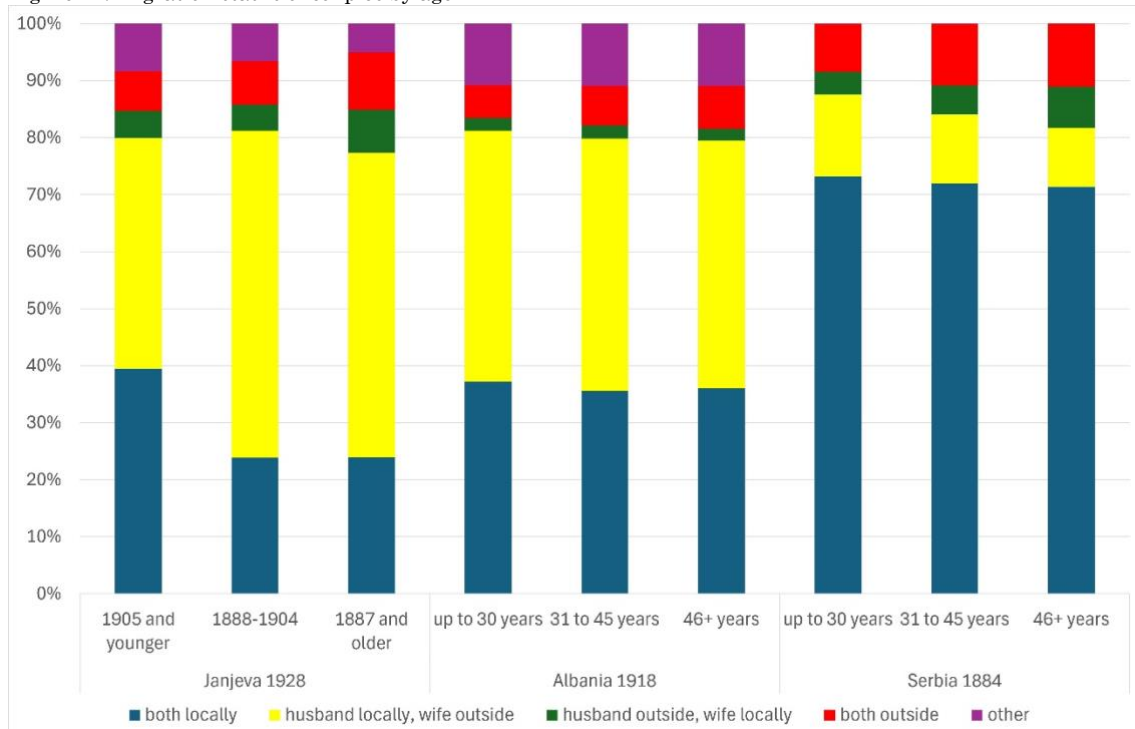
Figure 11: Migration status of couples by rural settlement size



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandejmoni, *1918 Census*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918.

Finally, we examine whether there was a trend in marriage migration over time. As no data spanning a longer period are available, a comparison of different age groups is used as a proxy to assess potential differences between younger and older couples. We compare the age groups of up to 30 years, 31–45 years, and over 45 years. The older age group is larger in years than the younger ones but contains fewer couples because of the high mortality in historical Southeastern Europe. The age groups of Janjeva are based on actual years of birth, because we have no common reference year due to updates. In the Serbian and Albanian data, we cannot really see a change over time, while in the Janjeva data, we can see an increase in local marriages in the youngest age group (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Migration status of couples by age



Source: Gruber and Đumić, *1884 Census*; Gruber / Kaser / Kera, and Pandelejmoni, *1918 Census*; Gruber / Latifi, and Azemi, *1928 Household register*. Note: Weighted data for Albania 1918 and Serbia 1884.

Conclusions

The analysis of Serbian and Albanian historical census data and the household registers of Janjeva provides some answers to questions about marriage migrations. In Janjeva and Albania, about two-thirds of women migrated upon marriage to another settlement, while in Serbia the proportion was only 15 %. Therefore, in Janjeva and Albania, only one-third of couples were local marriages, while in Serbia they made up 70 % of all couples. There was a small proportion of male migrant marriages, which could hint at some matrilineal marriages, although we cannot be sure.

Cities had different marriage migration patterns than the countryside: in Albania, with more local marriages, and in Serbia, with fewer local marriages. Religion showed almost no effect, literacy only a modest effect, whereas ethnicity or mother tongue exerted a discernible influence. The influence of occupational groups was smaller than expected in Albania, but more expressed in Serbia. Rural settlement sizes did affect local marriages only in Serbia. Albania was much more heterogeneous in regional marriage migration patterns than Serbia. We have found no changes over time for Albania and Serbia, but some trend towards local marriages in Janjeva in the youngest age group.

We see therefore some major differences between Albania and Janjeva on one side and Serbia on the other side, despite belonging to the same traditional household formation system according to Karl Kaser.⁸¹ Rural Serbian people in the second half of the 19th century obviously preferred spouses from the same village, while only a minority of the rural population in Albania and Janjeva did so. The most probable explanation is that exogamy rules toward patrilineal kin prevented higher shares of local marriages in Albania and Janjeva, because not enough potential spouses of other patrilineal kin groups were present

⁸¹ Kaser, *Introduction*.

in the respective village. Serbian villages contained generally more than one descent group; in Orašac in Central Serbia, 41 descent groups were known in 1953. The largest of them comprised about 10 % of the village population.⁸²

An ethnographic publication of 1923, in contrast, lists only 12 of them with 29 sub-groups; the largest descent group consisted of 70 households, which were one quarter of the village.⁸³ The larger the proportion of your descent group in the settlement, the smaller the chance of finding an appropriate marriage partner there. An analysis of the distribution of descent groups within the villages of Albania, Kosovo, and Serbia would be necessary to verify or refute this assumption. It can be based on available ethnographic sources or will require additional fieldwork.

While there is already considerable data available on historical Albania and Serbia, we still lack enough sources for Kosovo and other countries in this area for comparative research. Additional household registers for Kosovo are available and are currently in the stage of transcription and coding. Microdata for Wallachia (1838), Bessarabia (1850), Montenegro (1879 and 1899), and the members of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (1907) are available, but do not provide information about migrations or place of birth

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⁸² Halpern, Joel M. 1967. *A Serbian village: Social and cultural change in a Yugoslav community*, rev. ed. New York, Evanston, London: Harper & Row, 151.

⁸³ Drobnjaković, Borivoje M. 1923. *Jasenica. Antropogeografska ispitivanja* (= *Naselje i poreklo stanovništva 13; Srpski etnografski zbornik 25*), edited by Srpska Kraljevska Akademija. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 330.

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