Matrimonial alliances in Corsier–sur–Vevey (Switzerland) during the 18th and 19th centuries: an evolution towards close kin*

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Abstract

This article addresses the issue of kin marriages in the Swiss parish of Corsier-sur-Vevey. The aim is to analyse the evolution of these unions between the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century by considering marriage patterns for three periods:1691-1740, 1741-1790 and 1791-1840. Besides, a focus is made on first cousin marriages as the legal context changes regarding these unions at the end of the 18th century. This article also considers the question of who is contracting kin marriages by focusing specifically on the local elite. This aims to confirm the results of previous studies asserting kin marriages are made more often by the elite. The results show an evolution towards an increase of kin marriages in the 19th century and particularly amongst the local elite, as proposed by scholars as Gérard Delille, Jean-Marie Gouesse, Jon Mathieu or David Sabean.

Key words: Kin marriages, first cousin marriages, kinship, Switzerland, local elite, marriage patterns, matrimonial laws, 18th-19th centuries, matrimonial circuit's analysis

Alliances matrimoniales à Corsier–sur–Vevey (Suisse) aux xviiie et xixe siècles : une évolution vers la parenté proche

Résumé

Cet article se propose d'étudier les mariages entre parents dans la paroisse suisse de Corsier-sur-Vevey. Le but est d'analyser l'évolution de ces alliances

entre le XVIIIᵉ siècle et la première moitié du XIXᵉ siècle, autour de trois pé-
riodes : 1691-1740, 1714-1790 et 1791-1840. Ici, un accent est mis sur les ma-
riages entre cousins germains, compte tenu du changement juridique concer-
nant ces unions à la fin du XVIIIᵉ siècle. La question de déterminer qui réalise
ces mariages est également abordée à travers l'analyse des pratiques matrimo-
niales de l'élite locale, dans le but de savoir si les mariages entre parents sont
réalisés plus régulièrement en son sein. Les résultats démontrent une évolu-
tion vers des mariages plus proches au XIXᵉ siècle et en particulier parmi les
membres de l'élite locale, comme l'ont proposé certains auteurs (Gérard Delille,
Jean-Marie Gouesse, Jon Mathieu, ou encore David Sabean).

Mots-clés ; Mariages entre parents, mariages entre cousins germains, parenté,
Suisse, élite locale, lois matrimoniales, XVIIIᵉ-XIXᵉ siècles, analyse des circuits
matrimoniaux

INTRODUCTION

For the last 20 years, scholars in the field of the history of the
family have studied the question of marriages between close relatives.
In the book edited by David Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Jon Mathieu,
"Kinship in Europe" (2007), a hypothesis suggests that kin marriages
evolved throughout the Early Modern period to the Modern period.
During the 18ᵗʰ century, occasionally at the beginning but more fre-
quently in the middle of the century, we can observe an evolution to-
wards a higher number of unions between close relatives in the context
of a changing economy and industrialization. The structures of kinship
centred in the 17ᵗʰ century around patrilineal lines, exogamy and the
meaning of blood as central categories for the descent change in the
19ᵗʰ century to emphasize more alliance, social and familial endogamy,
with endogamous marriages being part of this shift (Sabean, Teuscher,
and Mathieu, 2007: 16-25; Sabean and Teuscher, 2013: 6). In his study
about Neckarhausen, David Sabean presents an example of this shift
towards a horizontalization of relationships by analysing the nature
of marriages, naming and godparenthood practices (1998). From a
wider perspective, Jean-Marie Gouesse highlights the rise of close
kin marriages in Catholic Europe since the 18ᵗʰ century until the first
World War (1977; 1986). Similarly, Gérard Delille (2007: 156; 2010: 76),
speaks of a change from relinkings to consanguine marriages in the
18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries. In this article, my first goal is to determine
whether such a shift occurs as well in a specific parish of Switzerland.

I will then consider the specific case of cousin marriages to observe if these happen primarily amongst the elite. Hence, this article proposes a deeper analysis of elite members (including elite from the parish and villages) to prove that marriages amongst relatives are contracted more likely by this segment of the population.

The focus of this research is the parish of Corsier-sur-Vevey[1], situated on the shores of Lake Geneva. The parish includes four villages: Corsier, Corseaux, Chardonne and Jongny. They are essentially agricultural and vinicultural as the 1798 census shows: 80% of households are active in agriculture in three villages out of four[2]. The total population of the parish is of 2168 individuals in 1798, 2211 in 1815 (Bridel, 1815: 83) and 2522 in 1831[3]. The parish is situated in a Protestant region called Pays de Vaud under the "Ancien Régime", and part of the Canton of Bern. The "Ancien Régime" lasts until 1798, and after a brief Republican period (République Helvétique, 1798-1803), the Canton of Vaud is created in 1803.

The question of marriages with relatives remains rather unexplored in the Pays and then Canton of Vaud. Only a few studies exist today, although most of them remain vague and superficial. They are mostly demographical studies, for example, the book by Lucienne Hubler which analyses the demography of the Commune of Vallorbe between the 16th and 19th centuries (1984). In her most recent contributions, Hubler addresses the issue of godparenthood in the 17th and 18th centuries and the topics of remarriages and widowhood in the 18th century (1992, 2000). Overall for Switzerland, studies from Jon Mathieu and Sandro Guzzi-Heeb show the increase of marriages with close relatives between the end of the 18th and the middle of the 19th centuries. While relevant, their studies can hardly be applied to the Protestant situation of Corsier as they are set in a Catholic context (Guzzi-Heeb, 2009, 2014; Mathieu, 2007a; 2007b). The case of Neuchâtel studied by Jeffrey Watt (1992: 174-76) gives some information about this issue, which can be solved by using a genealogical database that allows to complete extended analyses.

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1   It will be referred to as Corsier in the rest of the text.
2   State Archives of Vaud (ACV) Ea 14/4, Tabelles de la population sous la République Helvétique (1798).
3   ACV Ea 79/1, Recensement de la population du canton. Par commune, sexe, origine, 1831.

1.   SOURCES, DATA AND METHOD

This study explores marriages in a genealogical database for three 50-year periods: 1691-1740, 1741-1790 and 1791-1840. This segmentation allows to test the hypothesis that there is an increase in the rate of marriages with relatives starting in the middle of the 18th century and continuing to grow in the 19th century as featured in the introduction by Sabean and Teuscher (2007). The database contains the birth/baptisms and marriages from 1680 to 1840[4], as well as the deaths from 1729 to 1840[5]. At the beginning of the recorded period, there seems to be no consistency in the mentioning of the spouses' parents. Sometimes the records disclose the father's name of either the groom or bride, although they never mention the mother's. This leads inevitably to an agnatic bias. Even in the 1770s, only the fathers are mentioned most of the time. The recording of the parents' identities improves in the 19th century, particularly since the end of the Ancien Régime. Moreover, as the residence is mostly virilocal[6], women tend to come more often from outside the parish. Besides, the rates of geographical endogamy are quite low[7]. These factors lead to a lack of information about women ancestors, particularly the brides', but also the grooms' to some extent.

To further complete the data, I used the 1798 census, which provides information on the professions, dwelling places and other valuable information about the parish population[8]. When additional information was needed, I researched beyond the selected periods (e.g. for the deaths) and in the banns of marriage, which have been included systematically for the periods 1773-1782 and 1831-1840. Even though the database is still a work in progress[9], it provides a reliable ground to analyse marriage patterns for the three periods selected for this study. The council members for the four villages and the parish councilmen

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4   ACV Eb 34/2-9, Registres de la paroisse réformée de Corsier (1653-1846), Ed 34/1-2, 4, 6, 8-9, État civil de la paroisse réformée de Corsier (1821-1858), Ed 22bis/1, 3-4, 6, État civil de la paroisse réformée de Chardonne (1834-1875).

5   The death registers start in 1729.

6   This assumption needs to be further studied.

7   The endogamy rate (marriages between persons living in the same parish) between 1773 and 1782 is estimated at 53%, and 47% between 1831 and 1840.

8   ACV Ea 14/4, Tabelles de la population sous la République Helvétique (1798).

9   Information is missing for people coming from outside the parish and the database needs to be « cleaned ». A certain number of duplicates still requires identification.

have been identified as such in the database. This allows to conduct the analysis of marriage pattern for the elite segment of the population. Other information was retrieved from the parish registers when it was available, such as the bourgeoisie, dwelling places and occupations.

The database comprises 25564 individuals[10] (13982 men, 11437 women and 145 unknown). The statistics made by using the software PUCK[11] reveal that 53 marriages are first cousin marriages. Regarding the gender bias (figure 1), which is a widely debated problem, the agnatic one is high. About 100% of fathers are identified, whereas mothers are only known around 86%. Yet this data indicates a good knowledge of parents in the database, since more than 55% of both the agnatic and uterine great-grandparents are known. The gender bias may cause problems when studying the frequency of kinship chains; in fact, a high agnatic bias implies theoretically, for example, that more agnatic first cousins are known as such compared to the uterine ones (Hamberger and Daillant, 2008: 27; Hamberger, Houseman, and Grange, 2009: 110).

But this is not necessarily the case according to Laurent Barry and Michael Gasperoni; the agnatic bias might not result in an inferior knowledge of the consanguineal marriages (Barry and Gasperoni, 2008: 84-85).

FIGURE 1
Gender bias in the whole database

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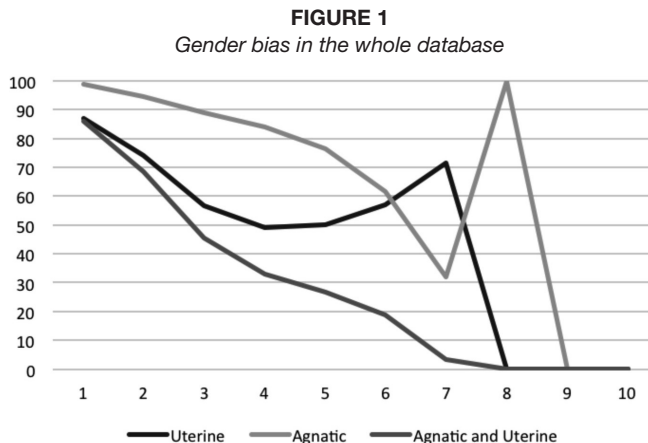
10   As of 26th August 2019.
11   Program for the Use and Computation of Kinship Data. The software is available at http://www.kintip.net

Another important bias is the number of known ascendants. In the full database, all grandparents are identified for circa 6000 persons, and none for 16000, probably because a lot of people appear just once in the database as they were mentioned in one document or another. This number falls significantly for the great-grandparents: the eight great-grandparents are known for only circa 2300 persons (appendixes 1-2). In the three samples, there is a great difference regarding the knowledge of ancestors. For 1691-1740, grandparents are known for only 145 individuals, whereas the four grandparents are known for 281 people in 1741-1790 and 636 in 1791-1840. Regarding the great-grandparents, the evolution is similar: eight of them are only identified for 7 persons in the first period, 83 in the second period and 283 in the last period. This is no surprise, since the recordings in the database start in 1680 (appendixes 3-8).

One of the problems in studying marriages between relatives is the difficulty to know if these alliances are the consequence of a choice or simply a statistical result due to the structure of the database. Christine Fertig (2011: 199) pointed out this issue by questioning if this rise of marriages with blood relatives had significance. This problem can be partially solved by using the calculation of the closure rates and open chains. The closure rate calculates the percentage of closed chains. Only the couples married within the three periods are considered, the open chains are calculated between persons, with at least one of them being in the sample (i.e. married in the sample). This gives an insight, though insufficient, about a preference for specific chains, and shows primarily how many chains exist in the corpus. The value of this rate allows to observe beyond the raw number of circuits. For example, if there are four FBD circuits and 80 open chains, and one FZD circuit but two open chains, the number of these marriages must be put into perspective (Hamberger et al., 2014: 579).

I used the software PUCK to identify if married couples were related to each other or not by looking for matrimonial circuits: a closed chain of kinship links not passing through structural children, meaning that the software searches for kinship chains closed by a marriage (Hamberger and Daillant, 2008: 42). The matrimonial circuits cover the marriages until the fourth degree of consanguinity[12] (until the third cousin) because it corresponds to the prohibition in the consanguinity in Catholic regions, which

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12   Here, the canonical degree is used, which is different from the civil one.

allows to make comparisons. Regarding the affinity and relinkings, the research has been conducted until the second degree, which includes marriages between sibling pairs and until the first cousin (e.g. two first cousins marrying two first cousins)[13]. The choice to bind the relinkings as such is to highlight these relatively simple patterns by showing the exchanges between families. Marriages in the affinity were also forbidden in the Catholic canonical law: for example, the levirate and the sororate (marriage with the deceased spouse's sibling), the marriage with the stepparents, etc.

The analysis looks for minimal rings, therefore not all the matrimonial circuits were explored. The research for minimal rings guarantees that all marriages were concluded within the studied periods. These however do not include circuits made through other marriages, for example, marriages of children in the next generation[14].

PUCK uses two distinct notation types to script kinship ties: the classic and the positional. The classic type uses a letter to represent a kinship link: F for father, B for brother, S for son, M for mother, Z for sister and D for daughter. For example, the first female cousin could be the agnatic parallel cousin (FBD), the uterine parallel cousin (MZD), the patrilateral cross-cousin (FZD) or the matrilateral cross-cousin (MBD). In the positional type developed by Laurent Barry (2008), the person is either female or male (F or H). The parenthesis indicates an apical ancestor, and the full stop [.] is used to label a union. The agnatic parallel cousin FBD is, for instance, mentioned as HH()HF. The classic notation is used in this text, although the positional one is given in the tables.

2. MARRIAGE PROHIBITION IN THE PAYS DE VAUD BETWEEN THE "ANCIEN RÉGIME" AND THE CIVIL LAW OF 1819

Under the "Ancien Régime", marriage impediments were defined by the *Loix Consistoriales* (Consistorial laws) set forth by the Canton of Bern. The law of 1746 (« Loix consistoriales de la ville et république de Berne » 1746, 14) lists marriages prohibitions in chapter XIII. In the next chapter, we can read:

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13   Matrimonial circuit 4-2-0 in PUCK.
14   For more information about PUCK see Hamberger and Daillant (2008) and Hamberger et al. (2014).

« Les Enfants de Frère & de Sœur, soit Germains ou Germaines de Sang ne doivent point se marier ensemble » (*Children of brother and sister, meaning first blood cousins, shall not marry each other*). The prohibition of cousin marriages is an addition, as it is not included in the Leviticus.

The text mentions as well: « Mais permettons de se marier en tout Degré de Parentage plus éloigné » (*But marriage is allowed with any further degree of kinship*)[15]. Therefore, marriage amongst first cousins (the second canonical degree) is the most distant consanguinity prohibition. This represents a considerable difference when compared to Catholic regions, in which marriage remains forbidden until the fourth canonical degree of consanguinity since the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215[16]. Regarding the affinity, the same law prohibits marriages with the daughter or granddaughter of the wife's sister, as well as with the stepfather or the stepmother of the deceased wife in chapters XV and XVI. Further in chapter XVII, the law forbids to marry the stepfather's widow or stepmother's widower. In the list of the prohibited marriages, the ones with the wife's sister or mother are also cited [17]. We can find the same impediments in relation to consanguinity in the *Loix Consistoriales* of 1787[18]: « Outre les degrés prohibés ci-dessus [...] nous déclarons nulles les promesses de mariage entre des germains de sang, fils et fille de frères ou de sœurs [...] » (*Besides the above-mentioned prohibited degrees [...] we declare invalid the marriage promises between first cousins of blood, son and daughter of brothers or sisters [...]*). In the affinity, the same injunctions are listed as in 1746, and some are even added, for example, with the second spouse of the father/mother or grandfather/grandmother, the uncle's or aunt's widower (matrilateral and patrilateral)[19].

It is interesting to mention that a specific law was decreed regarding first cousins married outside the Canton of Bern. It states that

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15   This refers to the canonical degree. In the laws of 1746, the grandfather's brother is not mentioned as a forbidden husband (also second degree), however, the law specifies that it is allowed to marry at the second and a half degree (p.11).

16   See Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu (2007: 20) ; for France, see Burguière (2011: 225); and for Austria Lanzinger (2015: 42-44; 115-18).

17   « Loix consistoriales de la ville et république de Berne » 1746, pp. 12-15.

18   « Loix consistoriales de la ville et République de Berne, données le 25 janvier 1787 », 1787, p. 16.

19   "Loix consistoriales de la ville et République de Berne, données le 25 janvier 1787 », 1787, pp. 113-14.

couples can ask for a return to their homeland only four years after their marriage, and that authorities have the right to punish them in their body, goods or honour[20]. In some cases, couples travel abroad to marry, as shown by "suppliques" discovered in the Canton of Vaud State Archives. Their number is relatively small but corroborates the existence of this practice[21]. This decree can also be found in the laws of the City of Bern dated 21st February 1770 (Rennefahrt, 1961: 791).

After the fall of the "Ancien Régime", the Helvetic Republic, based on the model of the French Republic, is implemented between 1798 and 1803. Under this political organisation, the law of 17th October 1798 authorises marriages between first cousins and other distant degrees[22]. This new consent is explained by the number of dispensations which were already granted before this decision[23].

At the end of the Helvetic Republic in 1803, the legislation of marriages comes down to the cantonal authorities again. The Canton of Vaud is founded during a political era called the Médiation which lasted from 1803 to 1813. No laws defining the prohibited kinship degrees for marriages were found for this specific period[24]. The law of 1798 likely remained in force until 1819. On that year, a law inspired by the Napoleonian civil code is adopted. It states that matrimonial alliances between first cousins are still allowed, plus that marriages between ascendants and descendants in direct line are strictly forbidden, as well as the affines from the same lines. Collateral line marriages are also forbidden between brothers and sisters and between affines of the same degree, as well as between uncles and nieces and between aunts and nephews (plus granduncles, grandnieces, grandaunts and grandnephews) (Fer, 1823: 17). This situation differs from one canton to another. Geneva has, for example, already authorised marriages between first cousins in 1731 (Mathieu, 2007b: 214). The cases for the Protestants countries and regions vary, depending on local laws (Lanzinger,

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20   « Loix consistoriales de la ville et République de Berne, données le 25 janvier 1787 », 1787, p. 17.

21   Seven documents for 1758-1796. ACV, Bg 13/4, Mariages entre cousins germains, ou autres semblables, question de validité, punitions encourues, remises de peines.

22   Archives of the city of Lausanne (AVL), Chancellerie 74/26.

23   See also Mathieu (2007b: 215).

24   Recueil des loix, décrets et autres actes du Gouvernement du Canton de Vaud, et des actes de la Diète helvétique qui concernent ce canton, 1803.

2018: 6). For instance, the Anglican Church follows Catholic impediments and prohibits marriages until the fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity (Morris, 1991: 235).

An analysis based on dispensations is somehow difficult to do for Protestant regions as the relevant documentation is either incomplete or non-existent. Still, we can observe a tendency towards the increase of marriages between relatives, for example in Zurich (Mathieu, 2007b: 216). During the 18th century in Neuchâtel, another Protestant city of Switzerland, which is at that time under Prussian domination, couples address 234 petitions before the Conseil d'État (executive government). Ninety-seven of those petitions are related to marriage impediments regarding consanguinity and affinity. The overall number of these petitions increases significantly by the end of the 18th century (Watt, 1992: 174-76). In some regions, even in Protestant areas, it was yet possible to obtain a marriage dispensation.

In the Catholic regions of Switzerland, the peak of marriages between relatives is reached between 1750 and 1850. A definite growth of marriages amid close relatives can be observed in the 19th century (Mathieu, 2007b: 217). In the following section, I will analyse three separate periods to provide a clearer understanding of kin marriages patterns in Corsier.

3. FIRST PERIOD: 1691–1740

For the first period, 1392 individuals marry for a total of 722 couples. Amongst these couples, one of them marries to the fourth degree of consanguinity (0.14% of couples and 0.14% of individuals).

This marriage is concluded between second cousins (third degree of consanguinity, MFBSD). Regarding the affinity and relinkings, 20 couples out of 722 (2.77%) and 40 individuals (2.87%) are concerned. Although, the results for this period must be put into perspective as the genealogical completeness of the data is scarce. Only 6% of the grandparents are known (figure 2). Given the genealogical completeness, research until the second degree of consanguinity would be more suitable, however, if we only used this variable, the results would appear negative (0 couple) which justifies in this case the use of a larger scope.

FIGURE 2

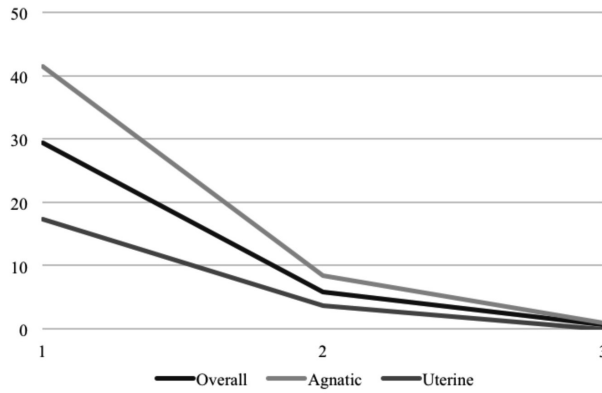*Genealogical completeness for people married between 1691 and 1740*

TABLE 1

Circuit types of marriages between relatives (affinity and relinkings 1691-1740)

|	Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	#Open chains	Closure Rate
1	BWZ	H()H.F()F	4	304	1.64%
2	MBWD	HF()H.(F)F	1	Too many chains	
3	BDHMD	H()HF.H(F)F	1	Too many chains	
4	MZHBD	HF()F.H()HF	1	Too many chains	
5	MZHZD	HF()F.H()FF	1	Too many chains	
6	MZSWZ	HF()FH.F()F	1	Too many chains	
7	MBDHFBD	HF()HF.HH()HF	1	Too many chains	

During these 50 years, the most common circuit is BWZ, meaning two brothers marrying two sisters. This result corresponds to the observations of Gérard Delille, which state that marriages between pairs of siblings are often used in the 17th century (Delille 2018: 8-9). The other circuits relate to marriages with the daughter of the uncle's wife (not a first cousin, because it concerns another marriage) (MBWD), the sister of the niece's husband (BDHMD), the daughter of the brother (or sister) of the aunt's husband (MZHBD and MZHZD), the sister of the first cousin's wife (MZSWZ) and finally two first cousins marrying two first cousins (MBDHFBD). It is possible to say that the marriage pattern for this period shows couples avoiding marriages in the prohibited degrees by wedding the second cousin or by using relinkings, mostly between two pairs of siblings.

4. SECOND PERIOD: 1741–1790

This period demonstrates an increase of marriages in the consanguinity. However, we must compare the genealogical completeness of the data with the one from the previous period (figure 3). For the people married between 1741 and 1790, 20% of the grandparents are identified, whilst only 6% are known for marriages between 1691-1740. This could be the reason why consanguineal marriages appear during this period. Given the fact that the systematic recording of the parish registers in the database starts in 1680, it seems only logical that the identities of the grandparents are better known for the second half of the 18th century.

FIGURE 3
Genealogical completeness for people married between 1741 and 1790
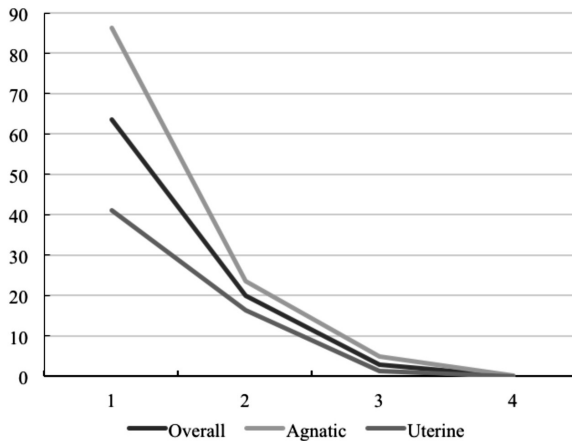
Marriages with a consanguineal relative represent for this period 2.74% of all marriages (20 out of 729), and 2.85% of all individuals (40 out of 1403). Unions between first cousins exist even though they are forbidden. Three marriages are concluded with a first cousin, but one is in fact with the granddaughter of the grandmother's second marriage (FMDD). Such a case is not specified by the law, so it is difficult to know if this type of marriage was forbidden at the time. As mentioned above, there is a possibility to wed a first cousin, but some legal restrictions exist. One of the first cousin marriages relates to a local member of the elite, Pierre Aimé Mouron (1720-1795), member of the parish's council and the local manner's courthouse (consistoire).

TABLE 2
Circuit types of the marriages between relatives (consanguinity 1741-1790)

	Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	Degree (canonical)	#Open chains	Closure Rate
1	FZD	HH()FF	1	2	501	0.20%
2	FMDD	HH(F)FF	1	2	7	14.29%
3	MZD	HF()FF	1	2	511	0.20%
4	FBSD	HH()HHF	1	2/3	629	0.16%
5	FZDD	HH()FFF	1	2/3	419	0.24%
6	MZSD	HF()FHF	1	2/3	597	0.17%
7	MZDD	HF()FFF	1	2/3	480	0.21%
8	FFBSD	HHH()HHF	2	3	315	0.63%
9	FMBSD	HHF()HHF	1	3	389	0.26%
10	FMZSD	HHF()FHF	1	3	415	0.24%
11	FMZDD	HHF()FFF	2	3	286	0.70%
12	MMBSD	HFF()HHF	1	3	328	0.30%
13	MMZSD	HFF()FHF	2	3	299	0.67%
14	MMZDD	HFF()FFF	1	3	257	0.39%
15	FFBSSD	HHH()HHHF	1	3/4	199	0.50%
16	MMFFDDSD	HFFH(H)FFHF	1	4	0	0.00%
17	MMFZDDD	HFFH()FFFF	1	4	21	4.76%
18	MFMZSDD	HFHF()FHFF	1	4	100	1.00%
19	MMMZDDD	HFFF()FFFF	1	4	39	2.56%

32 couples (4.39%), and 62 individuals (4.42%) marry with an affine or make a relinking. This result is higher than the one of the previous period. The most common circuits are BWZ, same as before, and ZHZ, meaning that a brother and a sister are marrying a brother and a sister. One of the other circuits concerns two brothers marrying two half-sisters (BWMD). It confirms that marriages between pairs of siblings is a common pattern for this period. Shorter circuits appear as well, for instance, the marriage with the daughter of the mother's second husband (MHD) and the one with the daughter of the sister's husband first marriage (ZHD). Also, the closure rate is quite high for this type of circuit (4%), demonstrating a possible preference for this marriage pattern. These two types of marriages are forbidden by the law of 1787 ("la fille

ou petite-fille de son frère de père & de mère, soit d'un côté seulement""); however, they are not mentioned in 1746. These two marriages made before 1787 suggest that this impediment probably needed to be specified. These five marriage circuits represent 9 out of 16 circuits (56.25%). Otherwise, we can see marriages beyond the prohibited degree, as with the deceased first cousin's wife (MBSW) or with the mother of the first cousin's husband (FBDHM). Overall, we observe that the closure rates in the affinity are higher than in the consanguinity. For marriages with a blood relative, the closure rates are greater in the third and fourth degrees than in the second and second/third degrees, which indicate that the spouses respect the impediments.

TABLE 3
*Circuit types of the marriages between relatives (affinity and relinkings 1741-1790)*

	Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	Degree	#Open chains	Closure Rate
1	MHD	H(F).(H)F	1	1	13	30.77%
2	ZHD	H()F.(H)F	1	1	100	4.00%
3	BWZ	H()H.F()F	4	1	585	0.85%
4	BWMD	H()H.F(F)F	1	1	18	5.56%
5	ZHZ	H()F.H()F	2	1	660	0.45%
6	MBSW	HF()HH.F	1	2	Too many chains	
7	FBDHM	HH()HF.H(F)	1	2	Too many chains	
8	FBSWZ	HH()HH.F()F	1	2	Too many chains	
9	FBDHZ	HH()HF.H()F	1	2	Too many chains	
10	FZDHZ	HH()FF.H()F	1	2	Too many chains	
11	MBSWZ	HF()HH.F()F	1	2	Too many chains	
12	MFDDHFZD	HF(H)FF.HH()FF	1	2	Too many chains	

For the second half of the 18th century, we observe a marriage pattern which tends to avoid prohibitions between first cousins by marrying a relative close to the first cousin as shown by the union with the daughter of the first cousin (MBSW) or with the first cousin of the deceased spouse. It demonstrates a willingness to marry until the closest authorised relative.

5. THIRD PERIOD: 1791–1840

For the third period, 842 couples for a total of 1655 individuals marry in the parish of Corsier. Amongst these couples, 59 (7.01%) involve a union between relatives until the fourth degree of consanguinity and concern 117 individuals (7.07%). The rates of marriages between relatives doubled between the second and third periods. The difference between the genealogical completeness of the data of the previous period compared to this one is not significant as the grandparents are known for 28% of the couples (versus 20% for the previous period) and the rate for the great grandparents is almost null (figure 4).

FIGURE 4
Genealogical completeness for people married between 1791 and 1840
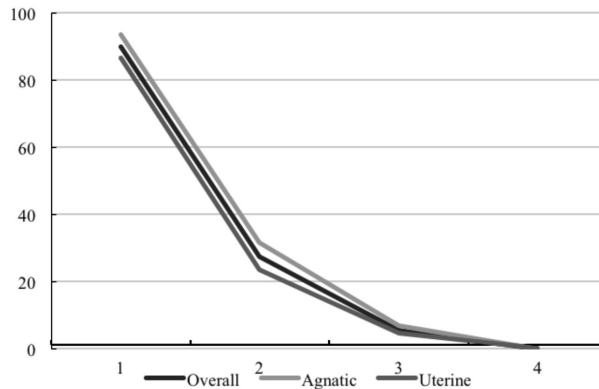
In the 19th century (table 4), shorter circuits appear in the consanguinity, particularly those between first cousins (FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD), representing 28 circuits out of 65 (43%). The second degree of consanguinity is the most represented, followed by the fourth (15 circuits), the third (12 circuits), and equally the second/third and third/fourth degrees (5 circuits). These results confirm a preference for the first cousins, as shown by the closure rates, which are higher than for other marriages in the consanguinity. This demonstrates that first cousins are becoming more common partners than in the 18th century. Nevertheless, in comparison to marriages in the affinity (table 5), the closure rates are lower. Even in the 19th century when it comes to a marriage with a relative, the couples prefer double marriages. For instance, the closure rate for marriages of two brothers with two sisters (BWZ) is higher in the 19th century (1.15%) than in 18th century (0.85%).

TABLE 4
Marriages between relatives 1791-1840 (consanguinity)

	Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	Degree (canonical)	#Open chains	Closure Rate		Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	Degree (canonical)	#Open chains
1	FBD	HH()HF	8	2	948	0.84%	19	MFZSDD	HFH()FHFF	1	3/4	Too many chains
2	FZD	HH()FF	5	2	836	0.60%	20	MFZDDD	HFH()FFFF	1	3/4	Too many chains
3	MBD	HF()HF	9	2	898	1.00%	21	FMBSDD	HHF()HHFF	1	3/4	Too many chains
4	MZD	HF()FF	6	2	737	0.81%	22	FFFBDD	HHHH()HFF	1	3/4	Too many chains
5	FBSD	HH()HHF	1	2/3	739	0.14%	23	MMMZSD	HFFF()FHF	1	3/4	Too many chains
6	FBDD	HH()HFF	1	2/3	586	0.17%	24	FFFBDSD	HHHH()HFHF	2	4	Too many chains
7	FZDD	HH()FFF	1	2/3	485	0.21%	25	FFFBDDD	HHHH()HFFF	1	4	Too many chains
8	MFZD	HFH()FF	1	2/3	500	0.20%	26	FFFZDDD	HHHH()FFFF	1	4	Too many chains
9	MMZD	HFF()FF	1	2/3	301	0.33%	27	FFFFDDDD	HHHH(H)FFFF	1	4	Too many chains
10	FFBSD	HHH()HHF	1	3	819	0.12%	28	MFFZSDD	HFHH()FHFF	1	4	Too many chains
11	FFBDD	HHH()HFF	2	3	662	0.30%	29	FMFBSSD	HHFH()HHHF	2	4	Too many chains
12	FFZSD	HHH()FHF	1	3	574	0.17%	30	FFMZDSD	HHHF()FFHF	1	4	Too many chains
13	FFZDD	HHH()FFF	1	3	480	0.21%	31	FFMZDDD	HHHF()FFFF	1	4	Too many chains
14	MFBDD	HFH()HFF	2	3	579	0.35%	32	MFMBDDD	HFHF()HFFF	1	4	Too many chains
15	MFZSD	HFH()FHF	1	3	513	0.19%	33	FMMZSSD	HHFF()FHHF	1	4	Too many chains
16	FMBSD	HHF()HHF	2	3	579	0.35%	34	FMMZSDD	HHFF()FHFF	1	4	Too many chains
17	MMBDD	HFF()HFF	1	3	687	0.15%	35	MMMBDSD	HFFF()HFHF	1	4	Too many chains
18	MMZDD	HFF()FFF	1	3	417	0.24%	36	MMMZDSD	HFFF()FFHF	1	4	Too many chains

Regarding the affinity and relinkings, 34 couples and 68 individuals are concerned with such a marriage, representing 4.04% of 842 couples and 4.11% of 1655 individuals. These rates remain stable compared to the ones of the previous period. Equally to the previous period, a pair of siblings marrying is the most common circuit (BWZ and ZHZ) (table 5). These two types of circuits represent 12 out of 19 circuits (63.16%). This shows an increase in comparison to the second half of the 18th century. Since the end of the 18th century, marriages become closer in the consanguinity, while relinkings and affinity remain constant in percentage.

TABLE 5
Circuit types of the marriages between relatives (affinity and relinkings 1791-1840)

	Circuit type	Circuit type (positional)	Number of circuits	Degree (canonical)	#Open chains	Closure Rate
1	BWZ	H()H.F()F	4	1	869	1.15%
2	ZHZ	H()F.H()F	8	1	793	1.89%
3	BWFBD	H()H.FH()HF	1	1/2	Too many chains	
4	BWMBD	H()H.FF()HF	1	1/2	Too many chains	
5	FZHZD	HH()F.H()FF	1	1/2	Too many chains	
6	FBSWZ	HH()HH.F()F	1	1/2	Too many chains	
7	MBDHZ	HF()HF.H()F	1	1/2	Too many chains	
8	MZDHZD	HF()FF.H()FF	1	1/2	Too many chains	
9	MZSWMZD	HF()FH.FF()FF	1	2	Too many chains	

Between 1691 and 1740, couples avoid marrying with individuals bearing the same surname (0 occurrence). During the second studied period, 28 couples out of 729 (3.84%), marry in the same surname. It is the case for 7 out of 52 (13.46%) within couples of relatives. In the 19th century, the rates grow: 39 weddings out of 831 (4.69%) unite spouses with the same surname. Amongst couples marrying a relative, the results show 15 couples out of 87 (17.24%). Considering that for the fourth degree of consanguinity one person out of 64 is an agnate (with the same surname, 1.56%), these results are fairly high. This could perhaps be interpreted as the ending of the conscious avoidance of uniting with an individual carrying the same surname. Before the 18th century for Western European marriages, an informal rule prevented unions amongst individuals bearing the same surname. It was only at the beginning of the 18th century that we could observe unions between individuals carrying the same family name, but the real rise occurred at the end of the 18th century and 19th century (Delille, 2010: 84-86). It is interesting to point out that this rate is four times higher amongst kin marriages, meaning probably that this is no coincidence in the case of Corsier.

To sum up, between the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century, kin marriages increase in Corsier, both in the consanguinity and the affinity. This confirms the hypothesis that has been suggested by scholars for 20 years: the number of marriages amongst close relatives grows

significantly in the middle of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century (Sabean, 1998; Sabean, Teuscher and Mathieu, 2007). Despite being a general trend in Europe, this hypothesis must be carefully considered as studies only consider raw numbers of dispensations or kin marriages, excluding the total number of marriages (Mathieu, 2007b). When put into perspective with the total number of marriages, other studies demonstrate that this growth, while being true, must not be overestimated (Gasperoni, 2016). An example of criticism regarding this model is provided by François Joseph Ruggiu (2010), stating that the close kin marriages are mostly found amongst the elite and can be the expression of a particular familial culture existing before the 18th century.

6. FIRST COUSIN MARRIAGES

Considering the change in the legislation regarding first cousin marriages, and as the results for the third period unveil a possible preference for this type of marriages in 19th century, I focused on this particular kind of unions. In total, 48 first cousin couples between 1749 and 1839 appear in Corsier (18 banns, 25 marriages, 2 civil marriages, 1 illegitimate union, 1 unknown) (appendix 9).

Under the "Ancien Régime", first cousin marriages were forbidden in the Canton of Bern and the Pays de Vaud. As explained previously, there were some possibilities for first cousins to get a valid marriage by marrying abroad. However, by doing so, they would be deprived of their civil rights and those could only be restored four years after their union. Some marriages between first cousins could be challenging as shown by the example of Henri de Senarclens and Anne-Véronique de Gingins. Both fiancés belonged to the privileged ranks of society and were not coming from Corsier. They decided to marry in 1755. The couple travelled to Grenzach, in the Margraviate of Baden, to wed. A while after his union with Anne-Véronique de Gingins, Henri de Senarclens wrote to the Bernese authorities explaining the couple's situation. As a result, the couple was put under house arrest for one year in the husband's domain. The latter also lost his civil offices during this year. They also had to pay a fine (Dessemontet, 1976). This story reveals that it was indeed possible to wed a first cousin, although the wedded had to have enough financial means and resources to travel abroad and afford potential fines. For this case, it is interesting to point out that members of their

respective families were members of the councils in the City of Bern, the leading authority for the Canton. This gave them extra protection and support to help get their union recognised.

TABLE 6
First cousin marriages (without the banns) in the 19th century

Decade	First cousin marriages	Marriages in the period
1801-1810	3 (2.17%)	138
1811-1820	4 (2.51%)	159
1821-1830	7 (4.4%)	159
1831-1840	11 (6.4%)	172
Total	25 (3.98%)	628

Note: With the banns of marriages: 8 for 1801-1810, 11 for 1811-1820, 11 (one illegitimate union) for 1821-1830 and 14 for 1831-1840.

In Corsier, marriages between first cousins start to develop from 1798 (wedding announcements), with the exception of three marriages between 1749 and 1766. Yet the significant peak of first cousin marriages begins in the 1820s and continues to grow until 1840 (table 6). These results indicate that matrimonial conduct is adapting to legislation. It is important to underline that the law of 1798 follows a social trend of marrying within close kinship, which existed before mainly in the Catholic cantons. This can be found in the law itself: "Considérant, que, par le grand nombre de dispensations déjà accordées, le corps législatif a déclaré tacitement, que les mariages entre germains de sang n'étoient ni prohibés par la constitution, ni contraires à aucun des principes généraux"[25].

The growth of first cousin marriages is no exception to Switzerland and can be observed in several European regions. In Paris, the requests for dispensations for the second degree of consanguinity increase at the end of the 18th century, whereas the ones for the fourth degree of consanguinity drop. The rates consider the total number of dispensations, without considering the amount of marriages. There seems to be a difference

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25   AVL, Chancellerie 74/26. Trans: "Considering the high number of dispensations already granted, the legislative body declares implicitly that marriages between first cousins are neither prohibited by the constitution, nor contrary to any general principle".

between rural and urban areas since marriages on the land are generally made amongst individuals coming from more distant degrees (Burguière, 1997), like in Corsier before the 19th century. In the case of Neckarhausen, the number of cousin marriages is growing as well. These unions are inexistent at the beginning of the 18th century, and then start to appear in the middle of the century to become common in the 19th century (Sabean, 1998: 108, 174-75, 275). In some parts of Austria, there is also an increase of dispensation requests for close kinship, but differences in the type of kinship links are strong depending on the region, the political culture, the period and the flexibility of the clergymen (Lanzinger, 2015: 330-40). Cousin marriages are an important phenomenon in Victorian England as well. They are being celebrated firstly amongst the landowners and rich merchants in the 18th century and become a pattern amongst the 19th century middle class (Anderson, 1986: 285-86). In comparison, the results found by Margareth Lanzinger (2018) in the Diocese of Brixen are very different. In an Alpine region as is Switzerland but comprising a bigger population (355,000 inhabitants around 1830), the dispensations for the second degree of consanguinity are very low (2 in 1790, 0 in 1795, 3 in 1800 and 2 in 1805). In San Marino, only two dispensations for the second degree of consanguinity were granted between 1588 and 1826 (Gasperoni, 2016: 212). Therefore, the rates for Corsier are particularly high if compared to Europe. The trend is on the contrary in accordance with the results found elsewhere in Europe. It is thereby important to put into perspective the results found in Corsier, considering the fact that the studied region is an alpine or rural isolate; hence, the difference with cities or lowland regions must be further studied in order to emphasize regional differences. The results found in San Marino are in that respect different from the ones of Corsier (Gasperoni, 2016). A regional approach, as proposed by Dionigi Albera (2011), could be useful to outline patterns according to the economic, social and political structures.

A question arises: who concludes these first cousin marriages? A first approach, while imperfect is to consider the study of surnames. Surveying surnames gives an insight on which lineage is more represented in unions amongst first cousins, though without certainty on the lineage. The most represented surname in this research is Ducret (15 occurrences). This is no surprise as this surname, with more than 900 entries in the entire database, is also the most represented. Although there are probably a lot of unidentified individuals amongst those entries because some individuals bearing the same name could not be

identified. Delafontaine (228 entries) and Dénéréaz (754 entries, the second most represented surname in the database), have 10 occurrences amongst first cousin marriages. This implies the possibility that a node of first cousin marriages could be found amongst the Delafontaine. The third most carried surnames are Neyroud, Taverney and Dubuis within the persons marrying a first cousin (5 occurrences). More than 570 entries in the database bear the surname Neyroud. Taverney counts more than 320 entries in the database while Dubuis is in the middle range with an estimate of 200 entries. Some of the other surnames well represented in the database such as Chaudet (around 420 entries) or Barbey (around 270) are not significantly present amongst first cousin marriages with only one occurrence for Chaudet and none for Barbey. In contrast, other surnames more casually represented in the database appear several times amongst first cousin marriages. For example, Bettens appears three times amongst these unions, while this surname is only carried by 45 individuals in the database. These elements suppose that certain lineages have a higher tendency to marry with their relatives. The main issue by considering the study of surnames is that it excludes the lineages of women.

One of the hypotheses developed around kin marriages is that the elite is the principal social group concluding those alliances. In Neckarhausen, there is a strong correlation between public offices and kin marriages in the middle of the 18th century (1740-1749). This practice becomes more common in the 1780s (Sabean, 1998: 177-78, 219). One could say kin marriages are the result of a social selection, regarding first and foremost the elite, and appearing only later as a practice amongst the middle class in the 19th century (Ruggiu, 2010: 241). Here I explore this question of the social status of the men who made these unions in Corsier (appendix 10). Overall, the men (47) involved in first cousin marriages are eight times members of the parish's or villages' elite (17%). When considering the parents of the spouses, almost half of the couples have a parent with an office in the parish (47.9%, 23 couples out of 48), may it be village councillor of Corsier, parish councillor or other. I take here into account only members of the councils of the villages and parish, as well as other offices (such as judges and higher offices), but not the members of larger councils[26].

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26   Archives of the village of Corsier (AC Corsier) A 90, f. 109-114, for more information about the councils, see point 7.

Another surprising feature is the presence of a high number of individuals having an illegitimate relationship, being an illegitimate child or coming from a family with an illegitimate behaviour (5 out of 48, 10.4%). This can indicate a specific behavioural pattern involving both illegitimacy and marriages with close relatives. This finding needs to be developed; however, it corresponds to what Sandro Guzzi-Heeb (2008; 2011) identifies as "milieus" with specific sexual and political behaviours.

7. MARRIAGES IN THE ELITE

In this section, I test if the local elite conclude more endogamous marriages than the average rate. In Switzerland, as well as in other parts of Europe, the trend in the elite is to concentrate the power and close access to the councils to new families. This phenomenon can be observed of course in cities (e.g. Zurich, Bern, Fribourg), but also in the countryside (e.g. in Küsnacht in 1748). The peak for this oligarchizing takes place during the 18th century, whereas the families having the right to occupy offices begin to close their access in the 17th century (Braun, 1984: 218-45).

To understand this phenomenon, I study the village[27] and the parish[28] council of Corsier in 1781, plus its village council in 1832[29]. The parish council ceases to exist after 1816 when the parish is dismantled as a political entity and each of the four villages become independent commune (Salvi, 1991: 15; 2010). Therefore, only the four villages councils remain.

In the parish council under the "Ancien Régime", there were twelve councillors, and a banneret (table 7). Amongst them, three never married, six married once, three married twice and one of them married thrice.

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27   AC Corsier A 35, « Manuel du Conseil de Paroisse », 1781-1790, list of the councillors at the beginning of the volume.
28   AC Corsier A 15, « Manuel du Conseil du Village », 1762-1782, list of the councillors at the beginning of the volume.
29   AC Corsier A 90, « Procès-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil communal », 1817-1853, f. 109-114.

TABLE 7
Marriages with relatives in the parish's council 1781 (source AC Corsier A 15)

	Name	Marriage with a relative (4 order 1)	Marriage with a relative (4 order 2)
1	Emmanuel David Nicolas de Montet dit Taverney	no	SSSWFFM / (H)HHH.FHH(F)
2	Jean François Cuénod	no	no
3	Pierre François Genton	no // no // no	BSWZ / H()HH.F()F // BWMM-SD / H()H.FF(F)H // no
4	Ferdinand Louis de Montet dit Taverney	FFBDD / HHH()HFF	BWZ / H()H.F()F
5	Etienne Montet	no // no	MBSDHFMBD / HF()HHF. HHF()HF // MBSDSWMMM / HF()HHFH.FFF(F)
6	Jean Pierre Delapraz	no	MBWBD / HF()H.F()HF
7	Jean David de Montet dit Taverney	no wife	no wife
8	Jean François Louis Roche	no wife	no wife
9	Aimé Baud	no wife	no wife
10	Jean Samuel Taverney	no	MBDHZD / HF()HF.H()FF
11	Jean François Genton	no // no	no // no
12	Pierre Aimé Mouron	FZD / HH()FF	MHZD / H(F).H()FF
13	Samuel Louis Neyroud	MZDD HF()FFF // no	MFWDDD / HF(H).(F)FFF // MBDHZD / HF()HF.H()FF

Amongst the nine married councillors, when looking exclusively until the fourth degree of consanguinity, three of them marry a relative: FZD (first cousin), MZDD (first cousin's daughter) and FFBDD (second cousin). This represents 33.3%. When looking until a second marriage closing the chain, eight councillors married a relative (88.9%) until the fourth degree of affinity. These rates are very high. We can, therefore, assume that the majority of the councilmen married a relative in the parish council of Corsier.

In the village council of Corsier in 1781 (with a total of six members), only one councillor has a kinship link with his wife (BSSWFM). One possible explanation is that all of them married an individual coming from outside the parish (France, maybe Rolle in Switzerland, Granges in Switzerland or St-Saphorin near Corsier). That is the reason why probably no kin relationships are found for those individuals. We can assume that Corsier councilmen in the 18th century are perhaps trying to improve

their network and seeking to gain more influence by marrying outside the parish (the example of the notaries has already been studied)[30].

In 1832, the council of the village of Corsier is formed of nine councillors (table 8): one is unidentified and another one is not married. Amongst the seven other councillors, two have married until the fourth degree of consanguinity (second cousin (MMZDD) and third cousin (MMMZDDD)) (28.6%). When considering the affinity as well, six out of seven married with a relative (85%). These rates are clearly superior to the ones found for the village council in the 18th century. Between 1781 and 1832, political events led to considerable changes in the councils: the end of the "Ancien Régime" in 1798 and the political conflicts between conservatives and liberals in Switzerland in the 1820's (Eibach and Cottier, 2013: 1014). In the Canton of Vaud, a new constitution was made in 1832 after the victory of the liberal party (Koller, 2012). In the village council of Corsier, only two councillors' surnames are the same as in 1781 (Delafontaine and Boulenaz). The leading families of the 18th century, particularly Cuénod and Roche, are not represented anymore, probably because they moved out of the parish and relocated to the nearby city of Vevey, as Jules Cuénod (1817-1884), mayor of Vevey and banker.

TABLE 8
Marriages between relatives in the village's council of Corsier1832

	Name	Marriage with relative (4 order 1) consanguinity	Marriage with relative (4 order 2) affinity
1	Jacques Brun	no	no
2	Pierre Abraham Boulenaz	no	MBSSWFZ / HF()HHH.FH()F
3	Aimé Delafontaine	MMZDD / HFF()FFF	ZHZ / H()F.H()F
4	Francois Rodolphe Boulenaz	no	FFZSDSWFMBD / HHH()FHFH.FHF()HF
5	Georges Victor Boulenaz	no	ZDHFFFBSD / H()FF.HHHH()HHF
6	Jean Herminjard	unidentified	unidentified
7	François André Ducimetière alias Monod	MMMZDDD / HFFF()FFFF // no	ZHZ / H()F.H()F // no
8	Jacques Cupelin	no wife	no wife
9	Charles Henri Boulenaz	no	FFZHBDD / HHH()F.H()HFF

Source: AC Corsier A 90, « Procès-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil communal », 1817-1853, f. 109-114).

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30   See Raynauld (1976) for the Valais and Rappo (2016) for Corsier.

It is possible therefore to assume that a member of the local elite is more likely to marry a relative than most of the population, except for the councilmen of Corsier in the 18th century, who seem to choose a different strategy by marrying outside of the parish to consolidate their political network and influence.

CONCLUSION

The rise of marriages between relatives observed in Corsier is no exception as many studies have shown for various European regions. However, a considerable number of researches about the topic of kin marriages are based on dispensations granted by the Catholic church, while the Protestant regions have definitely been less studied. Though, an analysis is possible by collecting data about marriages, baptisms and deaths and compiling it in a genealogical database.

The results presented here follow the hypotheses proposed in "Kinship and Europe", which demonstrates an increase of the number of kin marriages in the 19th century. It seems rather plausible that this change is correlated with the evolution of the law in 1798 authorising first cousin marriages. People of Corsier, who were avoiding this type of unions in the 18th century, take this opportunity to start concluding marriages with their first cousins. So, before the 19th century, individuals generally respected the prohibitions, as proposed by Delille (1985: 366) for the region of Naples. What the case of Corsier reveals, as elsewhere in Europe, is a growing importance of the consanguinity in marriages, mostly in the 19th century. Marriages contracted before use more affinity ties, thus remaining important in the 19th century as demonstrated by the closure rates.

Because this type of marriages has a top-down process, the elite seems to conclude more marriages with relatives. This trend occurs likely because they want to keep the power within their families. Though some questions remain open to discussion. For example: are those marriages concluded within specific descents or families, do they share political or religious values (Guzzi-Heeb, 2016: 139-40) or even the same profession, as the winegrowers (Burguière, 1997: 1345). Such behaviours could be the expression of a particular culture built wit-

hin specific families, which is replicated from generation to generation (Ruggiu, 2010: 245). As suggested by David Sabean, the correlation with the economic changes and formation of classes in the 19th century needs further investigation. Nevertheless, it seems quite clear that a change both legally and in practice happens in the Pays de Vaud at the end of the Ancien Régime and in the first half of the 19th century.
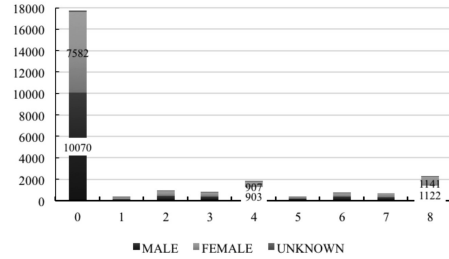
APPENDIXES

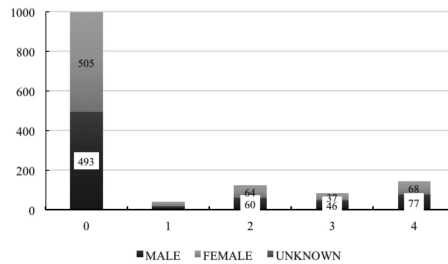**APPENDIX 1:**
knowledge of the grandparents in the database
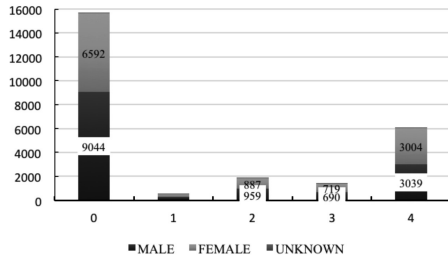
APPENDIX 2:
knowledge of the great-grandparents in the database

APPENDIX 3:
knowledge of the grandparents for married people 1691-1740

APPENDIX 4:
knowledge of the great-grandparents for married people 1691-1740

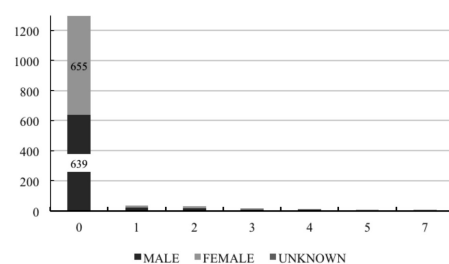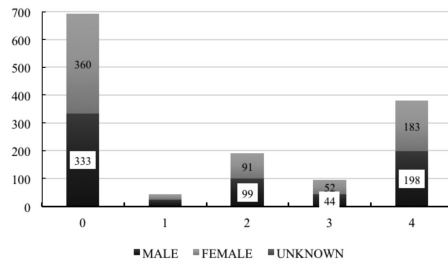**APPENDIX 5:**
knowledge of the grandparents for married people 1741-1790

APPENDIX 6:
knowledge of the great-grandparents for married people 1741-1790

APPENDIX 7:
knowledge of the grandparents for married people 1791-1840

APPENDIX 8:
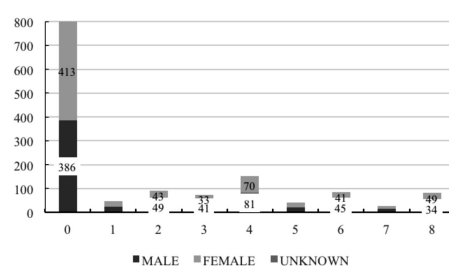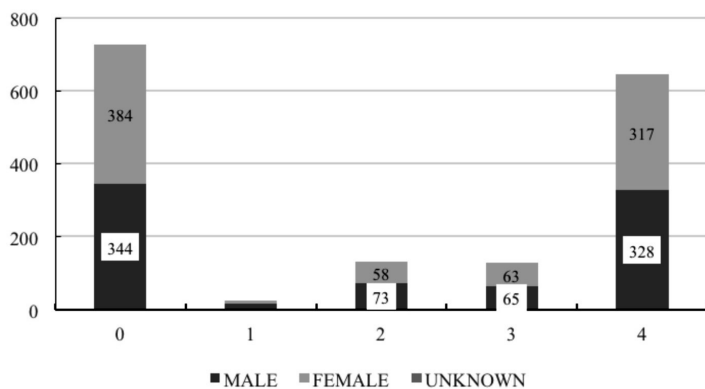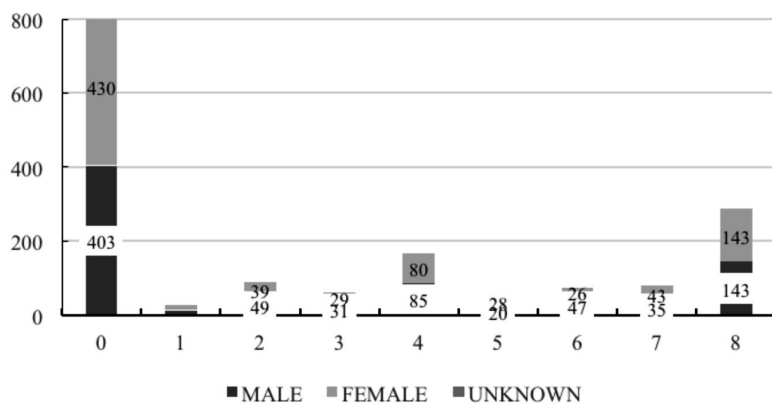*knowledge of the great-grandparents for married people 1791-1840*

APPENDIX 9:
first cousin marriages in the parish Corsier until 1840

	Couple	Kinship link	Marriage or banns year	Place	Marriage/ Banns
1	Samson Philippe DUBUIS = Francoise Marie MONTET	MZD	1749	Corsier	marriage
2	Pierre Aime MOURON = Jeanne Louise MONTET	FZD	1752	Chardonne	marriage
3	Jean Philippe NEYROUD = Jeanne Marguerite Madeleine GENTON	FMDD	1766	Corsier	marriage
4	Jean Francois BETTENS = Marie Esther DELAFONTAINE	FZD	1798	Corsier (parish)	banns
5	Jacques Philippe CHAUBERT = Jeanne Marie CHAUBERT	FBD	1801	Corsier	banns
6	Charles David Samuel DUBUIS = Francoise Marie DUBUIS	MBD	1802	Corsier (parish)	banns
7	Isaac Aime GERBEX = Jeanne Marie CHAUDET	MZD	1804	Corsier	marriage
8	Jean Philippe HERMINJARD = Jeanne Marie Rose PAVILLARD	FZD	circa 1805	unknown	unknown
9	Jean Samuel DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Marie DELAFONTAINE	FBD	1807	Corsier	marriage
10	Jean Isaac RINSOZ = Francoise Marie RINSOZ	FBD	1807	Corsier (parish)	banns
11	Jean Francois DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Pauline DELAFONTAINE	FBD	1808	Corsier	marriage
12	Francois DELAFONTAINE = Louise Francoise Marie GRAND	MZD	1809	Corsier	banns
13	Ferdinand Louis TAVERNEY = Francoise Marie BLANCHET	MZD	1813	Corsier	marriage
14	Abraham Francois de PALEZIEUX DIT FALCONNET = Henriette Aimee Emilie de PALEZIEUX DIT FALCONNET	FBD	1814	Corsier	marriage
15	Jean Michel Francois MOURON = Susanne Henriette TAVERNEY	MZD	1814	Corsier	marriage
16	Aime Jean Marc DUCIMETIERE ALIAS MONOD = Jeanne Louise CHARDON	FZD	1815	Corsier (parish)	banns
17	Marc Louis Francois TAVERNEY = Jeanne Louise Marianne BUTTICAZ	MBD	1816	Corsier (parish)	banns
18	Jean Francois DOVAT = Jeanne Elisabeth CHOLLET	FZD	1817	Corsier	marriage
19	Pierre Louis DENEREAZ = Jeanne Claudine DENEREAZ	FBD	1818	Corsier (parish)	banns
20	Jean Louis BRUNET = Susanne Marie MOREL	MZD	1818	Corsier	banns
21	Jean Francois DUCRET = Francoise Madeleine Henriette DUCRET	MZD	1819	Corsier	banns
22	Jean Daniel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Francoise DENEREAZ	FBD	1819	Corsier (parish)	banns
23	Jean Francois DUCRET = Jeanne Marie Esther DEMIERRE	MZD	1819	Corsier (parish)	banns
24	Jean Louis FORESTIER = Jeanne Esther NEYROUD	FZD	1821	Corsier (parish)	banns

	Couple	Kinship link	Marriage or banns year	Place	Marriage/ Banns
25	Jean Pierre Francois Frederic DUCRET = Jeanne Louise DUCRET	MZD	1822	Corsier	marriage
26	Jean Francois Emmanuel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Francoise DENEREAZ	FBD	1822	Corsier (parish)	banns
27	Jean Pierre Charles GATABIN = Jeanne Louise MOREL	MZD	1824		illegitimate relationship
28	Jean Samuel DUCRET = Susanne Louise Madeleine DUCRET	MZD	1824	Corsier (parish)	banns
29	Charles Etienne DUBUIS = Jeanne Louise DUBUIS	MBD	1824	Corsier	marriage
30	Marc Francois BETTENS = Francoise Judith DELAFONTAINE	MBD	1828	Corsier	marriage
31	Pierre Isaac DUCRET = Francoise Judith DUCRET	FBD	1829	Corsier	marriage
32	Pierre Francois GENTON = Jeanne Susanne Louise EMERY	MBD	1829	Corsier	marriage
33	Jacques David FORESTIER = Arethuse GENTON	FZD	1829	Corsier	marriage
34	Jean Philippe DUCRET = Jeanne Susanne Marie Henriette MOURON	MBD	1830	Corsier	marriage
35	Gabriel Francois LEUBAZ = Francoise Marie JACCOUD	FZD	1831	Corsier	marriage
36	Jean Francois BETTENS = Anne Marie Louise DELAFONTAINE	MBD	1831	Corsier	marriage
37	Jean Francois Noe DENEREAZ = Jeanne Marie DENEREAZ	FBD	1831	Corsier	banns
38	Jean Francois Samuel MOREL = Francoise Esther Arethuse GENTON	MBD / FZD	1832	Corsier	marriage
39	Samuel Daniel DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Marie Elisabeth DELAFONTAINE	FBD	1834	Corsier	banns
40	Francois Philippe Rodolphe NEYROUD = Jeanne Francoise NEYROUD	FBD	1836	Chardonne	civil marriage
41	Jean Francois DUCRET = Susanne Francoise NEYROUD	MBD / FZD	1836	Chardonne	civil marriage
42	Jean Pierre Charles GATABIN = Francoise Louise FORESTIER	MZD	1837	Chardonne	marriage
43	Jean Samuel DENEREAZ = Marie Esther DUCRET	MBD	1838	Chardonne	marriage
44	Francois Ferdinand Louis TAVERNEY = Jeanne Francoise Henriette TAVERNEY	FBD	1838	Jongny	marriage
45	Jean Samuel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Louise Claudine MERLIN	MBD	1838	Chardonne	marriage
46	Jean Francois Louis DUCRET = Louise Francoise Susanne MERLIN	MZD	1839	Chardonne	marriage
47	Jean Francois LAVANCHY = Jeanne MERLIN	FZD	1839	Chardonne	banns
48	Jean Pierre DUCRET = Jeanne Marie Sophie DUCRET	FBD	1839	Chardonne	marriage

APPENDIX 10:
first cousin marriages and status of the spouses and spouses' parents

	Couple	Marriage or banns year	Husband's status	Comment	Husband's father status	Wife's father status
1	Samson Philippe DUBUIS = Francoise Marie MONTET	1749	none		none	village councillor of Corseaux
2	Pierre Aime MOURON = Jeanne Louise MONTET	1752	parish councillor of Corsier		parish councillor of Corsier, village councillor of Chardonne	village councillor of Corseaux
3	Jean Philippe NEYROUD = Jeanne Marguerite Madeleine GENTON	1766	none		parish small councillor of Corsier	parish councillor of Corsier
4	Jean Francois BETTENS = Marie Esther DELAFONTAINE	1798	village councillor of Corsier, parish delegate of Corsier		village councillor of Corsier, parish delegate of Corsier	parish councillor of Corsier, towm councillor of Corsier
5	Jacques Philippe CHAUBERT = Jeanne Marie CHAUBERT	1801	none	illegitimate child	none	none
6	Charles David Samuel DUBUIS = Francoise Marie DUBUIS	1802	none		chamber of régie, village councillor of Corseaux	justice of parish of Corsier, secretary of the manner's courthouse
7	Isaac Aime GERBEX = Jeanne Marie CHAUDET	1804	none	has an illegitimate child with another woman	none	none
8	Jean Philippe HERMINJARD = Jeanne Marie Rose PAVILLARD	1805		circa 1805-1806	none	none
9	Jean Samuel DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Marie DELAFONTAINE	1807	none		none	village councillor of Corsier
10	Jean Isaac RINSOZ = Francoise Marie RINSOZ	1807	none		none	none
11	Jean Francois DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Pauline DELAFONTAINE	1808	none		none	village councillor of Corsier
12	Francois DELAFONTAINE = Louise Francoise Marie GRAND	1809	none	lives in Geneva	village councillor of Corsier	none
13	Ferdinand Louis TAVERNEY = Francoise Marie BLANCHET	1813	village councillor of Jongny		parish councillor of Corsier, village councillor of Jongny	none (Lutry)
14	Abraham Francois de PALEZIEUX DIT FALCONNET = Henriette Aimee Emilie de PALEZIEUX DIT FALCONNET	1814	none	lives in Vevey, important family in Vevey	none	lives in Vevey
15	Jean Michel Francois MOURON = Susanne Henriette TAVERNEY	1814	none		none	parish councillor of Corsier, village councillor of Jongny

	Couple	Marriage or banns year	Husband's status	Comment	Husband's father status	Wife's father status
16	Aime Jean Marc DUCIMETIERE ALIAS MONOD = Jeanne Louise CHARDON	1815	none		village councillor of Corsier, village councillor of Corsier, etc.	village councillor of Corsier, parish delegate of Corsier
17	Marc Louis Francois TAVERNEY = Jeanne Louise Marianne BUTTICAZ	1816	village councillor of Jongny		parish councillor of Corsier	village councillor of Jongny, parish delegate of Corsier, etc.
18	Jean Francois DOVAT = Jeanne Elisabeth CHOLLET	1817	none	from another parish	none	none
19	Pierre Louis DENEREAZ = Jeanne Claudine DENEREAZ	1818	none		none	none
20	Jean Louis BRUNET = Susanne Marie MOREL	1818	none	from another parish	none	none
21	Jean Francois DUCRET = Francoise Madeleine Henriette DUCRET	1819	none		village councillor of Chardonne	village councillor of Chardonne
22	Jean Daniel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Francoise DENEREAZ	1819	none		none	none
23	Jean Francois DUCRET = Jeanne Marie Esther DEMIERRE	1819	village councillor of Chardonne		none	village councillor of Chardonne, parish delegate of Corsier, etc.
24	Jean Louis FORESTIER = Jeanne Esther NEYROUD	1821	none		none	none
25	Jean Pierre Francois Frederic DUCRET = Jeanne Louise DUCRET	1822	village councillor of Chardonne		village councillor of Chardonne	village councillor of Chardonne
26	Jean Francois Emmanuel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Francoise DENEREAZ	1822	village councillor of Chardonne		village councillor of Chardonne	none
27	Jean Pierre Charles GATABIN = Jeanne Louise MOREL	1824	none	illegitimate union circa 1824	none	none
28	Jean Samuel DUCRET = Susanne Louise Madeleine DUCRET	1824	none		village councillor of Chardonne	village councillor of Chardonne, parish delegate of Corsier, etc.
29	Charles Etienne DUBUIS = Jeanne Louise DUBUIS	1824	mayor of Corseaux, village councillor of Corseaux		village councillor of Corseaux	village councillor of Corseaux
30	Marc Francois BETTENS = Francoise Judith DELAFONTAINE	1828	none		village councillor of Corsier	village councillor of Corsier
31	Pierre Isaac DUCRET = Francoise Judith DUCRET	1829	none		none	none
32	Pierre Francois GENTON = Jeanne Susanne Louise EMERY	1829	none		none	none

	Couple	Marriage or banns year	Husband's status	Comment	Husband's father status	Wife's father status
33	Jacques David FORESTIER = Arethuse GENTON	1829	none		none	none
34	Jean Philippe DUCRET = Jeanne Susanne Marie Henriette MOURON	1830	none		none	none
35	Gabriel Francois LEUBAZ = Francoise Marie JACCOUD	1831	none		none	none
36	Jean Francois BETTENS = Anne Marie Louise DELAFONTAINE	1831	none		none	village councillor of Corsier
37	Jean Francois Noe DENEREAZ = Jeanne Marie DENEREAZ	1831	none	from another parish	none	none
38	Jean Francois Samuel MOREL = Francoise Esther Arethuse GENTON	1832	none		none	village councillor of Corsier, parish delegate of Corsier
39	Samuel Daniel DELAFONTAINE = Jeanne Marie Elisabeth DELAFONTAINE	1834	none		none	none
40	Francois Philippe Rodolphe NEYROUD = Jeanne Francoise NEYROUD	1836	none		none	none
41	Jean Francois DUCRET = Susanne Francoise NEYROUD	1836	none	father had an illegitimate child	village councillor of Chardonne	village councillor of Chardonne
42	Jean Pierre Charles GATABIN = Francoise Louise FORESTIER	1837	none	has an illegitimate child with another woman, his wife had an illegitimate child with another man	none	none
43	Jean Samuel DENEREAZ = Marie Esther DUCRET	1838	none	from another parish	none	none
44	Francois Ferdinand Louis TAVERNEY = Jeanne Francoise Henriette TAVERNEY	1838	none		none	village councillor of Jongny
45	Jean Samuel DENEREAZ = Jeanne Louise Claudine MERLIN	1838	none	from another parish	none	none
46	Jean Francois Louis DUCRET = Louise Francoise Susanne MERLIN	1839	none		none	none
47	Jean Francois LAVANCHY = Jeanne MERLIN	1839	none	lives in another parish after his marriage	none	none
48	Jean Pierre DUCRET = Jeanne Marie Sophie DUCRET	1839	none		none	none

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