

Tradition and Romanization by the attire of the *Eraviscus* tribe

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Abstract: Review article of PhD thesis submitted in 2020 to the Archaeological Doctoral Programme, Doctoral School of History, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest under the supervision of Miklós Szabó

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Introduction

The dissertation titled as ‘Tradition and Romanization by the attire of the *Eraviscus* tribe’ discusses the native female attire of North-Eastern Pannonia.¹ The main objective is to provide a new summary of the native female attire of the Principate. Based on available sources, one of the most researchable areas is North-Eastern Pannonia, the home of the Celtic *Eraviscus* tribe. The basis of my analysis is the presentation of the native female attire on Roman-style stone monuments complemented by known archaeological finds. The relevant research of native clothing worn in provinces in the Principate period relies mostly on female attire. This is because the Roman conquest affected male clothing habits sooner, namely they replaced their pre-Roman garments with those following Italian–Roman norms. Women’s clothing habits outlasted those of males reflecting a more conservative attitude toward the Roman influence.

Short summary of previous research

The native female attire has been explored since the earliest periods of Roman provincial archaeology. Early studies restricted themselves to descriptive analysis.² Later consecutive papers related depicted accessories to descriptions in written sources, to archaeological evidence on jewelry, as well as to depicted attire originating from more remote locations.³

Additional significant contributions to the analysis of the native female attire are surveys by J. Fitz⁴ and J. Garbsch.⁵ In both studies, depictions of stone monuments are the main sources. The first was an attempt to determine the characteristics and chronology of *Eraviscus* female attire. However, the second study opened a new research avenue by considering both the typology and the chronology

1 SÁRÓ 2020.

2 For example: RÓMER – DESJARDINS 1873; HAMPEL 1906.

3 For example: HAMPEL 1910; LÁNG 1919.

4 FITZ 1957.

5 GARBSCH 1965.

of two main fibula-types (Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae and, Norico–Pannonian double-button fibulae) and Norico–Pannonian belt accessories.⁶ The main finding of this research is that depictions from North-Eastern Pannonia show similar patterns, and that there are differences in attire depictions across geographic regions.⁷

U. Rothe reinvestigates the definition of the ‘Norico–Pannonian costume’ by J. Garbsch.⁸ Similar or same appearances in different regions cannot be disregarded. She also reviews the costume depictions of the Danube area.⁹ Her results have been integrated into the present dissertation wherever possible.

The main aim of the dissertation

In my dissertation, I tried to make a detailed description of all elements of the native female attire. This attire has several components, namely the robes, veils, hats and other headwear, cloaks, belts, aprons, shoes, fibulae, jewelry joined to fibulae, headwear-related jewelry, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and rings. I have created a catalog of the attire accessories which is coded in a way that creates a cross-walk between depicted attire accessories and the figures of ensembles (*Table 1, Fig. 15*).

The main research question of this dissertation is how the native female attire of the region changed during the Principate period. The earliest studies determined that the native female attire in the Principate period could be defined as a style unchanged for 150–200 years.¹⁰ On the other hand, J. Fitz argued that, based on certain depicted garment accessories, attire can be classified into three separate periods.¹¹ My objective is to revisit this question and determine whether such classification can be carried out based on female costume accessories. In light of new data, it was also natural to ask whether the female attire of the *Eraviscus* tribe is different from that of other pre-Roman tribes in the period, and whether it shows the features based on we can be classify it as a homogenous and special attire of the tribe.

The objects assessed

My investigation is based on several materials, namely depictions of stones, fibulae, and Norico–Pannonian mounted belt-ornaments that are informative of the main questions of the dissertation.

The first group of objects comprises stone monuments. The dissertation’s catalog A. lists 155 stones originating from 55 archeological sites in Hungary and 13 museum collections (*Fig. 1*). Tombstones (135 pieces), grave statues (6 pieces), and parts of *aediculae* (14 pieces) have been collected. Both the main pictures and additional pictures of the tombstones are used for analysis. The main portion of catalog A. lists tombstones from the *Civitas Eraviscorum* and its border with the *Civitas Asaliorum*, while the remaining items in the catalog are from outside North-Eastern Pannonia. The latter pieces from Hungary were used for comparative analysis.

6 GARBSCH 1965, 26–114.

7 The Norico–Pannonian attire groups of J. Garbsch are the followings: three groups with a center in Virunum, Flavia Solva and Iuvavum, plus further three groups in South-Western Pannonia, North-Western Pannonia and North-Eastern Pannonia (GARBSCH 1965, 119–132).

8 ROTHE 2013.

9 ROTHE 2012.

10 FITZ 1957, 139.

11 The early period is characterized by the big turban, the veil, the broad belt, Patek 1942/T. II, 1–2. Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae, the torques plus broad, thick and heavy bracelets. The final period is defined by the over-skirt with ‘V’ shaped wrinkles, a plainer turban which appear sometimes without the veil, the cord belt, Patek 1942/T. II, 1. Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae, bow-tie shaped fibulae and necklaces with round pendants. In the middle (transitional) period elements of the former two eras are mixed (FITZ 1957, 139–140).

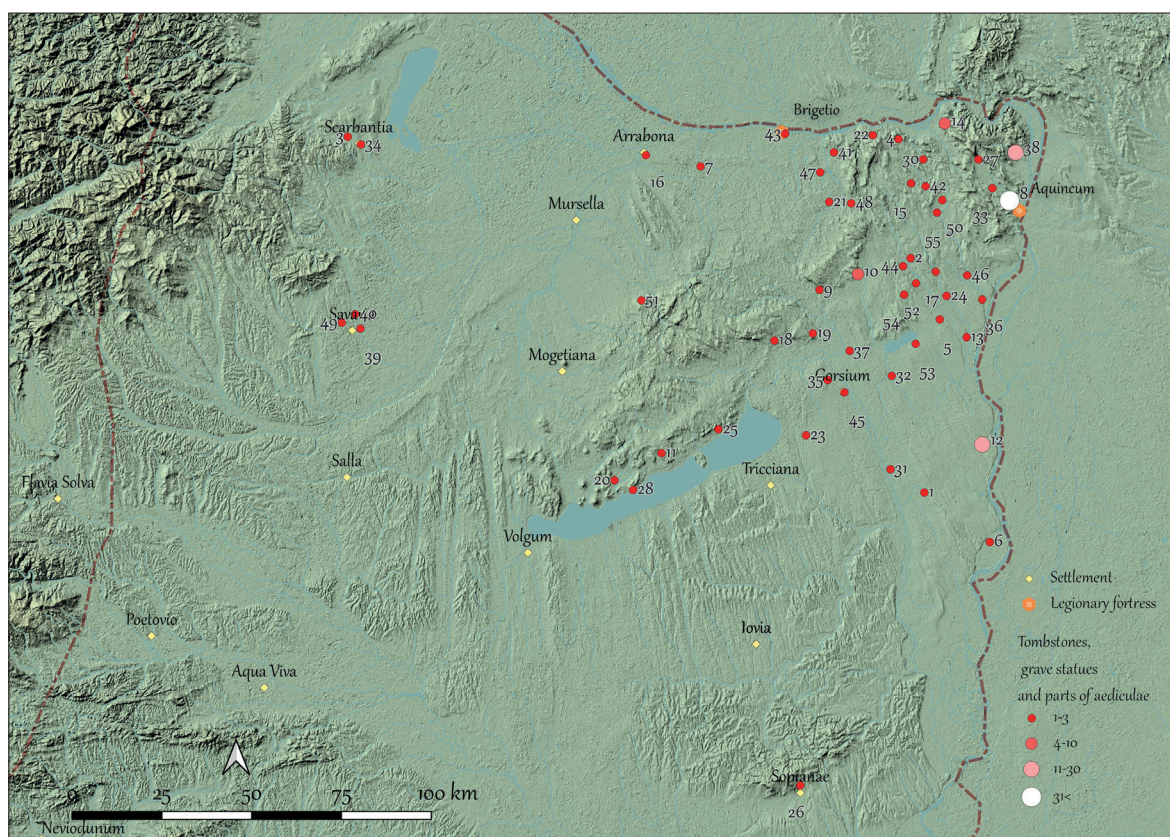


Fig. 1. Stone monuments with depicted native female attire or dress accessories from Hungary (the map is made by A. Bödőcs). 1 – Alap, 2 – Alcsútdoboz, 3 – Ágfalva, 4 – Bajót, 5 – Baracska, 6 – Bölcske, 7 – Bőnyrét-alap, 8 – Budapest, 9 – Csákvár, 10 – Csákvár, 11 – Dölgicse, 12 – Dunaújváros, 13 – Ercsi, 14 – Esztergom, 15 – Gyermely, 16 – Győr, 17 – Gyúró, 18 – Inota, 19 – Iszka-szentgyörgy, 20 – Kékkút, 21 – Környe, 22 – Látatlan, 23 – Lepsény, 24 – Martonvásár, 25 – Paloznak, 26 – Pécs, 27 – Pilisszántó, 28 – Révfülp, 29 – Sárbo-gárd, 30 – Sárísáp, 31 – Sárszentmiklós, 32 – Seregélyes, 33 – Solymár, 34 – Sopron, 35 – Szabadbattyán, 36 – Százhalombatta, 37 – Székesfehérvár, 38 – Szentendre, 39 – Szombathely, 40 – Szombathely-Herény, 41 – Szomód, 42 – Szomor, 43 – Szőny, 44 – Tabajd, 45 – Tác, 46 – Tárnok/Érd, 47 – Tata, 48 – Tatabánya, 49 – Torony-Ondód, 50 – Tök, 51 – Ugod, 52 – Vál, 53 – Velence, 54 – Vereb, 55 – Zsámbék. Further pieces without exact location belong to the collection of the Budapest History Museum–Aquincum Museum, the Hungarian National Museum and the Kuny Domokos Museum.

The data on the graves from the region of North-Eastern Pannonia was an important input. The 151 graves containing fibulae and/or Norico–Pannonian belt accessories are from 15 different archaeological sites (Fig. 2). They are listed in Appendix 1 with detailed grave descriptions and illustrations. For the purposes of this analysis, female graves are investigated precisely. The gender of the deceased is identified using mostly anthropological analysis. Unfortunately, one issue is that burial rites of the time partly involved cremation, which makes determination non-trivial. Useful clues in this regard are, for example, jewelry found in particular body positions, and fibulae found on the shoulders in pairs.

A total of 213 fibulae have been unearthed from the graves dated to the early and mid-period Principate, which can be classified into 17 main groups and additional subgroups (Catalog B, Appendix 2.1; Figs 3–5). In particular, several items could be identified as part of the female attire.¹²

12 The types are the followings: Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae (Sáro 4.1 = Garbsch A238c, Sáro 4.2 = Garbsch A238d, Sáro 4.3 = Garbsch A238e, Sáro 4.4.1 = Garbsch A238v1, Sáro 4.4.2 = Garbsch A238v2, Sáro 4.4.3 = Garbsch A238v3, Sáro 4.4.4 = Garbsch A238v4, Sáro 4.5 = Garbsch A238h variant), Norico–

According to J. Garbsch, the characteristic belt type of the native woman attire¹³ is totally missing not just from the investigated area but also from Eastern-Pannonia. This hiatus had to be reviewed in my dissertation. Both published items and 40 objects from North-Eastern Pannonia (Catalog C, Appendix 2.2) are discussed in the text.¹⁴

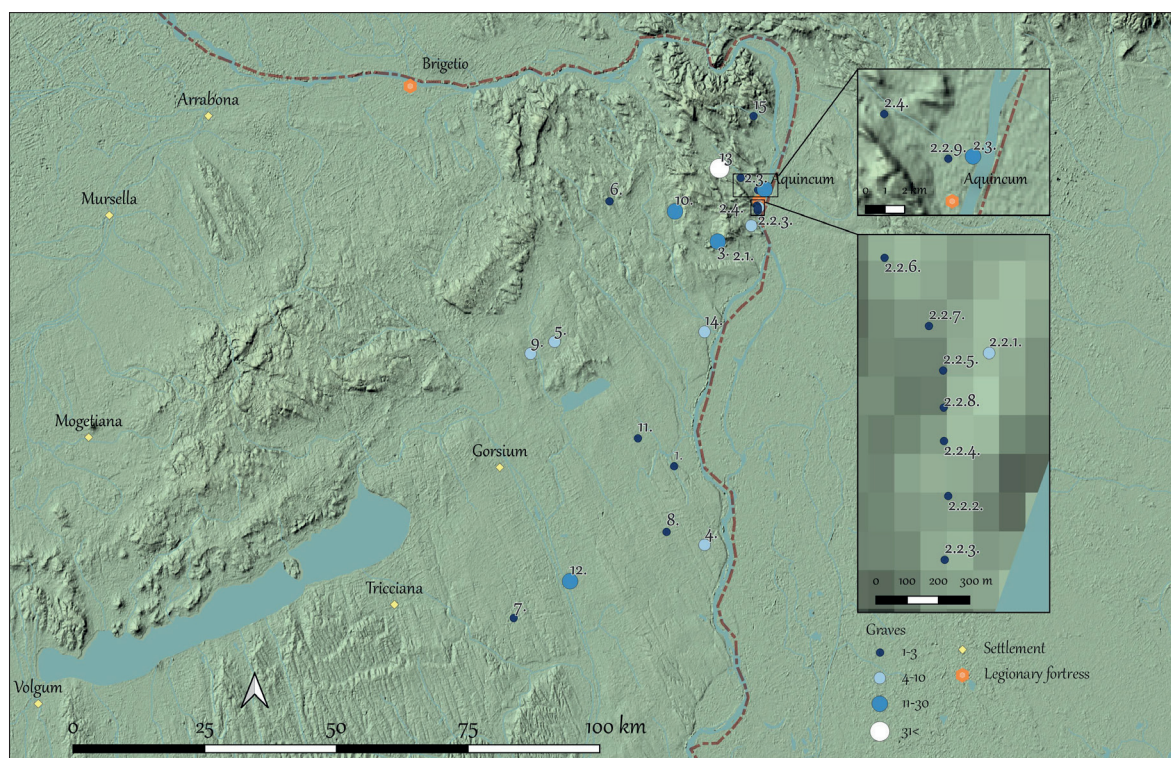


Fig. 2. Graves with fibulae and/or Norico-Pannonian belt accessories from North-Eastern Pannonia (the map is made by A. Bödőcs). 1 – Adony, 2.1 – Aquincum/Budapest-Víziváros, 2.2 – Aquincum, cemetery of the military town: 2.2.1 – 25, 29 Kecské street, Bécsi street – Perényi street, Farkastorki street, 2.2.2 – 4 Sajka street, 2.2.3 – 4–6 Lajos street, 2.2.4 – 60 Bécsi street, 2.2.5 – 62 Bécsi street, 2.2.6 – 96/b Bécsi street, 2.2.7 – 66 Bécsi street, 2.2.8 – 58 Bécsi street, 2.2.9 – Kaszásdűlő-Raktárrét, 2.3 – Aquincum, cemetery of the civil town (Graphisoft Park), 2.4 – Aquincum/Budapest- 67 Aranypatak street, 3 – Budaörs, 4 – Dunaújváros, 5 – Lovasberény, 6 – Máty, 7 – Mezőszilas, tumuli, 8 – Nagyvenyim, 9 – Pátka, tumuli, 10 – Páty, 11 – Pusztaszabolcs-Felsőcikola, tumuli, 12 – Sárbogárd-Virágresz, 13 – Solymár-Dinnyehegy, 14 – Százhalombatta, 15 – Szentendre.

The female attire depicted and its connection with the artifacts

When analyzing depicted attire accessories, I provide an overview of previous research. I classify the depictions using differences in shape, and try to find similarities between their forms and the depictions in the existing literature, plus available archeological finds. The female attire depicted

- ▷ Pannonian double-button fibulae (Sáró 5.1 = Demetz A236a2), Idrija type fibula (Sáró 3.1 = Demetz Idrija IIa), several strongly profiled fibulae (Sáró 7.1.4 = Merczi 2012/8.7–8, Sáró 7.1.6 = Merczi 2012/8.11, Sáró 7.1.7 = Gugl A70/73b, Sáró 7.1.10 = Merczi 2012/8.14, Sáró 7.2.1 = Merczi 2014/1, Sáró 7.2.2 = Merczi 2014/3, Sáró 7.2.4 = Redžić 2010/Var. 3, Sáró 7.2.5 = Redžić 2010/Var. 2), Pannonian trumpet fibulae (Sáró 8.1 = Merczi 2012/12.1, Sáró 8.3 = Cociş21b1b, Sáró 8.5 = Kovrig T. VII. 66), knee fibula (Sáró 9.4 = Merczi 2011/B/2), hinged-wing fibula (Sáró 10.1 = Gaspar 29c), decorated plate fibulae (Sáró 12.1 = Riha 7.2.1, Sáró 12.3 = Gaspar 58b) and bow-tie shaped fibulae (Sáró 14.1 = Sáró – Lassányi 1).

13 GARBSCH 1965, 79–114, Abb. 58; GARBSCH 1985, 571–572, Abb. 12.

14 The belt accessories of Catalog C are the followings: belt buckles (6 pieces), mounts with openwork decoration (6 pieces), boat shaped mounts (10 pieces), mounts with duck shaped endings (9 pieces) and strap-ending mounts (9 pieces). These objects will be the subject of an English language study in the near future.

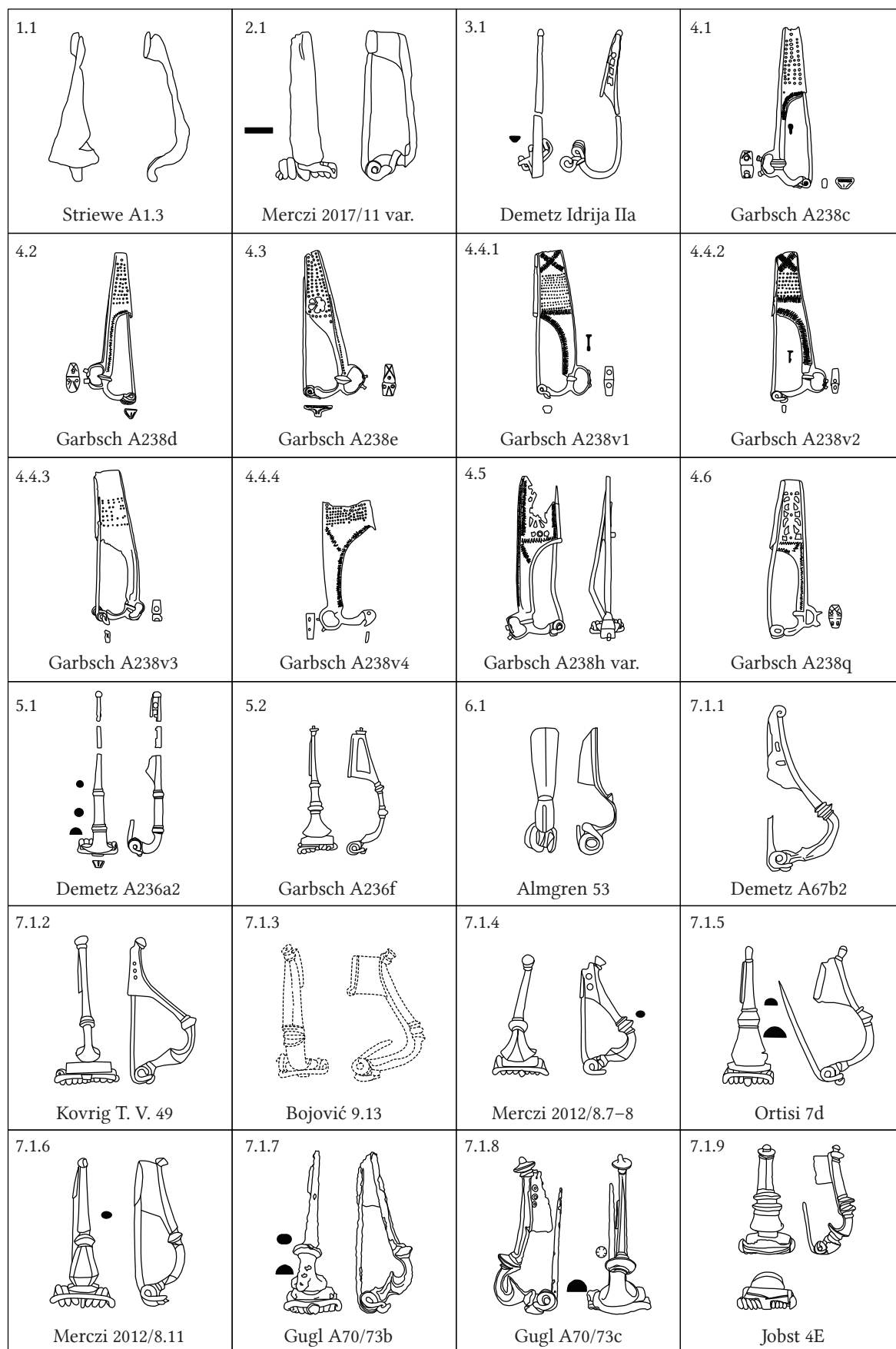


Fig. 3. Fibula types from graves of North-Eastern Pannonia.

<p>7.1.10</p> <p>Merczi 2012/8.14</p>	<p>7.1.11</p> <p>Jobst 4F</p>	<p>7.2.1</p> <p>Merczi 2014/1</p>	<p>7.2.2</p> <p>Merczi 2014/3</p>
<p>7.2.3</p> <p>Redžić 2010/Var. 3</p>	<p>7.2.4</p> <p>Redžić 2010/Var. 3</p>	<p>7.2.5</p> <p>Redžić 2010/Var. 2</p>	<p>7.2.6</p> <p>Almgren 75/77</p>
<p>8.1</p> <p>Merczi 2012/12.1</p>	<p>8.2</p> <p>Kovrig T. VII. 62 var.</p>	<p>8.3</p> <p>Cociş 21b1b</p>	<p>8.4</p> <p>Cociş 21b1a</p>
<p>8.5</p> <p>Kovrig T. VII. 66</p>	<p>8.6</p> <p>Kovrig T. VII. 70/71 var.</p>	<p>9.1</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/9 var.</p>	<p>9.2</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/1.1</p>
<p>9.3</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/1.2</p>	<p>9.4</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/2</p>	<p>9.5</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/21</p>	<p>9.6</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/21 var.</p>
<p>9.7</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/23.1</p>	<p>9.8</p> <p>Merczi 2011/B/23.2</p>	<p>10.1</p> <p>Gaspar 29c</p>	<p>11.1</p> <p>Gaspar 30a</p>

Fig. 4. Fibula types from graves of North-Eastern Pannonia.

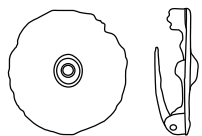
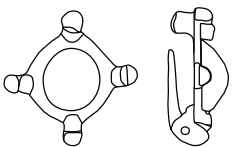
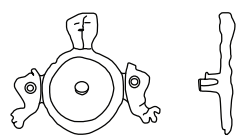
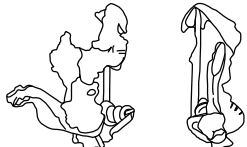


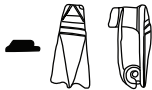
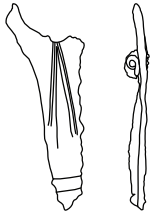
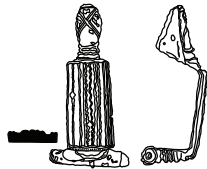

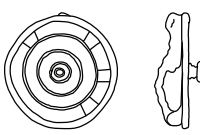

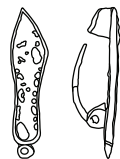
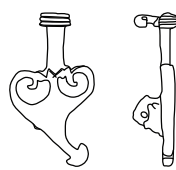
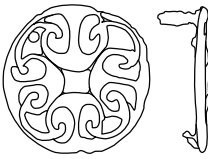
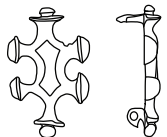
12.1  Riha 7.2.1	12.2  Riha 7.8	12.3  Gaspar 58b	13 
14.1  Sáró – Lassányi 1	14.2  Sáró – Lassányi 2	15.1  Nagy L. 2001/2A 1	15.2  Nagy L. 2001/2A 2
16.1  Berecz 2008/IA/6a var.	16.2  Berecz 2008/IIA/1a var.	16.3  Berecz 2008/IIA/4a	16.4  Berecz 2008/IIA/15b
16.5  Berecz 2008/IIB/9	17.1  Patek T. XVII. 17	17.2  Cociş 25a4	17.3  Bojović 25.4

Fig. 5. Fibula types from graves of North-Eastern Pannonia.

on tombstones is compared to objects from archeological sites. Unfortunately, analyzing accessories made of textile, leather or fur is only possible using depictions, but mounted belts and riveted footwear could be investigated. However, fibulae and jewelry serve as a rich source of information for comparative purposes, which also considered the material in the graves examined and existing studies. In all possible cases, I have conducted the origin-examination of the attire elements.

Detailed examination of accessories made of textile, leather and fur was made by U. Rothe in the recent past.¹⁵ Her research was the starting point for my classification.

Firstly, the over-dress is discussed in detail. Of the four main shapes of U. Rothe,¹⁶ O4 includes most of the over-dresses from the investigated area. I focus on the form and wrinkle of over-skirts and categorize them into a hypothetical system of axes (Fig. 6).¹⁷ Earlier research found ‘V’

15 ROTHE 2012, 173–212.

16 ROTHE 2012, 183–190, Fig. 31.

17 The vertical axis shows the different length and bottom of the over-skirt: A) a long skirt with straight ▸

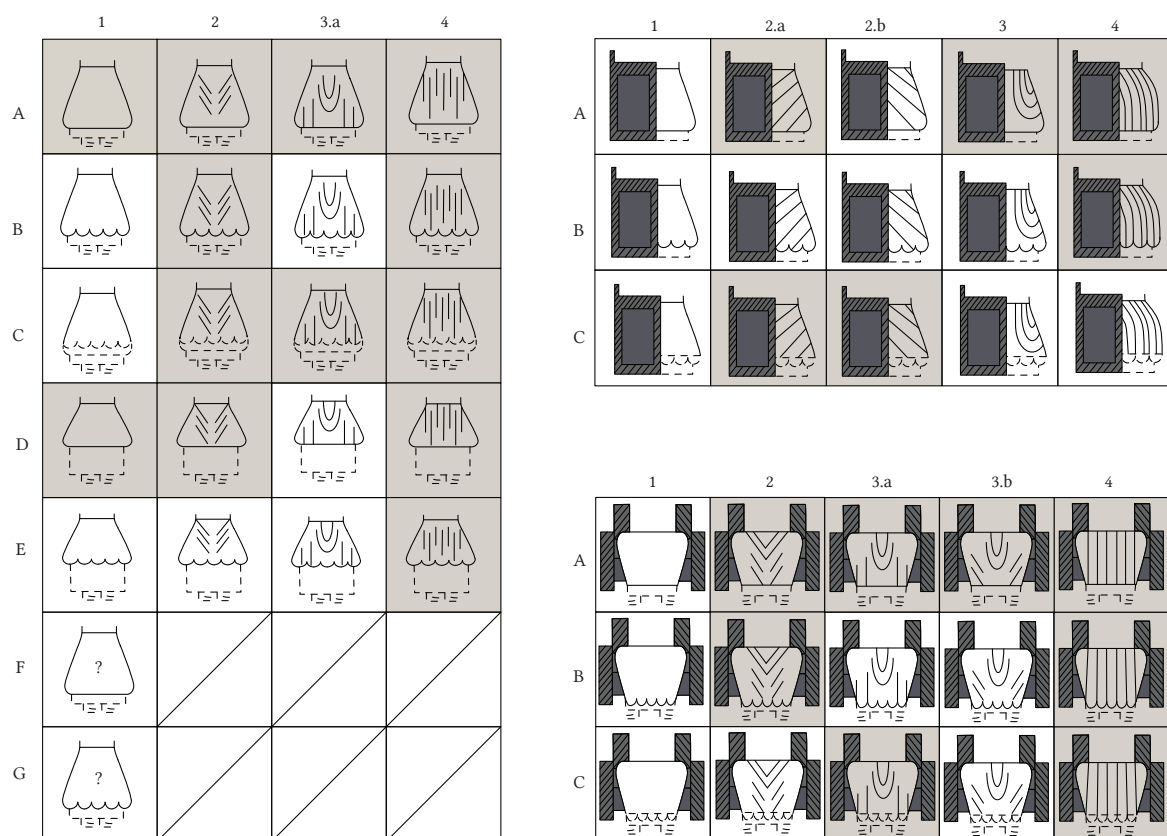


Fig. 6. Hypothetical forms and wrinkles of over-skirts. According to the depictions on stone monuments of Hungary, thirteen types can be recognized, and they are marked in grey.

and ‘U’ shaped wrinkles significant because the geographic distribution of depictions suggested that this attire type was specific only to *Eraviscus* women.¹⁸ However, the data reviewed in this dissertation do not support this hypothesis. In particular, the data seem to indicate that neither the strong ‘V’ shaped wrinkles, nor the related ‘U’ shaped wrinkles are specific only to the region where the *Eravisci* are assumed to have lived.¹⁹ Therefore, these patterns cannot serve as the basis of group definition. Two tombstones from Szomód²⁰ and one from Esztergom²¹ show a dress similar to Rothe/O3 found on tombstones in the Leitha area. The geographic distribution of the O3 dress depictions suggests a relation to the *Boius* tribe.²² However, the three tombstones, and another one found in Seča Reka,²³ raise the question whether this dress characterizes a single group. In addition, some women analyzed were depicted as wearing a dress called *tunica/tunica 2*,

▷ bottom, B) a long skirt with wavy or ruffle bottom, C) a long skirt with unknown bottom, D) short skirt with straight bottom, E) short skirt with wavy or ruffle bottom. On the horizontal axis, several shapes of wrinkles can be seen: 1) unwrinkled, 2) ‘V’ shaped wrinkles, 3a) ‘U’ shaped wrinkles with little upright wrinkles, 3b) ‘U’ shaped wrinkles with little ‘V’ shaped wrinkles, 4) upright wrinkles. Thirteen of these forms can be seen on depictions from Hungary.

18 FITZ 1957, 137.

19 Some skirts with wrinkles in the shape of ‘V’: Leibnitz (Lupa Nr. 1219), Pazarić (Lupa Nr. 23771), Sankt Georgen am Längsee (Lupa Nr. 878), Seggauberg (Lupa Nr. 1213, Nr. 1318, Nr. 1332, Nr. 1340). Some skirts with wrinkles in the shape of ‘U’ and hidden belt: Landscha (Lupa Nr. 8511), Lendorf/Klagenfurt (Lupa Nr. 881), Sankt Johann ob Hohenburg (Lupa Nr. 1159), Seggauberg (Lupa Nr. 1206).

20 SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A22/1/1 = Lupa Nr. 718; SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A23/1/1 = Lupa Nr. 707.

21 SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A119/1/1 = Lupa Nr. 5989.

22 ROTHE 2012, 187–188, Map 2.

23 Lupa Nr. 29880.

a piece of clothing that is clearly different from the native female sleeveless over-dress.²⁴

Based on depictions, it appears that veils and hats are typical elements of the native female attire. However, in light of recent research, these accessories can be defined as separate elements.²⁵ According to the depictions, seven main types²⁶ and 20 subtypes of headwear can be established (Fig. 7, Table 1).²⁷ The distribution of each type had to be examined, therefore further depictions known from the literature are noted as parallels. Previous research supposed a connection between headwear and pre-Roman tribes in many cases. Wearing H1.2,²⁸ H3,²⁹ H5³⁰ and H8³¹ hats was believed to be special to the *Eravisci* and the *Asali* (H3),³² the *Boii* (H5),³³ and the habitants in the area of Flavia Solva (H1.2)³⁴ and Virunum (H8).³⁵ Based on my investigations, wearing H3 was more common and parallels can be found outside North-Eastern Pannonia. U. Rothe already found H8 beyond the area of Virunum, and my investigations reinforce and complement her work. H4 should also be mentioned. This combination of head scarf, a long piece of cloth around the head, and a bonnet-like headwear on the top, appears on the tombstone of Flavia Tattunis.³⁶ Although the inscription names her as an *Eraviscus*, this headwear should not be identified as a typical hat of the tribe: instead, it probably appeared due to fashion change. In addition to headwear styles, the change of habits is also important. Especially significant is the lack of veils on headwear, whether hair is visible under the headwear, or headwear is missing altogether.³⁷

24 Moreover, it was clearly worn over an under-skirt on some depictions of the investigated area: Budapest: SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A134/1/1 = Lupa Nr. 3052; SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A135/1/1–2 = Lupa Nr. 2875.

25 J. Fitz used the term *turbán-fátyol* (veiled turban), while J. Garbsch spoke of *Schleierhaube* and *Turban mit Schleier* (veiled bonnet, veiled turban) (FITZ 1957, 137, 146–151; GARBSCH 1965, 19–21). Later, U. Rothe drew attention to that the hat and the veil are separate elements (ROTHER 2012, 195, 205) and I agree with her opinion.

26 U. Rothe's typology (ROTHER 2012, 198–211, Fig. 48, Fig. 54) was followed but most of the types were subdivided. H1, H5 and H9 types are not presented on tombstones from Hungary.

27 In addition to the shape of the hat, head scarves, layers of the hat and texture are important differences. Additional head scarves are signed on the illustration with grey.

28 Norican bonnet/*norische Haube* (ROTHER 2012, 203–204, Fig. 48/H1.2.1–H1.2.2, Map 5).

29 Single-layered, large bonnet/*einlagige große Haube* (ROTHER 2012, 207, Fig. 54/H3, Map 6).

30 Fur hat/*Pelzmütze* (ROTHER 2012, 208, Fig. 54/H5, Map 6) = *Lajta-vidéki szőrmekalap* (FITZ 1957, 137, 148, Kat. 41, 45–46, 49, 51), *Pelzhut* (GARBSCH 1965, 18–19), *Pelzhut* (GARBSCH 1985, 559, Abb. 3,1).

31 Modius hat/*Modiusmütze* (ROTHER 2012, 211, Fig. 54/H8, Map 7) = *biretum* (FITZ 1957, 137, 148–149, Kat. 29, 34, 39, 64), *Modiusmütze* (GARBSCH 1965, 17–18), *modius-Mütze* (GARBSCH 1985, 559, Abb. 3,2).

32 According to U. Rothe, H3 appears exclusively on the depictions of North-Eastern Pannonia and she considered the possibility of an ethnic connection (ROTHER 2012, 207). The veiled turban and veiled bonnet of J. Fitz and J. Garbsch partly belong to H3 type. According to J. Garbsch, these two hats are the characteristic head-wear of North-Eastern Pannonia (GARBSCH 1965, 125; GARBSCH 1985, 559). Moreover, veiled turban is believed to be a special accessory of the *Eravisci* by J. Fitz (FITZ 1957, 137).

33 H5 can be identified on tombstones of North-Western Pannonia in the Leitha region (ROTHER 2012, 549, footnote, Map 6) and none of this was found on tombstones of my catalogue. It is associated as a head-wear of the *Boii* by J. Garbsch and others (FITZ 1957, 137–138; GARBSCH 1965, 18–19; GARBSCH 1985, 559; ROTHER 2012, 550, footnote). However, H5 is never combined with other dress accessories typical in the Leitha region, namely V1 veil and O3 over-dress (ROTHER 2012, 187–188, 195, 208).

34 H1.2 style of norican bonnet was identified in the region of Flavia Solva by U. Rothe (ROTHER 2012, 203, Map 5).

35 H8 named modius hat is identified in the area of Virunum by V. Von Geramb and J. Garbsch (GARBSCH 1965, 17–18; GARBSCH 1985, 559). Another hat of the same form is called to *biretum* by J. Hampel and J. Fitz. It is supposed to be worn by the *Asali* (HAMPEL 1910, 340–341; FITZ 1957, 148–149). H8 can be found beyond the area of Virunum but it accumulates here. U. Rothe rejected the idea of the tribal ethnic marker and discussed the opportunity of the religious role of these hats (ROTHER 2012, 211).

36 SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A12 = Lupa Nr. 805.

37 Earlier researches also played attention to these features (LÁNG 1919, 213; FITZ 1957, 142; ROTHER 2012, 193).

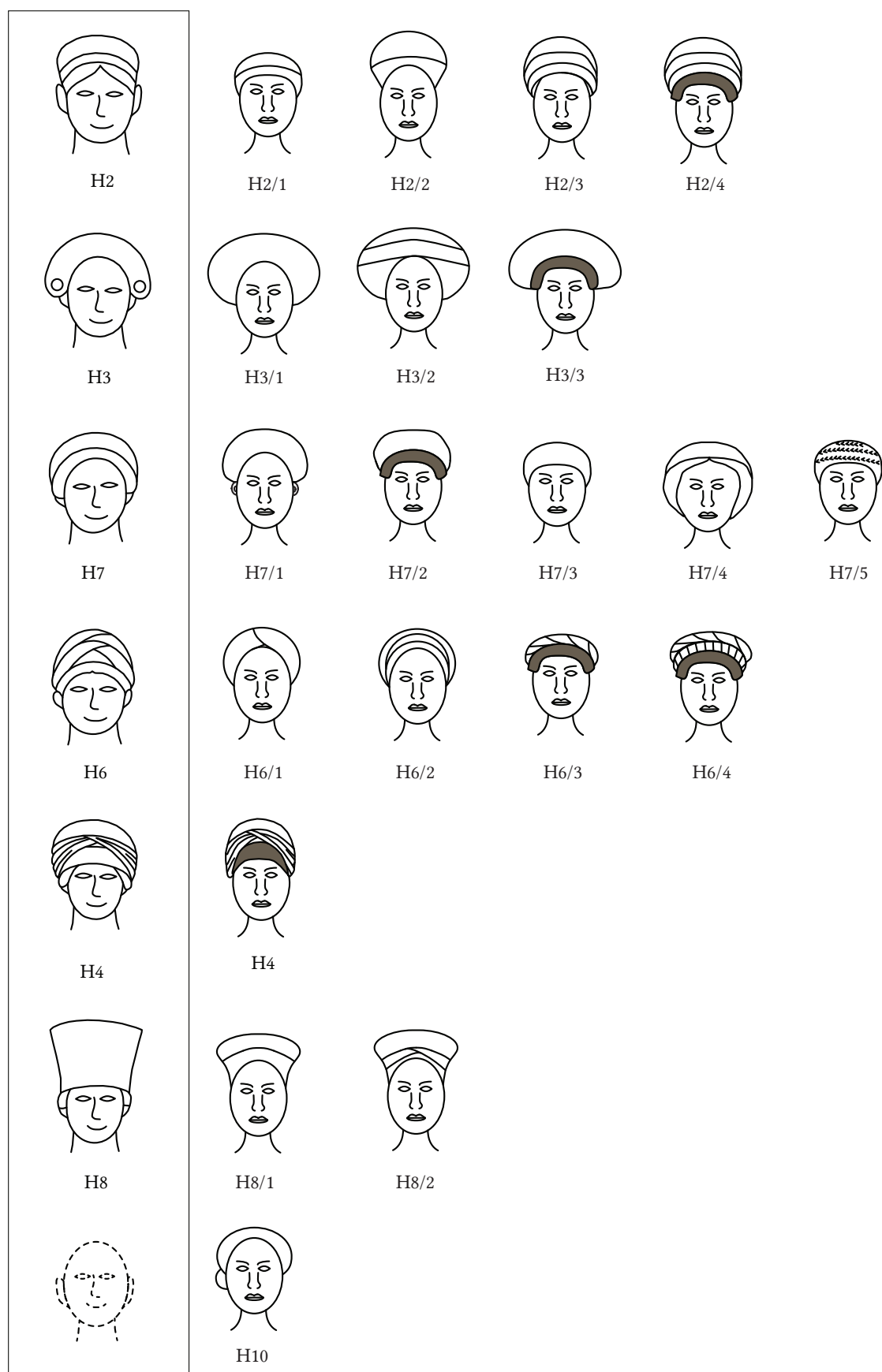


Fig. 7. Different headwear on stone monuments in Hungary. U. Rothe's types are placed in a frame, which are then subdivided by the author.

Wearing a cloak is another typical feature of the depicted attires. I defined four main ways in which cloak is worn, each of them related to changes in the native female attire (*Fig. 8; Table 1*). Among native female garment elements, shoes are the hardest to analyze. Nevertheless, in this context a distinguishing feature is the application of rivets, which was a Roman habit.

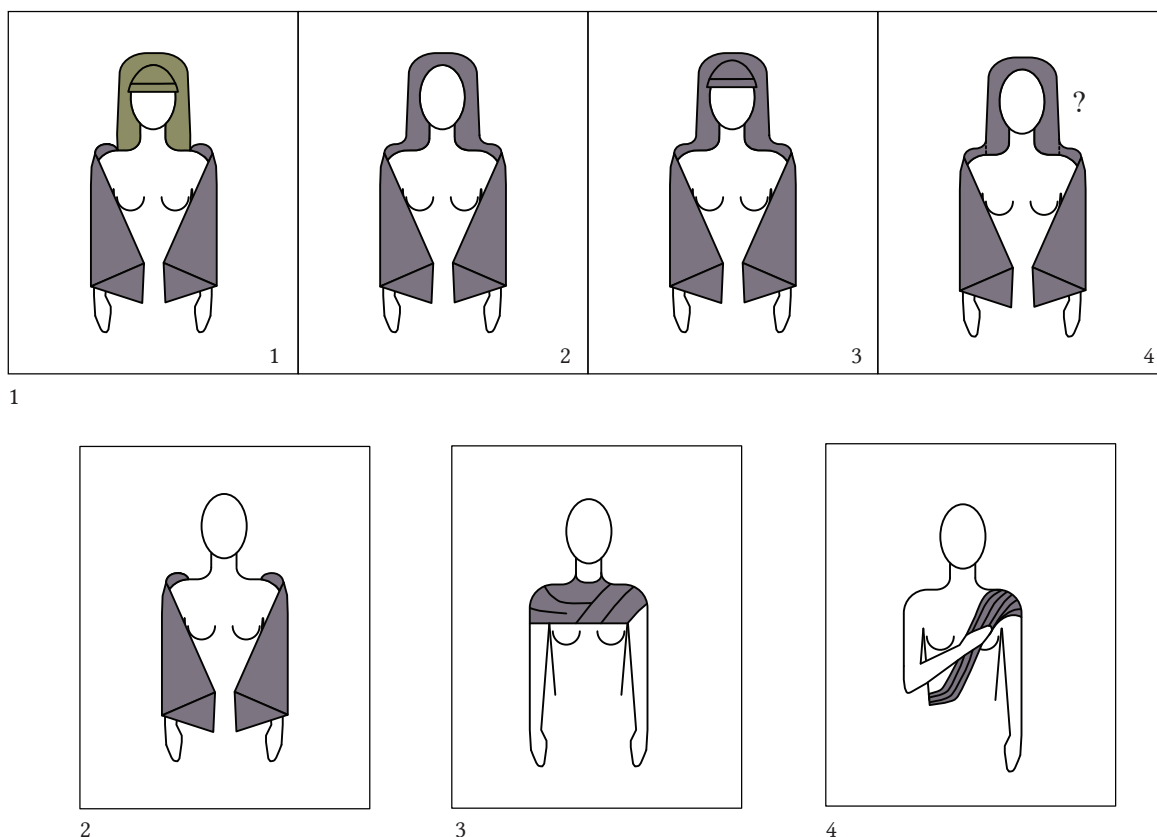


Fig. 8. Cloaks of the native female attire depicted on stone monuments of Hungary.

The assessment of aprons did not yield such clear conclusions. Classified into two types and further subcategories (*Fig. 9; Table 1*), this piece of garment appears mainly on depictions found in the *Eraviscus* region. This information led several researchers to suggesting that the apron is a typical accessory of the tribe.³⁸ It is very important that I found depictions of women with aprons from Neudörfel³⁹ and Seča Reka.⁴⁰ These stones are from beyond the *Eraviscus* territory and suggest the use of this special accessory in areas outside it.

An integral part of the native female attire is the belt. Four different types and several subtypes of belts could be established (*Figs 10–11; Table 1*). The different types suggest mostly differences over time, but geographic patterns are not obvious. The remarkable broad sash belts and belts with straps are supposed to be replaced by the cord belt and the hidden belt.⁴¹ Belts with straps can be partly related to Norico–Pannonian mounted belts. According to actual research, these belts were clearly part

38 FITZ 1957, 137; BÍRÓ 2003, 92. The headwear of women wearing an apron was investigated by U. Rothe. According to her results, North-Eastern Pannonian H2 and H3 hats belonged to these attires (ROTHE 2012, 190–191). Based on my investigations, none of the hats were exclusively present in the *Eraviscian* area and an ethnic connection cannot be supposed in this way.

39 Lupa Nr. 431.

40 Lupa Nr. 29880.

41 Actually the hidden belt is presumed to be a new way of belt wearing and unchanged forms of previous belts (ROTHE 2012, 220).

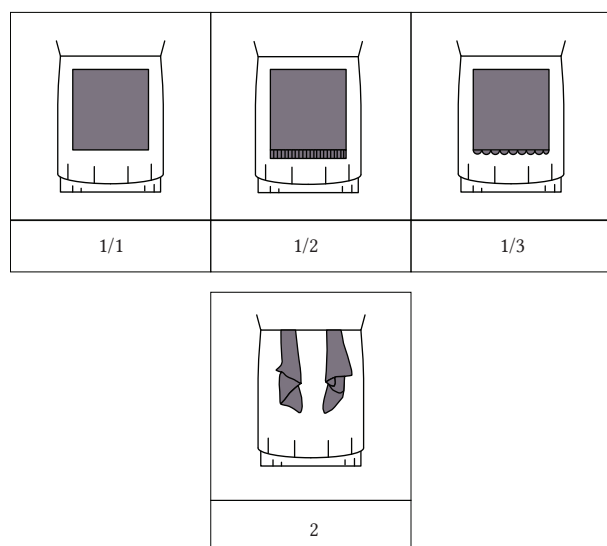


Fig. 9. Aprons of the native female attire depicted on stone monuments of Hungary. The bottom of the rectangular aprons can be straight (Kö1/1), and decorated with fringe (Kö1/2) or ruffle (Kö1/3).

Especially important are the Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae, which were distinguishing accessories of the female attire during the Principate period. This type of fibula, originated from the late La Tène period, was present in this region in many variations produced beyond the province and later versions crafted in Pannonia (Győr–Ménfőcsanak, Szakály–Réti-földek and Szőny).⁴² Fashions of different fibula types was influenced by both workshop-specific innovations and more general effects by trade relations or military campaigns, which explain why different pieces appear across vast distances and within short time periods. However, the main characteristics of the Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae were steady and were an integral part of the native attire between the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. My conjecture is that the constant presence could not have been spontaneous because jewelry is the archetypical object of fashion, given its potential variability in materials, shapes, and ornaments. Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae can be considered a sort of conservative element of the attire under investigation, and can be defined as a fibula type that signals native identity.

Bow-tie shaped fibulae which, to our present knowledge, appear only in the native female attire⁴³ must have been created as part of some sort of innovation. Although this type was earlier dated to the 2nd century, its longer use and inter-generational inheritability suggest we cannot rule out the possibility that it was produced earlier, probably in the 1st century AD. Both tombstone depictions and archeological finds led researchers to think that this type could be attributed exclusively to the *Eraviscus* attire. However, this view seems unlikely in light of more recent results.

42 Győr–Ménfőcsanak: BÍRÓ 2013, 251, Abb. 2,3 = SEY 2013, Kat. 95; Szakály–Réti-földek: GABLER 1982, 90, Fig. 19 = SEY 2013, Kat. 418; Szőny: SÁRÓ 2021, Cat. 1, Fig. 1. 1.

43 Bow-tie shaped fibulae are part of female attire on depictions. They were found on the shoulders of a 25–29 years old woman in grave No. 795/Aquincum-Graphisoft Park and two fibulae belonged to the attire of the deceased in grave No. 13/Aquincum-4 Sajka street, grave No. 5/Mány, tumulus No. 56/Pátka and tumulus No. 1/Pusztaszabolcs-Felsőcikola. One fibula was found in grave No. 2/Adony-MOL gas station and grave No. 107/Százhalombatta-Olajtárolzó but these graves were disturbed so no conclusion can be drawn from this information. The above mentioned details were summarized in SÁRÓ – LASSÁNYI 2019, 159, 167–170. However, the form of the fibula resembles to a shield so a hypothesis can be proposed, namely their former use by men or some other connection to them can be supposed.

of the native attire in North-Eastern Pannonia. However, other belts with metal fitting could belong to women's attire, as demonstrated by some graves from the region.

Fibulae were worn on the shoulders and on the chest. Pairs of shoulder fibulae, are a typical element of the native female attire. Over time, fibulae lost their original purpose of holding the dresses together, their number decreased to one, and women eventually stopped wearing them on the shoulders. Instead, fibulae were worn as a broche on the chest, if at all.

Comparing the fibulae of depicted female attires to existing results, I have categorized fibulae into 13 types (*Table 1*). None of them can be attributed exclusively to the *Eraviscus* tribe but different types can be associated with changes in fashion.

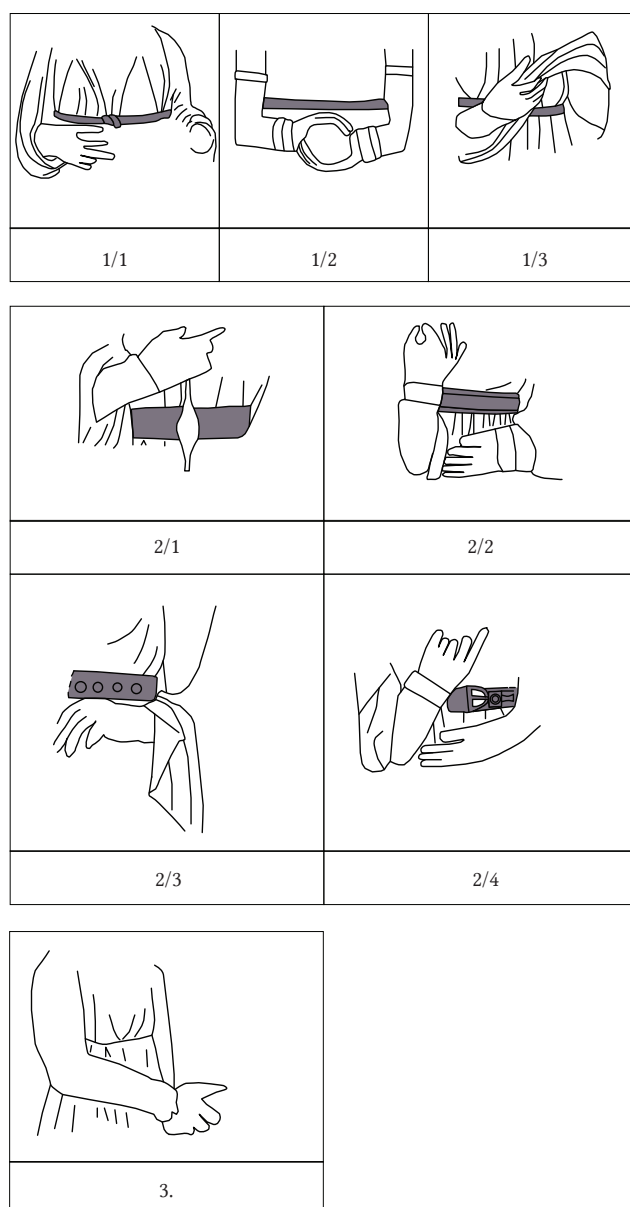


Fig. 10. Belts of the native female attire depicted on stone monuments of Hungary. Cord belt with a front knot (Ö1/1), without a front knot (Ö1/2) and an unknown knot position (Ö1/3). Broad sash belt (Ö2/1), broad sash belt with decorated edges or made of multiple layers (Ö2/2), with mounts (Ö2/3), with buckle and mounts (Ö2/4). Hidden belt (Ö3).

Additional jewelry can be identified as part of the native female attire. Although I could not determine and exactly define the headwear ornaments (fibula or needle), I have found instances of the same habit in the form of monuments from Dalmatia and the Rhine. Based on their shape, it is inferred that these jewels do not show obvious pre-Roman connection. There are similarities to

The earliest types of strongly profiled fibulae can also be originated from the late La Tène, and many variations of the type were created during the early period of the Principate because the type was manufactured in many locations. This statement holds also for the Pannonian trumpet and knee fibulae developed during the Principate. Men, women, and children all wore these types. Early Principate hinged-pin bow fibulae are irregular in the region. The fact that they appear as part of the native female attire demonstrates that traditional pre-Roman attire may have been mixed with new elements. The cicada-, disc-, and other geometric-shaped fibula types are also of foreign origin, although in principle they could have been produced also in Pannonia, becoming common accessories of the attire. Attires depicted (Fig. 12) and grave finds enabled the investigation of fibula combinations as well.

Pendants and chains may have been attached to fibulae, based on the costumes of 11 depicted persons. There are obvious relationships to stone depictions and to archeological finds. There are ample examples of ring pendants and chained fibulae from several regions and periods of time, which highlights the global nature of habits. Much more restricted geographically is the distribution of ivy leaf-shaped pendants: they can be related to the native attire of the population of the Sava–Drina area.⁴⁴ These pendants appear on stones from Dunaújváros, Ercsi, and Tác,⁴⁵ and a pair of anchor shaped fibula with ivy leaf-shaped pendants is known from Szőny.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ POPOVIĆ 2011, 182–184, Fig. 7, Fig. 9.

⁴⁵ SÁRÓ 2020, Kat. A28 = Lupa Nr. 726, Kat. A33/1/1–2 = Lupa Nr. 3586, Kat. A64/1/1 = Lupa Nr. 3974.

⁴⁶ According to I. Popović, the fibula was sold to the British Museum in 1990 by the Pitt-River's Collection and the named finding place was Szőny (POPOVIĆ 1997, 79).

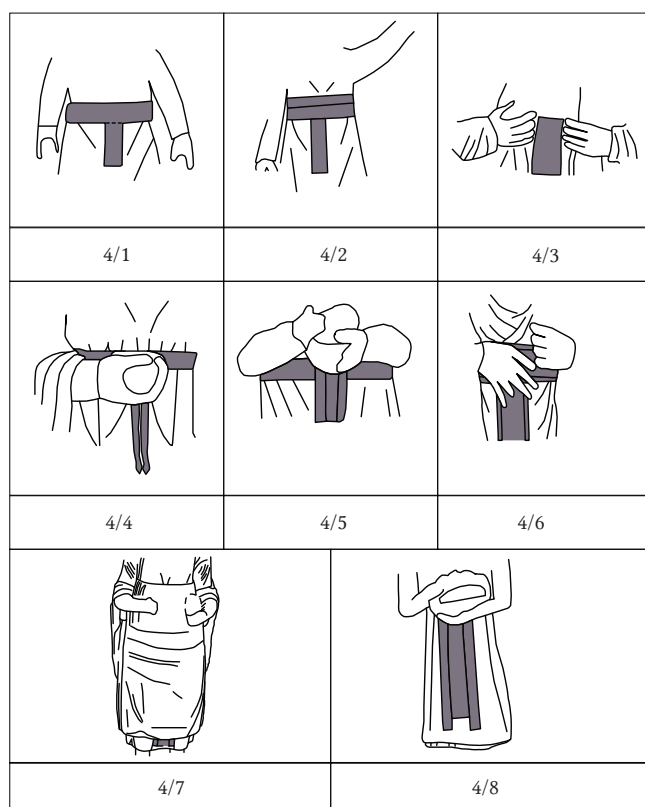


Fig. 11. Belts of the native female attire depicted on the stone monuments of Hungary. Sash belt with one strap (Ö4/1), double sash belt with one strap (Ö4/2), unknown belt type with one strap (Ö4/3), sash belt with two straps and strap-ending mounts (Ö4/4), sash belt with three straps (Ö4/5), broad sash belt with decorated edges or made of multiple layers with three (?) straps (Ö4/6), hidden belt with three straps (Ö4/7), unknown belt type with three straps (Ö4/8).

mental discs, namely Zierscheiben.⁵⁰ Additional southern connections are suggested by the single instance of an ivy leaf-shaped pendant, which was widespread among the native female attires in the Sava–Drina valley.⁵¹ Lunula pendants are general accessories of Italian-Roman attires in the Principate period. They can be observed only on seven persons, a small sample relative to the number of depictions from Noricum. Ornamented by smaller and larger circular pendants, these necklaces are related to popular pendants of the Principate period. Several techniques can be noted like relief decoration, openwork technique and inlay technique, plus framed cameos, gemmas, and coins were also used as pendants. According to the dating of archaeological finds, the pendants depicted are most likely connected to pendants with the openwork and inlay technique. In addition to the three aforementioned pendants, the influence of imperial fashion can also be seen on pearl necklaces.

items in archeological finds, to the circular⁴⁷ and flower-shaped fibula types⁴⁸ and the heavily ornamented big-headed pins known from Aquincum and Brigetio.⁴⁹

Similarly to fibulae, necklace shapes have been classified. I have defined five categories, with a total of 21 subcategories based on additional differences (Fig. 13; Table 1). Regional use that is characteristic exclusively of the *Eraviscus* region could not be found for any of the necklace variants. However, assessing these necklaces together with archeological finds and in the context of fashion dynamics is straightforward. Another important objective of this dissertation is the overview and typology of necklaces because, as with fibulae, the nomenclature used in earlier research shows considerable variation.

On stone depictions, a significant number of necklaces (64 pieces) are torques that exhibit clear pre-Roman connections. Pendantless necklaces can be seen only in four cases, and they probably connect to the loop-in-loop chains. Similarly, in only four cases was it possible to identify necklaces with one big disk. These necklaces with one big round pendant were related to the Western-European orna-

47 Roman Age circular disc fibulae can be decorated with chased circles, niello, enamel, openwork technique, openwork technique and riveting, openwork technique and enamel, glass inlay, enamel and glass inlay and metal sheet covering as well.

48 Type: Riha 7.2.1 = Ortisi 21e. For example: RIHA 1979, 180–181, Taf. 57,1516; ORTISI 2002, 39, Taf. 20,346.

49 BARTUS 2008, 37, Fig. 2; FACSÁDY 2009, 127, Kat. 339–340.

50 These disks are well-known from Western European archeological finds and tombstones. For example: BÖHME 1985, 429, Abb. 4; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1995, 5, 8, Abb. 3, Abb. 4a–5a.

51 POPOVIĆ 2011, 182–184, Fig. 11,2.






















shoulders chest															none
none	77 women	2 women	1 woman		2 women	1 woman	1 woman	1 woman	1 woman	3 women	4 women	4 women	1 woman		
 FiA.3	6 women														
 FiA.4	1 woman														
 FiB.3	9 women			1 woman								6 women		1 woman	
 FiB.3	1 woman														
 FiB.4.1	3 women														
 FiB.4.2															1 woman
 ? FiC	1 woman											1 woman			

Fig. 12. Depicted fibula types and their combinations as part of the native female attire based on the stone monuments in Hungary.

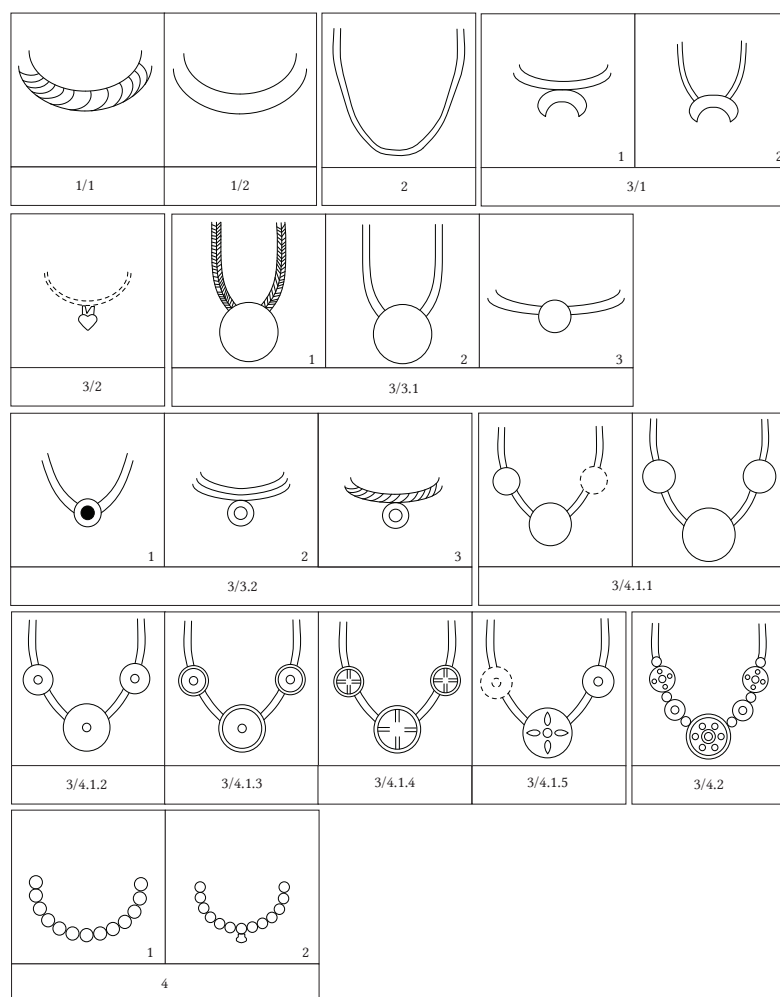


Fig. 13. Necklaces of the native female attire depicted on stone monuments in Hungary.

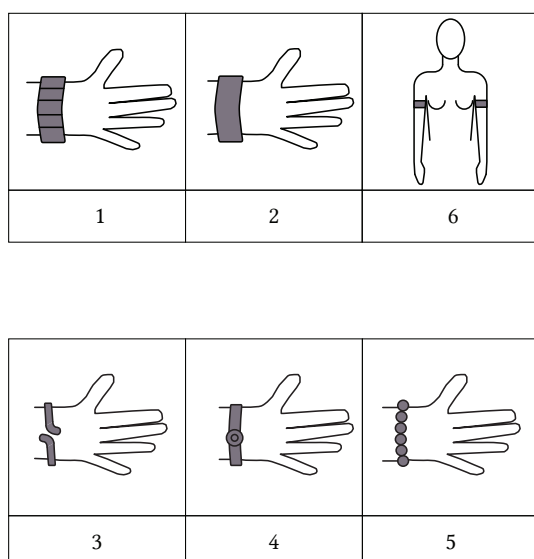


Fig. 14. Bracelets of the native female attire depicted on stone monuments in Hungary.

on this component of the native female attire although this type of jewelry is clearly visible on depictions. The nine women on these stones are probably wearing earrings. I defined three shapes that can to some extent be related to archeological finds (*Table. 1*). Two graves from the investigated area demonstrate the presence of earrings as part of the native attire as well. In grave No. 1/Nagyvenyim, two Norico–Pannonian wing fibulae (Sáró 4.4.1) and an impair hoop-earring were found. The deceased woman of grave No. 30/Budaörs wore two strongly profiled fibulae (Sáró 7.1.4) and a pair of Facsády I/a⁵² looped hoop-earrings. The presence of earrings itself clearly demonstrates the possibility that items of diverse origins may have been mixed on the native female attire.

Rings certainly cannot be seen in any of the depictions,⁵³ although they have been unearthed from several female graves in the region. Celtic people wore ring jewelry as well, but during the Principate, every case where the attire contains rings shows signs of contemporary fashion rather than traditionalism.

In order to classify all attire accessories, I have tried to define four broad categories based on their origin. The first group contains items clearly related to pre-Roman attires (PR). The second category consists of items where these characteristics are modified (Á-PR). The third group includes items that show characteristics like local pre-Roman styles but appear in this region as new (Ú-PR). The fourth category consists of items more clearly influenced by the Principate's 'Imperial' fashion (CS). Hypothetically, attires from the Principate period can be placed into three additional groups depending upon attire components. Based on this classification, attires may be of the pre-Roman, hybrid, and Imperial-Roman-style. The variability in the size and completeness of depictions does not allow the division of clothes ensembles into main groups. However, this approach is feasible for jewelry.

It is possible to define 47 different groups for depicted full female jewelry ensembles. Incomplete depictions yielded 40 groups (*Fig. 15*). In most cases, jewelry was depicted together with some

Bracelets are less informative because the variation in shape observed across these items appears smaller. I have defined six categories based on shape and the way they were worn (*Fig. 14; Table. 1*). Although I could not identify a bracelet that could be attributed exclusively to the *Eraviscus* tribe, several shapes can be identified related to various fashion styles. Pre-Roman influence is shown by the large, robust, plain, and fragmented bracelets, and the fact that some of these were worn on the upper arm. Bracelets with snake-heads plus bracelets with circular inlays, furthermore pearl bracelets were popular during the Roman Age and were part of the Italian-Roman attire as well.

Earrings are not typical jewelry among pre-Roman peoples. In the area of the ears, there is jewelry on eight depictions. Earlier research did not focus

52 FACSÁDY 2006, 52, 3. ábra; FACSÁDY 2008, 230, Fig. 1; FACSÁDY 2009, 73, 5. tábla

53 On a tombstone from Budapest (SÁRÓ 2020, Cat. A41 = Lupa Nr. 765), all women or one of them supposed to wear ring by previous researchers (RÓMER – DESJARDINS 1873, 124, Nr. 220; HAMPEL 1906, 47, Nr. 40).

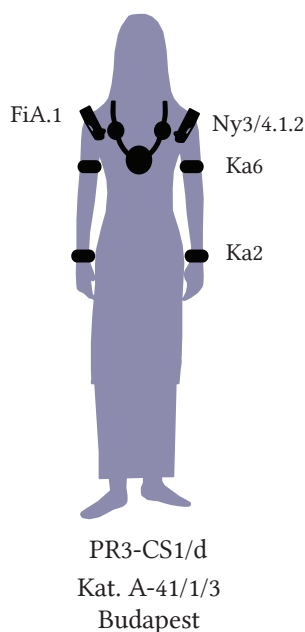


Fig. 15. An example for fibulae and jewelry ensembles based on depicted attires on stone monuments of Hungary: SÁRÓ 2020, Kat. A41/1/3 = Lupa Nr. 765: A pair of FiA.1 (Norico–Pannonian wing fibula), Ka2 (large, robust, plain bracelet) and Ka6 (plain bracelet worn on the upper arm) have pre-Roman connection, while Ny3/4.1.2 (necklace with three round and decorated pendants) is a necklace of the Italian-Roman ‘colorful jewelry’ fashion.

other garment element, and the attires could be defined as ‘hybrid’. Fourteen tombstone depictions exhibit a significant amount of pre-Roman characteristics. However, not all are from *Civitas Eviscorum*: one is known from Sopron, Szőny and Torony-Ondód each.

Conclusions

Based on depictions and archaeological finds, attire elements have been thoroughly investigated. The objective of my comparative analysis was to determine whether there is an accessory limited to the region under investigation, which can then be defined as specific to the *Eraviscus* tribe. In conclusion, it seems that the *Eraviscian* attire cannot be clearly described by any tribe-specific attire element in the Principate. According to the dates of tombstones and artifacts, I have examined the period of use for the attire accessories. Finally, the idea of an unchanged or a periodized native female costume needs to be rejected. This attire was changing continuously, with its rapidity connected to the wearers’ social status, wealth, personal taste, and the location of their residence.

Online sources

LUPA = Ubi Erat Lupa Datenbank für römische Steindenkmäler: <http://lupa.at/> and <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>

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Tab. 1. Short list of abbreviations in the dissertation.

Abbreviation	Hungarian/Latin	English/Latin
H	főkötő/fejfedő	bonnet/headwear
H2	rétégzett főkötő	bonnet of a few layers
H3	nagyméretű, gömbölyded főkötő/kalap	big, roundish bonnet/hat
H4	nagyméretű turbán főkötő	big turban-bonnet
H6	turbán	turban
H7	szoros, sima főkötő	tight, plain bonnet
H8	modius kalap	modius hat
H10	fejkendő	head scarf
Ke	kendő	cloak
Ke1	fej és vállakat takaró nagyméretű kendő	large cloak covering the head and shoulders
Ke2	vállakat takaró nagyméretű kendő	large cloak covering the shoulders
Ke3	vállakat takaró rövid, átlapoló kendő	short, interlapped cloak covering the shoulders
Ke4	<i>palla</i>	<i>palla</i>
Ö	öv	belt
Ö1	zsinóröv	cord belt

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Hungarian/Latin</i>	<i>English/Latin</i>
Ö2	szalagöv	sash belt
Ö3	rejtett öv	hidden belt
Ö4	szíjas öv	belt with straps
Kö	kötény	apron
Kö1	négyszögletes kötény	rectangular apron
Kö2	kendőszerű kötény	shawl-like apron
Fi	fibula	fibula
FiA.1	noricum-pannoniai szárnyas fibula	Norico–Pannonian wing fibula
FiA.2	egy gombos, erős profilú fibula	strongly profiled fibula
FiA.3	pannoniai trombitafibula	Pannonian trumpet fibula
FiA.4	térdfibula	knee fibula
FiA.5	csuklós tűszerkezetű ívfibula	hinged-pin bow fibula
FiA.6	Idrija típusú fibula	Idrija fibula
FiA	ívfibula	bow fibula
FiB.1	cikáda (rovar) alakú fibula	cicada shaped fibula
FiB.2	csokornyakkendő alakú fibula	bow-tie shaped fibula
FiB.3	korongfibula	disc fibula
FiB.4	geometrikus formájú lapfibula	geometric shaped plate fibula
FiB.4.1	szögletes lapfibula	rectangular plate fibula
FiB.4.2	pelta alakú lapfibula	pelta fibula
FiC	meghatározhatatlan típusú fibula	indefinable fibula
Fi+	fibulákhoz csatlakozó ékszer	jewelry joined to fibulae
H-tű	fejfedőt díszítő fibula/ékszer	headwear-related fibula/jewelry
Ny	nyakék	necklace
Ny1/1	sodrott torques	twisted torques
Ny1/2	tagolatlan felületű torques	unsegmented torques
Ny2	nyakék függő nélkül	necklace without pendant
Ny3/1	nyakék lunula alakú függővel	necklace with lunula pendant
Ny3/2	nyakék borostyánlevél alakú függővel	necklace with ivy leaf shaped pendant
Ny3/3.1	nyakék egy sima kerek függővel	necklace with one round and plain pendant
Ny3/3.2	nyakék egy tagolt felületű kerek függővel	necklace with one round pendant with segmented surface
Ny3/4.1	nyakék három kerek függővel	necklace with three round pendants
Ny3/4.2	nyakék öt nagy és hat kis kerek függővel	necklace with five large and six small round pendants
Ny4/1	gyöngyökből álló nyakék	pearl necklace

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Hungarian/Latin</i>	<i>English/Latin</i>
Ny4/2	gyöngyökből álló nyakék függővel	pearl necklace with pendant
Ka	karperec	bracelet
Ka1	tagolt felületű karperec	large, robust, fragmented bracelet
Ka2	sima felületű karperec	large, robust, plain bracelet
Ka3	kígyófejes karperec	bracelet with snake-heads
Ka4	díszített karperec	decorated bracelet
Ka5	gyöngykarperec	pearl bracelet
Ka6	felsőkaron viselt sima karperec	plain bracelet worn on the upper arm
Fü	fülbevaló	earring
Fü1	gömbölyű fülbevaló	round earring
Fü2	tagolt felületű fülbevaló	fragmented earring
Fü3	szögletes fülbevaló	rectangular earring