A Biometric Study of Equids in the Roman **World**

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Abstract

Arguably horses and their close relatives have been amongst the most important domestic mammals in the history of human development. Equids have provided benefits to humankind that other domestic mammals were unable to offer: - specifically their ability to be trained and ridden. Equids were particularly crucial to the expansion and success of the Roman Empire.

The equids studied for this thesis were the horse *(Equus cabal/us),* the donkey *(Equus asinus)* and their hybrid the mule (male donkey x female horse). The first major area of research focused on the discrimination of the bones of these equids. Anew methodology, using discriminant function analysis on biometric data, was developed to enable the positive identification of these equids. This methodology was then applied to a large set of archaeological data to determine whether there was a real discrepancy in species proportions between the contemporaneous literature and the zooarchaeological record. It was discovered that the hitherto perceived difference was caused by identification problems and that mules were ubiquitous across the Empire.

Withers height estimations, shape index and log ratio calculations were carried out on the identified equid material to look at differences between various groups of data. Itwas established that Roman conquest had an effect on the physical appearance of horses in the Empire. This effect varied considerably and although improvements in size were universal the appearance of the Roman horses was found to vary according to the differences in the preceding Iron Age stock, corroborating the contemporaneous literature and art historical sources. Itwas also determined that the trade of, and use of, equids was evident from the presence of mules and donkeys in areas external to, but contemporaneous with, the Empire.

This study shows the potential of a synthetic biometric survey of a single family of animals, within geographic and temporal limits, once the problem of identification has been overcome.

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Contents

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List of figures

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List of Appendix figures

List of Appendix **tables**

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Author's Declaration

I declare that to the best of my knowledge any previously published material included here has been acknowledged as such and that the rest is my own work.

Chapter One - Introduction

1.1 Subject to be addressed

Arguably horses and their close relatives have been amongst the most important domestic mammals in the history of human development. Equids have provided benefits to humankind that other domestic mammals have been unable to offer, specifically their ability to be trained and ridden. This ability has influenced the later prehistory and history of most of the Old World, from the Assyrians, Egyptians and Scythians, through the Greek and Roman civilisations, to Genghis Khan, the European medieval feudal system and the Crusades; all have been aided by and have relied upon equids (Clutton-Brock 1992: Peters 1998). The more recent history of the European conquest of the New World was also successful because of horses.

Inthe introduction to the book *Equus: the horse in the Roman world* Hyland (1990: 1) states that:

In many ways we are the inheritors of Roman expertise. With regard to the horse there are many links in the way we ride him, the equipment we use, the veterinary care he receives, his nutrition and general care. Most telling is the way he is trained, particularly for military use: his display oftalent on the parade ground, the elaborate tack he carried, the very considerable weight of rider and armour under which he was expected to perform to optimum efficiency. Today many riders benefit from the methods used to train the Roman cavalryman and their mounts to a high degree of proficiency.

Inaddition to this, the practice ofbreeding animals to fulfil specific roles was initiated at this time and has continued down to the present day (Peters 1998). This process has resulted in the very great variety of equid breeds we have today, many of which have been bred for specific purposes, from the Shetland, Dales and Welsh ponies to the heavy draught horses and racing Thoroughbreds.

Equids were particularly crucial in the expansion and success of the Roman Empire. This was at least partly due to military foresight in making full use of the equids available, not only as cavalry but to move infantry from place to place and to provision the army both on campaign and at base. In addition to military use, equids were important in trade and communications both within the Empire and across its borders. Horses also played a part in providing entertainment for the populace in chariot races and other entertainment within the circuses and amphitheatres around the empire. 'Despite its complicated political and social structure the Roman Empire depended entirely on oxen, mules, donkeys and horses for all its land transport and postal service'(Clutton-Brock 1992: 118).

Without its mule-borne baggage the legions would have found it virtually impossible to operate. As frontiers extended cavalry increasingly became a military arm in both size and importance. Without the racing fraternity and their passionate addiction to sport the circus would not have existed. Efficient transport haulage by land would have been nonexistent, hampered and slowed to oxen pace. The cities' bakery mills would have lacked motive power and bread risen in price. Rapid communications, so vital in a military state, would have been absent (Hyland 1990: 2).

It has even been said (Clutton-Brock 1992) that a lack of horsepower was one factor in the eventual decline of the Empire, when better mounted 'barbarian' groups, more experienced in fighting from horseback, gained the upper hand.

Although a limited amount of information on these matters is available from contemporaneous literature, there are many aspects of Roman equids and their interactions with humans that remain unknown. These include such details as the sizes and shape/build of the equids of the Roman world, the movements of equids around the Empire and the ratio of horses, donkeys and mules used for different purposes in different areas. Many of these aspects may well have been considered common knowledge by the Roman authors and therefore not worthy of mention. Alternatively, some aspects may have been treated as secret, such as the breeding of chariot horses, or too specialised for general writers to concern themselves with. However, many of these aspects are of interest to archaeology and zooarchaeology as they can elucidate details of life in the Roman world that were previously unclear.

Some information has been gleaned from the archaeological record, but it is scattered throughout innumerable publications and archives, originating from countries in allparts of the former Empire. The aim of this project was to bring together what is currently known about equids in the Roman world and to extend that knowledge through further analysis of the zooarchaeological evidence.

Before going any further it would be beneficial to describe exactly which animals I will be dealing with in the course of this thesis. The horse family (Equidae) includes horses *(Equus caballus* L.), donkeys/asses *(Equus asinus* L.), half-asses (onager, khur and kiang *Equus hemionus* ssp.) and zebras *(Equus burchelli* etc), together with their hybrids. The taxonomic nomenclature of species that have extant wild and domestic forms is the subject of much debate. The issue is discussed in more detail in the terminology section *(1.5)* below, and the nomenclature used above and throughout this thesis is that recommended by the International Council for Zoological Nomenclature in an article in their Bulletin (Gentry *et al. 1996).*

In relation to the hybrids it is worth mentioning that the different species of Equidae have different diploid numbers of chromosomes, therefore their hybrid offspring have an odd number of chromosomes resulting in the vast majority of these animals being sterile because the odd number cannot be divided to make equal gametes. Domestic horses have a chromosome number of64 and donkeys of62, leading to mules having 63 chromosomes (Clutton-Brock 1992). Occasionally mules do produce offspring but this is such a rare occurrence that the Romans had a phrase *cum mula peperit*, 'when a mule foals', similar in usage to 'when pigs fly' and 'once in a blue moon' (Kay2002).

In the context of the Roman Empire it is possible that the remains of all the species mentioned above could be found in archaeological assemblages dating to this period. However, halfasses and zebras, though sometimes tamed, have never been domesticated and the only likely way they would be found in Roman assemblages is as casualties from one of the many animal spectacles put on to entertain the public around the Empire but mostly in Rome. Wild horses and donkeys were also used in these spectacles (Hyland 1990). However, it is unlikely that any of these would be found in the vast proportion of archaeological assemblages from around the Empire and, taking this into account, they have been excluded from these investigations. Consequently, the following work is based on the main domestic equid species: horses, donkeys and the hybrid mules (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1*Pictures ofmodern equids. Clockwisefrom top left horse (Arabian),pony (High*land), mule and donkey. (Arabian from Archer 1992, Highland and donkey author's pho*tos, mule courtesy ofT. P. O'Connor)*

1.2 Introduction to current research themes in studies of the Roman world

In 1888 Pitt-Rivers wrote 'it is next to impossible to give a continuous narrative of any archaeological investigation that is entirely free of bias; undue stress will be laid upon facts that seem to have an important bearing upon theories that are current at the time while others that might come to be considered of greater value afterwards are put in the background or not recorded' (quoted in Luff 1982).

Despite more than a century of archaeological investigations since Pitt-Rivers' statement, it is still true that current research themes, theoretical frameworks and methodologies play a major role in the way in which the discussion of archaeological material is targeted. Indeed in 1999 Goodman wrote that the choice of a framework for the discussion on Roman archaeology and literature studies is without doubt influenced by the taste and prejudices of the writer. This inevitably leads to bias in what is included and, perhaps more importantly, what is not included in any given publication. Goodman (1999) also suggests that, whilst new evidence often requires a shift in perception, this should be a matter for rejoicing rather than regret as new evidence invariably fits another piece into the puzzle, even if requiring the moving of other pieces first.

In addition, because of the time period over which books in particular are written and published, they are often slightly 'out of date' by the time they emerge. Journals are to some extent more current in terms of the research themes they address because the turn around time is quicker. Therefore, with the constraints just outlined, taking an overview from a selection of recently published books and current journals can give an impression of the current research themes pertaining to the sub-disciplines of archaeology. However, because of the diversity of these sub-disciplines within archaeology, there is inevitably great variety in the current research themes of each discipline. Therefore, the interaction of two or more disciplines can converge the current research themes and enhance the understanding of a particular topic by providing a fresh perspective on the evidence available.

It is hoped that the application of zooarchaeological techniques and evidence to the study of equids in the Roman World will bring about a better understanding of their role within the systems of the Empire. Conversely it is hoped that by integrating the information from Classical texts and archaeological knowledge of the Roman World into the results of the zooarchaeological analysis of equid remains, a better understanding of observed trends can be obtained.

Itwould not be practical to review all the current research themes in Roman archaeology, so this section has been limited to covering those themes that are considered most appropriate to the interpretation of the subject of the thesis. These include studies of the process of Romanisation (1.2.1), the degree of regionality in the Empire (1.2.2), discussion of frontier zones (1.2.3), the impact of the Empire on communities beyond the boundaries (1.2.4), the question of trade and supply to both the army and civilians (1.2.5) and the end of Roman rule (1.2.6). Many of these topics interrelate as would be expected for a series of themes essentially concerned with the same broad subject. During this section and the rest of Chapter 1, the areas of research that this project will attempt to address will be highlighted as bullet points with the heading 'Research aims'. The questions posed inthis manner will be those that will be enlarged upon in Chapter 7, although not in a question and answer format but as a discussion of the issues.

1.2.1 Romanisation

Following the order outlined above, the first topic, 'Romanisation', is one that recurs as a research theme in the archaeology of the Roman period. Romanisation is usually the term used to describe the process of 'becoming Roman' when an area was conquered. Traditionally this has mostly been written about from the viewpoint of the conqueror changing IronAge barbarians into civilised provincial Romans. The assumption that the Roman authority was the dominant force may be relevant in some areas, but needs careful thought before use (Barrett and Fitzpatrick 1989). Wells (2001) suggests that this is a one-sided view of what was actually a two-way process and that these same Iron Age societies were actually in the process of'Romanising' themselves through contacts with Mediterranean cultures before conquest took place. Fitzpatrick (1989) also indicates that the indigenous elites adopted some aspects of'Romanness' to their own advantage prior to conquest.

Wells (2001) argues that the conquest was only an intensification of interactions that had taken place for some time and therefore, that modern research should focus not just on the effects of conquest and imperial administration on indigenous peoples, but also on the active roles played by those peoples in the construction of the new colonial societies. Fitzpatrick (1989) also advocates this approach and suggests that the indigenous people played an important role in the integration of their communities into Roman Empire rather . than receiving Roman contact passively.

These interactions probably took many forms, such as diplomatic relations, military alliances, mercenary service and trade and exchange, the last two being perhaps the most visible archaeologically (Fitzpatrick 1989). Aspects of trade and exchange are discussed below. The exact nature of these interactions varies widely through time and in different areas. In some cases these interactions took place prior to conquest, whilst in other areas these were ongoing interactions across a relatively stable frontier zone as discussed below. These different situations required diverse interactions to achieve the aims of the Empire, *i.e.* the expansion or stabilisation of frontiers.

Another aspect of Romanisation is the effect of veteran colonies on an area. These veteran colonies were founded deliberately to settle people loyal to Rome (i.e. ex-soldiers) in a newly conquered area to serve as a deterrent to rebellion. This was started in Italy but gradually spread to other parts of the Empire as conquest proceeded. Therefore the veteran colonies formed a focus for Romanisation within areas of the Empire (Goodman 1999). These colonies would have attracted trade, as the ex-soldiers, who would have become accustomed to the Roman way of life during their military service, formed a demand for Roman goods.

• Research aims. In the light of the above research theme, there are several areas that can be addressed in relation to equids. For instance, what effect did the Roman conquest of a particular area have on the physical appearance of horses in that area? Were any changes the result of a process that started pre-conquest and was continued afterwards and is therefore manifested as a gradual change? Alternatively, are there any detectable changes between immediately pre- and post-conquest horses suggesting a sudden change consequent upon the conquest?

1.2.2 Regionality

The next research theme is intimately related to the process of Romanisation in general as it is the study ofregionality within the Empire. This is the study of differences between the degree and nature of Romanisation in different provinces. The study of regionality in the Roman Empire is the topic of a forthcoming conference session, making it a very current research theme. It is highly likely that the written sources overstate the degree to which the material culture and lifestyle in the provinces became 'Roman', because these authors were mostly based in the heart of the Empire and were themselves biased towards 'Romanness' (Wells 2001).

The word 'Romanisation' implies a standard process, and Wells (2001) argues that it is very clear from both the archaeological and epigraphic evidence that the differences between the conquered societies in various areas meant that the character of the interactions was different and therefore the process could not be standard. The archaeological evidence also shows a complex combination of indigenous traditions and elements introduced by the Roman military and administration, and which elements of each culture were combined depended on local needs and traditions. This means that the 'Roman citizens' of different provinces adopted the Mediterranean Roman traditions and culture in many ways and to a varied extent (Wells 2001). The pattern of change was different across different regions and each community experienced the changes differently. These differences are spelt out in the work of Goodman (1999), who devotes a chapter to each province (or group of similar provinces) to explain the politics and administration, the cultural makeup pre- and post-conquest and how the process of Romanisation manifested itself. It seems that the dominant aspect of these communities was diversity (Wells 2001), which is almost the opposite of the traditional view of uniformity across the Empire.

Recent studies (summarised in Goodman 1999 and Wells 2001) have shown that many communities did not adopt Roman styles as eagerly or as rapidly as others in their region did, either because they could not afford to do so, or in many cases, because they chose not to. Therefore, whilst the architecture of public buildings, and acquisition of portable material culture such as pottery and coins, display a remarkable degree of uniformity across the Empire, from Britain to North Africa, Spain to the Near East, it is important to bear in mind that this homogeneity was restricted to the elites of the provinces. And yet even in these aspects the details of the distribution of the items of portable material culture reveal that there are differences between regions. The opposite of this uniformity can often be seen in the exaggerated expression of regional identities in material culture and architecture amongst non-elites in many areas (Wells 2001). Indeed it has been demonstrated that in Upper Moesia there was an area within the Empire south of the frontier zone that was all but devoid of Roman presence (Whittaker 1989), and a similar lack of Romanisation has been observed in the uplands of northern England behind the frontier (Higham 1989). Itmay be the case that these areas lacked enough social stratification to be predisposed to Romanisation. In contrast, the southern and eastern areas of France were quickly and extensively Romanised. This was partly the readiness of the elite to adopt Roman culture and the opportunities offered in economic terms by the role of the region in redistributing goods to the frontier zones further north (Goodman 1999).

Wells (2001) suggests that the term 'Roman' should not be applied in the context of temperate Europe and that the term 'Romanisation' should not be used to describe the process of post-

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conquest interaction. In this thesis these terms will be used but with less rigidly defined meanings, namely 'Roman' to denote material belonging to the post-conquest period of archaeological sites and 'Romanisation' to denote any observed changes that could have been caused by interactions resulting from the conquest of an area .

• Research aims. In relation to this research theme there are two areas to be questioned within this study. Firstly, was there variation in the ratios of different equids throughout the Empire? And secondly, were there differences between the physical appearance of horses from diverse areas of the Roman Empire and were these characteristics consistent through time?

1.2.3 Frontiers

The third research theme is another that has regularly received attention and concerns the frontiers or boundaries of the Roman Empire. In the 19th and 20th centuries, in Britain and Germany in particular, the physical remains of boundaries represented by Hadrians Wall (Britain) and the *Limes* wall (Rhineland) were studied intensely. At this time the frontier was presented in the literature as an actual barrier, be it a wall or a river, that could be drawn as a line on a map. Another aspect was the influence that modren empire thinking had on the works of people such as Haverfield in Britain and Mommsen in Germany (quoted in wells 2001), where they tried to emphasise the order and organisation of the Romans in order to justify some of the aspects of those empires. Also in Germany, the division of the east and west after World War II influenced the writings from both sides of that divide about both sides of the Roman frontier (Wells 2001).

During this time the frontiers were seen as military defences, and whilst they were certainly military, careful examination of the positioning and nature of the boundaries has revealed that they were not particularly defensible in the traditional sense. They can be seen more as an aid to controlling the movement of people and goods rather than repelling invasions. The idea of the frontier zone containing the friendly kings was more for defence than the often fragmentary physical barriers.

The idea of a frontier is a difficult concept to study when the Roman civilisation had little or no conception of the idea, particularly during the republic and early empire (Fitzpatrick 1989). This ambiguity is illustrated by the tribes who signed treaties with Rome to become client or friendly nations. These tribes were legally speaking outside the Empire, but the degree of interference from Rome in their affairs suggests they were regarded as part of the territory.

 -27

Therefore, Rome considered them as within the boundaries in some respects and outside them in other respects, leading to great ambiguity inthe definition of boundaries in this period (Hanson 1989). The concept of frontiers became more apparent during the Empire period as the horns of imperial expansion were withdrawn and more or less stable boundaries were established (Fulford 1989), to the extent that Aristeides writing in the $2nd$ century AD lays importance on the 'walls' surrounding the Empire' (Hanson 1989).

Modern thought is turning towards the idea of the frontier being a 'zone' rather than a line at a barrier. This has been through comparison with other frontiers worldwide and in particular the western frontiers in 18th and 19th century USA and those of the British Empire elsewhere. These comparisons have elucidated the fact that the frontiers can be quite broad zones of intense interaction between the peoples living on both sides of the actual boundary line (Wells 2001). The dynamics of these well-documented, recent, frontier zones have allowed the archaeological evidence to be reassessed and better understood. For instance, the frontiers of the Roman Empire are now considered to be areas of interaction between cultures as well as the interface between the army and native opposition (Hanson 1989). These frontier zones mayor may not include a marked boundary within them.

Although the frontier zones in the Rhineland and Britain are perhaps the best studied, other frontier zones did exist in the Roman Empire. These include the frontiers in North Africa and the Levant. The limited amount of study that has been carried out on these suggests that similarities existed between all the frontier zones, particularly in the effects of a heavy military presence (Goodman 1999). However, they are each unique in the manner in which the boundaries are defined and the effect they had on local populations on both sides of the frontier itself. In some respects the study of the regionality of the Empire encompasses the study of the frontier zones as it presents particular patterns on a regional level, therefore the research aims outlined above also apply here, as well as the one outlined below.

 \triangleleft Research aim. In this study, research into frontier zones brings forward the question of whether there were differences between the equids of different elements of society, i.e. those from military, urban and rural sites. This applies to other areas as well, but the frontier zones may show the concentration of military animals.

1.2.4 External contact

Related to the frontier zones are of course the areas beyond the boundaries of the empire, and the next research theme concerns the impact of the Roman Empire on these areas. The literary sources say next to nothing about trade or contact with those beyond the boundaries of the Empire except in the immediate frontier zone. However, it has become apparent from archaeological excavations that the extent of Roman influence was far greater than had previously been thought. The sources mention the use of tributes and gifts to the 'friendly kings' in the immediate frontier zone as a means of keeping them amenable and therefore helping protect the Roman boundary, and also the use the friendly kings made of these gifts to bolster their own position in society and hence maintain stability (Braund 1989). These gifts to friendly kings sometimes included horses, as mentioned by Caesar in relation to the Gauls. These gifts also took the form of permission to trade within the Empire and therefore acquire weapons and horses that were forbidden to those hostile to the Empire (Braund 1989; Hanson 1989).

Much of the influence the Empire had on the communities beyond the boundaries was through trade, so this links with another research theme, that of trade and supply, which is covered below. Indeed Wells (2001) maintains that trade with the peoples beyond the frontier was so important that without the foodstuff, raw material and other goods that were produced by these communities Rome would not have been able to maintain the military presence and urban centres in the frontier zones and, elsewhere in the Empire.

Different communities felt the influence of the Roman Empire in different ways. For those close to the boundaries, the intense interactions of the military frontier zone would have had a major impact on their lives, economies, traditions and social organisation (Wells 2001). The quantity of Roman products in the frontier zones suggests that the communities living in these areas favoured Roman products and went to some effort to acquire them. However, the distances involved suggest that no particular organisation of the trade need to have taken place: individual entrepreneurial merchants could have travelled into the areas to trade and farmers bringing goods to the military and urban centres could have traded within the Empire (Fulford 1989; Wells 2001). The political stability gained through the tribute system to friendly kings would have the added effect of allowing economic growth in the communities of the frontier zone by allowing agricultural surplus to be produced and trade to be established.

It is noticeable that the quality of the imported items is better the greater the distance from the borders, with larger quantities of everyday items in the frontier zones and the most exotic and valuable pieces at long distance such as in Denmark and Poland (Whittaker 1989, Fulford 1989, Wells 2001). This perhaps reflects the difficulties involved in long distance trade and therefore the fact that the status of the goods had to make this a worthwhile exercise .

 \triangleleft Research aims. Here the obvious question to ask is were there differences between horses within the Empire and those beyond, particularly areas with close contacts such as the Rhineland? Also, how far did any discernible Roman influence on the equine population extend beyond the Empire?

1.2.5 Trade and supply

Related to all of the research topics mentioned above is the question of the trade and supply of material goods and foodstuffs, amongst other items, within and beyond the Roman Empire. The concentration of troops in the Rhineland and the foundation of veteran colonies provided a huge boost to the economy and the Rhine itself became a trade route, protected by the Rhine fleet (Goodman 1999).

Regarding the Empire, a major concern of most who study trade and supply is the supply of the standing armies along the frontier zones mentioned above. There is much debate as to whether the armies could have been supplied from within the Empire either locally or long distance or whether there was trade externally for supplies. Turning first to supply from within the Empire, it is surmised that a specialised system of supply to army developed. Like supplies for Rome, the army could not afford to chance the vagaries of the harvest in local areas, grain had to be supplied by whatever means. Some of the long distance routes can be worked out from such things as the distribution of amphorae and other ceramics (Middleton 1979; Whittaker 1989). These studies suggest an organised gathering of supplies for the army and direct transportation, using the rivers of France as a major distribution network (Middleton 1979; Whittaker 1989). This work was undertaken by *negotiatores* (Whittaker 1989) and the transportation was done by specific fleets, either under contract to *(navicularii)* or belonging to the army *(class is Germanica* and *Brittanica)* (Middleton 1979).

Presumably mules and donkeys must have been kept for the transport of supplies along the short distances from the production sites to the rivers and the rivers to the forts, either to pull wagons or as pack animals. Donkey trains are mentioned in the context of ceramic transport from La Graufesenque to the Frontier as this site was on the route from the mining regions of Ruteni to Narbonne along a military route (Whittaker 1989). The transportation of the goods demanded

as taxes was possibly also a tax requirement (Middleton 1979), so mules and donkeys must have been used at a local level for this transportation, at least to centralised collection points, i.e. river ports. During the conquest of Britain road transport must have been used to supply the army as the river and sea routes had yet to be secured (Middleton 1979). Tacitus refers to the above-mentioned tax demands of transportation in the British context in his account of *Agricola* (19.4 quoted in Middleton 1979).

Groenman-van Waateringe's (1989) study of the palaeobotanical evidence and agricultural practices in northern Europe has elucidated much about the supply of grain to the army. The army's preferred cereal was wheat but the soils and climate of much of the lower Rhineland, in particular, were not suited to wheat raising. Therefore, wheat must have been imported from outside the immediate hinterland of the frontier zone. Inwheat producing areas, an increase in production and storage is denoted by the replacement of small square granaries with large buildings over 20m long. As previously stated this would have required equine transport at least at the local level.

The specialised army supply trade spilled over into civilian areas en route to a limited extent. Long distance trade was at least dependent, if not parasitic, on official supply lines (Middleton 1979). This suggests that little trade existed outside these mechanisms. However the extent of the evidence for trade amongst civilians indicates that this must have been sufficient to supply needs. Alternatively there may have been other trade routes or supply mechanisms that have yet to be established. Part of this may be the issue that many of the traded goods were part of what has been termed the archaeologically invisible import and export trade, i.e. those things that are perishable or for which there is no means of immediately identifying area of origin, unlike amphorae (Fitzpatrick 1989). Trade in equids, as mentioned in Livy and Caesar's *Bello Gallico,* or the use of equids in trade is one area that falls into this category.

This last issue of the trade in equids is one that leads onto the trade with areas outside the Empire, as this is what Caesar and Livy mention. Previously it has been suggested that trade across the borders was facilitated by the frontier being a zone where friendly societies could be traded with. This trade was one of the interactions that took place between Rome and external societies both prior to conquest and along frontier zones as mentioned above.

There is evidence of quite extensive trade with Gaul in the $2nd$ and $1st$ centuries BC and this has been shown (Fitzpatrick 1989) to have a been a complex and extensive network of contacts between Gaul and both Italy and Spain. Inthe frontier zones, the area east of the Rhine is well documented for the trade contacts that took place. The texts mention the purchase of livestock, in particular oxen and horses, as well as grain and amber from this area (Wells 2001). In addition to the Rhineland, the plains across the Danube and the lowlands of Scotland fulfilled this role (Whittaker 1989). Indeed, Whittaker (1989) suggests that one reason for the quite rapid retreat to Hadrian's Wall soon after setting out further north was the guarantee of supplies without the need for annexation.

The immediate frontier zone (i.e. within 60 miles of the boundary) has been discussed above so this section is confined to the longer distance contacts and trade. The presence of *terra sigillata* pottery, bronze wine equipment, wine and oil amphorae, olive stones, jewellery, glass vessels and coins in some quantity on many sites beyond this frontier zone hints at quite a considerable degree of trade interaction. The distribution of sites with such finds extends into Germany east of the Rhine, Denmark, Sweden, Poland and Moravia.

In the 60 to 240 mile zone (Wells 2001) it is evident that some communities changed their economies in order to benefit from trade with the Empire. Fedderesen Wierde is a good example, where the inhabitants intensified cattle production to trade meat and hides to the frontier zone (Wells 1996). Another reason for fairly intense trade in this zone is that many auxiliary soldiers returning to their homelands in this region brought Roman objects with them and stimulated a need for goods and material culture to continue the life they had become accustomed to.

At even greater distances (beyond 240 miles from the frontier) the most spectacular imports have been found in association with some of the largest and most complex commercial centres for supplying goods to the Roman provinces. These sites include Jakuszowice in southern Poland, where high quality imported Roman goods were traded for iron ore and other metals from the Holy Cross Mountains. InDenmark, the excavation of the 'Kings Hall' at Gudme (a very large aisled building) produced a staggering quantity of high quality Roman imports. The associated harbour site at Lundeborg seems to have been set up specifically for seasonal use in the summer when shipping was active.

Inboth these cases the associated cemetery sites show that most of these lavish imports were destined for the elite of these communities suggesting that the elites controlled production of the raw materials and craft items that the Romans wished to trade for. Another view is that because it was considerably cheaper to transport goods by sea than by land, supplies destined for areas east of the Rhine would most likely have been transported around Denmark to the Baltic coast of Germany, and therefore establishing trading posts and hence safe harbours en route was a sensible approach (Greene 1986).

32

Although trade undeniably took place, Goodman (1999) suggests that the imported artefacts did not greatly alter the established lifestyles of those beyond the boundaries of the Empire, but Wells (2001) suggests that many did take advantage of the economic opportunities as outlined above.

The issue of trade and supply seems initially not to be connected to the study of equids until it is remembered that equids were essential to the transport of people and goods across the Empire. Perhaps the most obvious form of equid transportation is the hauling of wagons. Until recently it was considered that the designs of Roman harness and the wagons themselves prevented efficient haulage byequids. However, recent work using replicas has shown that this was not the case and that equids were an efficient means of traction as long as the terrain was not difficult (Greene 1986). The discussion of the importance of rivers in long distance trade and the supply of garrisons (e.g. Middleton 1979) has tended to underestimate the use of mules as pack animals, particularly in areas of hilly terrain and over short distances (Greene 1986). In areas such as central Italy and Greece, mules were superior beasts of burden as a string of20 mules could carry as much as five ox-drawn wagon loads. Donkeys were also commonly used as beasts of burden, often being bought with the load and sold along with it at the destination.

It is noticeable that there are many carvings from northern Gaul depicting the use of equid drawn wagons and from these it has been deduced that technical improvements in harnessing took place in this area. It is argued that the terrain in this area was ideal for wagon transport and that the agricultural surplus produced there must have been transported to markets where it could be sold for enough profit to allow the quantity and quality of the local villas to flourish (Greene 1986). This suggests that land transport must have been efficient; otherwise the profits would have been lost in the high cost of transportation. The distribution of representations of equid drawn wagons and pack animals is extremely uneven, being common in eastern France and neighbouring areas but totally absent from Britain and Spain. Whether this regionality is a result of differences in the means of transporting goods or differences in epigraphic habit is difficult to determine, however it can be said that generalisations about transport cannot be made because each region relied in different proportions on land or water borne systems, depending largely on geography .

• Research aims. With reference to the army supply routes, can these long distance trade routes be detected in equid remains, for instance are there concentrations of mules and/or donkeys at producer or military sites as the first and last stages of the transport routes? Research aims connected to long distance trade outside the empire are essentially the same as for those given inthe section on contacts outside the Empire so will not be repeated here.

1.2.6 Roman / post-Roman transition

The last research theme to be discussed is the issue of the end of Roman rule. This is a 'hot topic' of current research focussing on the extent to which roman pottery traditions (amongst other studies) carried on after the official end of Roman administration in an area and whether lifestyles changed dramatically or went through another more gradual shift as at the beginning of the period. It is becoming apparent that the Roman pottery tradition did extend past the official end of Roman administration and therefore the chronology of many sites can now be extended by as much as another century (Whyman 2001; J. Gerrard *pers.*) *comm.*). This later dating of pottery from late Roman / early post-Roman contexts is only just being understood and therefore it was not be possible to use the data from already published bone reports, that had used the more traditionally accepted pottery dates, to address this issue at present. However, the extended chronologies will allow this to become an interesting area to study in the future.

The research themes within Roman archaeology outlined above are those that it is thought this study will be able to contribute to. Hopefully by addressing the research aims highlighted here and below, a new perspective on these research themes from both the Roman archaeology and zooarchaeological viewpoints will be gained.

1.3 Roman equids in art and literature

There are a great many references to Roman equids in classical texts and art, revealing a lot of detail regarding some aspects but virtually no information on other aspects of equid use. It is also highly probable that many equids in art historical sources are not all that accurately portrayed. The second item is one worth considering further at this juncture. The portrayal of equids in Roman art may not be accurate for a number of reasons, such as political motivation, ineptitude of the artist and artistic licence. The first point really concerns such articles as public monuments, where the artist has an obligation to portray the subject in amanner pleasing to the person paying for the monument (Figure 1.2). For instance, this could result in the horses of a defeated army appearing either inferior to those of the Roman cavalry to show the superiority of Rome, or the opposite to show how brave and wonderful the army was in defeating them.

Figure 1.2 *Statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.*

Ineptitude of the artist could be the result of unfamiliarity with the subject (as in the case of the representation of exotic animals) or a real lack oftalent: either way the resulting images would not be an accurate reflection of equids at that time (see Figure 1.3 for examples of poor artistic quality and Figures 1.6 and 1.8 for examples of high quality). Artistic licence could take many forms, such as the enlarging of an equid that was central to a story, for instance in a mosaic
depicting the legend of Pegasus. Equally the artist could reduce the size ofthe equids when they are not central to the image, so as not to detract from the main theme (Figure 1.4). In relation to equids, it has been noted (Raepseat 1982 quoted in Greene 1986) that, because horses were an expensive and prestigious commodity, they were shown on gravestones in situations where they were not used in real life in order to increase the apparent status of the deceased.

Figure 1.3 *Examples of poor artistic quality. A zebra represented in a mosaic that isjust a slightly stripy horse (top), and a carving of a cavalry man and his mount that is very oddly proportioned* (bottom) (Mosaic from Ciurca undated; carving from Hyland 1990).

Figure 1.4 *Example of artistic licence. This scene of mule-drawn balistae from Trajan's column shows the men at a larger scale than the animals to draw attention to the importance of the man rather than the mules (From Toynbee* 1973).

In spite of all these arguments against the use of art historical sources as a means of understanding what Roman equids looked like, it is possible to make general statements by looking at many representations and removing the obvious outliers. Art historical sources can also give information about how equids were used in Roman society, and what species were used for what types of activities, which may help us to interpret the equid remains found on different types of archaeological site. Bearing in mind the considerations detailed above on the use of the art historical sources, there are a great many representations of equids in many Roman art forms. This plethora of depictions reflects the high standing horses had in the life, cult and customs of the Ancient World (peters 1998). These images include statues, carved reliefs, tombstones, coins and mosaics (Toynbee 1973). Many of these are discussed below under the relevant section.

The snippets of information given in the contemporaneous literature are scattered throughout numerous documents covering a time span from the height of the Classical Greek civilisation to the end of the Roman Empire *(c.* 500 BC to *c.* AD 500). As with the art sources, there are inherent biases in literature too, because the understanding of the subject will colour the account given by each individual author. For instance many of the authors lived and wrote in Rome itself, or in Italy, therefore what is said about everyday life, economic factors and political administration cannot necessarily be taken as applying across the entire Empire (Goodman 1999), particularly given the great diversity mentioned in Section 1.2 above. In addition, did the author have a political motivation or other agenda for writing, or was it written for a particular audience? If this was the case then these biases need to be understood before a text can be used and interpreted (Wells 2001). In addition, the bias of those who wrote from Rome has a very 'us' and 'them' attitude to those beyond the boundaries of the Empire (Braund 1989). As the purpose of this thesis is not to analyse classical texts in detail, many of the quotes from Greek and Roman authors are derived from secondary sources. In particular the book by Hyland (1990), which draws together a great deal of information gleaned from ancient written sources, has been quoted extensively in the following pages.

The equids being studied here, horses, donkeys and mules, were used for a variety of purposes within the Roman world, which are generally separated according to species although there is some overlap. Horses were used as cavalry mounts, chariot racing, riding (transport and hunting) and occasionally pulling carriages (White 1970). Mules were mostly used for draught purposes (mostly road haulage but also for carriages), as pack animals (particularly in the army) and were occasionally ridden. Donkeys were used primarily for traction (turning mills and ploughing in areas of light soil) and as pack animals. The appearance of donkeys would have varied little, as is the case today, but both horses and mules would have shown considerable variation in appearance. Mules would have varied according to the type of mare used to breed from. Descriptions of mules are very scarce but descriptions of horses are much more prevalent.

1.3.1 Horses

Appearance

As a starting point in studying Roman equids it would perhaps be a good idea to use a contemporaneous description of the Roman 'ideal' horse. Both Columella and Pelagonius described this and the texts show remarkable similarities despite having been written three centuries apart. This could well be plagiarism (quite common in classical texts) but does show that over the three intervening centuries the ideal horse had not changed. Other writers, including Xenophon, Vegetius and Varro, also describe parts of the horse and most accounts agree as to the ideal to aim for. Columella's text reads as follows:

Small head, dark eyes, wide-open nostrils, short upstanding ears; a neck which is soft and broad without being long, a thick mane which falls down on the right side; a broad chest covered with well-proportioned muscles, the shoulders big and straight; the flanks arched, the backbone double, the belly drawn in; the loins broad and sunken; the tail long and covered with bristling curly hair; the legs soft and tall and straight; the knee tapering and small but not turned inwards; the buttocks round, the haunches brawny and well-proportioned; the hoofs hard, high, hollow and round with moderately large coronets above them. The whole body must be so formed as to be large, tall, and erect, and also active in appearance and, in spite of its length, rounded as far as its shape allows. (Columella *r.r.* VI, 24, 2-3).

This ideal Roman horse is very close to modem descriptions of good conformation (e.g, Spooner 1990), with two exceptions. The first of these is the Roman preference for upright shoulders, which today is considered a fault as it gives the horse a somewhat vertical front leg action. This can be very showy but puts stress on the lower legjoints, The second point is the Roman liking of horses with small knees: again this puts extra stress on the joints of the lower leg and modem descriptions suggest they should be in proportion to the leg. Despite their limited understanding of anatomy and how conformation can affect performance, however, the Romans ideal horse would come close to modem expectations of a 'good' horse.

Peters (1998) gives a good account of coat colours and how some were considered good and others as useless. The *Mulomedictna Chironis* (quoted in Peters 1998) even describes the unscrupulous use of dyes and bleaches by horse traders to obtain a higher sale price for the animals! Generally a solid coat colour was preferred to a bi-coloured or roan (mixture of hair colours all over) one. White markings were also frowned upon. Of course there is no basis in truth that horses of a particular colour are better or worse than any others. However, where a deme exhibits a single or small range of colours and that deme is preferred for a particular use, it is easy to see that coat colour would be associated with other attributes.

Whilst this was the ideal to which Roman horse breeders aspired, there was still considerable variation between horses bred in different areas of the Empire. As discussed below (section 1.5) these are not breeds in the true sense of the word and will be termed demes. These demes seem to have had a relatively consistent appearance, which resulted from breeding within a limited gene pool over a substantial period of time. The improvement of local stock with imported stock was carried out in many areas, such as Gaul (Caesar: *De bello gallieo),* even prior to the Roman period.

Most of the Roman authors who wrote about equids were concerned with their use in agriculture, their care from the veterinary perspective, their breeding and use in the chariot racing industry or their use to the military. Most of these authors were based in Italy and base their views of equids from other areas of the Empire on whether they were likely to be of use to the people undertaking each sphere of activity mentioned above. They generally showed favour for the demes that were useful in breeding certain types of animal for particular uses. Conversely, those demes that were considered of no value for breeding or use tended to be dismissed in no uncertain terms.

For instance, Varro *(r.r.)* indicates that three areas were renowned for good horses: Apulia, the Peloponnesus and Reate (where his own mule breeding stud farms were located). He also suggests that the best donkeys used for breeding mules come from Arcadia (Greece) and Reate. In addition to these areas, Vegetius (quoted in White 1970) suggests that cavalry horses were mostly barbarian horses from the Huns and Burgundians, those for the circus came from Cappodocia, Spain, Sicily and Africa, and those for riding came mostly from Persia, Armenia, Epirus and Sicily.

Many pieces of Roman and Greek literature contain descriptions of horses from different areas of the Empire. The names given to each deme generally refer to the area from which

they originated and as this is the most comprehensible way of categorising the different groups. Figure 1.5 shows the demes described by classical authors together with a brief outline of that description. Most of the descriptions are taken from Hyland (1990) and their main uses from Peters (1998), which bring together the works of many classical authors .

•:. Research aim. From these descriptions there was evidently a great diversity of horses within the Roman Empire and detecting this in the archaeological record is one of the aims of this piece of research.

Figure 1.5 *Map of the Roman Empire during the 2 nd century AD showing the location of various horse demes as taken from the works of contemporaneous authors.*

1) Spanish horses were used extensively by the military and also in racing. Oppian considered these horses to be small and 'weak-spirited' and whilst they were speedy over a short distance they had no stamina. A century later Nemesian considered them to have both courage and stamina, probably after the addition of Libyan blood during the middle of the 3rd century.

2) Gallic horses were considered to be small and ugly by Caesar *(B.O. N* 2) when he

encountered them. However, the Gallic people had realised the potential for upgrading their stock using imported stallions prior to the Roman conquest. These improved animals were considered to be ideal cavalry mounts as they had great endurance and were bred for this purpose in large numbers.

3) The Germanic people had similarly small and ugly horses but Caesar *(B.*G. Iv, 2) comments that were 'rendered capable of very hard work by daily exercise'. He also says that they were content with their own animals and did not import those of the Romans. Once the Romans had conquered they imported larger horses in numbers.

4) Vegetius described the Hunnish horses as eminently suitable for war, because although they were not pretty they were excellent mounts for soldiers who were not experienced horsemen as they were strong enough to carry the weight a long distance and were also easy to manage. They were tall and long in the body with thin belly and big bones. In more detail they had romannoses, a narrow nose, broad jaw, strong and stiff neck, long and narrow bodies with a bent back and hollow flanks, strong cannons and dinner plate hooves. Vegetius also says that their temperament was moderate, they were calm, could endure wounds, were trainable, able to work hard, and could withstand cold and hunger.

5) Descriptions of Sarmation horses are scarce in the literature but Strabo tells us that they were small, fast and hard to manage, whilst Pliny the Elder indicates that they had great endurance.

6) Herodotus considered the Thessalian horses were the best in Greece but were no match for the Persian animals. However, the Persian invasion saw thousands of cavalry stationed in Thessaly and these horses left their mark on the local population. This went a long way to improving the local stock, so that by Roman times the Greek horses were considered one of the superior demes and were mainly used as cavalry mounts.

7) Thrace was producing 'huge' horses as early as the time of Homer *(Iliad).* Even given the fact that at that time most horses were pony-sized, these must have been substantial animals. Homer also comments that many were white in colour. Gratius Faliscus commented that they were' easy keepers and excellent performers but with ugly necks and thin spine curving along their backs'. Evidence of the horse trade between Thrace and Greece and Persia is indicated by the description oflarge white horses from the latter two areas as well.

8) Because of the degree of crossbreeding between the Nisean, Median, Armenian and Cappadocian horses they are included as a group. The Cappodocian horses are mentioned particularly as good racehorses and also as good carriage horses.

9) Many classical authors rated the Parthian or Persian horses very highly. Oppian describes them as handsome, courageous, gentle to ride, obedient, swift, spirited, war-like and strong with small heads. Strabo describes them as the 'best and largest' and Nemesian calls them 'huge'. The Apadana frieze at Persepolis shows large, heavy, high crested, well-muscled animals with slightly convex head (in profile). This descriptions and depictions are close to the Roman ideal horse hence the favourable reports. The Persian horses were mainly used as riding animals.

10) Sicilian horses were particularly regarded as racehorses and also as riding animals, but little in the way of description seems to have survived.

11) The Libyan horses (Numidian/Libyan/African used as interchangeable terms) were considered by Livy to be small and ugly, but Nemisian and Strabo recognised them as being obedient, fast and with great powers of endurance. The reference to their small size may refer to their slender build rather than their height, as many were about 1400mm. They were highly regarded as cavalry mounts and were often used to impart endurance when improving other demes. They were also excellent carriage horses.

Breeding, training and caring for horses

The breeding of horses in the Roman period was carried out at two levels: the large studs owned by the state and wealthy landowners, and the small-scale landowner with one or two mares. Much of the material written about horse breeding is in relation to the large studs. However, the principles of breeding a horse are the same whether you have one or a hundred mares. As most large studs bred horses for a particular purpose, the characteristics of the mares and stallions would be chosen with this in mind. As has been discussed above, different areas bred horses with different characteristics more suited to one or another of the equestrian fields. In attempts to improve stock, stallions were frequently imported from other areas as the Romans thought the stallion was decisive in imparting physical characteristics to the offspring (peters 1998), whereas the Greeks considered the attributes of the mare more important.

Columella *(r.r.* VI, 27) tells us that there were three types of horse breeding stock. The first was the noble stock *(materies generosa)* for breeding chariot-racing horses (and probably also ceremonial and military horses), the second *(materies mularis)* was the stock used for breeding mules (almost as highly rated as the noble stock) and thirdly the common stock *(materies vulgaris).* There were different husbandry regimes for breeding from these types of stock. For the common horses, the stallions ran free with the mares all year round. For the quality stock, supervised mating took place around the spring equinox, the stallion being kept indoors or far away at other times of the year.

Varro *(r.r.* IT,7) kept one stallion to every ten mares, whilst Columella *(r.r.* VI, 27,9) suggested 15 to 20 mares to one stallion. A teaser stallion was often used to test a mare's readiness to mate (Columella). This is often still done today, particularly in thoroughbred breeding, so that the very valuable mare and stallion are not injured if the mare kicks out when not ready to mate. Columella *(r.r.* VI, 28) says a stallion can cover mares between the ages of3 and 20. Pliny suggests 33 as the upper limit. Stallions were used to cover mares whilst still working as racehorses, they did not 'retire to stud' only after their working life was over, as modem racehorses do. For mares, Columella *(r.r.* VI, 28) says they could be bred from between 2 and 10 years, whilst Varro suggested 3 to 10 years (II, 7, 2). These figures (apart from Pliny) are relatively accurate as it is very hard to get an older mare in foal without modem drugs and a stallion begins to lose his fertility during his 20s (Hyland 1990). The principle of improving stock using a different stallion was understood, and a single stallion can influence a deme more quickly than one mare.

Varro *(r.r.* II, 7, 7) states that the foal is born on the tenth day of the twelfth month after conception. This is absolutely correct, as the gestation period of a horse is 335 to 346 days (Clutton-Brock

1992). Without modem drugs, the horse is not the most fertile of animals, only having a fertilisation Success rate of about 60% (so even less resulting in live births), indicating why a foal was a very expensive commodity (Hyland 1990). Stallions were fed a high grain diet and first-rate fodder during the mating season. Mares were kept lean as they thought conception was difficult in overweight mares (found to have been true (Hyland 1990». The working of mares in foal seems to have been a controversial subject, then as now. VIrgil suggests they should be worked until the later stages, Varro says no work at all. Itmay be a question as today, of the size of the breeding establishment. Varro was exclusively breeding a large quantity of horses and mules - this was his job. But many small-scale breeders may have had to use their mares for agricultural work or riding, as today.

By the time of the Empire the Romans certainly knew about and undertook the castration of male horses to produce more amenable animals. Cato mentions geldings in the context of farming, and Varro (II, 7, *15)* illustrates the reasons for gelding a horse as follows' on the one hand, in the army, they want spirited horses, so on the other hand they prefer more docile ones for road service'. Occasionally the military had to geld a colt or stallion that was too unruly. The racing fraternity also preferred stallions, as the more aggressive nature of an entire horse is more suited to this situation, whilst for general riding and draught purposes the more placid nature of a gelding is more appropriate.

According to Strabo and Plato (quoted in Peters 1998) the Romans learnt about the castration of male horses from the Scythians, Sarmatians and Gauls. It was acknowledged that the first two peoples gelded horses to increase their submissiveness. The following statement about the Gallic tribe of the Cantheri shows unequivocally that they castrated their horses' *est enim cantherius equus, cui testiculi amputantur'* (Festus quoted in Peters 1998). At what date the Romans adopted the practice of gelding is unclear, but certainly Varro and Columella were knowledgeable about the procedure. The *Mulomedicina chironis* gives a detailed description of the procedure that is worth quoting in full:

When you want to castrate an animal you must keep it away from food and drink for a day beforehand. Then lay it down and carefully bind its legs. Make a cut in the middle of the skin of the scrotum about double the size of a coin. Seize the underlying testicle and split the membrane covering it. Draw the testicle to the outside through this hole. Pinch the middle vein with the thumb and stroke the soft covering of the testicle until it tears or cut it offwhen it is thin. Pull the testicle from top to bottom and cut off the sperm cord near to the sack. Ina similar manner remove the other testicle. Clean the testicle covering

carefully where the openings were made. Ifthe wound becomes irritated or the pus does not drain out, clean it, wash it out and rub ground salt into it. If the cut does not close when left to itself, treat with wood tar and oil spreading the medicine in the opening with the fingers until it is healthy

Apart from the use of anaesthetics and antiseptics, the procedure is essentially the same as that carried out today. Apparently, they even used metal or wooden castration clips to stem the flow of blood (peters 1998, fig 45). However, no scale is given in the illustration and certainly the larger of these clips appear more like a twitch, a device used to pinch the fleshy part of the horses nose to render it docile. Ifthis instrument were indeed ^a twitch it could have been used to subdue the horse whilst the castration operation was carried out.

Today, castration is usually carried out when the colt is between six months and two years old, but Aspyrtos *(Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum:* I, 99, 3, quoted in Peters 1998) suggests that in Roman times it was normal practice to leave this until four years old. The reasons given for this were that the testicles cannot been seen in a foal (modem data suggest they drop at around six months of age) and also the false assumption that castration would prevent the replacement of the milk teeth with permanent ones. The timing of the operation was based on the appearance of the canine teeth (at around four years). In addition it seems likely that waiting until an animal was four years old would allow an assessment of the horse's character and suitability for different areas of work. For instance, a stallion might suit the cavalry ifit had the right conformation but if the conformation or temperament were not suited to military activity then castration could take place to tame the temperament and produce a carriage horse. This kind of assessment would be very difficult to make until the animal was fully grown and had been broken in and trained to some degree.

It seems that most horses were stabled only in cold damp weather conditions. This is perhaps borne out by the lack of archaeological evidence for stables. At least there are very few buildings that have been positively identified as such (see section 1.4.1 below). According to written sources stables were constructed in various forms. On Varro's estate the mares each had separate stalls, which were heated by brazier in winter (r.r. II, 7, 14). The house of Popidius Secundus, excavated in Pompeii, had stabling of four stalls, with masonry dividers, leading onto a court. At Mondeleia in Syria a stable with mangers and tie rings attached to the wall was found (Hyland 1990). Theywere also kept in groups, like in American ranch barns, according to Pelagonius in connection with racing stock. These different types are attested to by the fact that they were given different names, an *equile* was a proper stable i.e. a separate accommodation for one

horse not tied up, whereas a *stabulum* was a stall where the horses would be tied to the wall at much closer intervals.

Concern for hoof care was also shown in the construction of stabling. Varro (r.r. II, 7, 10) recommends that a good floor be laid in all stables to keep the hoof from rotting, and Columella *(r.r.* VI, 30,2) states that it is of prime importance to keep a horse in a dry stable and recommends the use of wooden floors with chaff. Columella *(r.r.* VI, 31) also advises keeping a sick horse on a deep bed of straw or chaff. Bedding for horses in military camps (and elsewhere) is one of the areas for which we have virtually no records. A considerable quantity of bedding would have been required and disposing of such a large quantity of manure each day would have been an arduous task.

The feeding of horses is a bit of balancing act, between giving them enough energy to carry out the tasks required of them and yet not too much to cause them to be unruly. In the Roman world, for favoured equines nutrition was very good, but for those at the lower end of the scale it was a very different story. Obviously the best food for horses is their natural diet of grass. Infact, Columella *(r.r.* VI, 27,2) states that better pasture was required for the noble and mulebreeding stock, preferably well watered and at higher altitude. However, very few areas produce enough grass all year round to give working horses enough nutrients to remain in good health.

For this reason working horses are usually fed supplementary rations in the form of grains and pulses and dried plant fodder. Most of the classical veterinary and agricultural texts give a variety ofrecipes for horse feed, which have not changed much over time. Grains used were wheat and barley (oats were considered inferior). The grain species grown in Roman times were more varied than today and also had a significantly higher protein content (Reynolds 1979 quoted in Hyland 1990), which meant that less was needed for the horses. This means that the Roman army ration of 5 *librae* of barley (approximately 1.65 kg) per horse per day was probably sufficient, but would be considered too little today.

A variety of pulses was also fed, including horse beans (broad beans), chickpeas, kidney beans and sweet chestnuts. These are all very high in protein and are not generally used in horse feed today but only because most modern horses are not worked hard enough to burn off the energy these feeds give. Cato *(A.C. XXVII and XXX)* and Virgil both state that green foodstuffs included hay, vetch, fenugreek, clover, lucerne and tree leaves, including elm, poplar, oak, fig, willow and broom. Lucerne or alfalfa has a very high nutritional value and originally came from Media, where the Nisean horses were raised. This availability of very nutritious feed may be one reason why these horses were renowned for their size. Good nutrition would have enabled them to reach their full genetic potential (Chapter 2).

The Romans recognised the importance of feeding pregnant and lactating mares well in order to obtain a healthy foal (Varro *r.r.* II, 7, 10) and to give the foal a good start in the first few months oflife, as the level and quality of feeding has a direct bearing on the adult size of an animal (see Chapter 2). Varro $(r, \Pi, 7\ 11-12)$ also gives instructions for feeding young stock: at five months they should be fed barley-meal ground with bran; as yearlings they should be fed barley and bran until they are weaned at about two years old; from three years they should be fed mixed forage and barley.

The fact that Roman horses seem to be larger than their Iron Age counterparts in many areas of the Empire may in part be due to the extensive trade network enabling most horse owners to obtain first class rations for their animals. This is probably particularly true for the studs breeding equids exclusively for the circus or the military. However, the lot of animals that ended up turning mills at the end of their working lives was probably not very good. Apuleius *(m.m.)* describes in detail the appalling condition of mill beasts, with running sores, mange, coughs and the like. Malnutrition amongst these animals was probably commonplace. Itwas cheaper to replace an animal that died than to feed it properly.

In addition to food, horses also require a large amount of water each day (donkeys are much more drought tolerant). This can be about 22 litres in normal conditions and more in hot weather. Also horses fed grain and hay rather than grass need more water. For this reason, grazing lands would need to be either close to water or the herds would be driven to water twice a day.

Caring for a horse to maintain its health and usefulness to humans is quite an exacting task. The various elements of this, including feeding and veterinary care, were well understood by the Romans, even ifnot always applied. Maintaining good hard hooves was of paramount importance, as the old proverb 'no hoof, no horse' was particularly applicable in a time when the horse was vital for every aspect of maintaining the Empire and were not shod with iron horseshoes as they are today. Mares and foals were often driven up into the mountains in the summer to get the foals feet accustomed to rocky conditions and to toughen their hooves.

Lucius (Apuleius *m.m.)* complains that his unshod hooves were worn down to the quick and that he had no shoes to protect his hooves from the hard edges of frozen ruts and broken ice. There

46

are examples of hipposandals from all over the Roman Empire both made of iron *(Solea ferrea)* and rushes *(Solea spartea).* Hipposandals have a flat hoof-shaped base with vertical elements around which thongs or rope were attached, to keep the hipposandal on the hoof. It appears that pack and draught animals were mostly fitted with hipposandals when on difficult terrain, but riding and cavalry horses were not (Peters 1998), perhaps explaining the concern with hard hooves in the texts when choosing cavalry horses. It is interesting to note that nailed horseshoes were probably developed by peoples in northern Europe because of the softer ground they had to ride on. However, they were not generally in use until towards the end of the Empire or afterwards.

Horse grooms and stockmen were expected to know how to treat most minor complaints in horses, a vetinarian only being called in when really necessary. Many works have survived from classical times (Columella, Pelagonius, Vegetius, Varro and in the *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum* and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) dealing in great detail with veterinary matters, suggesting the importance of horses and their health to the Roman population. Many of these contain fascinating remedies for a great variety of illnesses, and practical methods for treating lameness and other injuries. Similar remedies were still in use until the mid-20th century when more scientific methods and drugs were established.

Diseases recognised and treated included colic, coughs and poisonous bites. The classical works also contain general information on good management practices. These include the necessity of daily grooming. Arrian suggests 'massaging the legs and body as it strengthened the legs and rendered the skin supple, removing impurities and imparting lustre to the coat', and Columella *(r.r.* VI, 30, 2) says 'to massage a horse's back ... does more good than if you were to provide it most generously with food'. Both of these are in accord with modem thinking. Good horsemanship also meant ensuring that the horses did not fall illfrom avoidable excesses. Varro, Columella and Pelagonius all say that most ailments are caused by cold, fatigue, drinking too much when hot after work or working too hard after prolonged idleness. Pelagonius suggests that strained muscles should be treated by swimming the horse in a pond, a treatment that seems to have been ignored until the late 20th century.

Many laws were passed regarding equines. For instance, it was an offence to beat a mare in foal and cause her to miscarry. This was, however, more to do with the fact that horses and mules were an expensive commodity and the laws were to protect property rather than animal rights, as can be seen from the reference to abuse of mill beasts.

Training a young horse is crucial to its future career, and as such was taken very seriously in the Roman world. The early training of young horses was undertaken in much the same way as it is today. Varro *(r.r.* IT,7, 12-13) suggests gradually introducing a three year old horse to a bit and bridle, working without a rider and then the gradually introducing of the weight of a saddle and rider, followed by ridden training. The acknowledged source of much information on the training of horses is Xenophon's The art of horsemanship *(p.h.)* and later authors, including Varro, used it extensively in their own works. Infact this treatise by Xenophon is still considered compulsory reading for those sitting British Horse Society examinations today (Hyland 1990).

Training the young horse on a lunge line and also by long reining are both attested to in literature and art. Aelian mentions running a horse round in circles (lunging) and long reining is seen on tombstones of cavalrymen (Hyland 1990, plate 1). In addition, Tacitus and others mention using a training ring *(gyrus).* This appears to have been a fenced-in circular area much like a modern round pen used for breaking in horses in America. The ridden training would depend on the purpose the horse was intended for, for instance training for the military (see below) would differ considerably from training of racehorses. Columella *(r.r.* VI, 29, 4) states that prospective race horses were broken in at three years old and raced a year later, whilst riding horses were broken at two (the opposite of current practice). Varro (r.r. II, 7, 15) commented that the experienced soldier would train his horse one way, the charioteer and circus rider another, while the horse that was used as a pack animal needed to be docile and was usually castrated.

It seems that many horses were sold after the initial breaking in was complete and the new owner would carry out the more specific training. For this reason Varro *(rr* IT, 7,2-4), Pelagonius (quoted in Hyland 1990) and Xenophon *(p.h.* VIll, 1) recommend that a person buying a horse should be able to tell its age from the teeth; obviously horse dealers were as unscrupulous then as they are today!

The horses being said to drop at thirty months first the middle teeth, two upper and as many lower; at the beginning of the fourth year they again cast, this time dropping the same number of those coming next those which they have lost; and the so-called canine teeth begin to grow. At the beginning of the fifth year they again shed two in eachjaw in the same way, as at that time the animals has hollow front teeth which fill out in the six year so that in the seventh it usually has a full set of permanent teeth. It is said that there is no way of determining those which are older than this, except that when the teeth become prominent and the brows grey with hollows under them, they determine by looking at him that such a horse is sixteen years old (Varro *r.r.* II, 7,2-4).

The various descriptions of the ageing of horses from the replacement of the incisors are pretty accurate in modern terms, and it is also true when they state that after the age of seven it is very difficult to tell the age accurately. From studies of modern breeds (Peters 1998), the clasiically referenced timing seems closer to that observed in late maturing breeds, such as the Haflinger, rather than the early maturing breeds, such as the Thoroughbred, indicating that the Roman horses may have been of the slower maturing type. The suggestion was made that the wear on the teeth after seven years was more rapid than that observed in modem horses. The fact that these observations were made in the Mediterranean area, where fodder is coarser and dryer, suggests that tooth wear would be hastened under such conditions. Therefore the ageing of teeth from the amount of wear should only be applied to the area and conditions under which the observations were made (Peters 1998).

Military horses

The aspects of the Roman Empire about which most has been written, both contemporaneously and recently, are the emperors and the army. However, the subject ofthe cavalry, and in particular their horses, forms only a very small part of this vast literature. In addition, the baggage and draught animals, so vital to the operation of the army, are hardly mentioned at all. This is partly to do with the fact that until the later Empire, the cavalry only formed quite a small proportion of the army and was considered second rate. In the $3rd$ and $4th$ centuries AD they were more highly rated and formed approximately a third of the army. In Diocletian's time there were 70 cavalry vexillations, each of about 500 men in the eastem part of the Empire alone (Hyland 1990).

Equids in the Roman army fall into two categories, firstly the traction and baggage mules, packhorses and ponies, and secondly the chargers for the various levels in the hierarchy. These included the high ranking officers, legionary cavalry, cavalry *alae, cohortes equitatae* and possibly also speedy horses for scouts. Hyland (1990) suggests baggage animals may have varied according to the country in which they were working: eastern and Mediterranean areas using mules and large donkeys whilst more northerly areas may have employed indigenous ponies. Hyland (1990) suggests this would be because mules and donkeys do not do well in wet and cold conditions, whereas the native ponies were more adapted to the conditions in northern Europe. However, information in the literature on the baggage animals is very scarce so there are no clues regarding the likelihood of the above statement, but zooarchaeology may help to answer it (Section 1.4 and Chapters 6 and 7).

Turning to the cavalry horses the art historical sources depicting military horses are particularly numerous. However many of these are politically motivated carvings of Emperors (e.g. the statue of Marcus Aurelius Figure 1.2,) and their achievements (Trajan's column Figure 1.4). Yet many do show some of the characteristics of cavalry horses (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6*Base of 'Antoninus Pius' column showing cavalry ready for battle (above, from Hyland 1990) and Marcus Aurelius' column showing the Emperor reviewing the horse guard (below, from Speidel* 1994).

The cavalry required horses with certain characteristics and these characteristics can be put together from the scraps of information spread throughout numerous texts. The duties a horse had to perform dictated the requirements regarding type, temperament, intelligence, conformation, age, training required and care bestowed. The *Codex Theodosianus* states that horses should 'meet certain requirements as to shape, stature and age' but does not say what these requirements

were (Hyland 1990). Cavalry horses tended to be mostly stallions, but the list of remounts in the accounts of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Duro Europus in 251 AD clearly indicates mares as well as stallions (Toynbee 1973). This document describes the horses' ages, colours, markings, brands, purchase prices and, in one instance, country of origin. It shows there was no standardisation as long as the animal was fit for the purpose, which included passing a veterinary examination (Hyland 1990).

Virgil (quoted in Hyland 1990: 79) states some of the qualities essential to a charger: 'how the animal from birth picks his feet up high; ... is the first to venture on to the highroad; to ford the menacing river; cross bridges; does not shy easily; has a proud carriage; gets excited at the sound of battle and is impatient to engage. ' He also says that bay and roan horses were the toughest and white or light coloured horses were worst. This is to some extent true of their feet, as dark coloured hooves are stronger than pale ones. Age requirements seem to have been for animals mostly under seven and preferably 4 to 5 years old. This means they were mature enough to withstand the rigours of training and cavalry life and were also at the height of their physical strength but were young enough to be amenable to training and still be useful for breeding after a few years of service.

As for the size of cavalry horses, Hyland (1990:67) says that:

'the size of the horse does not have as great a bearing on its ability to carry weight as would at first appear, but its conformation does, and this also affects its durability ... The more compact the animal the greater its load-bearing capacity, and the short stocky breeds that still retain enough refinement to give a smooth ride and achieve sufficient speed are far more suited to the arena ofwar than the overlarge, lumbering, excessively heavy- fleshed . animals ... At the other end of the scale ponies would also be unsuitable ... For a cavalryman riding without the benefit of a saddle, a pony's gait would be very tiring ... it would take too much of the troopers attention merely to stay aboard.'

To clarify this last statement, a pony is not just a small horse: they have different limb and body proportions (Section 1.5) and hence a slightly different way of moving.

Another piece of evidence regarding the size of cavalry horses is the fact that the cavalryman was expected to be able to vault onto his horse easily and cleanly and from either side whilst wearing armour and carrying weapons and also whilst the horse was running (Speidel 1994). BothArrian and Vegetius state the importance of this and the fact that the cavalrymen practised using a wooden dummy horse (Davies 1969). This implies that the horses were of a size that vaulting onto them was relatively easy. Even though the cavalrymen had to be at least 1730 mm and preferably 1780 mm (from Vegetius), from personal experience this means a horse no bigger than about 1420 mm. The rations ofbarleyand hay suggested for horses in the army (see below) would also be adequate to feed animals of 1220 to 1420 mm, particularly if they were' gooddoers' (Toynbee 1973).

The places that supplied cavalry horses changed through time as the nature and quantity of the cavalry altered. In Caesar's time (1 st century BC) the cavalry mainly consisted of the native mounts, which the various auxiliary units brought with them, and specially purchased Spanish and Italian horses for the legionary officers (Hyland 1990). Where possible mounts were recruited along with the cavalrymen, rather than being issued to them later. This reflects the fact that at this time the cavalry was not a major part of the army and almost all cavalrymen were auxiliary troops from annexed and friendly native tribes. The Germanic peoples were particularly admired for their horsemanship, and Tacitus *(ger.)*says this was because they were taught to ride from a very early age and were therefore better than those who had to be taught in adulthood. The wide geographic span of the auxiliary units influenced the types of horses used. Also at this time the cavalry did not fight from horseback; they were used for reconnaissance, sending messages and as back up for the infantry (Clutton-Brock 1992).

In the later Empire, when the numbers of cavalry increased dramatically, military horses were specially bred. Imperial stud farms supplied horses for the army from the time of Emperor Theodosius and probably earlier (White 1970). Where the army got its horses from is not dealt with explicitly in any Roman histories. Many may have come from race horse studs: those that grew too small or too tall, showed no inclination to race, could not be trained in harness, or were just too slow to race. This explanation is borne out by the fact that areas that bred racehorses (Africa and Spain particularly) were also noted as areas from which cavalry mounts were obtained (Hyland 1990). By the time Vegetius wrote in the late 5th century AD, the horses used in the army were mostly those of the barbarian Huns and Burgundians. This reflects the stresses of the Roman Empire at the time and perhaps a shortfall in the supply of purpose bred animals.

The supply of enough horses for the cavalry and enough mules and donkeys for transport of military supplies around the Empire seems to have been a continual problem. This was in spite of measures such as demanding a stock of military horses as part of the regular taxes from North Africa (Clutton-Brock 1992). Hyland (1990: 77) gives a list of the means of acquiring horses, which shows that almost any way possible was used:

1) National contingents that brought their own horses with them

2) Requisition from large landowners

3) Levies on provinces

4) Tribute from client kingdoms

5) Taxes where the whole or part value ofa beast was levied on individuals

6) Public services

7) Outright purchase from breeders and/or dealers

8) Imperial/army stud farms

9) Capture of enemy horses.

The cost of purchasing horses for the cavalry varied through time. The price paid by the troopers was fixed, whilst the market price was not, meaning that whilst the cost of a horse remained about half of the soldier's annual pay, the fixed price did not go up with pay increase or inflation. By the late $3nd$ century AD a horse only cost the soldier about one-seventh of his salary (Speidel 1994). From AD 139 to 251 auxiliary cohorts paid about 125 *denarii* each, whilst the troopers of the *alae,* who were expected to have better horses, paid more (Speidel 1994).

An idea of the numbers of horses (both cavalry mounts and baggage animals) in the army can be worked out from a variety of sources. At Hod Hill (Richmond in Toynbee 1973), a 1si century AD fort with a legionary cohort and a half *ala* of cavalry, it has been estimated that 82 equids were needed. This was worked out from the number of people in a half *ala* of cavalry and a legionary cohort. Thirty troop horses and four officer's remounts were required per *turma,* plus one baggage animal per officer and four per *turma.* The space inthe stables (as previously discussed) suggests the presence of84 animals, which agrees with the calculation. Even a small contingent attached to a *cohors equitata* would present considerable provisioning problems, with 120 plus animals needing to be fed. In Britain in AD122 there were four legions, 12 *alae quingenariae,* one *alae milliaria,* four *cohors equitatae milliariae,* 14 *cohors equitatae quingenariae.* According to the computations of Hyland (1990: 89) a total of 18,503 equids would have been needed for these units to function! This is a considerable number of equids to be fed.

Vegetius tells us that when the army was in camp, the horses were pastured outside when conditions allowed (peters 1998), with guards posted 24 hours a day to prevent horse rustling. Baggage animals no doubt came under the same system. Meadowland and pasture were set aside for the military use. However, for a third to perhaps a half of the year, in most areas of the Empire, there ws not enough high-grade grass to feed horses adequately, particularly if they had to be kept off it to produce some hay during late spring and early summer. Ahorse needs around 4.5 kg (10 lb) of hay per day, which means that to feed all the military equines in Britain for 150 days (nearly

half the year) it would take 12,500 tonnes of hay. In addition to this, the rations of 1.65 kg (3.5) lb) of grain per horse per day all year round would work out at 11,145 tonnes of grain. Given that crop yields were lower than today (probably about two tonnes per hectare for hay and 1.5 to 2.5 tonnes per hectare for wheat) (Hyland 1990), this would require around 6500 ha of pasture and around 5500 ha of arable land to produce horse fodder for the army alone.

The training of cavalry horses would have been quite a specialised activity and was probably delegated to those cavalrymen who had both an aptitude for the task and experience (Hyland 1990). Training and exercises were undertaken in the open as much as possible, but Vegetius mentions that covered halls were constructed in which the soldiers could carry out their training and exercises even in bad weather. 'Inwinter they constructed for the cavalry halls oftile or shingles, and halls like basilicas for the infantry' (Davies 1969). The preparation of a cavalry parade ground was described by Arrian 'They choose a site where the exercises are to be held that is flat and they work on it in addition. From the whole level field they demarcate the area in front of the platform into the shape of a square and dig the middle to an equal depth and break up the clods to obtain softness and springiness' (Davies 1969). The last part indicates that the Romans knew that a soft surface would benefit the horses whereas a hard surface would lead to leg injuries and lameness.

Several Classical authors, includingArrian, Onasander and Xenophon *(p.h.),* all state the need for horses to be exercised injumping over ditches and leaping over walls, rushing up and springing offbanks, and also galloping up and down hills and on a slope (Davies 1969). Xenophon *(p.h.)* goes on to explain how to train a horse to jump ditches and walls from scratch and how the rider's position changes when jumping and going up and down hills. The principles are exactly the same as are generally used today to train horses to jump. These kinds of training and exercises would obviously not have taken place on the exercise ground, as they did not contain ditches, walls and hills.

Arrian states 'the commander should ... arrange practice battles including pursuits, handto-hand struggles, and skirmishes; these manoeuvres should be held on the plains and around the base of hills as far as possible in broken country, as it is impossible to gallop at full speed either uphill or downhill' (Davies 1969). Xenophon *(p.h.)* also indicates that 'It is a correct principle to hold these equestrian exercises in different places and at different times, on occasions making the exercises long, on other occasions short. This is less irksome to the horse than that the exercises should always be inthe same place and in the same routine' (Davies 1969). The second piece of advice is one that many modem riders could do with following, as a horse will easily get bored if asked to do the same routine everyday and will probably rebel in some way or get overexcited when asked to do something different.

Vegetius talks about the use of route marches as exercise and training for the troops:

'The infantry were ordered to march wearing their armour and equipped with all their weapons to and from the camp for ten (Roman) miles. Similarly the cavalry were also divided into troops, armed in the same way, and travelled the same distance, although in the equestrian exercise from time to time they pursued, from time to time retreated and made ready to charge back again. Itwas not only in the plains but also in hilly and difficult terrain that both arms of the service were compelled to ascend and descend so that they might never experience an incident while fighting that they had not as trained soldiers learnt by continual practice' (Davies 1969).

Vegetius also says that' During the summer months every recruit without exception must learn to swim ... It is of the greatest advantage that not only the infantry but also the cavalry and even the horses and the soldier's servants should be exercised in swimming, in order that they might not be inexperienced in case of any necessity' (Davies 1969). Horses do swim very well naturally; the problem is training them to go into the water in the first place!

All these exercises would have kept both the horses and riders fit and ready for active service. They would also have accustomed the horses to many unfamiliar situations, so that when they encountered them in a battle situation the horses would not react in an adverse way. All of this is very sound in principle and in practice, showing that the Roman cavalry was as advanced in its warfare as the infantry was .

• Research aims. Did the Romans move large quantities of horses with the army or recruit local stock as they moved? Were the horses used by the military of a particular type of physical appearance?

Circus horses

The circus was the name given to the arena in which chariot racing took place, not to a travelling entertainment group. Therefore circus horses were those that took part in the chariot racing. Occasionally mounted races took place, but the majority of races were for two- or fourhorse chariots *(biga* and *quadriga* respectively). Circus horses are perhaps the most often illustrated equids in the Roman period, and often written about. This is perhaps to do with the fact that the Romans (particularly those in major urban centres) were obsessed with racing, on a par with or surpassing modem football fanaticism. However, although there are many accounts of race days and autobiographies of charioteers, there is not nearly as much mention ofthe horses themselves. Manypictures of chariot horses are seen on mosaics and other decorative items in all areas of the Empire (Figure 1.7), both of individual horses and scenes of racing taking place (Toynbee 1973).

Figure 1. 7 *Examples of chariot horses depicted on a terra cotta lamp, a bronze statuette (bothfrom the British Museum, London website) and a mosaic (Ciurca undated).*

The names of racehorses were often recorded on mosaics (Figure 1.8) and in the literature (Toynbee 1973). However, in autobiographies of charioteers only the name of one of the horses in their teams is mentioned. This is perhaps because the lead horse (the horse on the far left hand side when viewed from the chariot) was the one that had to do the most work in cornering and in leading the others during the races, which were run in an anticlockwise direction. Manynames relate to the colour of the horse, for instance *Aureus* (golden), *Pupureus* (roan), *Ployeides* (dappled), *Glaucus* (grey), *Maculosus* (piebald) and *Roseus* (bay). Others relate to speed rather than appearance, *Celer* (Swift), *Volucer* (Flyer), *Sagitta* (Arrow), or strength *Adamus* (Cast-iron), and expected triumphs, *Victor.* Many were also named after gods and heroes, such as *Castor, Achillles, Diomedes* and *Pegasus.* Others were named almost as obscurely as some modem racehorses (Grizzly activewear, Sewmuch character, My legal eagle, Kathakali, etc.)! The list is almost endless and many examples are given in Toynbee (1973).

Figure 1.8 *Two mosaics showing racehorses with their names (both/rom Hyland 1990)*

One of the topics most often discussed in the literature is the areas from which good racehorses stemmed. Vegetius indicates that horses for the circus came from Cappodocia, Spain, Sicily and Africa. Gratius Faliscus in the 1st century AD suggests Sicilian and Mycenean horses were good, in addition to the Spanish and African ones. Oppian in the early $3rd$ century AD says that the Spanish horses were fast but had no endurance, whereas the Libyan (African) horses had good endurance. Sicilian and Cappodocian horses were also fast, whilst Tuscan and Cretan horses were rated but not as highly. Nemisian in the late $3rd$ century AD rates Cappodocian, Spanish and Greek horses highly. Many racehorse studs were established in Spain, including a number of Imperial studs raising horses for the Emperor's faction in Rome (White 1970).

Therefore in the early Empire African horses dominated the track whilst Cappodocian and, to a lesser extent, Spanish horses were dominant in the later Empire (Hyland 1990). This may have been the result of continual upgrading of the Spanish stock withAfrican blood. This predominance of African horses in racing continues today, as all modem Thoroughbred racehorses can trace their ancestry back to three Arabian stallions imported into Britain in the $18th$ century AD. Similarly the Romans imported many horses by ship from North Africa (Clutton-Brock 1992).

As in modem Thoroughbred racing, in Roman tims the elite of society owned most of the horses and controlled the occurrence of races. Imperial studs were set up in Spain and Cappadocia to produce chariot horses that ran for the Emperors (White 1970). Often horses from these studs were retired back to them when their racing career was finished and allowed a peaceful retirement out to pasture. This was a far cry from working mills, as many ex-chariot horses ended up doing.

The number of mares needed to keep up the supply of chariot horses was four times that needed for thoroughbred racing today, partly because the mares were not bred every year and also because chariot horses did not have a long working life (White 1970). Chariot horses were nearly always stallions, although the names of a few racing mares are attested to. Their training started at the age of three but they were not raced until four or five years old (Hyland 1990).

A great deal of attention was given to veterinary matters concerning racehorses. Pelagonius' treatise on horse medicine is almost entirely devoted to treating chariot horses, probably because this was his main employment at one stage in his career. Because of the hard surface of the race tracks (to make the chariot wheels run smoothly), chariot horses tended to have a variety of leg problems; they also suffered back and shoulder problems from the strain of turning tight comers at speed (Hyland 1990). Pelagonius devotes several chapters to the cure of these ailments and also to treating eye injuries, bruises and cuts from accidents whilst racing.

Riding and carriage horses

Perhaps because these were considered as the 'common stock' by Columella *(r.r.),*riding and carriage horses are very infrequently mentioned in literary sources. Vegetius mentions that most horses for riding came from Persia, Armenia, Epirote and Sicily. Riding horses had three main purposes, the most obvious of which was getting a person from one place to another. In addition a horse was a status symbol, particularly for city dwellers with some degree of public office. The third purpose was for sport and leisure activities, such as hunting or riding around a country

58

estate. Reasons for the lack of mention of carriage horses include the fact that there were very few carriages around and they only belonged to people of very high social rank (and usually women), and they were more usually drawn by mules (Casson 1994).

Because of the problems with mounted barbarian raiders in the later Empire, owning riding horses was restricted by law to the upper classes, aristocracy, veteran army officers and other wealthy citizens. This was also partly because horses were expensive animals to buy and keep (Casson 1994). Herdsmen were also allowed to own riding horses, but only in areas where rustling was not a problem (Hyland 1990). Apuleius *(m.m.)* mentions that wealthy people had mounting blocks outside their houses and rode 'Thessalian thoroughbreds' and 'Pedigreed Gallic cobs', amongst other types of horse. However, there is no description of what these looked like. Presumably the Thessalian thoroughbreds were the large horses bred in Greece, which were also favoured by the army. The term 'Gallic cob' probably refers to a more heavily built animal such as was described by Caesar when he mentioned Gallic draught horses.

Interestingly, Martial refers to gaited riding horses: 'the small Asturian horse who picked up his hooves in such regular time' apparently had a syncopated gait like the pace or rack, which provides a smoother ride that is ideal when you have no stirrups! The lack of stirrups meant that horses were not that comfortable to ride over long distances (Casson 1994). Pliny the Elder (quoted inHyland 1990) describes some Spanish horses bred by the Gallic and Asturian tribes as Theldones, which' do not have the normal gaits but a smooth trot, straightening the near and offside legs alternately from which they are taught to amble'. Many horses and ponies pace naturally and most can be taught to do so (Hyland 1990).

Arrian suggests that the best horses for hunting were those from Scythia and Illyria, which were considered uncouth and ugly (unlike the Thessalian, Sicilian and Peloponnesian horses) but could run after a stag and wear it down. This description implies that these were lean, tough endurance horses. Oppian suggests that stallions were more favoured for hunting as they were faster than mares. Gratius Faliscus suggests that bay or dun horses should be used. This is because horses of these colours tend to have harder hooves, which means they are able to cope better with hunting over any type of ground. Hunting scenes are depicted on mosaics (Toynbee 1973) and some of the most spectacular are from the villa of Piazza Armerina in Sicily (Ciurca undated), and from various buildings in North Africa (Figure 1.9). These show that hunting from horseback was undertaken, and that horses were also used to carry back the dead animals, as Highland ponies still do for stag hunts in Scotland.

Figure 1.9 *Two scenes from mosaics showing hare hunting using horses and dogs (above El Jem, Tunisia from a website; below Piazza Armerina, Sicily, Ciurca undated).*

Another major use of riding and carriage horses was as the mainstay of the *Cursus publicus*: the state postal and transport system (Casson 1994). Procopius says that about 40 horses were held at each major inn *(mansiones* and *stationes)*, with less at the minor inns *(mutationes)*. The inns were about 8 to 12 miles apart along most major roads in the Empire, with a ratio of two minor to one major inn in most areas. This means that with over 53,000 miles of trunk road and about 4,800 stations, approximately 128,000 horses were in the service ofthe *Cursus publicus.* Although Procopius suggests these were horses, it is likely that a mistranslation of' equids' has occurred and that many of these were actually mules, particularly as Casson (1994) refers to similar numbers of animals kept at the major inns *mansiones* but specifies a mixture of horses and mules.

It was expected that these animals would be replaced after only four years of service in the *Cursus publicus* because of the hard usage they received. As well as the public service there was also the private post-horse service, which probably had an almost equal number ofhorses, mules and oxen. The logistics of supplying this number of animals, and keeping them fed and cared for, was one of the major headaches for the bureaucrats of the Roman Empire, and, as in many such cases, the burden fell to the local citizens (Casson 1994) .

 \triangleleft Research aims. Were there differences between the types of horses used by civilians and those of the army? Is there a connection between status/wealth of an individual/ settlement and the type of horses found there?

Horses in ceremonies and religion

Roman ceremonies almost always included some religious element, which is why the two topics have been treated as a single entity. The state kept a number of white horses for use on ceremonial occasions, such as religious feasts and military triumphs. The Emperor usually rode a white horse in triumphal processions because it stood out from other coloured animals. Indeed Trajan rode a white stallion upon his triumphal entry into Rome inAD 99 (Speidel 1994). Many of these may have come from the Imperial studs in Thrace, as these were noted as being huge and white. Those from the Imperial stud at Phrygia were also used in processions (Hyland 1990). Many rulers in later centuries have used white horses on ceremonial occasions for the same reason, including the use of the 'Windsor greys' to pull the Queen's carriage on state occasions in England.

The use of white horses in religious activities in other areas of the Roman Empire may have had something to do with the fact that in the wild a white prey animal is very rare. White animals tend to be killed before reaching adulthood because they have no natural camouflage. Tacitus in his treatise on the Germanic peoples *(Ger.)* gives an account oftheir use of white horses:

..the Germans also have a special method of their own - to try to obtain omens and warnings from horses. These horses are kept at the public expense in the sacred woods

and groves ... they are pure white and undefiled by any toil in the service of man. The priest and the king or the chief of state yoke them to a sacred chariot and walk beside them, taking note of their neighs and snorts. No kind of omen inspires greater trust, not only among the common people, but even among nobles and priests, who think they themselves are but the servants of the gods, whereas horses are privy to the gods' counsels.

In addition to this, horses were sometimes cremated along with their owner if that man was of sufficiently high status and esteem. Burial or cremation of the horse was carried on into the Migration Period in north-west Europe, as evidenced by the many archaeological finds of horse remains, such as those at Sutton-Hoo, UK (O'Connor 1994), and many in Hungary (Bökönyi 1974).

Great importance was also placed on the horse in Thracian culture, as shown by the many depictions of mounted heroes. In Thracian religion the horse played a prominent role, with white horses being sacrificed to the sun. The only votive tablets known from Thrace show depictions of Apollo on horseback (Hyland 1990). Herodotus (VIT. 113) says that 'There are other links between Thracian and Persian horses: white horses were also sacred to the Persians and on occasion were sacrificed in propitiation to the Strymon'. These images may be linked to the worship of horses in Greek culture, where horses were considered to be deities in animal form (peters 1998). Deities were also depicted with certain animals as a form of identification, for instance the god Silenus was always depicted riding on a donkey (Figure 1.10). This idea was carried through into the Roman pantheon where the twins Castor and Pollux (the protectors of Rome) were always depicted with horses (Figure 1.10).

The most obvious religious association between horses and religion is in the worship of the goddess Epona. She was originally an indigenous Celtic goddess, as indicated by her name which is related to the Celtic name for 'horse' (Wells 2001). Representations of Epona always show her either riding a horse or seated between two horses and sometimes with foals (Figure 1.10). Stone carvings, altars and other artefacts dedicated to her have been found in abundance from former Celtic provinces such as Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain, but have been found as far afield as the Danubian provinces and North Africa (Toynbee 1973). She was particularly revered by cavalry soldiers but was also celebrated in Rome, because of her other attributes of fertility and healing (Wells 2001) and her association with the Emperor's horse guard (Speide11994).

Although not directly linked to horses, cavalrymen, particularly those from Gaul, worshipped a set of goddesses known as the *Campestres* (Speidel 1994). The *Campestres* looked after

62

cavalrymen whilst they were training rather than in a war situation, so they are associated with training areas rather than in camps (Davies 1969). Archaeological evidence for this practice is outlined below (Section 1.4.)

Figure 1.10 Clockwise from top left: Epona seated between two horses, Epona riding a pony, Castor and Pollux with horses, Silenus riding a donkey (from Speidel 1994, *Toynbee 1973, website, Clutton-Brock 1992)*

Horse transport

Horses appear to have been frequently transported across the Mediterranean in some numbers, as attested by the fact that African horses were prevalent in chariot racing and frequently used to upgrade Spanish and other demes of horses. Racehorses with the brands of their owners or breeders C. Sabinus and Sorothus are depicted on a mosaic in Barcelona, and both had their studs in Algeria, as evidenced to by other mosaics and inscriptions found there. Hyland (1990) states that it was quite common to move horses in specially constructed horse transport ships. A mosaic from Medeina in Tunisia shows a ship with three racehorses *(Ferox, Icarus* and *Cupido)* on board. The type of ship is described by the Latin inscription *Hippago* written underneath, followed by the Greek equivalent (Hyland 1990). A diagram of what a proposed horse transport ship may have looked like is given in Hyland (1990: 98).

Consumption of horsemeat

In most of the ancient literature, the consumption of horsemeat is not mentioned at all because horsemeat was not a normal part of the Roman diet. There are two possible reasons for this: either horsemeat was considered unclean, or there was some religious taboo against the consumption of horsemeat. Itcould have been a combination of the two, along the lines of the Jewish prohibition of pork consumption. Itis presumed (Arbogast *et al.* 2002) that a 'religious' taboo against eating a noble animal reserved for war came from the Greek civilisation to that of Rome. Whatever the reason, it is clear that those who considered themselves Roman only consumed horsemeat in dire emergencies.

Instances of emergency situations are referred to in the literature, such as the wrecking of Gennanicus' fleet in the North Sea: ' Some ships went down. Others more numerous, were cast onto remote islands, where men were obliged to eat horses washed up with them, or starved to death' (Tacitus *Ann.* II, 24, quoted in Peters 1998). During the revolt of Civilis 'all normal and emergency rations gave out. They had by now consumed the mules, horses and other animals which a desperate plight compels men to use as food, however unclean and revolting' (Tacitus *Hist.* IV, 60, quoted in Peters 1998).

Other exceptional circumstances included famine, such as encountered by Alexander the Great in India *(Q-C. IX, 10 quoted in Arbogast <i>et al.* 2002). Pliny the Elder *(Nat. Hist. XXVIII, 146,* 265, quoted in Arbogast *et al.* 2002) says that it was forbidden to sacrifice horses and also that eating them would give you ulcers and that the meat was unclean. However, it is unclear why horses were regarded as such a repugnant foodstuff when the same man, Pliny the Elder, considered the meat of donkeys and onagers a delicacy.

Indeed there was a specific market for donkey meat inAthens, although it is unclear whether this was for the consumption of donkey meat as part of the normal diet or for the production of a multitude of medical remedies made using products from donkeys. Celse (quoted inArbogast *et al.* 2002) records that asses milk was supposed to be an antidote for poisons, whilst donkey bones, preserved testicles, foetal membranes and male donkeys' hearts were also used in some medicines to control epileptic fits. Horse parts were apparantlynot similarly employed in medicinal practices.

64

1.3.2 Mules

Mules are the result of a cross between a male donkey (jackass) and a female horse (mare) (as discussed below). Ahinny is a cross between a male horse (stallion) and a female donkey (jenny). Itis considered that the mule is generally stronger and more robust than a hinny. The reason for this is because the mule's dam (the mare) is larger than its sire (the jackass). When the cross is the other way, the resulting hinny will not be much larger than the donkey dam, because the size of the dam limits the size of the foetus (Clutton-Brock 1992). During the Roman period it seems that mules were bred more frequently than the hinny, as most of the Classical sources that mention hybrid equids are concerned with mules. Whilst Varro *(r.r.* II, 8, 6) mentions hinnies, in so far as to identify the parent animals and describe their appearance (' smaller than the mules, with ears like a horse but with mane and tail like those of an ass'), he then dismisses them as inferior to mules. Columella (r.r. VI, 38, 5) concurs with both the description and the assertion that hinnies are inferior to mules.

Varro (r.r. II, 8, 5) states that mules drew all vehicles on the road (see Figure 1.11 for examples). This may be an exaggeration but implies that a great many mules were bred and used. Clutton-Brock (1992) suggests that mules became the essential means of transport in the ancient world because it was found that the strong hybrids produced by breeding a male donkey with a female horse were the most powerful and resilient baggage animals for both peace and war. As was discussed briefly in the sections above on military and riding horses, mules were the primary baggage and draught animal of both the Roman army and the civilian *Cursus publicus.* Mules were an essential part of life to the Romans, being used for riding, ploughing, drawing carts and carrying baggage. Mules are seen drawing carts on coins, tombstones, other carvings and mosaics. Draught mules are depicted (Figure 1.4) on Trajan's and Marcus' columns and pack mules are also shown in military contexts on Trajan's column (Toynbee 1973). Mules were also used to bring home the spoils of the hunt.

Mules were not considered second-rate riding animals but could be difficult to ride (Figure 1.11). Martial mentions several types of mule, and a well-bred mule could set the purchaser back the price of a house. A spirited mule could give a lively ride to a gentleman of the upper classes. For timid riders who feared a lofty steed there was a breed of dwarf mule (Hyland 1990). The best mules were probably small horse size (14 to 15 hh), as the largest donkeys and mares were used and hybrid vigour would make them still larger.

Figure 1.11. *Clockwise from top left: two-wheeled mule cart depicted on a mosaic, coin showing mule-drawn funeral carriages a/the Empress Agrippina, carved relief 0/ a muledrawn carriage and a mosaic showing a mule throwing its rider! (top left/rom a website, others/rom Toynbee 1973).*

Much of what has been said above regarding the breeding and care of horses also applies to mules, but are a few extra points that are worth making regarding mules in the Roman Empire. Varro owned a mule-breeding stud at Reate in Italy, so his information on the subject should be accurate. He says that mule breeding was very profitable but that it could cost 3 to 4,000 sesterces for a good jackass to breed from $(r, \text{II}, 8, 3)$. This shows something of the economic importance of mules (or an unlikely rarity of donkeys). Varro *(r.r.* 11,8,3) suggests that where there is no jackass available that has been reared on a mare (see below), one as handsome and heavy as possible should be bought from a good breeding area such as Reate in Italy or Arcadia in Greece.

Varro (r.r. II, 8, 2) also says that jackass foals destined to be used to breed mules were taken from their mother and reared on surrogate mares. This was because a mare's milk is more nutritious thanjenny's, so the donkey foal would grow larger. Columella *(r.r.* VI, 37, 8) also writes about this practice but says that the reason was so that the foal became accustomed to horse behaviour patterns, so that it would respond to a mare in oestrus. Both explanations are rational and probably the combination worked in the jackass' favour. Xenophon *(P. h.* V, 8) claims that jackasses will not mate with mares because they have long manes, and that mares destined tobreed mules must have their manes cut off. This erroneous beliefhas been perpetuated in other classical works and even in the 19th century AD was still being carried out (Peters 1998). Columella *(r.r.* VI, 36) suggests that ajackass reluctant to mate with a mare should be presented with ajenny first, which is then substituted for the mare when the jackass is aroused.

On the subject of choosing ajackass and mares for breeding mules, Columella is most specific, saying that they should be chosen with great care or the resulting offspring will be a failure. The mares *(r.r.* VI, 36,2) should be 'big and handsome and well able to endure toil' so that she will impart both her good physical qualities and natural disposition to the mule foal. As for the jackass *(r.r.* VI, 36, 3), he says that good ones are hard to find, and often a good-lookingjackass will produce poor offspring and *vice versa,* so choosing is difficult. Temperament is also important, and whilst ajackass of 'fierce passions' is desirable, sometimes he has to be harnessed to a mill to work off the energy in order to be manageable *(r.r.* VI, 37). Whilst both Columella and Varro indicated that wild jackasses could be used for breeding mules because of their large size, the resulting offspring were considered too unruly and a second generation jackass was then preferable. This was because it showed the spirit and agility of the grandsire (wild ass) and the form and tameness of the sire (Domestic x wild ass) (Peters 1998).

Mares used to breed mules were only put into foal every other year and only bred between the ages of 4 and 10 years, thereby producing only five mule foals each (Columella *r.r.* VI, 36, 2), another reason for the high cost of mules. Columella also indicates that the gestation period for a mare breeding a mule is slightly longer than usual, at just over a year (corroborated by with modem veterinary data; Clutton- Brock 1992), and that the foaling is often difficult. Jackasses should only be used for breeding mules after they are three years old (Columella *r.r.).* Inorder that a jackass could mate with a larger mare, the Romans built a ramp with cross bars, onto which the mare was tied at the lower end so that the donkey (who was of smaller stature) could walk up the ramp to mate (Columellar.r. VI, 37, 10).

Mule foals were driven into mountainous regions in the summer to harden their hooves (Varro *r.r.* II,8, 5). This was another economic consideration, as those with hard hooves would last longer unshod when working on hard road surfaces. Apparantly male mules were better at carrying pack-saddles but female mules were more nimble (Columella *r.r.* VI, 37, 11) and both 'step out well on a journey' and could be used for ploughing on light soil.

The appearance of the mules was also of concern to Columella *(r.r.* VI, 37, 6·7), who suggests that they should have' ample stature, a strong neck and broad flanks, a vast and muscular chest, brawny thighs, solid legs and a black or spotted coat'. He seems to suggest that mules of other colours were inferior, particularly if they were mouse-coloured like donkeys.

1.3.3 Donkeys

The wild ancestors of the domestic donkey *(Equus asinus)* are the African asses. However, it is unclear whether one or more of the subspecies of *Equus africanus* contributed to the domestic donkeys of Roman times and today. Clutton-Brock (1999) argues that it is likely that at least two if not three subspecies were used. The Algerian wild ass *E. africanus atlanticus* (now extinct) has been identified on Roman mosaics from North Africa and was probably exterminated by the Romans. It may have been imported into Europe and used to breed from by the Romans. The mosaics depict it as having strongly marked long shoulder stripe and bars on the legs. *Equus africanus africanus,* the Nubian wild ass, has a clearly defined back stripe and a short but clear shoulder stripe but no bands on the legs. It is not possible to say which subspecies contributed most to present domestic donkeys; the Nubian ass was probably domesticated by the Egyptians, whilst it is probable that the Romans imported the Algerian ass. The Somali wild ass *E. africanus somaliensis* is quite large (can be over 1400 mm withers height). It does not have many much shoulder and back stripes but has very clear leg bars. Because of its size it seems likely that the Romans would have used this ass to breed bigger domestic donkeys and hence bigger mules. If the list of animals used in the spectacles in Rome is anything to go by, then the Roman Empire certainly accessed the Sub-Saharan wildlife so could have had access to these asses.

The domestic donkey is in some ways the 'Skoda' of the equine world: the butt of many unfounded jokes. This was true even in the Roman period as the novel 'The Golden Ass', written by Apuleius *(m.m.),* makes clear. In this book Lucius is accidentally turned into an donkey and the story relates all the trials and tribulations these beasts had to endure. Mostly the donkey's lot in life was a poor one, full of hard work and little reward. Cato (quoted in Hyland 1990) places these animals firmly in a niche asthe beast of all work on a farm raising olives. The donkeys were used for rotating the mill for crushing the fruit, as well as hauling olives to the press, carting manure and so on. Donkeys could also be used for many other farm duties, including ploughing on light soil. Many of these activities are depicted on a mosaic from the Villa of the Laberii at Oudna in Tunisia (Figure 1.12).

Figure 1.12. *Scenes of daily life on a large farm from a mosaic in Oudna, Tunisia (above, from a website), and a humerous depiction of a donkey refusing food from a mosaic in Istanbul, Turkey (below, from Toynbee 1973).*

Varro *(r.r.* II, 6, 5) states they were used as pack animals carrying panniers to carry oil, wine, grain and other merchandise. A donkey's load was calculated as 100 kg (225 lb), a mule as nearly twice that (Hyland 1990). Donkeys were also used for traction, ploughing in areas oflight soil and more particularly turning mills (White 1970). Varro $(r. r. \Pi, VI, 5)$ suggests that herds of donkeys were not kept by estates, only the few required for work, and that traders assembled their own herds for pack trains as they needed them.

Mosaics often depict donkeys working mills or being beaten along under enormous loads. The crush of pack donkeys and mules in cities caused traffic jams, and tremendous pollution of road surfaces. Donkeys also contributed to noise pollution because they are very vocal, unlike horses (Hyland 1990).

Columella *(r.r.* VII, 1, 1-3) reiterates most of the information above, suggesting that as a beast of all work the donkey was second to none, not only because it can carry surprisingly large loads for its size but also because it can thrive on very little fodder and is rarely affected by disease. He particularly mentions that it can feed on leaves, thoms, twigs and chaff as well as conventional fodder. For these reasons, donkeys were considered to be one of the most significant working animals in the Mediterranean area (peters 1998).

Ordinary donkeys were bred in large numbers all over the Empire, but on a small scale, unlike the vast mule studs ofVarro. The best donkeys, used for breeding mules, came from the areas renowned for mule breeding, such as Reate in Italy (see section on mules above). Perhaps the mule-breeding studs also bred high-quality donkeys for their own use. It is mentioned in Columella *(r.r.* VIT, 1) that donkeys bred in Arcadia were cheap and common in his times, whereas they were considered quite highly in Varro's time as he felt it quite an achievement to sell ajackass to the Arcadians. Small donkey demes were said to have come from Illyria, Thrace and Epeiros (peters 1998).

On the subject of building up a breeding, herd Varro *(r.r.* II, 6, 2) suggests that animals of the correct age should be bought so that they have the maximum breeding life left in them (presumably around three years old, although this is not specified). They should be 'sturdy, sound in all parts, full bodies, and of good stock' and, as both parents contribute to the quality of the offspring, both should be chosen with care *(r.r.* II, 6,4). This seems to be in contrast to the breeding of horses, where the stallion was considered to impart most of the quality to the foal. The pregnant jennies were not worked so that their offspring did not suffer. The young were not weaned until a year old, and then only partially. At three years old they were trained for whatever purpose was desired.

70

The treatment of illnesses in donkeys and mules seems to have been carried out in much the same way as for those of horses (peters 1998) with a few exceptions noted by Columella *(r. r.* VI, 38). The castration of donkeys seems to have been carried out earlier in the animal's life and following a different method than that used for horses. Apsyrtos *(C.h.* G 1,99,5, quoted in Peters 1998) indicates that donkeys were castrated at two years old by 'binding the testicles with linen, hold them firmly and cut obliquely. With this method no inflammation follows if the cut is treated with fire irons'. Perhaps the earlier age of castration, in relation to horses, reflects the use to which these animals were put. Only those destined for breeding would to be kept entire, as the use of donkeys as pack and draught animals meant they needed to be as tractable as possible. The earlier castration is undertaken, the less male behavioural characteristics have developed and the more docile the animal becomes. By extrapolation it is suggested here that mules may also have been castrated early for the same reasons.

1.4 Roman equids in archaeology and zooarchaeology

Archaeology can be defined as the study of the human past and of human behaviour through the collection, analysis and interpretation of the material remains left by those people (Wells 2001). Archaeology can, therefore, study periods from which no written records exist and can examine aspects of everyday life that are not mentioned in literature sources. The sub-discipline of zooarchaeology, the study of faunal remains from archaeological sites, started towards the end of the 19th century AD with the identification of animal bones together with some efforts to quantify the animals represented and find out what size they were. However, most advances in terms of the quantity and quality of information being gained from faunal remains have been made in the last 35 years. There are still wide discrepancies in the quality of information available in bone reports from different countries, and as a result of this much information has been lost.

Within the area covered by the Roman Empire, there is a long tradition of detailed bone reports from northern, central and eastern Europe in particular that allow comparison of sites and study of the socio-economic implications of the data. Unfortunately the core areas of the Empire around the Mediterranean are very poorly represented in the zooarchaeological literature for the Roman period, even though these areas have a good tradition of faunal analysis from earlier period sites.

There are many reports on bone assemblages from Roman sites that include small quantities of information on the equids, which will be used for the main data collection exercise of this thesis
(see Chapter 5). In addition, there are a number of synthetic studies that bring together the information available in the site reports, mostly concentrating on particular regions. These include the extensive studies of Peters (1998) on the Roman animals of the Upper Rhineland area, Bökönyi's (1974) detailed analysis of animals in central and eastern Europe, including those of the Roman period, and the study of Arbogast *et al.* (2002) on horses in France through time. There are also smaller studies, such as those ofLauwerier (1988), and Lauwerier and Robeerst (2001) on Roman horses in the Netherlands, and the study undertaken by Luff (1982) for Roman Britain and the near continent that contain relevaent information, The following information was gleaned from the synthetic and smaller surveys and is presented under similar topic headings to the art and literature information presented in Section 1.3.

1.4.1 Mules and donkeys

Mules and donkeys are not often mentioned in a positive way in the zooarchaeological literature, as they are not often identified. Bökönyi (1974) states that donkeys were used by the Persians against the Scythians in the early 1st millenium BC, and that they were adopted by the Greeks in the last few centuries BC. According to Aristotle *(Hist.an.* VIII 162, quoted in Bökönyi 1974) the 2nd century BC asses in Illyria, Thracia and Eprirus were small. Bökönyi (1974) also mentions that there is zooarchaeological evidence that there were many donkeys in the Greek colonies around the Black Sea. In the Roman period Bökönyi states that asses were found at Cambodunum (Bavaria), Wurttemberg, Paris and Heidelberg as well as at Tac in Hungary.

According to Homer *(Iliad,* XXIv, 278, quoted in Bokonyi 1974), mules were first bred by the Mysians. Bökönyi (1974) suggests that mules were present in south-eastern Europe by the 7th century BC and were included in the Greek Olympic games during the $6th$ century BC. Mule breeding spread to central Europe via the Greek colonies on the Black Sea. Bökönyi (1974) states that these mules were quite big, *i.e.* similar in size to horses (although no actual figures are given). He also mentions that no mule bones had been found (or at least been identified) in Roman deposits from central Europe.

Peters (1998) states that mules are supposed to have arrived into the Rhine Danube area with the Roman army, and that this is attested to by the presence of five skeletons at Dangstetten (data from which were unfortunately not available for this study) that are presumed to be connected to the Alpine campaign of AD 15.A single mule, assumed to be a victim ofbattle of Varus inAD 9, was recovered from Kalkriese and must have been a pack animal with the army. Peters (1998) states that up until 1998 there is very little proof of the presence of mules other than these

six, although a few scattered individuals are known. This is in contrast to the literature and art sources, where their stated great importance to the army suggests they were very numerous. Peters (1998) stresses that the problem lies in the fact that mules are only trivially osteologically different from horses. If the data on the numbers of mules from the recently researched equid skeletons from Weißenburg are anything to go by, there is a ratio of five horses to each mule indicating that many mules are 'missing' from other sites. The question of whether mules were bred in the western Rhine Danube province is not clearly answered, but the lack of donkeys may suggest that they were not bred there.

Therefore, whilst the remains of donkeys and mules have been found in small numbers on archaeological sites in many parts of the Empire, including Britain (Armitage and Chapman 1979) and Germany (von den Driesch and Cartajena 2001), there are vast numbers of mules in particular unaccounted for in the archaeological record.

• Reasearch aim. Because of the discrepancy between the contemporaneous and zoo archaeological literature it is imperative to find out whether the existing methodologies used by the zooarchaeologists effectively separate horses, donkeys and their hybrids. Ifnot, can ^a methodology be constructed to identify the equids categorically, so that material that has hitherto been identified as 'horse' can be re-evaluated?

1.4.2 Horses

Appearance, size **and** shape

For Britain as a whole there have not been any extensive studies of the size and shape of Roman horses. Inher study, Luff (1982) includes some information, mostly from south-eastern Britain. However, one problem with this work is that the 'Hands' measurement has been wrongly used (see Section 1.5.5) and no metric equivalents are quoted, therefore it is difficult to give figures for the estimated mean withers heights presented in that study. Relative sizes can be given, for instance in most cases the Roman horses are larger than the preceding Iron Age ones, with the exception of a few individuals. The studies of Johnstone (1996) and Johnstone and Albarella (2002) also indicate clear differences in height between pre- and post-(Roman)conquest horses in Britain.

Luff(1982) suggests that these larger individuals could be geldings, as the delayed epiphyseal fusion and hence elongated growth period could cause them to be taller. However, it is not mentioned whether these bones were also more slender, which might be another indicator of gelding. Luff (1982) also states that larger horses were present on civilian sites than on military ones, and again the suggestion is that this is perhaps as a result of stallions being used by army and geldings by the *Cursus Publicus* (as stated in Varro *r.r.* II, 7, 15). Luff does point out that not much work has been carried out on the effects of gelding on bone growth in horses, so these suggestions cannot be substantiated (see also Chapter 2).

Hyland (1990) suggests that the range of size of Roman horses was from about 1380 mm to 1540 mm, with a few smaller outliers (confirmed for Roman Britain in Johnstone 1996). Horses of this size were sufficiently large to operate efficiently and had smoother gaits than the small ponies. Modem horse breeds that cover this range include theArabian, Quarter-horse and Morgan (which can be bigger), and larger ponies such as the Dales, Highland, Connemara, New Forest, Camargue and Haflinger. As discussed earlier, a more robust horse was preferred by the Romans, more like the pony breeds rather than the horses mentioned above.

Moving across the English Channel to look at the horses of France, the extensive study of Arbogast *et al.* (2002) gives quite detailed information on the heights ofboth Iron Age and Roman horses in Gaul. The mid- to late Iron Age horses were very small in comparison with all periods, both preceding and following. Theywere approximately SOmm shorter on average, and some individuals were only about 1000 mm at the withers. These animals were also classed as 'gracile' or 'below average' based on metapodial shape indices (Arbogast *et al.* 2002). Caesar *(B.*G) recounts the gifting of horses to a Gallic king prior to conquest of the area, and the granting of permission to import more to use for breeding purposes to upgrade the native stock. These literature sources are borne out by the study of the horse bones from Gaul, which reveal that whilst most were from small individuals there were a few large, probably imported, animals.

The annexation of Gaul into the Roman Empire by Augustus (late 1st century BC), sees a marked increase in the size of the horses (Arbogast *et al.(2002).* Whilst small individuals arestill present, thereare vastly greater numbers oflarger ones. However, the horses from one of the 1st century AD sites, Vertault, are probably not representative of the period because they are all male individuals and were sacrificial victims. In contrast the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD are better represented, with many more animals of middle height and fewer of the smallest individuals. There are also fewer 'gracile to average' individuals and many more robust ones, based on the metapodial indices. In late Roman times (4th to 5th centuries AD) there is a further reduction in numbers of the small individuals and a lifting of the lower end of the range and a corresponding increase in numbers but not height at the top end of the range (Arbogast *et al. 2002).*

It is difficult to trace changes in morphology of horses from the Iron Age to Roman periods in Gaul, mostly as a result of the lack of whole skeletons from Iron Age Gaul. Inthe Roman period it is most likely that a great diversity of forms ofhorses existed to suit different types of employment, for instance those for racing and hunting would have to be fast and have an aptitude for going in all types ofterrain, respectively. The principal concern for the military horses was size, and this was achieved by importing Scythian-type horses via the Greeks, Persians and Spanish. Large horses permitted the army to conquer areas, but they always needed remounts, so large horses were imported to introduce selective breeding to Gallic peoples and supply the army with horses. This could be expected to impose a uniformity of size and shape across Gaul, but the size in particular differs between sites (Arbogast *et al. 2002).*

Moving across to the Netherlands there are two studies of relevance, the first (Lauwerier 1988) concerning the animals of the eastern river area (Rhine Delta) in Roman times, and the second (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001) specifically concerning horses. From the first study there are a few general points tto be noted, but all the withers heights data from pre-Roman, Roman and native material have been combined to give an eaverage of 1434 mm (range 1240 to 1630 mm). It is stated (Lauwerier 1988) that the bones from military and villa sites gave the tallest values in the withers height calculations. It is also stated (Lauwerier 1988) that there was no increase in size through the Roman period, but there is no mention of the Iron Age/Roman transition period. Inaddition, the Roman eastern river area horses seem quite tall, in comparison with the native settlement at Rijswijk (1314 mm), and the Roman sites slightly further away at Valkenbrug (1406 mm) and Xanten (1375 mm).

The second study (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001) uses the withers heights in a much more instructive way to highlight a number of differences between settlement type. The horses from the native settlements beyond the *Limes* boundary to the North are smaller (mean 1320 mm withers height) than those of villa and military settlements within the Roman Empire (1440 and 1420 mm respectively). Also rural settlements inside the *Limes* produced horses with a mean height between the two extremes and also a larger range of sizes. No trace of any exchange oflarge breeding animals to sites beyond the *Limes* could be found.

The authors (Lauwerier 1988; Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001) suggest that horse producers on the rural sites inside the *Limes* could have offered a wide range of sizes of horses as they had both native and Roman stock available to breed from. The army as consumer took the largest (either requisitioned or bought), as these best suited their purpose; therefore the rural producers used what was left. Villa sites also produced large horses and it is suggested that this fits with their

more Romanised and wealthier status. The theory is put forward that the largest animals (over 1600 mm) could have come from renowned horse breeding areas such as Pannonia (Hungary).

Moving further up the Rhine, Peters' (1998) survey of the Rhine and Danube areas (mostly Germany, Austria and Switzerland) includes many analyses of the measurement data of the horses from late Iron Age, Roman and native settlements. Ingeneral the size of the horses appears to decrease from the early to late La Tène periods and then increases again in the Roman period, as was the pattern observed in the Gallic material. In the late La Tène period the mean withers height is only 1210 mm, similar to that for Gaul. Peters (1998) explains this lack of stature by suggesting that the same pastures were used constantly (overgrazing), that food was scarce in winter and that there was a general lack of interest in or knowledge of selective breeding amongst the Germanic peoples. This appears to contradict the references to the Germanic tribes' good horsemanship in the Classical sources; however, an ability to ride a horse well is not necessarily associated with an interest in breeding or raising horses.

As in Gaul, isolated occurrences of large horses north of the Alps in pre-Roman times are found, such as at the Manching oppidum site (Boessneck *et al.* 1971). However, these occurrences are once again all from sites known to have had contact with the Romans, so they could be traded goods, war booty or rewards for service. Itis not clear if these large imports were crossed with small native ponies at this time or only after the Roman conquest of the area.

From early Imperial times, the larger horses are found in numbers on sites allover the western Rhine-Danube province (Peters 1998), suggesting that these animals were, at least initially, being imported, and then they were used for improving the native stock to supply the army with horses for initial conquest wars and then to secure the *Limes.* The mean withers height for the early Roman horses in the Rhine- Danube area is 1370 mm (Peters 1998). This figure is some 100 mm larger than the mean for horses from sites in Germany byond the *Limes* frontier of the Empire. Within the Empire animals under 1250 mm seem to be rare in the early Roman period and those that do exist are from sites with known contacts outside the Empire, either in border areas or along major trade routes. This is similar to the findings from Gaul (Arbogast *et al.* 2002).

Inthe mid-Roman period in the Rhineland the withers heights range from 1160 to 1530 mm, with ^a mean of1390 mm based onjust the metacarpals. Ifother bones are used, some larger individuals (Le. over 1600 mm) are detected (peters 1998). Therefore, most of the Roman 'horses' were in fact mid-large ponies (1200-1473 mm) and small horses (1473-1600 mm). Peters (1998) mentions at this point that the mules so far identified are generally taller that the horses, with a mean withers height of 1530 mm.

Peters (1998) also mentions some problems associated with the limb proportions of the studied horses. In the withers height calculations, the values estimated from the tibiae and radii tended to come out larger than from the other bones, so it was concluded that perhaps this was because the calculation factors were derived from modem horses which might not have same limb proportions as pre- and early historic ones. Peters (1998) does not, however, connect this difference in limb proportions amongst the 'equids' to problems with the identification of mule bones, even though he mentions at a later stage that mules do have different limb proportions.

The IronAge Germanic tradition of sacrificing horses means that there are plenty of whole skeletons from this period to look at differences in limb proportions and build, but because of the process ofRomanisation this practice died out, with the result thatthere are many fewer whole skeletons from the Roman period. However, the skeletons that are present show that there is little difference in proportions between the periods and that overall size does not affect these proportions.

In terms of build, positive allometric changes (i.e. as bone length increases, the breadth increases both absolutely **and** relatively) have been noted (Peters 1998) between the Iron Age and Roman horses, and also between native and Roman horses, but these were not statistically significant differences. Peters (1998) does note that the differences observed in the shape index results could be the result of genetic variability, but could also be a reflection of those individuals that were affected by nutritional deprivation. The suggestion is made that the Roman horses were more slender than those of the Iron Age, but Peters (1998) then goes on to suggest that this may be a product of the problem of mule identification, as the mules are much more slender overall. Therefore the results of build analyses must be questioned where identifications have not even been attempted.

Peters (1998) uses the heights and shape indices from various modem breeds as comparisons for the archaeological material. Modern 'walking' horses have a height range of 1550-1710 mm, and a mean shape index of 18.39 (range 16-21); thoroughbred racehorses have comparable withers heights but a more slender mean index of15.89 (range 12-19) and the Belgian Coldblood (again of similar height) has a mean index of21.6. The Roman horse bones mostly have a shape index of greater than 15.99 so are all relatively robustly built. From this evidence it suggested that the Roman horses were mostly more robust than the horses from both the preceding Iron Age and contemporaneous native settlements.

Moving further down the Danube and into eastern Europe, an extensive study of the animal remains found in sites from this region was undertaken by Bökönyi (1974). Information from Bökönyi (1974) is presented chronologically below, so discussion of the Iron Age horses of the area comes first. It is argued that there were two types of horse in the Iron Age, which possibly had different origins. The first group consisted of large and more robust horses, which have been termed the 'eastern group' whose remains are mostly found in the lower Danube region (Hungary, Romania, etc.) and a smaller 'western group' found mainly on sites in the upper Danube area (Austria, Switzerland and southern Germany). The eastern group has a mean withers height of 1355.2 mm, a metacarpal index of15.24 and a metatarsal index of 11.59.

It is argued (Bökönyi 1974) that the Greek and Persian horses were derived from the eastern stock type as it is known that these peoples imported Scythian animals, the remains of which show that they were large and robust. These horses then influenced the Roman horses by being imported from Greece and Persia, and bred in whatever combination was required to breed horses for specific purposes. Large bodied animals with taller withers heights are found on many military sites and villas in the Roman period, but many rural settlements in the Danube region only have smaller horses. The Roman horses have a mean withers height of 1408.3 mm, a metacarpal shaft index of 15.05 and a metatarsal index of 11.91.

In discussion of the post-Roman migration period horse remains, Bökönyi (1974) talks about the sex of individuals, which is also relevant to the remains from Iron Age and Roman periods. He suggests separating mares and stallions using the presence of well-developed canines, but also adds caution as it is suggested, from modem data, that up to 22% of mares also have canines, although not usually well developed ones. It is also noted that a proportion of those individuals with well developed canines also had very long and slender metapodials which, it is suggested, could be the remains of geldings (Bökönyi 1974). It is suggested that this could be true if the metacarpal length is more than 23 % of total length of forelimb with a shaft slenderness index of below 14.5 and if the metatarsal length is greater than 26.7% of the total hindlimb length with an index below 11.5%. This may be a good starting place but can obviously only be used where the total limb lengths are known (i.e. for whole skeletons or articulated limbs). In addition the possibility that the slenderness could be caused by malnutrition during growth or that these individuals could be mules is not discussed.

From the above summaries it can be seen that quite a lot of information is available on the size and shape of Roman horses across Europ,e but that there are a number of problems associated with material that cannot definitely be attributed to species, in particular, there are problems with

assessing the size of the mules that could be contributing to the upper end of the withers height ranges and the lower end of the shaft slenderness figures.

• Research aim. If the separation of species (outlined in previous research aim) is achieved, then it will be possible to address the question of size and shape for identified bones separately, allowing a more accurate picture of the appearance of these animals to be constructed.

Horse care, training and hunting

One piece of evidence regarding the care of horses that can be deduced from archaeological sites, comprises the size and construction of stables. Indirectly this can give some idea of the size of the horses that occupied the stables. As mentioned above (Section 1.3.1) there were at least three types of stabling arrangement: loose boxes, with a single untied horse occupying each; stalls, with one or more animals tied to a wall between each partition; and the bam situation, with many animals loose in a larger area. The last of these allows the largest number of animals to be kept in the smallest space but is obviously unsuited to a mixed sex herd. The next best solution is the stall arrangement, where a few animals that get along together can be tied up in close proximity. The first arrangement is the way most horses are kept today, when space is not an issue, and is ideal for foaling mares and keeping stallions separate in a stud situation. In marching camps the military would probably have used picket lines: two stakes with a rope attached between them to which the horse could be tied on either side.

Unfortunately there are very few sites where excavated buildings have been positively identified as stables. Some of these are military sites, others civilian, but many excavated buildings cannot be attributed to any particular use. The difficulties of identifying a bam in which livestock were kept from any other type of bam, let alone where horses as opposed to other animals were kept, are obvious. In other cases buildings that once had partition walls, which could be used to identify stables, may not be able to yield such information as the partitions could easily have been constructed of perishable materials that do notpreserve.

Sites with buildings that have been identified as stables include Hod Hill (UK) (quoted in Toynbee 1973), Brough-on-Noe and The Lunt (UK) and Dormagen and Krefeld (Germany) (all quoted in Hyland 1990). These are all very different in plan and seem to have a small number of internal partitions, perhaps indicating that the horses were tied to the walls in a stall arrangement rather than in individual stables. This is unsurprising given the fact that space was usually at a premium but separation of the sexes would still have ben necessary. At Dormagen the areas between the partitions measure 3.5 m square, which is the size of a modem loose box for one horse, however three horses who got on well together could be tethered to one wall.

At Hod Hill, a 1st century AD fort with a legionary cohort and a half *ala* of cavalry, the stables were excavated thoroughly (Richmond quoted in Toynbee 1973). Two types of stabling were uncovered, the first was partitioned into spaces 3.35 m x 3.65 m, the second into spaces 3.35 m x 5.5 m. The first type would allow three horses to be tethered to either side of the cross wall with a 1.8 m alley behind each group, in the second there would be two rows of three horses tethered to opposite walls with a 1.8 m alley between the rows.

These stables had a natural chalk floor in which the hoof scrapes were visible. The front hooves scraped about 45 cm from the cross wall and the hind ones about 90 cm behind the front ones. There were dung stains behind the hind hoofmarks. The distance from the wall to the front hooves indicates that the wall must have been low enough for the horses to get their heads over, as the length of the head and neck on even a small pony is longer then 45 cm. The distance between the front and hind hooves is also quite small and suggests horses not much bigger than 1220 mm based on the measurement of several modern ponies (C. Johnstone unpublished data).

There is some archaeological evidence in Britain that the covered exercise halls for training cavalryman and their mounts, mentioned in Vegetius, were built at Inchtuthil, Chester, Newstead (later 2nd century AD fort), Haltonchesters, Brecon and Netherby. All forts had parade grounds outside, which were used to train and exercise all the troops, including the cavalry. Many of these have been identified archaeologically and some extend over 4 ha. All have been found on areas of flat ground outside the forts themselves, but sometimes quite some distance away. That these parade grounds were for cavalry training as well as for infantry is attested to by the finds of altars and inscriptions to the *Campestres,* deities concerned with horses and men in training situations rather than war (Davies 1969).

Luff (1982) suggests that, judging by the very small quantities of bones of wild species in assemblages from most Roman period sites, hunting was not a major occupation of soldiers, fanners or settlers in general, within or outside the Empire. However, this only proves that the kills did not end up being deposited with domestic rubbish, perhaps indicating that they were not eaten.lt does not rule out the possibility that they were caught but not eaten. Villa sites show higher proportions of wild animals, as might be expected from higher status rural sites. However, there is no zooarchaeological evidence regarding whether hunting took place from horseback (as seen in the mosaics mentioned above) or the horses were simply used as a means of transport for the hunters and their kills (as also described above).

80

Consumption of horsemeat

Based on the assumption that there was a taboo on the eating of horsemeat because it was thought to be unclean, there should be no evidence of butchery on the horse bones from Roman sites. Inmany instances across the Empire this is indeed the case, and even where there is some evidence ofbutchery it cannot be linked conclusively to the consumption ofhorsemeat by people. For instance, Luff(1982) suggests that traces of butchery on horse bones could indicate removal of meat to feed to dogs. The butchery could also be a means of reducing a carcass to more manageable pieces for easier disposal in pits or ditches, particularly where these bones are found separately from the deposition of other domestic refuse.

InRoman Gaul it was noted that large deposits of horse bones were occasionally found on the edge of towns (Arbogast *et al.* 2002). This was probably just a specific place to dump dead horses, as there is evidence they decomposed in the open air and dogs had access to the cadavers. A dump at one site had separated vertebral columns and showed a deficit of small elements, indicating that this was a secondary deposition of horse cadavers from another source. Other areas where contained deposits of artisan waste where the use of parts of the tibiae, radii and metapodials of horses for the manufacture of bone pins was evidenced.

Lauwerier's (1988) study in the Netherlands showed that more horse bones were found in rural settlements than in urban ones, except deposits from urban ditches and cemeteries outside the settlement area. It is suggested that this is indicative of rubbish disposal patterns (as discussed above) and not the occurrence of horses in general. In addition, whilst there are some cut marks, it is indicative of skinning or carcass division prior to disposal rather than butchery for meat.

InBritain, where horses appear not to have been consumed in quantity in the preceding Iron Age, there was obviously not a great change in diet required to conform to Roman practices. However, in other parts of the Empire a very different story emerges.

Arbogast *et al.* (2002) demonstrate that the butchery of horses for meat was very prevalent in Iron Age Gaul; particularly inthe Paris Basin area, but that the quantity varies widely across Gaul. On some sites it appears that the occupants raised horses primarily for meat consumption, as many of the remains were killed at around four years old, when the animals have grown to a stage where the most meat is gained for the least input (like the cattle in a beef economy). On other sites the consumption of horsemeat appears to be on a more *ad hoc* basis. The remains of older individuals have been recovered, suggesting that the animals were only consumed after having been used for riding, traction or some other purpose. On one site with a large amount of butchered horse bones, the quantification suggests that whilst horse is fourth on the species list in terms of numbers of fragments, it is second behind cattle in terms of meat yield (Arbogast *et al.* 2002).

Many of the butchered horse bones in Iron Age Gaul (Arbogast *et al.* 2002) were found amongst other domestic refuse and not separately buried, compared with those from the Roman period mentioned above. Many different butchery techniques were present, some indicating secondary use of the carcass, including the heating of heads (evidenced by burn damage to incisors), possibly indicative ofbrain removal and the longitudinal splitting of heads and metapodials, for brain and marrow extraction. Evidence for the jointing of carcasses was present, including halving the carcass by splitting down the vertebral column.

Inthe Roman period, the taboo against eating horse seems to have held in most parts of Gaul despite the previous large-scale consumption (Arbogast *et al.* 2002). Inurban settings and *vici,* very few horse bones were found amongst the domestic refus,e suggesting a lack of consumption. More horse bones are found in the deposits from rural settlements over most of Roman Gaul, but even there butchery traces are rare in comparison with the Iron Age material. The exception to this is in northern Gaul, where traces of butchery are still quite evident, suggesting that the isolation of this area from major trade routes and military zones meant that Roman practices were less widely adhered to. By the $4th$ and $5th$ centuries AD hippophagy (eating of horses) had become prevalent again in northern France, either as a result of Germanic population incursion or of a return to Iron Age practices.

Peters (1998) repeats that horse bones are rare in settlement layers on archaeological sites of the Roman period because they do not usually from part of the butchery or domestic waste. It is pointed out that this has a bonus for zooarchaeologists: because the horses' bones were not generally butchered, they are well preserved, with complete lengths, so many withers heights can be calculated. The contrast between the consumption of horsemeat on Roman sites within the Empire and the native settlements beyond, and the north-west German coast in particular, is striking. Examination of material from sites like Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991) in the latter category, show that horsemeat was an important foodstuff there. The presence oflarge numbers of horse bones, including those from young animals, many displaying butchery marks, from these native Germanic sites indicates that horse rearing and horsemeat consumption were undertaken on a relatively large scale. So although the Roman view was that horsemeat was unclean, to other groups such as the Celts and Germans, it was a natural part of the diet.

In relation to this, there are sites within the Empire where horse butchery is in evidence. These are generally military sites and it is thought that this can be attributed to the presence of Germanic auxiliary soldiers. These auxiliary units were not subject to the control of the Roman administrative system, so it is possible that these soldiers could have followed their native customs in terms of diet. At WeiBenburg and other forts on the *Limes,* horsemeat was certainly consumed and indeed could have formed a substantial part of the diet. However, a connection to troops of Celtic or Germanic origin cannot always be made clearly. In contrast, in urban situations chop and cut marks are seldom found on horse bones and their interpretation where present can be ambiguous regarding to whether the meat was for human or canine consumption, or whether other products were being utilised rather than the meat. In some cases the consumption of horsemeat may also have had something to do with status, because more horse bones with cut marks were found in the poorer districts of Augusta Raurica, for instance, than in the more afiluent areas. Therefore it seems that, except under certain circumstances, the Roman taboo against eating horses was mainly adhered to in the Rhine-Danube area.

Horses in ceremonies and religion

The interpretation of deposits as having a 'ritual significance' is one of the stock phrases used by archaeologists for deposits that are peculiar in some way, i.e. they have no apparent explanation in terms of the perceived ordinary economic or domestic life of a site. Sometimes these deposits are clearly associated with structures other than domestic dwellings that have a role in the public life of settlement, such as a temple. Other deposits are associated with ordinary domestic structures but are unexpected in their position and/or content. Some of these deposits are termed 'votive' deposits as they are considered to be offerings to deities to invoke blessings.

Examples of Iron Age and Roman votive deposits that contain horse bones come from wells, bogs and other watery places. The Roman examples of these well deposits seem to exist in areas where sacrifices in watery places were also made in the Iron Age. For instance in Germany, the sacrifice of horses that are then placed in bogs is well attested in the Iron Age (such as at Oberdorla) and the tradition continues into the Roman period, both in bogs and in wells. Many of these votive deposits in watery contexts contain either whole skeletons of horses, or just the heads, or heads and feet together. InBritain, there are similar deposits to those in Germany; for instance, in Roman Chelmsford (Luff 1982) a well near the site of the *mansio* contained several horse skulls at the bottom. Some of these were adults but there were also juvenile individuals. There were no obvious signs of butchery on the bones, and whilst most of the remains were

skulls, some post-cranial bones were also present. More skulls and other bones were also found in an adjacent ditch.

Similar traditions of votive offerings in watery places seem to have taken place in the Netherlands. During excavation of the *Fossa Corbulonis* (Corbulo Canal, in Leiden-Roomburg), a deposit containing a bronze mask, unworn coins and a number of horse bones was recovered (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001). The skull of an adult stallion of about 1360 mm withers height and the left hind leg of a much larger horse (about 1500 mm) were recovered all of which had been excessively heavily butchered. Itis usually assumed that masks and helmets found in rivers were offerings from discharged soldiers giving thanks for protection during their military service. The offering of horse parts could have a similar significance if a cavalryman was giving thanks. The fact that the horse bones are heavily damaged might be paralleled in the deliberately smashed pottery and weapons rendered unfit for use found in other votive deposits.

Other instances ofhorse remains deposited in unusual places have been found in association with the construction of temples, other buildings and roads, and are termed 'foundation deposits'. These are considered to be offerings to the deities for good luck to be bestowed on the building. Examples occur in Britain (Luff 1982) and also in the Netherlands (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001). The villa site ofDruten and the settlements ofWijster and Heeten (beyond the *Limes)* in the Netherlands all had horse burials situated very close to buildings, and the burial pits could be seen to have been dug at the same time as the buildings foundations. Similar burials were found at the Germanic settlements at Raalte-Heeten, Leidenschendam De Leeuwenbergh and Wijster, but these were more closely associated with the entrances of the enclosures and farmyards. These have been interpreted as site offerings, perhaps a Germanic imitation along the lines of *suovetaurilia* to invoke blessing of the settlement itself at its inception.

Although there are not a vast number of horse burials in the Roman period, particularly in comparison with the following Migration and early medieval periods, there is a scattering present in most parts of Empire. Luff (1982) suggests that there is a slight concentration in the mid-Danube basin (west Hungary and east Austria) perhaps as a result of the preceding Iron Age and earlier horse burial traditions. In some cases there can be problems establishing whether a horse burial is a ritual deposit or just the disposal of a dead animal. This is partly because it is difficult to establish a cause of death. Arbogast *et al.* (2002) argue that on sites where hippophagy was practised, such as those of northern Gaul, the burial of a whole animal is more likely to be a ritual deposit, unless the animal died of a disease that made it unfit for consumption. The position of the burial in relation to buildings, and the posture of the skeleton in the burial environment, may help

to differentiate the two hypotheses put forward above. However, on sites where horsemeat was not consumed it is particularly difficult to establish the significance of a horse burial (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001).

The use of horses as sacrificial victims is implied in diverse forms of rituals in Gaul, particularly in the later IronAge (last four centuries BC) and the Roman period (Arbogast *et al.* 2002). The remains of horses are found in funerary contexts of cemeteries and as sacrifices in sanctuaries and temple areas. It makes sense that horses were used as sacrifices when they were a source of meat, just as other food animals were used to bring fertility to the herds and prosperity to the owners. This then gives an explanation of their use in ritual meals (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001).

The association of horse burials with those of humans hints strongly at a ritual element. In Britain and Gaul humans and horses were buried in the same pits (often thought to be ex -grain silos) from the 5th century BC (Grant 1984; Arbogast *et al.* 2002). However, the remains are not always directly associated with each other as they often occur on different levels within the pits, and sometimes the heads and limbs have been, manipulated i.e. the remains are not always articulated. By the 3rd century BC in Gaul the association is clearer and the deposition of the remains was simultaneous. The funerary rites obviously varied considerably across Gaul in the Iron Age, as the inclusion of horses was rare. Even in the areas where chariot burials were prevalent, the horses were not always included.

Evidence for the sacrifice ofhorses is plentiful from ditches defining the limits of Iron Age sanctuary sites (Arbogast *et al.* 2002). On some sites the remains show that the cadavers were deposited whole in the ditches and then left in the open air to decay. In the ditches of some sanctuary sites it is evident that the horse remains were a secondary deposit, as only the heads and legs were found, so the bodies must have been decomposing elsewhere and only parts were re-deposited in the ditches. Alternatively, this could represent the primary butchery waste left from a ritual meal. Archaeology is not able to say whether these slightly different depositions of horse remains were part of similar ritual practices or very different ones.

In the Netherlands there are examples of horses in Roman cemeteries, but it is often impossible to confirm if these were contemporaneous burials or whether the cemetery happened to be located on a site where the burial of horses (for whatever reason) happened to have taken place. Beyond the *Limes,* at the site ofWijsterthere is no doubt that the cemeterycontained the contemporaneous deliberate burial of horses as well as people. The horses were buried in a

vertical standing or kneeling position within their graves and the graves were in neat rows. This formalized burial position suggests that these were animals buried with some degree of ritual. A similar cemeterywas found at Drantum in NW Germany, so perhaps this was a regional Germanic custom (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001).

In Roman Gaul, temples were often put on top of the Iron Age ones but most likely with some modifications regarding the rites and practices of the associated religion. The large numbers of whole skeletons found on some of these sites indicate the sacrifice of non-food animals, i.e. there was no ritual meal. However, it could be argued (Arbogast *et al.* 2002) that these are the remains of horses that died of natural causes and were disposed of in a new way, all together in a ritual setting, but this seems unlikely given the numbers of animals deposited at the same time. Other animals are sometimes included in these deposits, particularly canines.

The remains from various sites show different population statistics; at some sites all the remains appear to be from young animals, whilst at others they appear to be all male. The method of deposition also varies, at some sites all the bodies were buried the same way round in pits together, at others they were buried individually; on some sites the scatter of bones suggest that open air decomposition took place, and on others it is suggested that partly decomposed heads and legs were subsequently buried in other places. This practice of horse sacrifice *en masse* seems to be confined to northern Gaul during the Roman period.

The absence of horse bones at Roman temple sites in the Netherlands has led Lauwerier and Robeerst (2001) to conclude that 'the horse did not play any part in sacrifices or ritual meals in any of these temples or complexes' . Perhaps the most extraordinary evidence for ritual use of horses comes from a collection of bones found in a pit at Houten- Tiellandt in the Netherlands. Eighty-seven bones from a single five year old mare were found together but not in articulation and most of these bones showed chopping and cutting marks of various sorts. Initially it was considered that the flesh had been stripped off to feed to dogs, but this would not leave the kinds of butchery traces in evidence. Also there was no trace of dog gnawing on any ofthe bones. 'This extremely concentrated ... consumption of such a large quantity of meat from an animal not normally eaten makes one suspect that these were the remains of a ritual meal' (Lauwerier and Robeerst 2001: 286). In addition, the large quantities of unbutchered horse bones from the rest of the site indicate that horses must have been an important component of the economy and may indicate horse breeding. Perhaps this ritual meal of horse was in honour of a horse-related deity.

86

As mentioned above (Section 1.3.1), cavalrymen worshipped a set of goddesses known as the *Campestres* whilst ina training situation (Davies 1969). Many altars dedicated to the *Campestres* have been found, located at cavalry exercise grounds rather than within forts. Examples have been found inBritain at Newstead, Castlehill, Cramond, Auchendavy and Benwell (Davies 1969).

1.5 Terminology

There is a group of terms in common usage in the zooarchaeological literature that are both ambiguous and quite often inappropriately used. In addition there is a further set ofterms that it is appropriate to clarify at the outset of this research.

1.5.1 Breeds and demes

The most ambiguous word often used in association with domestic animals is 'breed', and it is often inappropriately applied to archaeological material. A breed of animal in the modern sense of the word is a group of animals that have shared, clearly defined characteristics in respect of size, conformation, action and in some cases also colour, resulting from human control of reproduction (Edwards 1993). Put another way' a breed is a group of animals that has been selected by humans to possess a uniform appearance that is inheritable and distinguishes it from other groups of animals within the same species' (Clutton-Brock 1999: 40). In the case of horses and dogs, in particular, this is backed up by the existence of studbooks detailing all the ancestors of any individual registered as belonging to a particular breed. This means that the gene pool of any modem breed is very restricted as most studbooks have been in existence for no more than a couple of hundred years. Therefore any hybrids between breeds, or those animals without a pedigree, are not considered to belong to any breed. In view of these narrow definitions, it is entirely inappropriate to use the term breed to describe ancient groups of horses, the breeding of which is not known to have been controlled by humans in this way.

There are a number of alternative words that could be used to describe a group of animals within a species that have a similar appearance. These include 'type', 'race', 'variety', 'phenotype' and 'deme'. Amongst the equine community a 'type' of horse is one that has certain characteristics, like a breed, but does not have to have a pedigree. An example ofthis is the cob-type horse, a small (up to *15.1* hh), thickset horse with powerful shoulders and quarters and short strong limbs. It is useful for its weight-carrying ability rather than speed and is often used in harness as well as a riding animal (Edwards 1993). However, in biological circles 'type' is often used as an abbreviation for holotype, meaning the set of characteristics described from a single specimen used as the basis for classification of a genus or species (Lawrence 2000). Neither of these definitions is entirely what we are after and such variation in meaning is particularly confusing.

A 'race' is a 'group of individuals within a species, which forms a permanent and genetically distinguishable variety' (Lawrence 2000). A 'variety' is 'a taxonomic group below the species

level'. Both of these can be, therefore, other words for a subspecies, which is not what a group of ancient horses constitutes. So both of these are also unsuitable for the purposes required here.

A 'phenotype' is defined in Henderson's dictionary of biological terms (Lawrence 2000) as '1) the visible or otherwise measurable physical and biochemical characteristics of an organism, resulting from the interaction of genotype and environment and 2) a group of individuals exhibiting the same phenotypic characters' .All modem breeds and types of horse are therefore phenotypes, as are all groups of ancient horses with shared appearances. However, this term has genetic connotations and the first part of the definition given above is the one most often used. Therefore, this is perhaps not the best term to use even iftechnically correct.

A 'deme' is 'an assemblage ofindividuals of a given taxon, usually qualified by a prefix e.g. ecodeme (a deme occupying a particular ecological habitat), gamodeme (a local population unit of a species within which breeding is completely random) or topodeme (a deme occupying a particular geographical area)' (Lawrence 2000). Whilst groups of ancient horses could in some ways be classed as both gamodemes and topodemes, the full definitions of these cannot be strictly applied. Therefore just the generic term can be used. The term 'deme' appears to be the most useful in terms of describing groups of ancient horses, as it has none of the connotations of a modem breed with its studbooks, or the confusion of meanings of the word type and is also not biased towards genetics or taxonomy. Therefore, throughout this work the word deme will be used to denote a group of equids with similarities in appearance.

1.5.2 Appearance and conformation

It has been mentioned above that horses and ponies have different conformation, with ponies having shorter legs in relation to the depth of the body. This is illustrated below in Figure 1.13. It can be seen that by rescaling the outline drawings of a typical pony breed (Exmoor), a typical light horse (Arab) and a typical heavy horse (Shire) to the same withers height that there are differences in proportion between the pony and the types of horse. In addition, a Lippizaner horse has been included as these are similar in proportion to the equestrian statues dating to the Roman period.

89

Figure J. J 3 *Line drawings of horse and pony breeds scaled to illustrate the differences between pony and horse conformation and between horse types (drawn by* C. *Johnstone).*

1.5.3 Taxonomic nomenclature

The taxonomic nomenclature of domestic animals has been the subject of much debate (Clutton-Brock 1992, 1999; Uerpmann 1993), and a variety of forms is commonly used in zooarchaeologica1literature. Insome cases a mixture of systems are used which further complicates the issue. There is also the problem that the wild and domestic forms of a species are not separate species in the genetic sense, as they produce fully fertile offspring when mated together. However, it is not practical to call the wild and domestic forms by the same name, as differentiation between the two is often crucial to zooarchaeological understanding. Anexample of the confusing situation is that both *Equus* f. domestic and *Equus caballus* have been used to denote domestic horses, whilst wild horses are usually termed *Equus przewalskii.* However, *Equus asinus* is often used to denote domestic as well as wild donkeys, although wild donkeys are sometimes given the additional suffix *somaliensis* or *africanus.*

There is not even no consistency within museums as to which system to use. This is particularly true with older specimens with labels that have not been updated since they were placed in the collection, often over a century ago. This can make secure identifications a little difficult when it is unclear whether two specimens are actually the same species or not.

Bohlken (1961 quoted in Clutton- Brock 1999) proposed one system that was accepted, mostly in Germany. His solution 'was to call the domestic form by the first available name for the wild species, followed by the linking word 'forma' (f.) and then by the earliest name, according to the rule of priority, for the domestic animal'. Using this system a domestic horse would be called *Equus ferus* f. *caballus.* Zeuner (1963 quoted in Gautier 1993) suggests a similar system to that ofBohlken, but adds 'f.d.' (forma domestica) between the species and subspecies names. Dennler de la Tour (1968 quoted in Gautier 1993) proposes that instead of 'forma' or *'forma domestica'* the word *'familtarts'* should be used to denote the domestic form. Under this system the horse would become *Equus ferus 'familiaris '.*This system allows for the naming of feral animals by using *'exfamiliaris'* which would mean that the mustangs of North America could be named *Equus ferus 'exfamtliaris' mustang.*

As can be seen all these are rather clumsy and long-winded systems, which have never really been accepted into mainstream zooarchaeological literature. They also suppose that all domestic animals are descended from a single known wild species, which is also a very debatable issue, particularly in reference to horses. To get around this problem Uerpmann (1993) proposed an entirely new system of nomenclature for domestic animals, which is based on a single word name written in italic capitals. This single word is mostly the Linnaean species name, hence a horse would just be *CABALLUS.* He goes on to suggest that breeds and types could be added to this name in the following form, *CABALLUS* 'Exmoor' for the Exmoor pony and *CABALLUS* t. $\cosh(t)$ = typus) for a cob-type horse. This system has some advantages as it is separate from the taxonomic system and its difficulties in relation to domestic animals, but is perhaps too radical to become commonly used, i.e. it has not come into general use and will not be used here.

Clutton-Brock (1992, 1999) suggests that the oldest name should be used for the domestic form and the next oldest name for the wild species. This is also the recommendation of the International Council for Zoological Nomenclature (Gentry *et al.* 1996). Following this system *Equus cabal/us* is used for the domestic horse and *Equus asinus* for the domestic donkey. The wild forms become *Equusferus przewalskii* (wild horse) and *Equus africanus somaliensis* or *Equus africanus africanus* for wild donkeys (depending on the subspecies). As these seem to be the most commonly used (and by implication the most widely understood) Latin names for equids, as well as the officially recognised ones, they will be used throughout this work.

The naming of hybrids is perhaps even more debatable and often incorrect. The hybrids that concern us here are the mule and the hinny, both of which are crosses between horses and donkeys. The mule is the cross between a male donkey (jackass) and a female horse (mare) and its Latin name is *Equus asinus* x *Equus cabal/us:* the first part always being the sire. The hinny is a cross between a male horse (stallion) and a female donkey (jenny) and its Latin name is *Equus caballus* x *Equus asinus.*

1.5.4 Use of the term species

In relation to the taxonomic nomenclature of the equid species and their hybrids, it is awkward to have to refer to both species and hybrids when discussing the horses, donkeys and mules together. Therefore, throughout this thesis the term species will be used to denote both the true species (horses and donkeys) and the hybrid mules. Although it is acknowledged that this is not strictly zoologically accurate, the simplification will allow for less verbiage in the remainder of the text.

1.5.5 The measurement unit hands

Measurement of the height of horses, particularly in Britain, has traditionally been carried out in the unit ofhands (hh), which according to Edwards (1993) has medieval origins. The measurement is taken from the ground to the withers, the slight upward protuberance of the vertebral spines at the base of the neck just in front of the saddle. One hand is equivalent to 4 inches, so therefore a horse that is said to be 15.1 hh is 15 multiples of four inches plus one inch: 61 inches or 1549.4 mm. The abbreviation 'hh' stands for hands high.

It needs to be stressed here that a measurement quoted as 14.2 hh means 14 hands and 2 inches high, and **not** 14.2 with a decimal point. Occasionally, workers have misunderstood the hands measurement, i.e. withers heights are quoted as 12.8 hands in Luff(1982) when this should be 12.3 hh as there are only 4 inches to each hand (see Section 1.5 and Chapter 3), so if a publication quotes a value of 14.5 hh, for example, it is wrong and perhaps the metric equivalent should looked at instead if this is given. The metric conversion of inches to millimetres gives a value of25.4 mm to 1 inch, so one hand (4 inches) is 101.6 mm. These are the figures that will be used to calculate the withers height in Hands from the calculations based in mm.

Hands are the measurement cited widely in zooarchaeological literature for horse withers height (in addition to the metric values), because they are widely understood and used by those who deal with live horses and can therefore be compared with extant breeds, whose sizes are mostly quoted inhands. In this thesis, metric values for withers heights will mostly be quoted, as calculations will be carried out using bone measurements in millimetres. However, where appropriate hand measurements will also be given for clarity and comparative purposes.

1.5.6 Use of the terms Iron Age, Roman and External

In a similar way to the use of species outlined above to cover both true species and hybrids for simplification, the terms Iron Age, Roman and External will be used as outlined here. There is much debate about the use of these and other similar terms in the literature (e.g. Wells 2001) but it is felt that as long as the meaning of the terms, as they will be applied in a piece ofwork, are made clear at the beginning then, although perhaps not strictly correctly used, they will at least be understood.

Inthis research the term Iron Age will be used to describe any material dating to the last few centuries preceding the conquest of an area by the Romans. This will include any contemporaneous material from areas that were never conquered.

The term Roman will be used to describe any material dating to the period between the conquest of an area by the Romans and the official withdrawal of military and administrative support by Rome.

The term External will be used to describe any material dated to the same period of time as that of the Roman material but that comes from areas that were not conquered by the Romans, i.e. were external to the Roman Empire. It is acknowledged that this was still technically the Iron Age in these areas, but to avoid unnecessary confusion between two uses of the term Iron Age it is felt that the term External is more appropriate for this material.

93

1.6 How the subject is to be addressed

There are two main sections to the research project: the first deals with the issue of species and hybrid identification amongst the equid remains, and the second with the issue of appearance in terms of size and shape of these equids. To address the first issue a number of approaches were tried. Initially an assessment of the previously published methods of separation was carried out. To enable objective evaluation of the methods currently available, it was necessary to collect data from modern reference specimens ofknown species or hybrid in museum and other collections (see Chapter 5). The methods tested included the use of morphological characteristics (e.g. Armitage and Chapman 1979; Davis 1980) and biometrical techniques. The latter included the use oflog-ratios (Eisenmann 1986; Eisenmann and Beckouche 1986) and multivariate analysis (Dive and Eisenmann 199; S. J. M. Davis, unpublished data) (see Chapter 4).

The next stage wall be to apply whichever methods of species separation was most appropriate to the archaeological data. The data for this primarily were collected from published information on equid bones recovered from archaeological sites across the Empire (see Chapter 5). The chosen methods were used to verify or contradict the few existing identifications of donkeys and mules in the zooarchaeological literature (Kunst 2000; von den Driesch and Cartajena 2001). Then the methods were applied to the main body of data recorded as 'horse' to check that mules and donkeys had not been included in this group. This forms the first part of the results in Chapter Six (Section 6.1).

The second area of research was carried out using the archaeological biometrical data mentioned above to investigate the size and shape of the Roman equids. Analyses included the use of withers height estimation, shape index calculation and log-ratio analysis (all methods outlined in Chapter 3). Although it was suspected that the smaller numbers of identified mule and donkey bones would prevent much statistica1lyvalid furtherwork from being undertaken, the same analyses were applied to all three groups in order to form the basis for inter-species comparisons. In addition, intra-species comparisons were made between the equids of different periods, geographic areas and site types.

The results (Chapter 6) are split by analytical method (Sections 6.2 - 6.4) and then an overall summary (Section 6.5) brings them together. The results are then discussed (Chapter 7) in relation to the research aims and questions put forward above.

Chapter Two - Bone and skeletal biology

2.1 Introduction

The role of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the basic biology of the material to be used in this study, namely bone. The reasoning behind providing this is that there are a number of issues relating to the growth ofbones and the skeleton that could affect the results of the study, or at least should be borne in mind when interpreting the results. The following sections look at bone as a biological substance, how individual bones and the whole skeleton grow under ideal conditions, and lastly factors that can affect that growth pattern. This section will include such issues as age, sex (including castration), nutrition, hormones and disease. These are necessarily dealt with relatively briefly, as whilst there is a vast veterinary literature dealing with these issues in minute biological detail, most of that detail is inappropriate to this study. Most of the information on the factors that affect growth in equids is concentrated on the horse, partly because the horse is a commercial animal and partly because there are far fewer donkeys and mules in existence (Particularly in English-speaking countries).

2.2 What is bone?

Bone is the hard tissue that forms the internal skeletons of all members of the phylum Chordata and first appeared in the fossil record around 500 million years ago. Its structural roles include supporting the body against gravity, acting as a rigid lever system for muscular action, and providing protection for vital internal organs. In addition, bone is a metabolic tissue, serving as a repository for calcium and inducing marrow formation (Bouvier 1989). Cortical bone provides the mechanical and protective functions, whilst cancellous bone provides the metabolic function (Marks and Hermey 1996).

Bone is a living tissue that contains two main components, one organic and one inorganic. The main inorganic component of vertebrate bone is calcium phosphate in the form of hydroxyapatite (85%), Ca₀(PO₂) (OH), together with calcium carbonate, CaCO₃ (10%). The organic component is composed of95% collagen and 5% proteoglycans such as chondroitin-4 sulphate (Marks and Henney 1996; Saladin 1998). Collagen is a fibrous protein consisting of aggregations of tropocollagen macro-molecules. Each of these comprises three polypeptide chains with a left-handed helical structure. These are twisted together to form a right-handed spiral. The complete amino acid sequence of this protein is extremely complex and somewhat variable. The three strands are hydrogen-bonded to each other internally and also to neighbouring fibrils

(Halstead 1974). Within the structure of bone, the inorganic compounds confer rigidity and hardness to the structure, whilst the organic material confers toughness, resilience and elasticity (Reitz and Wing 2000: 39). The structure is analogous to reinforced concrete. Like concrete, the minerals resist compression, whilst, like the steel reinforcement bars, the collagen resists tension (Saladin 1998).

There are four types of cell associated with bones, outlined below. (from Bouvier 1989, Halstead 1974, Marks & Hermey 1996, Saladin 1998)

1) Osteoblasts differentiate from osteogenic cells, which come from embryonic mesenchyme. They are typically cuboids, with a single nucleus at the opposite end to the extensive endoplasmic reticulum and a large Golgi apparatus. These structures are involved in protein production and secretion and they regulate mineralisation. Hence osteoblasts are the cells primarily responsible for bone production by collagen production and calcification.

2) Osteocytes are osteoblasts that have become trapped in the bone matrix as the bone grew. Their internal structure has changed and lost most of the cellular organelles and the cells become flattened with 'tentacles' going from them to neighbouring osteocytes through canaliculae inthe bone structure. These tentacles provide a network through which substances can pass to repair and maintain the bone structure, which is the primary function of osteocytes.

3) Osteoclasts arise from the fusionofmanymonocytes (a type of white blood cell) and are, consequently, large cells with multiple nuclei. They also have a large Golgi apparatus and a characteristic ruffled membranous border. The primary function of osteoclasts is the resorption of bone. The ruffled border attaches to an area of bone to be resorbed, the Golgi apparatus produces lysosomes for breaking down bone structure, and particles of detached bone are taken inside the cell in vacuoles to be broken down further.

4) Bone-lining cells are flat, elongated, inactive cells with very few organelles. They cover bone surfaces that are not undergoing formation or resorption and may be precursors for osteoblasts.

There are two types of bones within the skeleton of a mammal classified according to the way in which they grow (Reitz and Wing 2000). Endochondral (cartilage replacement) bones are those that form indirectly by replacing a cartilage precursor and include most ofthe limb bones of mammals. Intramembranous (dermal) bones are those that form directly in the connective tissue of the epidermis and include most cranial elements of mammals. Both require a solid base and a well-developed vascular supply (Marks and Hermey 1996).

96

In addition there are many types of bone structure that can be present within a single bone. Those that are found in mammalian bone can be classified asimmature (woven) bone, primary vascular (lamellar) bone, secondary lamellar (Haversian) bone, and plexiform (laminar) bone (Currey 1998). Itshould be noted that this is only one of several such classifications, one that suffices for this research.

Immature or woven bone has randomly orientated fine (about $0.1 \mu m$ diameter) collagen fibres. As well as being characteristic of young bone it is also found during the initial repair phases after injury to bone. Primary lamellar bone has precisely arranged collagen fibres and is commonly found in the long bones of adult mammals. The collagen and its associated mineral are arranged in sheets (lamellae) that encircle the longitudinal axis of the bone. The collagen fibres are much thicker than in woven bone $(2-3 \mu m)$ diameter) and are arranged in bundles, orientated the same way within small domains, but not throughout the lamella (Currey 1998).

Plexiform or laminar bone is found particularly in large mammals, whose bones have to grow rapidly in diameter (i.e. faster than lamellar bone can be laid down). Essentially, a scaffolding of woven bone is laid down, to be filled in later with lamellar bone. This creates alternating layers of parallel fibred, heavily mineralised woven bone and lamellar bone wrapped around the bone (Figure 2.1a). Sometimes these layers form around a blood vessel and look superficially like aHaversian system. However, these are termed primary osteones because they form as the bone grows, rather than replacing existing bone as Haversian systems do.

Figure 2.1. *The structure of plexiform or laminar (a) and Secondary lamellar or Haversian bone* (*b*) (C. *Johnstone after Halstead* 1974)

Secondary lamellar or Haversian bone is more complex than primary lamellar bone and contains Haversian systems (secondary osteons) (Figure 2.1b). Haversian systems, or osteons, are formed by osteoclasts (bone destroying cells) 'cutting' a cylindrical canal through the existing lamellae down the axis of the bone. These are then filled in by osteoblasts (bone manufacturing cells) with concentric lamellae around a central canal that can contain blood vessels and/or nerves (Currey 1998) (Figure 2.2). Haversian canal formation is a very variable process. Inhumans most long bones develop numerous Haversian canals, whereas in bovid long bones the laminar bone remains intact in most places with few Haversian systems, and in small mammals the bone most often stays as circumferential lamellar bone (Currey 1998). Haversian bone is less efficient than laminar bone because the vascular supply is not so good. It is also mechanically weaker for the same reasons. However, laminar bone is not so adaptable and it seems that Haversian bone is the usual form encountered after the initial period of growth (Halstead 1974).

Figure 2.2. *Microscopic structure of an osteon (C. Johnstone after Halstead 1974)*

The mature bone structure of many mammalian long bones contains a combination of cancellous trabecular bone and compact bone. Cancellous bone has an open, porous or spongy appearance, made up of bony struts or trabeculae that give the structure strength but make it lighter than compact bone. Compact bone is made up of Haversian bone, and the periosteal membrane that surrounds the bone secretes layers of cortical bone on both the inner and outer surfaces of the cortex. Compact bone is most often found in the shafts of long bones, whereas cancellous bone is usually located at the ends of long bones (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. *The structure of a typical long bone (C. Johnstone after Saladin 1998).*

All bones can adapt and change according to circumstances. In an adult human, each year about 18% of the calcium in the bones is exchanged with that in the bloodstream, and at anyone time about 5% ofthe skeleton is undergoing remodelling (Saladin 1998: 239). Many of the bony processes on the human skeleton are formed when a child begins to walk but can also adapt to changes in loading requirements through life. For instance, continued and extensive use of one muscle group will cause the bones to which these muscles are attached to become more robust to withstand the stress placed upon them. Examples of this include unequal humerus size in tennis players and heavily developed greater trochanter of the femur in weightlifters.

Bones can also repair themselves when injured. When a fracture happens the blood vessels are also broken and these bleed at the fracture site, forming a clot called a haematoma (Figure 2Aa). Blood vessels then grow into this soft (granulation) tissue, bringing macrophages to clean up the tissue debris, as well as osteoclasts, osteoblasts and fibroblasts. The fibroblasts then deposit collagen and chondroblasts produce patches of cartilage (Figure *2Ab).* This resulting soft callus is subsequently mineralised by the osteoblasts and becomes a hard callus forming a collar 'around the periosteal and endosteal surfaces of the fracture, acting as splint. The callus persists for 3-4 months as the osteoclasts dissolve the necrotic bone and osteoblasts bridge the gap with spongy bone (Figure 2*Ac).* This is then remodelled into compact bone and eventually the callus is resorbed (Figure2Ad) (Halstead 1974). Even a severe fracture can be impossible to detect after a period of several months if the bones are realigned correctly at the time the fracture occurs.

Figure 2.4. *Stages in the healing of a bone fracture* (c. *Johnstone after Halstead* 1974).

However, if the bones did not correctly align this would be detectable in archaeological bones as a deviation from the appearance of a normal bone. This deviation can take a variety of forms depending on where the fracture took place. In the context of this study, most types of nonaligned fracture are readily recognisable and measurements would not be taken on such a bone, however where a comminuted fracture takes place it is possible that the length of the bone ends up shorter, without appearing out of alignment. Inthis instance the resulting bone would not be recognised as a fracture case and could be measured, giving outlying values within a distribution. This type of fracture and consequent healing is, however, quite rare, particularly in equid bones, and therefore not all that likely to be found archaeologically.

Skeletal adaptations to a particular mode of locomotion should be mentioned here. In the case of horses the particular mode oflocomotion of concern is running. This is the result of natural selection pressure on a prey species: the need to escape predators. Skeletal adaptations to running can be seen clearly in the limbs of horses (Figure 2.5). They have long straight elements, with the radius and ulna fused together (the latter also being reduced). The fibula is so reduced as to be almost absent. The metapodia (and phalanges) are reduced to a single functional element and are very elongated; and finally contact with the ground is only made with the tip of the third (or terminal) phalanx. Locomotion on the toes only is known as unguligrade. These adaptations give a greater rigidity to the joints of the long limbs and enable the animal to take longer strides and hence run faster (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.5. *The lower forelimb of a horse showing the elongation of the metacarpals and the reduction to a single phalanx, giving a greater length of stride and hence speed.*

Figure 2.6. *Illustration of the length of stride of a horse compared with that of a cheetah. On this evidence a horse should be the faster, but a more flexible spine generates the cheetah* s *extra speed (after Halstead* 1974).

The swivelling action of the scapula also increases speed (Halstead 1974). Ungulates have SUspensoryligaments that run from the posterior of the metapodials to the anterior of the terminal phalanx. When the toe is on the ground these are stretched, so that when the toe is lifted the ligament contracts, to give added impetus to the upward movement of the limb (Halstead 1974).

As the length ofthe leg is important in escaping prey, this is the reason that foals are born with vetywell developed limbs. At birth their legs are 73% of the length when adult, allowing them to run almost as fast as the adults from the moment they can stand. Moreover, because of the length of gestation (11months) the foal is also quite mature at birth, allowing it to stand almost immediately and run within an hour of birth. These are very important adaptations for a prey species.

2.3 Bone growth under ideal conditions

The growth of the two types ofbone, endochondral and intramembranous, is completely different. Intramembranous bones grow from a centre of ossification but do not have a cartilage precursor. 'Intramembranous ossification occurs during embryonic development by direct transformation of mesenchymal cells into osteoblasts' (Marks and Hermey 1996: 9). The mesenchyme forms a highly vascular sheet in the location of the future bone. Its cells enlarge and differentiate into osteoblasts, whilst some of the mesenchyme condenses into soft trabeculae. The osteoblasts then transform this into soft bone tissue, the trabeculae of which are subsequently thickened and mineralised. At the surfaces the trabeculae undergo further calcification to close up the gaps and convert to compact bone (Saladin 1998).

The bone grows outwards around the edges and growth ceases when it comes into contact with neighbouring bones. The joins between dermal bones are known as sutures and these continue to remodel and fuse after growth has ceased. This type of bone growth is found in the mammalian cranial vault, some facial bones and parts of the mandible and clavicle. For this reason it is not so important to study its growth in relation to an investigation regarding size and shape in archaeological equine material because the skull is rarely found intact enough for good analysis to take place, and there are no clavicles.

Endochondral growth, on the other hand, is of vital importance to this research as this is the type that occurs in bones with joints and that bear weight. 'Endochondral ossification is a method by which the unique properties of cartilage and bone are exploited to provide a mechanism for formation and growth of the skeleton' (Marks and Hermey 1996: 10). In foetal and neonatal individuals the bones are formed when 'condensed embryonic mesenchyme transforms into cartilage which reflects in both position and form the eventual bone to be found at the site' (Marks and Hermey 1996: 10). Ossification takes place as the individual grows.

Each bone has at least one centre of ossification within each cartilaginous precursor. For long bones the primary centre of ossification is located in the centre of the shaft or diaphysis (Figure 2.8a). Ossification of the diaphysis takes place here and occurs by the proliferation of chondrocyte columns, their hypertrophy and mineralisation (Figure 2.7). The persistence of the mineralised cartilage after the destruction of the cells acts as a scaffold for bone formation. Lengthwise growth progresses from the centre towards the ends of the bones, with resorption of the internal trabeculae to form the marrow cavity (Marks and Hermey 1996). Bone growth in diameter is achieved by the formation ofbone on the outside of the diaphysis (periosteum) and resorption on the internal (endosteal) surface.

Figure 2. 7. *A schematic diagram of the process of cartilage mineralisation during bone formation* (C. *Johnstone after Halstead* 1974).

Figure 2.8. *The sequence of ossification and bone growth in a mammalian long bone* (e. *Johnstone after Saladin 1998).*

Secondary centres of ossification form at the ends and are called the epiphyses (Figure 2.8b). Growth takes place between the diaphysis and epiphyses in the cartilage disk that separates them, called the epiphyseal plate or metaphysis (Figure 2.8c) (McIlwraith 1996). Where the diaphysis meets the epiphysis it is flared outwards and is substantially wider than the centre of the shaft. This is called the periosteal collar and surrounds part of the growth plate cartilage. As the shaft lengthens a new periosteal collar is formed and the old one is remodelled to narrow it to the width of the shaft. This is achieved by resorption at the periosteal surface and formation on the endosteal surface (Marks and Hermey 1996) (Figure 2.9).

When the bone has reached adult size the cartilage of the epiphyseal plate stops growing and is replaced by bone, thus fusing the epiphyses and diaphysis (Figure 2.8d) (Halstead 1974; McIlwraith 1996). In some elements there are several epiphyses at one end of the bone, which fuse together prior to fusing to the shaft. In other elements (carpals and tarsals) growth occurs from a single centre of ossification with no epiphyses. The epiphyseal line is eventually completely remodelled away.

Figure 2.9. *The process of lengthening bones during growth (C. Johnstone after Halstead* 1974).

Regarding the growth of the whole skeleton rather than individual bones, there are two parts to the growth: one in pre- and the other in post-natal life. However, these should be seen as one continuous, rather than two separate, processes. 'During growth all organisms, except the simplest, not only increase in size but also undergo changes in form due to differential growth rate oftheir constituent parts' (Pálsson 1955: 430). Also 'in mammals having determinate growth, the external form changes continually during the period of growth, and as soon as the form becomes constant growth ceases' (Palsson 1955). There is therefore a prescribed sequence to the growth of an animal that is well understood and will be described here.

There are two areas to discuss, firstly where bone growth fits into the overall growth pattern of a young animal, and, secondly, how skeletal growth proceeds. From conception to maturity there are a number of growth 'waves' that pass through the body, each causing a peak in growth rate of different parts and tissues of the body in tum. Interms of areas of the body, the head grows first, followed by the neck, thorax and loin. In terms oftissue development the brain and nervous tissue develop first followed by the bones, muscles and finally the fat reserves (Pálsson 1955). The appearance of a newborn foal reflects the fact the foetal growth has concentrated on the development of the head, central nervous system and bones. As post-natal growth occurs there

is a shift from bone growth in the limbs towards the growth of muscles, particularly in the thorax and loin areas.

Also during foetal life the head seems disproportionately large in comparison with the rest of the body. In late foetal life the metapodials also grow considerably, giving the 'leggy' appearance of newborn animals. As post-natal growth proceeds, the wave of skeletal growth passes from the cranial vault down to the face and along the spine from head to tail, as well as up and down the legs from the metapodials (Figure 2.10). This is also reflected in the timings of epiphyseal closure, as given in Table 2.1. Because growth proceeds from the head backwards, the forequarters are better developed at birth than the hindquarters. As the foal grows a 'see-saw' effect can be observed between the height of the fore and hindquarters, as first the bones of the hind limb catch up with the growth of those in the forelimb and then the same thing happens with the muscle development.

Figure 2.10. Horse skeleton with arrows showing the direction of the 'waves' of growth intensity as the skeleton matures (drawn by C. *Johnstone).*

In addition, the growth in length of the bones attains its maximum rate before the growth in thickness, meaning that once the maximum length is achieved the bones will still continue growing in diameter for a while after epiphyses have closed. This is also true ofthe body as a whole, with the height increasing least and width the most, with length of body and depth of chest intermediate in relation to the proportions at birth. Therefore at maturity the leg length is 1.38 x that at birth, whilst the width of the hips is 2.68 x that at birth, with depth of chest intermediate at 2.13 x the measurement at birth (Pálsson 1955).

2.4 Factors affecting bone growth

2.4.1 Age

Age and size are very closely linked in all species. However, in animals that have a determinate growth pattern (i.e. they reach adult size and stop growing) this only applies to immature individuals. There are two main age-related developments in animals with determinate growth patterns: remodelling to assume adult shape and size, and a reduction in bone porosity. It is important to highlight here that there are two types of'age' when studying growth: physiological age and chronological age. Chronological age is the amount of time for which the animal has been alive. This is mostly measured in days/weeks/months/years since birth, although foetal life is sometimes included when studying the complete growth pattern of an animal. Physiological age is the stage of development that the individual has reached. This can vary considerably in relation to the chronological age of the individual, from conception to cessation of growth.

Foals are born at a much greater physiological age than many other animals as a result of their long gestation period, with their birth weight being around 10% of their adult weight (Palsson 1955). Also the limbs of horses are so well developed at birth that very little length growth occurs below the hocks after birth, hence the phalanges (and to a lesser extent the metapodials) fuse early in life. At birth the leg length (ground to elbow) in a foal is 73% of the adult length and similarly the withers height is 60% of that achieved at maturity, indicating that the chest depth increases more than the leg length after birth (Pálsson 1955). Correspondingly the width of the chest and hindquarters develop to an even greater extent during postnatal growth. The reasons for this become clear when the sequence of growth is studied.

Studies have been carried out regarding whether the age of weaning affects bone growth and density in foals. Weaning is one of the most stressful events in a foal's life and often leads to a decrease in the growth rate. In particular, the loss of the calcium and protein from the mare's milk can reduce the rate ofbone formation after weaning. By studying the bodyweight, withers height, metapodial circumference and bone density of foals weaned at 4.5 and 6 months, Warren *et al.* (1997) were able to establish that whilst weaning affected the weight gain of the foals initially, there was no difference between the early and late weaned groups after a few months. Growth in height and bone density of both groups remained unaffected by weaning. However, whilst the growth in metapodial circumference ofboth groups was affected by weaning, the early- weaned

group was more severely affected, even at a few months after weaning (Warren *et al.* 1997). As the study did not follow the horses to maturity it is unclear whether this difference was still evident at maturity and would therefore affect the measurements of archaeological material.

As discussed above, epiphyseal closure is what limits the longitudinal length of the bones. The sequence in which the epiphyses fuse remains constant even when the exact chronological age at which they do so can be affected by nutrition, health, sex and individual variation. Table 2.1 gives the sequence and approximate timings of epiphyseal fusion based on the data of Silver (1969). These data are based on observations of modem horses (breed unspecified), and whilst Silver (1969) comments that horses have retained a slower skeletal development than other domestic animals, the timing of these closures may be less accurate in more 'primitive' breeds. In addition, these data are based on animals on a high plane of nutrition allowing optimum growth; a lower plane of nutrition can seriously delay epiphyseal fusion. Therefore, Table 2.1 should be used as a guide to the age of an individual, rather than providing absolute values.

Table 2.1. *Sequence of epiphyseal fusion in horses and approximate ages at which this occurs (takenfrom Silver 1969)*

Whilst the current research is not directed towards unfused bones, it is possible that some bones from skeletally immature individuals will, inadvertently, be studied. This is because it will not be possible to tell entirely whether isolated finds of early fusing elements are from mature or immature individuals. Change can also take place after maturity has been reached by remodelling, and
whilst this does not affect the length of the bones it leads to a greater robusticity. In addition, ossification of ligaments and tendons, exaggeration of muscle insertions and the obliteration of sutures, all take place after maturity is reached and can be a response to injury or stress or just advancing age. Therefore size distributions of relatively early fusing elements may show a 'tail' of smaller individuals that are not represented in the distribution of late-fusing elements in the same population.

The skulls of adult mammals are more elongated compared with those of juveniles, particularly in the facial region, due to the eruption of additional teeth. Independent verification of age of a whole skeleton can therefore be gained from studying the eruption and wear of the teeth. Whilst Table 2.2 gives the tooth eruption data for horses, Levine (1982) has found that there is very little variability between equid species; studies of zebras and onagers produced similar timings. Therefore it is not unreasonable to use this as a guide for donkeys and mules, in the absence of more accurate data. Upper and lower dentitions erupt at slightly different times, but these generally overlap, so the ranges given in Table 2.2 allow for this.

Table 2.2. *Ages at which horse teeth erupt (from Levine* 1982). *Di* = *deciduous incisor, 1= permanent incisor,* $C =$ *canine,* $DP =$ *deciduous premolar,* $P =$ *permanent premolar,* $M =$ *permanent molar*

Tooth	Age at eruption	Tooth	Age at eruption
Dil	Prenatal-2m	Dp3	$0-1$ m
Di ₂	$1-3m$	Dp4	$0-1$ m
Di3	$5 - 10m$	P ₂	$2.5 - 3.5$ yrs
\mathbf{I}	$2-3$ yrs	P ₃	$2.5 - 3.5$ yrs
12 ²	$3-4yrs$	P ₄	$3-4.5$ yrs
I3	4-4.5 yrs	M1	$7 - 12$ m
$\mathbf C$	4-5.5 yrs	M ₂	$1.5 - 2$ yrs
Dp2	$0-1$ m	M ₃	$3-5$ yrs

Once all the permanent dentition has erupted and is in wear, ageing the animal is more difficult. The ageing of horses from their incisors has been practised since ancient times, as the writings of Varro *(r.r.)* show (see Chapter 1) and this gives us a check on whether modem horses differ significantly from Roman ones in terms of rate of ageing. The slight drawback with this is that it is not always clear which tooth is being discussed in the ancient texts. Table 2.3 gives a description of the appearance of the incisors through the animal's life with a note on whether the modern and ancient sources agree; in general this is the case, indicating that the teeth erupted at similar ages in Roman times as they do now. This confirms Silver's (1969) comment (above) that the rate of

development in the horse has not increased much in recent times. In addition, teeth evolution is generally slower than that of bones.

The later stages in an equid's life, 15 years onwards, are very variable and are determined to a great extent by the diet of the animal, a coarser diet leading to more rapid wear. These are the stages at which unscrupulous horse dealers will alter the teeth by burning false infundibula and filing the angle of the teeth to make the animals appear younger than thaey are, a practice that is seemingly as ancient as horse dealing (Varro *r.r.* and Columella *r.r.)!*

Table 2.3. *Description ofincisor eruption and wear in horses (from Silver* 1969 *and Webber 1991) with notes/rom Varro* (r.r. *II, VII,* 2-3). *For abbreviations see Table 2.2*

Age	Description	Notes from Varro		
Birth-5 months	Dil erupt at birth, Di2 by 5months			
5-12 months	Dil and Di2 in wear, Di3 erupt			
1-2 years	All Dis in wear			
2.5 years	Dils lost, Ils erupt	Says the same		
3 years	Its in wear			
3.5 years	Di2s lost and I2s erupt, canines can erupt this early	Says beginning of 4th year		
4 years	I2s in wear, canines erupt	Mentions canines		
5 years	Di3s lost and replaced by I3s, canines can erupt this late	Says the same		
6 years	Infundibulum on I1s becoming smaller	Mentions shrinking of hollows(infundibulum) in teeth		
7 years	Infundibulum on I2s also smaller and '7year hook' on upper I3s	Says that this is the limit of accurately telling a horses age		
8 years	Infundibulum small in all Is, '7year hook' going/gone			
10 years	'Galvayne's groove' appears at top of I3s, infundibula almost gone			
15 years	'Galvayne's groove' has reached halfway down I3s, infundibula Mentions teeth becoming prominent gone, sometimes '7year hook' returns between 13 and 15 as (i.e. angle changes) around this time occlusal surface of all Is becomes more triangular rather than oval as angle of teeth alters			
20 years	'Galvayne's groove' reaches occlusal surface of I3s, gaps appear at tops of teeth, where narrow roots are emerging			
25 years	'Galvayne's groove' gone			
30 years	All Is very sloping with triangular occlusal surfaces, obvious gaps at tops of teeth.			

Itis unlikely that many horses lived beyond 20 years in the Roman period, as Varro *(r.r.)* does not mention what the teeth of aged animals looked like. Twenty is about the natural life expectancy of equids in general (Levine 1982), although some can live up to about 40 years. With modem horses, native ponies tend to live longer than the more refmed horse breeds, perhaps because they mature more slowly, which in feral populations may be due to a low plane of nutrition. Roman horses are thought to have matured at a rate similar to the native ponies rather than Thoroughbred racehorses (peters 1998).

In addition to looking at the wear on the incisors, the wear on the cheek teeth can also be used to determine age. This is a reasonable proposition for archaeological bones but it is not generally mentioned in classical texts because of the difficulties oflooking at the cheek teeth in a live animal. The method of correlating the height of the tooth (and therefore degree of wear) with age was established by Levine (1982). The problems are that for loose teeth the tooth has to be anatomically identified correctly first and if you are lucky enough to have a whole mandible then the teeth have to be removed or a radiograph produced in order to measure them.

The height of the tooth (from the cemento-enamel junction at the roots to the occlusal surface) displays an exponential decay with increased age (Levine 1982). The rate of decay is fastest from when the tooth comes into wear until the age of around 10, and then the rate declines to almost no wear by around 17 years old. This means that in a 'natural' population with a life expectancy of 20, the teeth would last throughout the life of the individual (as would be expected). However, the method of Levine (1982) has another drawback; the wear curves are based on data from one size of horse (New Forest), so teeth from larger or smaller individuals cannot be directly compared with the curves as the measurements will be different. As it is usually impossible to know whether archaeological teeth are from that size of individual or not it makes the system inaccurate and it can therefore only be used as a general guide to the age of an individual.

Whilst it is possible to tell the age of archaeological horse material quite accurately up to the age of about 7 years by looking at both epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption and wear, when all the epiphyses are closed and the teeth erupted it becomes much more difficult and SUbjective.However, in terms of how age affects bone growth this is not an issue as by that point bone growth has stopped, both longitudinally and in circumference, except in response to stress, injury or disease.

All these ageing methods are of most use when a whole skeleton is present, as a combination of the methods can usually estimate the age at death quite accurately. Therefore, if some bones (i.e. metapodials) are fused but others (i.e. femur) are not then the animal is not mature, and it is possible that circumferential growth of the early fusing bones has not fully progressed. However, if isolated metapodials are found, it is impossible to say if they are from an individual that is fully skeletally mature, which could cause problems in the interpretation of data from archaeological contexts. For instance, if slenderness indices (shaft breadth / length x 100) are produced for the metapodials, it is not possible to know whether very slender bones are from young individuals or from mature animals with slender limbs. It is hoped that this problem will (at least partly) be overcome by studying the proportions of the bones of fully mature whole skeletons and producing a range of variation for comparison with isolated finds.

All these ageing methods are based on horses and there appears to be no specific information available to compare the timing of epiphyseal closure and tooth eruption of donkeys and mules with those outlined above horses. Therefore, for this study it has been assumed that there is little difference, although it should be borne in mind that this might not be the case. Further work on this subject would require an extensive collection of complete skeletons with precisely known ages at death. Given the expense of obtaining such a collection a study of this nature is unlikely to occur, unless advances can be made in the use of X-rays for determining the state of epiphyseal fusion

2.4.2 Sex

The identification of archaeological bones to male, female or castrate (gelding) is very difficult. If the jaws are present this is made easier as well-developed canines (or tushes) are present in all male equids (including geldings) but are rarely present in mares, and then usually in a reduced form. Inhorses the canines erupt at around 4 years old (Webber 1991). This is one way of distinguishing adult males from females, although it is not 100% reliable. In addition, the pelves of male and female equids differ, as they do for most mammals, in order to allow the female to give birth. However, it is very rare to find intact pelves in archaeological material, making this a less useful method of determining sex.

Moving on to the post-cranial skeleton (except the pelves), the way in which bone growth is affected by sex can provide us some clues. Sex can affect growth in two ways: the direct effect of the genetic sex of the individual and the indirect effect of sex hormones (see Sections 2.4.4).

Inmany mammals there is a noticeable difference in height and weight between males and females. This is termed sexual dimorphism and is quite easy to detect in a population of wild animals, where the degree of size variation between individuals is relatively small. However, inpopulations of domestic mammals the size differences due to sexual dimorphism can easily be masked by the size variation indiverse breeds or demes. This is particularly true for archaeological material where it is very difficult (ifnot impossible) to attribute individual bones to sex, and therefore size of the bones is the only method of separation.

In horses there is 'no appreciable difference between the sexes at birth nor up to 17 months, but thereafter males grow faster than females' (pomeroy 1955). This faster growth however, is more related to gain in weight rather than height. Therefore, there is still not a great difference in height at maturity between entire males and females (pomeroy 1955; von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974; Bartosiewicz *pers. comm.).* The question of the growth of castrates is an issue that has

not been well studied in horses and may cause a further small degree of sexual dimorphism (see below). However, it is likely that the overlap between the three groups is still so great (extrapolated from Davis 2000 for sheep) that it is not likely to cause confusion when looking for differences between archaeologically determined groups in the results of the withers height analyses in this study. There are however, differences between stallions, mares and geldings in terms of bone robusticity and skeletal proportions (see below) that will be important to consider when analysing the results of shape index and log-ratio calculations (Sections 6.3 and 6.4).

Because different parts of the body do not grow at a uniform rate, the differences in size between sexes results in different body proportions. Some differences are caused indirectly by differences in metabolism during growth. Growth in males is affected by poor nutrition to a greater extent than in females, with castrates being intermediate (Pálsson 1955). This is due to the fact that colts (male horses under 3 years old) maintain a higher growth rate than fillies (female horses under 3 years old) from 12 months onwards (Breuer 1996), and therefore develop a greater robusticity by the time growth ceases. Entire males gain weight faster than females after weaning, but then proceed further in the development of the late maturing parts than the females. Palsson (1955) suggests that stallions are not only larger in almost all body dimensions than mares, but all their measurements (except in the pelvic region) are better developed in proportion to the height at the withers. Females generally mature before males, hence the further development of the late maturing parts in stallions.

Castration reduces the difference between the sexes even further. From birth to 5 years the body measurements of geldings increase more than those of mares, the difference being greatest in the depth and width of the chest and smallest in the circumference of the . metatarsals and knees and in the withers height. In addition, the bones of geldings do not develop to the same extent in thickness as an entire male, but the length growth is unretarded. Males castrated young do not develop secondary sex characters such as a crested neck and also do not attain the broad head, thick and heavy neck, or heavily muscled foreand hindquarters that typify an entire male (Palsson 1955).

There appears to have been very little experimental work carried out on the physiological effects of castration on horses, and almost none on the effects on the skeleton and its growth. This is most likely because the horse is very expensive to use as an experimental animal. The effects of castration on the skeletons of other domestic mammals have been studied and most of the following paragraphs are based on studies of sheep (and other animals) and the results extrapolated to horses.

Ithas been shown that testicular deficiency (mostly lack oftestosterone production) seems to delay epiphyseal fusion and hence prolong the growth period and, conversely, the administration oftestosterone causes earlier development of ossification centres and the premature closure of epiphyses (Davis 2000). The sequence of epiphyseal closure remains the same for entire males, females and castrates (as outlined above in Section 2.4.1) but the timing of the closures varies. From studies of sheep skeletons, Davis (2000) suggests that females fuse earliest, followed by entire males, and the castrates are much delayed. However, the lack of experimental work on horses means that it is not known whether this delay falls at the upper limit or extends outside the age range given in Table 2.1.

The age at which castration takes place determines to some extent what the effects on skeletal growth will be, because the increase in the length of the growth period will only affect those bones whose growth zones are still active at the time of castration (Davis 2000). For instance, if the animal is mature when gelded then obviously skeletal growth will not be affected, but perhaps remodelling due to a reduction in muscle mass as a result of the drop in testosterone levels could take place. However, as the modem practice is to geld between 6 and 12 months old (usually nearer 12 months, after the effects of weaning have been countered), prior to the colt becoming sexually active, then skeletal growth from that point on will be affected. In a colt gelded at 12 months this would mean that potentially all epiphyses except the glenoid tuberosity of the scapula and the proximal second phalanx could be affected, allowing a great deal of extra length growth in all the limb bones.

There are, however, individuals that are gelded later, and the changes that could still be possible in the growth pattern would be determined by the age at which the gelding took place. For instance, in a colt gelded at $2 \frac{1}{2}$ years of age the lower limbs would have already fused, so castration would only allow delayed fusion of the distal radius, proximal tibia and humerus and both ends of the femur. In the archaeological record it is difficult to know when castration took place because most bones are found as isolated elements, and even where a whole skeleton is present it would be impossible to determine whether the limb proportions were the result of gelding or the inherent characteristics of a deme.

Roman literature (Section 1.3.1) indicates that gelding took place when a horse was around 4 years old, at which time most of the epiphyses, with the exception of the vertebrae, are fused, and therefore the animal will have the appearance (and skeletal proportions) of a stallion (peters 1998). Inthis research it therefore seems that the bones are most likely to exhibit entire male or female patterns of growth in the skeletons, even if some are from individuals gelded after growth had ceased, making it unlikely that sexual dimorphism will cause problems in the analysis of biometric data from horses of the Roman period. However, donkeys and mules may have been castrated earlier. Apsyrtos (quoted in Peters 1998) suggests that donkeys were castrated at two years of age, which would allow delayed fusion of the long bones mentioned above for castration at 2 *Y2* years (assuming that epiphyseal fusion takes place at similar ages in donkeys as in horses). Although no specific information is available for mules they may also have been castrated earlier than horses (Section 1.3.1).

The type of castration also affects the growth pattern of the skeleton. Two methods known to the Romans included crushing of the spermatic cord and surgical removal of testes. Under the first method, the production of testosterone will not be halted so the animal should grow like an entire stallion. Removing the testes, however, will halt testosterone production and the animal will grow more like a female but with differences due to the lack of oestrogen production (Section 2.4.4). Roman literature suggests both methods were used on animals, but it is unclear ifboth were practised on horses. Certainly surgical removal of testes was used on horses, as the process is described in great detail in both the *Mulomedicina chironis* and the *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum* (Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.3). Therefore, if the males were castrated before long bone growth has ceased, the full effects of testicular deficiency would be detectable.

For sheep, Davis (2000) suggests that the best biometric separation of all three sex groups can be obtained by plotting bone length (GI) against shaft slenderness (SD) for the metapodials. Although this does not produce clear-cut separation of the three groups, most of the specimens are in different regions of the graph. This means that whilst it is unlikely that individual bones can be attributed to sex, a plot of a sample of measurements should reveal whether all three groups are present or one is more abundant. It should be noted here that this was based on a single breed of sheep and that the picture becomes less clear if more than one breed is included in the sample, even to the point of reversing the groups (T. P. O'Connor *pers. comm.).* This method may also not be applicable to horses as the degree of sexual dimorphism is probably less than in sheep. However, it is impossible to know for sure unless a large, adequately aged and sexed collection of horse skeletons (preferably of a single breed) can be brought together for analysis. As can be seen in Chapter *5* many of the horse skeletons in reference collections have no age or sex data recorded and are of very varied breeds, so analysis of this method could not be carried out during this research.

Some of the measurements analysed by Davis (20oo) for sheep showed no significant differences between the sex groups and were independent of age differences, and therefore would be useful as indicators of body size. These include HTC on the humerus, BFd on the metapodials and Bd on the tibia (see Chapter 3 for an explanation of the measurement codes). These measurements were taken on the equid bones for this research, but again the lack of an ideal collection of modem reference data precludes any analysis of whether the same measurements are also sex and age independent in equids.

2.4.3 Nutrition

Nutrition obviously plays a crucial role in growth, as it requires an increased level of many substances that are provided by the diet of an animal. A maintenance level of nutrition provides enough nutrient intake to maintain the body as it is. This level varies considerably between individuals as it depends on metabolic rate, size, sex, climate, reproductive status and the work expected of the animal (Pilliner 1992). A high plane of nutrition provides enough extra nutrients to allow for growth above the maintenance level. A low plane of nutrition does not provide enough nutrients for maintenance of the body, and the body will use reserves of fat and protein to keep going, resulting in weight loss. At the maintenance level it has been noted that whilst weight gain stops, skeletal growth continues (Pomeroy 1955; Duren 1996).

The critical nutrients required for growth in different animals are basically similar, i.e. energy, protein, minerals and vitamins. However, the specific nutrients needed for a balanced diet in various animals is very different (Duren 1996). Because horses vary so widely it is difficult to discuss their nutrient requirements as a whole, and the problem is compounded by the fact that a horse is an expensive experimental animal and little experimental work has thus been carried out on its nutrient requirements (Pilliner 1992). The exception to this is the Thoroughbred racehorse, but it is not a good analogue for archaeological horses.

The most critical nutrients for growth in young horses are energy, protein (lysine in particular), calcium, phosphorous, copper and zinc (Duren 1996). Inthe natural environment the horse has developed evolutionarily to be an efficient enough converter of food to allow it to survive the winter when forage is in short supply. However, under domestication the horse has been bred for performance and not for its efficiency of food conversion, with the result that highly refined horses such as thoroughbreds are far less efficient at converting food than the native ponies, leading to their nutrient intake having to be proportionately much higher (Pilliner 1992). Size in terms of nutrient requirements is more closely related to body weight than to height, for instance a 14.2 hh show pony weighs less than a 14.2 hh cob (Table 2.4). The approximate

maintenance level of energy that is required by horses of different weights is given in megajoules (1 million joules) of digestible energy per day (Table 2.4). Table 2.4 also shows the extra requirement for maintenance during work. Light work is defined as an hour's walking up to an hour of fast trotting, cantering and some jumping per day; hard work is defined as more than an hour's cantering, galloping and jumping, racing and polo, and up to 100 km endurance work. The variation in these energy requirements depends on the individual horse (pilliner 1992).

*Table*2.4. *Height, body weight and approximate nutrient requirementsfor different types of horses andponies (from Pilliner* 1992)

In addition, horses require a certain level of protein intake for maintenance; at rest this is about 7.5·8% crude protein in the diet. Usually, if the energy requirements are being met, the protein

level will also be adequate. The protein requirements for work are not much more than those at rest; for hard and fast work the amount only goes up to 10% crude protein in the diet (Pilliner 1992). The amino acid most important to growth is lysine, so the correct levels of this in the protein intake of young horses is vital. If the lysine level is met, then other necessary amino acid levels will usually also be available in sufficient quantities (Breuer 1996). Lysine is present in high concentrations in legumes, so concentrated feeds containing beans will contain adequate supplies. It is known that the Romans feed lucerne and beans (both legumes) to horses (Section 1.3.1), so it is likely that the lysine requirements of growing horses would have been met.

In terms of fodder, for most horses at rest and in light to medium work good quality hay can fulfil the dietary requirements for maintenance. One kilogram of good quality hay can provide about 8 MJ of energy (and enough protein), so that for a 1320 mm pony 4.5 to 5.5 kg of hay per day will be sufficient at rest, and similarly for a 1520 mm horse 6.5 to 8 kg of hay is enough (pilliner , 1992). However, as the rate or duration of work increases there comes a point when the horse cannot physically eat enough hay to provide the nutrients, and therefore supplementary feeding of higher energy and protein foods is necessary. For instance, a marching army cannot stop to allow the horses to graze, so supplementary feeding is essential and the Roman army certainly carried this out (see Section 1.3.1).

Nutrition of the mare during pregnancy and lactation, and the foal both before and after weaning, are very important for both the maintenance of the mare and the growth of the foal. During the 11 - month gestation there are two periods with different requirements. During the first 8 months the foetus grows very little and the mare requires no more nutrients than she would if not pregnant. However, during the last three months the foetus grows a considerable amount and the mare's energy requirement goes up to that of a horse in light to medium work, and the protein requirement to that of a horse in hard work. This means that the mare will most likely have to be fed concentrated feed in the last 3 months to bring the protein level up high enough. During lactation the energy requirements of the mare increase to the level of a horse in medium to hard work and the protein requirements are even higher than during late pregnancy, because the milk is high in protein (Pilliner 1992).

Table 2.5. *The relationship between body weight and height during growth (from Pilliner* 1992)

The nutrient requirements of growth change through time, particularly as the rate of growth slows

towards maturity. Birth weight in very important in determining the horse's mature weight and a foal weighing less than 35 kg is unlikely to grow to more than 1520 mm high. At birth a foal is about 10% of its adult weight and should reach 50% of mature weight by weaning (Breuer 1996). By 12 months the young horse should achieve 60 to 70% of its mature weight and about 90% of its height (Pilliner 1992). Table 2.5 shows the relationship between body weight and height during growth.

The mare's milk will provide the ideal diet for a young foal, but as it gets older good pasture can provide significant amounts of nutrients (Breuer 1996). After weaning it is likely that the foal will require concentrated feed as well as hay or grass to provide enough protein to maintain the level of growth. This level of growth can be a gain of 1 kg per day from 3 to 6 months, then 0.5 kg per day until 12 months for a horse expected to mature at $450-500$ kg (Pilliner 1992), which means a need for about 16% crude protein in the diet. Supplemental feed will therefore be at about 1% of body weight prior to weaning and around 3% afterwards (Breuer 1996). Because bone is one of the early maturing tissues, the foal requires a diet rich in protein and calcium (amongst other minerals and vitamins). As bone growth slows and is replaced by muscle growth, the young horse requires a more carbohydrate-rich diet. However, it is not good to allow growth to proceed too rapidly as this can lead to developmental problems such as are often seen in racing Thoroughbreds that have to been grown very fast to race at 2 years old (see Section 2.4.7).

Some information on the diet of young horses and also on the supplementary feeding of pregnant and lactating mares is given in the Roman literature (see Section 1.3.1) and this suggests that young horses, particularly those bred on the large stud farms, in the Roman period were probably adequately provided with the basic nutrients to sustain growth. Similarly, the variety and quantities of feedstuffs supplied to equids in work (see Section 1.3.1) suggests that at least those used by the army, as racehorses and by the upper strata of society were able to sustain nutrition and work to the level required. As with all societies, the lower strata may have had enough trouble feeding themselves let alone their animals, and the starving state of mill beasts described in several texts (see Section 1.3.1) attests to this fact.

Vitamins (particularly A, C, D and K) play significant roles in the development and maintenance ofbone. Although not much work has been done on the sub-clinical effects of vitamin deficiencies (i.e. not severe enough to produce a 'disease'), they are known to retard growth (Pomeroy 1955). By looking at the ways each vitamin works, the effects of a deficiency can be implied. In cartilage vitamin A is required for the release of lysosomal enzymes and the extracellular digestion of glycoproteins, whilst in bone it increases the number and level of activity of osteoclasts. Therefore during growth vitamin A deficiency will impair the process of turning cartilage into bone and will also decrease the rate of remodelling, possibly resulting in oddly shaped bones. In adult bone a lack of osteoclast activity could lead to weakening of the bone, where necrosis occurs and cannot be removed and reformed.

Vitamin C is essential for the proper synthesis and aggregation of collagen, so a deficiency will lead to the production of fragile and weakly aggregated collagen fibrils and hence weak bone.

Vitamin D affects bone indirectly as It regulates the absorption of calcium and phosphate in the intestines and kidneys. Therefore vitamin D deficiency (rickets) causes a low concentration of calcium and phosphate ions in the plasma and hence calcification of cartilage cannot take place. Poorly mineralised bones are formed that cannot support the weight of the body, and they become characteristically bowed. Vitamin D may also promote bone resorption either alone or in conjunction with parathyroid hormone (PTH; see section 2.4.4).

Vitamin K is essential for the synthesis of osteocalcin, a phylogenetically variable protein that binds to hydroxyapatite crystals and to calcium phosphate. Osteocalcin is an essential part of the bone mineralisation process, so a vitamin K deficiency will detrimentally affect this process.

Minerals are also important for normal bone growth to occur, the most obvious being calcium. However, other minerals, such as phosphorus, copper and zinc, are also required. Calcium deficiency can lead to disease (see Section 2.4.7) and malformation or stunted growth of the whole skeleton, because it causes poor mineralization of bone. However, it is not just calcium that is critical, a balance between calcium and phosphorus has to be maintained for normal growth (Hintz 1996). An excess of phosphorus over calcium will interfere with calcium absorption, whereas a deficiency of phosphorus results in bone demineralisation (Duren 1996). It has been estimated that horses with a body weight of 500 to 600 kg need about 20 to 24 g of calcium per day for maintenance. Brood mares (same body weight) require 35 to 37 g per day in late pregnancy, and this increases to 50 to 56 g during early lactation. Young horses, 4 to 12 months old (expected to mature at 500 to 600 kg) need 36 to 45 g of calcium per day. Phosphorus requirements are less at 15 to 18 g per day for maintenance, 23 to 28 g for pregnant mares, 23 to 28 g for mares during lactation and 24 to 30 g for weaned foals and yearlings.

The trace elements such as copper and zinc, although required in less quantity, are still vital for normal growth. Low copper intake can result in inferior collagen quality, biomechanically weak cartilage, decreased bone density and osteochondrosis legions (Hintz 1996). This is because the enzymes involved in elastin and collagen formation are dependant on copper (Duren 1996). It is estimated that around 50 to 80 mg per day are required for weaned foals and yearlings. Zinc is required by many metalloenzymes that are involved in protein and carbohydrate metabolism, so is vital for many areas of growth (Duren 1996). Weaned foals and yearlings require about 200 to 300 mg of zinc per day to maintain growth rates. Horses at pasture, with little or no supplementary feeding, will often lick the soil incertain areas inorder to try and obtain the minerals that the grass is lacking.

Under-nutrition causes the physiological age of an individual to proceed at a slower rate than its chronological age. Therefore, in most cases, the body is able to 'catch up' growth after a period of malnutrition because the growth period has been extended. Animals show great flexibility in recovering, but if the period of malnutrition occurs early in life and is sufficiently prolonged and severe, it may result in permanent stunting of growth (Pomeroy 1955).

Restricted nutrition at any age does not just retard growth in general but affects different parts of the body and tissues differently. An animal's form can be controlled by changing the plane of nutrition at different stages of growth, a fact that has been exploited by the commercial meat industry to provide fat or lean animals for slaughter depending on current tastes (Pálsson 1955). It is even exploited by the Thoroughbred racing industry to some extent by ensuring that foals receive maximum nutrition during late foetal and early postnatal life to ensure the lower limbs reach their genetic potential in length and hence enhance their speed later on. This control of growth takes place within the wide limits imposed by genetic capacity on one hand and under-nutrition resulting in starvation on the other (Palsson 1955).

In general (taken from Palsson 1955: 475):

1) Malnutrition of the dam only affects the foetus in the later stages of pregnancy

2) During growth, the parts most affected by a period of malnutrition will be those at their highest growth intensity

3) A period of malnutrition at any age will affect the earliest maturing parts the least and the latest maturing ones the most

4) When the level is sub-maintenance, tissues are used for energy and protein in reverse maturing order, i.e. fat first, then muscle, then bone, and in the latest maturing regions of the body first (loin and pelvis)

5) Any part that has been retarded has great ability to recover once nutrition is increased, provided it has not gone on too long or at too severe a level

In view of these statements, the later developing growth in the thickness of the bones is retarded by poor nutrition to a greater extent than the early developing length growth. The length growth can be affected for example in the metapodials by a late foetal deprivation. This is because there is not enough time before the bone matures to catch-up the growth lost at that stage. The shape of the bones is more affected by different planes of nutrition than their weight. Early maturing distal limb bones are less affected than the later maturing proximal and girdle bones. In horses the length of the lower limb bones is more severely affected by late foetal deprivation because of the

longer gestation period and therefore higher growth intensity of the bones at that stage than in other mammals.

Therefore, in summary, a constant high plane of nutrition means that nutrition ceases to be the limiting factor in growth: genetic potential is then the barrier. Interms of archaeological bones, the effects of malnutrition can be particularly hard to detect unless there are chronic shortages of particular parts of the diet leading to deficiency syndromes (see above) or the level of nutrition has been very low or maintained over a long period of time and the system has not recovered once the level is increased.

For whole skeletons it might be possible to suggest that abnormal limb proportions could be the result of malnutrition during growth. However, it would be difficult to differentiate between differences due to sexual dimorphism, inter-deme variation and malnutrition unless the effects were severe. For both whole skeletons and isolated bones, the fact that circumferential growth of bones is more severely affected by malnutrition than length growth may be detectable on archaeological bones. For instance, low values for the shape indices but no discernible differences in withers heights may indicate malnutrition during the growth period.

2.4.4 Hormones

Four hormones can influence skeletal growth: growth hormone, thyroid hormone, sex hormones and glucocorticoids. Growth hormone (Somatotropin) increases the synthesis of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), RNA (ribonucleic acid) and proteins, which leads to an increase in cartilage growth. It is released from the anterior pituitary gland and is controlled by the hypothalamus. Thyroid-stimulating hormone (also produced in the anterior pituitary gland) affects skeletal growth by promoting the differentiation and maturation ofbone cells. Therefore the combination of growth hormone and thyroid-stimulating hormone maintains the rate and sequence of both endochondral and intramembranous bone formation (Bouvier 1989).

Too much or too little somatotropin can lead to acromegaly (gigantism) or pituitary dwarfism, respectively. This means that the individual is larger or smaller than usual but maintains the correct body and limb proportions (Bouvier 1989). Too little thyroid-stimulating hormone leads to thyroid dwarfism, in which the individual retains infantile body and limb proportions and is also mentally retarded; in less severe cases itjust causes retardation in growth. Hyperthyroidism can lead to a loss of weight through an increased metabolic rate but also enhances growth of tissues (Pomeroy 1955).

Glucocorticoids (produced in the adrenal cortex) inhibit skeletal growth by decreasing DNA, RNA and protein synthesis. They may also interfere with mineralisation by impairing calcium absorption in the intestines. Hence they have the opposite effect to growth hormone (Bouvier 1989; Saladin 1998). Just prior to maturity the adrenal cortex increases in size, with the effect that the increased glucocorticoid production isresponsible for bringing growth to a standstill (pomeroy 1955).

Sex hormones are instrumental in causing the growth spurt that occurs at puberty in humans. Whilst the smooth growth curves suggest this spurt does not occur in ungulates (Pálsson 1955), sex hormones have other effects on growth. Infemales, oestrogen (produced in the ovaries) influences the epiphyseal plate closure at puberty and also maintains the skeletal mineral mass (Bouvier 1989). Therefore an excess of (or prolonged exposure to) oestrogen during growth can inhibit skeletal length growth by causing early ossification of the epipyseal cartilages (Pomeroy 1955). A lack of oestrogen during growth results in an increased bone growth over a prolonged period. Also, a lack of oestrogen after maturity can cause loss of bone mineral and lead to osteoporosis. Progesterone will also increase growth (Pomeroy 1955). Testosterone (produced in large amounts by the testes in males and small amounts by the ovaries in females) influences growth in both length and width ofbones, by directly activating osteoblasts and chondroblasts and indirectly through its effect on muscle development (Bouvier 1989). However, testosterone has no effect on the rate of growth (Pomeroy 1955).

Hormones also have an influence on the turnover of skeletal tissues. Two hormones act in opposition to do this, parathyroid hormone (PTH) raises plasma calcium levels and calcitonin lowers it. PTH raises plasma calcium by increasing the rate of calcium reabsorption and hydroxylation of vitamin D in the kidneys. At high levels it also stimulates osteoclastic resorption ofbone. Calcitonin depresses the activity of osteoclasts, resulting in lowered calcium levels and protection of the skeleton from excessive PTH activity. An imbalance in these hormones can cause either excessive resorption or formation of bone tissue during growth and adulthood (Bouvier 1989).

Once again, the effects of hormones on the growth of bones would be very hard to detect zooarchaeologically, unless the cases were particularly extreme. Even then the distinction between the effects of hormones and, for instance, vitamin or mineral deficiencies would be difficult to achieve.

2.4.5 Genetic potential

No matter how well the animal is fed there is a genetically set limit, past which an individual cannot grow. This is mostly determined by the size of the parents, and in particular the mother (see below). If^a mare and stallion of equal height of the same breed, both of whom have been raised to their genetic potential, were mated, the resulting foal should mature at approximately the same size as the parents. However, when breeding a mare and jackass, the resulting mule foal will mature at the same size or taller than the dam. Joan Rawley (a mule breeder in Tennessee, USA) says that her mules, bred from a 1395 mm Spanishjackas and Paso Fino mares around 1520 mm, are slightly over 1520 mmh at maturity *O.*Rawley *pers. comm.).* Following a question posed on their Internet forum, members of the British Mule Society (http:// www.britishmulesociety.org.uk) suggest that mules can mature at up to 10 cm taller than their dam. This is most likely the result of hybrid vigour, although it is possible that the late-fusing epiphyses of mules close later than horses, giving a longer growth period. This would lead to a long and slender conformation of the late maturing bones such as the femur and tibia, This hypothesis cannot be tested at present because of the lack of mule skeletons available for study in reference collections (see Chapters 3 and 4).

When breeding horses, the size of the mare is of importance in allowing the genetic potential to be reached because the size of the dam limits the size of the foetus. The maternal influence can suppress the genetic influence of the male, so that birth can take place. For instance, when a Shetland pony is crossed with a Shire horse, the foal from the Shire mare is three times as large as that from the Shetland mare. Also each foal resembles a purebred foal ofthe dam's breed more than from the sire's. The differences decrease inpost-natal life but do not disappear entirely (Palsson 1955). Therefore to breed for maximum size, the largest stallions should be bred to the largest mares, and the offspring will be as large as the size of the dam allows.

The age of the mare can also have an influence on the offspring reaching its genetic potential. A young mare will produce a smaller foal than a mature mare. The reason is that when the mare is not fully mature, her nutritional needs for growth compete with those of the foetus, meaning that neither is receiving the maximum amount. Older mares also tend to produce smaller foals, particularly if they have been extensively bred from (Palsson 1955). Varro (see Section 1.3.1) recommended that mares be bred from between the ages of three and ten years. In modern studs, three is also usually the minimum age but more often the mares are left until four as the body is more mature then. With modem stud practices, fertility and ease of conception in the mares can be kept into older age, allowing them to be usefully bred from for longer than in the past: into their teens is quite normal.

Genetic potential can be affected by many factors, mostly those that affect growth in general, but there are other factors relating to the dam that can stop a foal from reaching its genetic potential in terms of size. As has already been mentioned, the nutrition of the dam, particularly in the later stages of pregnancy and whilst lactating, can affect the growth of the foal, particularly in relation to the growth of its metapodials (see Section 2.4.3). In addition, nutrient restrictions of the growing horse can affect the expression of genetic potential in terms of size and structure. For instance, a low protein but high carbohydrate diet could change the composition of growth to more fat and less muscle or bone, resulting in an animal that does not reach its genetic potential in terms of height and muscle development but is obese (Breuer 1996).

Improved breeds have a proportionally more advanced state of development of the later maturing parts than their wild ancestors, the latter resembling a juvenile form of the improved breed. Early maturity and advanced development are inheritable characteristics provided the level of nutrition is sufficiently high. The evolution of horses has been along two lines: animals for speed and animals for draught. Thoroughbreds, bred for speed, have an increased leg length in proportion to the depth of the body, whilst draught horses have been bred along lines much more similar to those ofbeef cattle, breeding for more advanced development of the late maturing hindquarters (Palsson 1955).

The inheritance of physical traits is one that the Roman writers hypothesised upon extensively but could know little of the science behind the process. This was because it was only in the 19th century AD that Charles Darwin published his *On the Origin of Species* and Gregor Mendel undertook his pioneering work on the inheritance of physical traits. And only in the $20th$ century AD were genes and DNA discovered: research continues in an attempt to fully understand them. Whilst the Greeks considered the mare's attributes paramount in imparting the physical characteristics to the offspring, the Romans thought it was the stallion. With modern knowledge it is, of course, now known that the offspring inherit a combination of characteristics from both parents. There are, however, some stallions that seem to regularly impart certain characteristics to their offspring, regardless of the characteristics of the mare (and *vice versa),* and these are termed 'pre-potent' (Mortimer 2004). Itis also still true that a single stallion canmore quickly change the characteristics of a group of horses than a mare, because it can produce more offspring per year than a mare. Therefore this was the standard method of breeding for a purpose or generally improving stock that the Romans employed, as it is today.

124

The inheritance of temperament is one that is much debated in relation to human children at present, with 'nature or nurture' comparisons being undertaken (Winston 2004). With horses it is generally acknowledged that a calm, placid mare, that is well used to being handled by, and willingly associates with, her human handlers, will produce a foal that is likewise not afraid of human contact. However, the temperament of the foal is also at least partly genetically determined; its reactions to danger and new situations are mostly governed by in-built reactions until learning allows modification of those reactions. Interms of horses for different uses, an inherently placid horse is desirable for general riding and draught use, whilst a fiery, reactive horse is more suited to the cavalry and a horse with a highly tuned 'flight' response will do well in racing. These characteristics were believed by the Romans to be inheritable and hence horses were bred accordingly.

2.4.6 Exercise

The effect of exercise on growth of the skeleton is something that probably does not receive the attention it should in modem literature except, in relation to modem racehorses. This is perhaps because it is presumed that those working in the field know that a horse should not be broken in and worked until it is mature enough. However, the term 'mature enough' may not relate to skeletal maturity. For instance, it is usual practice for horses (other than racehorses) to be broken in at three years of age (Knowles 1993), at which point their skeletons are not fully mature, although nearly so.

Modem racehorses are broken in at 18 months so that they can be raced at two years old. This is of course when the skeleton is quite immature, hence the weight limits for the jockeys and the use of very lightweight saddles, etc. Even with these restrictions it is quite often the case that racehorses suffer from skeletal defects resulting from overstressing the limbs during the growth period. For instance, fractures of the epiphyses are a regular occurrence, as are osteochondritis dessicans lesions caused by damage to the growingjoint cartilages (Section 2.4.7).

However, Roman practice was to break in most equids at three years old, as it is today (aee Section 1.3.1). Roman racehorses were left until four years, because it was considered (quite correctly) that these animals should be more mature to withstand the extra strain in the circus. Therefore, it is unlikely that exercise relating to breaking in immature animals would be affecting the skeletal growth of Roman horses. The most likely cause of exercise affecting the skeleton would be the result of injury during work that resulted in a pathological change to the bones, and this is dealt with in Section 2.4.7 below.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study it is unlikely that changes caused by exercise would affect the measurements of limb bones, as most damage occurring during growth or afterwards would show up as a pathological case, and such bones would not usually be measured.

2.4.7 Disease and pathology

Bone disease in general is too large a topic to cover here. This section will be restricted to those diseases and conditions that affect the growth of bones or their size and shape, as these have relevance to this research. In many cases the aetiology of the diseases is poorly understood, making their prevention difficult and only allowing treatment of the symptoms even with modem veterinary advances. Therefore quite advanced cases are noted from many archaeological sites. Some of these diseases are thought to be attributable to poor diet and others to genetic mutations. Also included in this section are other pathological conditions seen on bones that result from some form of trauma.

Whilst the diseases and pathological conditions discussed below can drastically affect skeletal growth, and/or the size and shape of adult bones, in their more advanced forms, in general mild cases will not produce noticeable effects on the skeleton. Interms of this research, the more advanced cases of these conditions should have been noted as pathological by the zooarchaeologists working on the material and for that reason these bones will probably not have been measured and therefore will not bias the biometric sample. However, mild forms of these conditions are rather difficult to detect and so measured examples could affect a biometric sample, although these would be unlikely to introduce much bias as the measurements would not be sufficiently different from normal variation.

However, as Baker and Brothwell (1980) state, 'what is normal?', when studying the skeletons of domestic animals that have been selectively bred for particular characteristics, and may appear quite abnormal in relation to their wild ancestors. This is true of achondroplasia, the genetic form of dwarfism, where the head and trunk grow normally but the limbs are greatly shortened. In humans this is the most common form of dwarfism. Dexter cattle are often heterozygous for a form of achondroplasia, so an appreciable number of pure Dexter calves are homozygous achondroplastic dwarves or 'bulldog calves' .Dachshund dogs also have the classic appearance of achondroplastic dwarves, even though their short legs are now considered a breed characteristic rather than a deformity (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Whilst there does not seem to be any literature on this condition in equids, it is likely to occur occasionally, and if the

resulting animal was viable there were at least two possible reactions to this in the past: the animal could be immediately killed as a 'monster' or kept as a curiosity.

Other hereditary conditions in horses are known and out of23 listed by Roberts (1971, quoted but not listed in Baker and Brothwell 1980: 40), eight are considered to affect the skeleton. However, the prevalence of these conditions is unknown because this can only be determined by breeding experiments, which are slow and expensive in large animals such as horses (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Some of these conditions have been noted in archaeological specimens, and whilst they do not affect the measurements, they may be of some use in determining the possible movement ofhorses to different areas and the question of stock improvement, through the use of prevalence statistics.

The study of these non-metric traits is an area that is receiving more attention but still needs further research. One aspect of interest is consideration of the size, number and position of the nutrient foramina on certain elements. For instance, in cattle the regular recording of size and number of the mental foramina has elucidated some information on the movements of animals (Dobney *et al.* 1996). In equids, a likely candidate for further work appears to be the supraorbital foramina. Eisenmann (1986) suggests that these could be used as a species determinant, and although this is unlikely (Section 4.3.1) their value in determining horse movements should be explored. Another non-metric trait found in horses is the presence of supernumerary incisors . .These have an incidence of around 0.6% in modem horses (Colyer 1936 quoted in Baker and Brothwell 1980), but in the light of evidence that 8^{th} century AD Hungarian folk tales ascribe magical powers to animals that possess these extra teeth, it would be worth considering if the prevalence varies across different time periods and geographic areas and could therefore be related to stock movements.

Baker and Brothwell (1980) wrote that 'the destructive effect of contagious diseases should not be underestimated' and yet this area has perhaps still not received the attention it deserves. In particular, whole skeletons recovered from a site should be studied more often and more carefully as possible evidence of an outbreak of an infectious disease in a particular community. This is particularly true where a number of skeletons of a single (or closely related) species are found in a single burial incident. For instance, Peters (1998) has suggested that the 35 horse and mule skeletons found together in one pit at Weißenburg/Biriciana (Germany) are most likely evidence ofa fatal epidemic outbreak. The biometric aspects of the analysis of such skeletons will be unaffected by their cause of death, as most infectious diseases kill before changes to the bones can take place.

There are, of course, exceptions to every rule and one such disease is brucellosis. The *Brucella abortus* bacteria does not kill horses, nor cause the reproductive problems seen in cattle, but it does cause changes to the bones of the vertebrae. The cervical and lumbar intervertebral discs are gradually destroyed, resulting in the erosion of the vertebral bodies and the growth of exostoses, eventually leading to ankylosis of the spine.

Other infections that directly affect bones are those that, as a result of trauma or blood-borne agent, cause inflammation of the tissues of the bone itself. These are osteomyelitis (infection starting in the marrow cavity), osteoperiostitis (periosteal origin) and osteitis (cortical origin) (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Of these, the first two are the most commonly found and can result in large lesions that usually spread to involve all three sites ifleft untreated. Areas specifically at risk in horses are the spines of the thoracic vertebrae as a result of saddle sores; the metapodials as a result of knocks from opposing hooves; and the feet where laminitis has caused rotation of the pedal bone through the sole of the foot.

Other infections specific to horses include poll evil and fistulous withers, both diseases caused by infection of the *bursae* or voids near the atlas or first thoracic vertebrae, respectively, leading to infection of the surrounding bones. Even with modem veterinary care these infections are very difficult to treat because the pus cannot drain out easily (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Another problem is caused by infection involving the joints. As with osteomyelitis, etc., this is usually the result of a wound and can cause infection and necrosis of joint cartilage as well as swelling of the joint capsule, all of which lead to new cartilage and bone formations during the repair response.

As discussed abov,e nutrition plays a large role in the growth of the skeleton but there are also issues that relate to nutrition in mature individuals. One pathological condition of skeletal development that is sometimes associated with malnutrition but can also be the result of infectious disease is the production of Harris lines. These are lines of very dense bone, detectable using Xrays, running parallel to the epiphyseal fusion line. They occur when growth is slowed down for a significant period of time by any of the biologically stressful situations mentioned above (Baker and Brothwell 1980). The periods of stunted growth could lead to the shortening of the bone if the growth has not' caught up' when more ideal conditions resumed.

Whilst oral pathology is not a topic that requires detailed discussion here, it is included because it can impinge on growth and skeletal maintenance through its effect on feeding. For instance, if the oral pathology is of such severity (either short term or prolonged) that feeding cannot take place adequately through pain, then the nutritional requirements of the individual could suffer and consequently this could affect the growth and maintenance of the bones, leading to all the problems associated with malnutrition outlined in Section 2.4.3.

Osteoporosis is a condition that affects horses as well as humans, and occurs when a lack of calcium in the diet causes a drop in the blood calcium, triggering a release of parathyroid hormones, This releases calcium from the bones in an attempt to maintain blood calcium levels to preserve normal nervous and muscle function. In the horse, as calcium is removed from the cranial bones, the fibrous connective tissue content increases and the head increases in size and appears swollen, hence 'big head disease'. Whilst it is uncommon to see such severe cases of calcium deficiency that result in big head today, it does appear occasionally (Hintz 1996). It is believed that less severe calcium deficiency in the limb bones (i.e. rickets) may result in a predisposition to lameness (Hintz 1996), probably as a result of the poor mineralization of the bones, enlarged joints and crooked long bones (Duren 1996).

Mild osteoporosis may not be detected on archaeological sites because often it affects all the bones when all the animals were raised in the same way. Therefore it appears 'normal' for that site (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Also, lightweight bones would, very often, be attributed to taphonomic processes rather than osteoporosis. Interms of biometric analyses, big head might result in anomalous cranium measurements being taken if the disease was not severe enough for easy recognition; however, at that stage the measurements are unlikely to be affected to any great extent.

There is a group of conditions and diseases that are commonly known in the veterinary literature as developmental orthopaedic diseases (DODs). These are a group of diseases that affect an animal whilst it is growing, either involving abnormalities in endochondral ossification, in bone lengthening or metabolic changes within the bone (Mcllwraith 1996). Some of these resolve naturally, others only with the aid of advanced modem surgical techniques. This last group may, therefore, be detected archaeologically.

An eample of a DOD is epiphysitis, which manifests as pain and swelling at the growth plate. In horses this usually occurs in yearlings and foals around the distal epiphyses of the radius or the metapodials. Some cases have associated osteochondrosis (see below) but most do not. It can be associated with a high plane of nutrition, which has caused the diaphyses to outgrow the epiphyses, therefore a diet restriction will allow the joints to 'catch up' by slowing down growth in general (Pilliner 1992). Limiting the exercise of the horse helps to relieve the symptoms (McIlwraith 1996). Many cases resolve themselves with time and generally cease when the

affected epiphysis fuses (Mcllwraith 1996). As this condition usually resolves when growth ceases, it would not be detectable archaeologically (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Epiphyseal fractures can occur through trauma to the area where the cartilage is being calcified (Mcllwraith 1996) and can result in sections of the epiphysis becoming displaced. These can still be seen after the bone has fused, as the displacement of a section of the epiphysis will still be evident.

Osteochondrosis is a defect in the endochondral ossification of the bones that can lead to several different specific conditions such as osteochondritis dissecans (OCD) and subchondral cystic lesions (SCL) (McIlwraith 1996). Both these conditions are caused when a restriction in the blood supply occurs in the cartilage precursor of the epiphysis, an abnormally thick layer of cartilage forms and some of this then undergoes necrosis, so the cartilage can then become detached from the bone through subsequent stresses, causing inflammation and pain (OCD) or can leave pits in the surface of the bone (SCL) (Figure 2.11) (pilliner 1992; Mcllwraith 1996). A number of other factors can contribute to the formation of these lesions, such as biomechanical stress, genetic predisposition, fast growth rate and nutritional imbalance, and therefore a multifactorial aetiology is generally accepted (McIlwraith 1996). There can be associated osteoarthritic lesions caused by incorrect use of the limb due to lameness.

In foals bred to grow quickly, the high plane of nutrition fed to these youngsters can increase the risk ofOCD occurring. Low copper levels in the diet (pilliner 1992) and imbalances in growth hormones have also been found to be exacerbating factors. It is most often found on the surfaces of the distal femur, distal tibia, proximal astragalus, distal metapodials and shoulder joint (Pilliner 1992; Mcllwraith 1996). OCD can be recognised in archaeological material as a depression in the underlying bone.

Subchondral cystic lesions (SCL) occur in any joint, but are particularly associated with the limb joints, and in horses most commonly occur on the distal femur, and less commonly on the proximal tibia, distal metapodials, both ends of the radius and on the phalanges. There is some controversy as to whether they are caused by a trauma that starts the process or not (Mcllwraith 1996). SCL are only treatable with surgery, meaning that many horses in the past with this condition would probably have been lame. In archaeological material these would be seen as a much deeper depression than OCD, where the hole in the surface is much smaller than the underlying cavity.

130

Figure 2.11. *Formation of osteochondritis dissecans and subchondral cystic lesions (C.Johnstone after Mcllwraith 1996).*

Angular limb deformities (AID) arise from uneven growth of the metaphysis or, less commonly, abnormalities of the cuboidal bones (carpals and tarsals). Abnormalities of the cuboidal bones are most often a problem with foetal development. After birth, the cuboid bones collapse because they are at an insufficient level of ossification to bear weight (Mcllwraith 1996). It is unlikely that this condition would be found on archaeological material; however, it would be quite recognisable as it would not have been treated. ALD as a result of uneven growth (caused by unbalanced nutrition or hormones) of the metaphysis, most commonly involve the distal radius, metapodials and tibia AID can also be the result of crushing of the metaphysis by external trauma or excessive loading or exercise of the limb. This can lead to the early fusion of part of the epiphysis and therefore uneven growth (Mcllwraith 1996).

Today, quite radical surgery is required to treat most cases of ALD, at sites other than the distal radius where it will usually correct itself(Mcllwraith 1996). ALD would probably not have been treated in the past and could therefore be detectable in archaeological material, as bones with a lopsided appearance to the epiphyses. If the condition was not too severe then the animal would not be unduly affected in terms of movement. However associated osteoarthritis could well occur because of the uneven stress on the joints.

The next group of conditions are all associated with trauma and include fractures and dislocation as well as more minor incidents leading to the formation of haematomas. The latter are formed when a blood vessel under the periosteum is damaged and forms a blood clot between the surface of the bone and the periosteum, which then ossifies to form a smooth dense bony lump on the outer surface of the bone. Haematomas most usually form on bones where there is little surrounding soft tissue to protect the bone from knocks, such as the metapodials and skull. The lumps formed by haematoma should not be confused with the more regularly shaped dense bony nodules known as osteomata, which are benign bone tumours (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Dislocation of joints occurs in horses, but the muscle mass around most joints means that this is quite rare. The exception is dislocation of the hip joint, as evidenced by the formation of a false acetabulum on the pelvis to accommodate the femoral head on a few archaeological specimens (Baker and Brothwell 1980).

Fractures can occur in any place on the bone, including the epiphysis and the metaphysis. In growing bones, a fracture at the growth plate can lead to early fusion of the epiphysis as the repairprocessjoins the two areas together, and hence the possibility of shortened bones. Sometimes the separation of the epiphysis can lead to a false joint between the epiphysis and metaphysis (Baker and Brothwell 1980). This is seen when a fracture of the femoral head occurs in horses (although the incidence of this is rare). Mid-shaft fractures of the long bones of horses are notoriously difficult to treat successfully, particularly in the upper limbs where the muscle mass is so great that straightening the fractured bone is almost impossible, particularly before anaesthetic and muscle relaxants were developed. Many horses sustaining a fracture would be put down immediately as their working lives would be over; perhaps this reflects the scarcity of identified fractures in the archaeological record. The metapodials are the most successfully treated, as evidenced by a well-healed fracture on a horse metatarsal from Skedemose (Sweden) (Baker and Brothwell 1980). This suggests that the animal must have been confined so that it could not move much until the fracture had healed, and that it was worth enough to the owner to allow it time to heal properly.

The last group of conditions to discuss are those that mostly affect mature and elderly individuals, namely degenerative conditions such as osteoarthritis, spavin, ringbone, navicular and spondylosis derformans. Although they can occur in younger animals as the result of a traumatic incident affecting the joints and soft tissues around them, these are mostly seen in older individuals as the result of general wear and tear on the joints. Osteoarthritis is caused by the degeneration of the joint cartilage leading to eburnation and grooving of the bone surfaces as well as bone growth around the margins of the joints known as exostoses. The presence of eburnation and grooving are the distinguishing features of osteoarthritis, compared with the following conditions (Baker and Brothwell 1980).

Spavin and ringbone are the names given to similar conditions affecting different joints of the limbs. Spavin affects the small tarsal bones and in extreme cases the proximal metatarsals as well. The joint capsule is affected and the formation of exostoses occurs between the tarsal bones, eventually leading to ankylosis of the joint. Inringbone, the inter-phalangeal joints are affected in the same manner, with high ringbone affecting the joint between the first and second phalanges and low ringbone the joint between the second and third phalanges. In both conditions the joint surface remains unaffected, so distinguishing them from osteoarthritis. Whilst the affected animals will be at least mildly lame, once the process of ankylosis is complete slow work can be resumed. Both conditions are thought to result from excessive stress on the joints concerned either through poor conformation not allowing the absorption of shock in the correct way, or as a result of too much fast work on hard surfaces (Baker and Brothwell 1980).

Navicular disease is peculiar to horses as far as can be determined. It is caused by the degeneration of the navicular bone, a sesamoid positioned at the posterior of the joint between the second and third phalanges. This disease should be easy to detect archaeologically because of the very characteristic way that the bone degenerates, but the navicular bone is not recovered very often, even from whole skeletons, perhaps due to poor familiarity with anatomy by the excavators or because those with navicular degeneration would be more vulnerable to taphonomic decay than healthy bone (Baker and Brothwell 1980). The condition causes severe and progressive lameness, but many animals would probably have been continued to be worked as there are no outward signs of the cause of the lameness.

As a slight deviation, another condition that causes foot lameness in horses is laminitis. This is a disease of the feet with a (still) unknown aetiology that causes inflammation of the lamellae holding the hoofhorn to the third phalanx (pedal bone). Ifuntreated it leads to the destruction ofthe lamellae, causing the pedal bone to drop downwards and even come through the sole of the hoof. Inless advanced cases, the degeneration of the edges of the pedal bone is noted, where the blood supply has been disrupted and necrosis occurs. This bone degeneration is quite characteristic, but because of the bias against the preservation of third phalanges due to their porous nature, this disease is not often detected archaeologically despite its quite common occurrence inhorse populations today. One exception to this comprises the four horse and two mule skeletons recovered from Künzing, Germany (von den Driesch and Cartajena 2001), which all exhibited chronic laminitis in at least two if not all four feet. It is surmised that these animals may have been put down because they were severely lame and hence unusable. However, it also suggests that they must have been used for a considerable length of time whilst they had laminitis for the hooves to have degenerated that far.

Ossification of ligaments and tendons occurs in horses, and is seen particularly in the ligamentum nuchae and the longissimus dorsi. This may be the result of using these animals for riding and traction, which places an abnormal stress on the structures. Extensive ossification can eventually lead to ankylosis of parts of the spine. Another condition that also causes this result is spondylosis deformans, where the destruction of the inter-vertebral discs and the eburnation of the vertebral bodies cause reactive exostoses to form around the margins, which eventually bridge the gaps between the vertebrae, leading to ankylosis. It might be expected that this kind of degeneration would be seen in the thoracic area as a result of bearing excessive weight in the saddle area, but it is mostly the lumbar region that appears to be affected (Baker and Brothwell 1980), perhaps in compensation for the weight further forward.

Itis worth considering the consequences of the conditions outlined above. Many of the animals with these problems would have been lame to some degree, either temporarily or permanently, and yet from the advanced cases seen in the archaeological record these animals must have carried on being worked (Baker and Brothwell 1980). For some of the conditions, such as spavin and ringbone, the animal could still be used for slow work if it was rested until the bones had ankylosed, when the pain would have been less. It seems that when there was no obvious external cause for the lameness many owners may have just carried on using the animal regardless, either through ignorance of the discomfort the animal was in or because of a need to use the animal to earn a living.

Another aspect oto take into account is the indication that some animals, such as white horses, had a 'magico-religious significance and there may have been attempts to preserve the life of these at whatever costs' (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Wells (1972 quoted in Baker and Brothwell 1980) suggests that lame horses were specifically selected for burial with chieftains of the proto-Scythians of around 400 BC in Siberia, either just to get rid of unsound animals or to preserve the good Ones. These gifts were supposed to represent things needed in the afterlife, so what the ghost chieftain thought of having a crippled horse with him in the afterlife is anyone's guess!

It has also been suggested that some Roman military stablemen kept severely lame animals alive in order to keep the rations allotted them so in order to feed other horses or sell the rations for a profit (Baker and Brothwell 1980). The disregard of equine welfare was not universal, as

the many Roman veterinary texts give good advice on the diagnosis and treatment of conditions that cause lameness. For instance, Vegetius mentions both laminitis and navicular bone disease, and recommends various forms of treatment including paring down the foot to let out pus; further examples have been given in Section 1.3. However, it seems that where a profit or livelihood was at stake, the wellbeing of the animals may well have come second.

As stated at the beginning of this section, many of these diseases and pathological conditions would affect the measurements taken on archaeological bones, but the advanced cases should be recognised as pathological and subsequently not measured. It is hoped that the degree of inaccuracy resulting from the measurement of mild cases that are not recognised as abnormal is not likely to be outside the range of normal variation, and therefore should not unduly affect the results of this research. Individual cases that appeared to be outliers in any distribution wrere carefully checked with the original documentation to determine if pathology could be the cause.

takty att sig till sagla frillidare tal, sig og ett sig sig til att han att sig til sig sig til att sig states is way as gigahan a shi ata tu ma 우리 전 : 무관의 연구 (CAC)에서 가는 사진을 보는 것이다. folketta akko kehat tahun kalendari ke tahun 1990 menerbatkan ke terdapat di kecamatan dalam ke terdapat dan k a kiri Sangkilo ya Kingi katika mwaka wa Kasance a Maji ya masha wa 1999 aliyofanyika mwaka 1999, mwaka 1999 a 주 12일 : 12월 13일 : 12월 12일
대한민국의 대한민국의 대 [전송화 : 2] 2020년 10월 1일 : 10월 10일 - 10월 1 galakan pendadian di Samuel Languagen mengentuk di Samuel Samuel Kali 가운 그 공사로 하는 지역 : 10 원 - 10 원 22/24/2010 [1] 1] HE WARRANT AND ARRAIGHT **TAX 计内容字句 有关**

Chapter Three - Methodology

This chapter contains information on the methods employed to gather and analyse the data on which this research is based. The first section (3.1) outlines the reasoning behind the choice of measurements to be taken on the equid bones and how they were taken, providing the necessary information for the work to be repeated or expanded upon in the future. Also included here is information on how the archaeological data were sourced.

The second section (3.2) looks at the database used to collate all the information for this study. The layout of the database and how to use it are outlined. The information contained in the database includes the measurement data, together with context and dating information for the archaeological material and bibliographic references for all data taken from published and grey literature sources, the details of which form Chapter 5.

Section 3.3 briefly outlines the analytical and statistical techniques employed to produce the information required to address the research questions outlined in Chapter One. This includes t-tests, withers height calculations, discriminant function analysis and the logratio technique (including the production of a standard to work from).

Section 3.4 is slightly different from the previous three, the aim being to outline the methods available for the withers height reconstruction of equids, and provide a critical evaluation of these methods. This involved a small amount of analytical work to test the available methods in order to be able to evaluate their potential fairly, in particular to determine whether the use of factors based on horse bones could also be used on donkeys and mules.

3.1 Measurement choice and collection

3.1.1 Measurement choice

The choice of measurements to be taken was based on three criteria: measurements that could be most useful in differentiating horses, donkeys and mules; those that could provide information on size and shape; and those that were the most commonly taken on archaeological material. The first two criteria overlap to a great extent as those measurements that provide information on size and shape are also most likely to be those that differentiate horses, donkeys and mules. The choice of measurements was based on an ideal situation where all bones were fully adult and were not influenced by the problems of post-fusion growth of bones (as outlined in Chapter 2). However, the possible presence ofunideal data had to be taken into consideration when the data were analysed and the results interpreted.

Inorder to accommodate the third criterion it was necessary to use the measurement system outlined by von den Driesch (1976) in the publication, *A guide to the measurement of animal bones from archaeological sites,* rather than that put forward by Eisenmann (1986). Although the Eisenmann system is specifically designed to allow the separation of equid species, it is not widely used by zooarchaeologists, thereby limiting the data available from published sources. Therefore the more widely used, if less specific system, of von den Driesch (1976) was used, and the measurements chosen are given in Table 3.1. A few measurements were added to this list in order to give a more three-dimensional representation of some bones: these are denoted in Table 3.1 with an '*' and are explained in detail below.

Element		Code Name	Description
Cranium	1	Total length	From akrocranoin-prosthion
	$\overline{\mathbf{c}}$	Condylobasal length	Aboral border of occiptal conyles - prosthion
	3	Basal length	Basion - Prosthion
	9	Upper neurocranium length	Akrokranion - supraorbitale
	10	Facial length	Supraorbitale - Prosthion
	22	Length of cheektooth row	Measured at alveolar margins
	23	Length of molars	Measured at alveolar margins on buccal side
	24	Length of premolars	Measured at alveolar margins on buccal side
	34	Greatest breadth of occipital condyles	
	38	Greatest breadth of neurocranium	Euryon - Euryon
	40	Least breadth between supra-orbital foramina	
	41	Greatest breadth of skull	Ectorbitale - Ectorbitale
	43	Facial breadth	Between the points of the intersection of the maxillo-jugal suture and the facial ridge on each side
	45	Greatest breadth of the muzzle	Outer borders of alveoli I3-I3
	48	Greatest palatal breadth	Outer borders of alveoli
	50	Basion height	Basion - highest point of skull in projection
Mandible	İ1	Length from the angle	Gonion caudale - infradentale
	$\overline{\mathbf{4}}$	Length of horizontal ramus	Aboral border of the alveolus of M3 - infradentale
	6	Length of cheektooth row	Measured at alveolar margins
	$\overline{7}$	Length of molars	Measured at alveolar margins on buccal side
	8	Length of premolars	Measured at alveolar margins on buccal side
	16	Greatest breadth of the muzzle	Outer borders of alveoli I3-I3
	18	Smallest breadth of diastema	

Table 3.1. *Summary of measurements used for this study. Taken from von den Driesch (1976) except those with an '. 'which are explained in more detail below*

The following measurements are non-standard and are explained in full here: first phalanx OFd, radius OFd, humerus HTC, and calcaneum OS. The reason extra measurements were added was so that a three-dimensional picture of the bone could be built up. This was only done in cases where the resulting measurement could be taken consistently and accurately. These extra measurements were taken on the modern reference material; there was no comparable data in the archaeological literature. It is suggested here that these measurements are taken in the future, as they are used in determining species (see Chapter 4).

On the first phalanx, OFd stands for the depth of the distal articular facet, taken as shown in Figure 3.1a. One side of the callipers should touch both parts of the distal facet, as indicated by the arrows and should be at right angles to where BFd is taken. The OFd on the radius is taken in a similar way, at right angles to BFd as illustrated in Figure 3.tb. Only the widest part of the articular facet touches the callipers. If both touch the measurement is taken too much on the diagonal.

Measurement HTC (height of the trochlea constriction) is taken as shown in Payne and Bull (1988) for use on pig humeri. It is taken as the smallest diameter of the trochlea constriction, which in most cases means the callipers are at a diagonal to the shaft of the humerus, as shown in Figure 3.1c.

For the measurement on the calcaneum, DS is the depth of the sustentaculum. This is taken as shown in Figure 3.1d from the most lateral and posterior part of the sustentaculum to the most anterior 'nose' of the calcaneum. This means that the measurement is taken slightly diagonally to the axis of the bone.

All measurements taken by the author on the modem reference material were taken in one of three ways depending on the size of the measurement and its orientation. For measurements of less than 300 mm callipers were used, a set of dial callipers for less than 150 mm and larger Vernier scale callipers for those between 150 and 300 mm. Where the measurement exceeded 300 mm an improvised measuring box was employed. This consisted of a tape measure and two pieces of cardboard bent at right angles. The reason for using an improvised rather than 'real' measuring box was the need for a portable piece of equipment that could be used when travelling to visit reference collections abroad. This equipment was tested against a fixed measuring box in the laboratory and found to be accurate to within 2 mm. This was felt to be sufficiently accurate, as this is an error of less than 1% of the measurements and many of the subsequent analyses (such as withers height estimation) have relatively large calculation errors. Where the use of a measuring box was not possible (i.e. for certain skull measurements) the tape measure was used on its own. This means that measurements greater than 300 mm are quoted to the nearest 1 mm and those under 300 mm are given to 0.1 mm accuracy.

Figure 3.1. *Illustrations of how the extra measurements were taken on the first phalanx, radius, humerus and calcaneum.*

3.1.2 Data collection

Data were collected by the author from modem reference specimens of known species in laboratory and museum collections. The details of these collections and specimens are given in Chapter 5 and Appendix Table AI.

The collection of most archaeological data was not carried out first-hand but taken from published material because the time limits of a PhD thesis did not allow enough data to be collected personally by the author. Accuracy and consistency are very important factors in a study like this and many discussions have taken place about precision and intra- and inter-observer errors (Johnstone 1999; Reitz and Wing 2000). It is the major drawback to using published data. However, this was the only method of data collection available, so data from other workers have had to be taken on trust.

A problem with many older reports was that the von den Driesch (1976) system of measurement had not been used and/or how the measurements were taken was not fully explained. In these cases, only the measurements that could be equated fully with the von den Driesch (1976) equivalent from the descriptions given were included in the database.

Sources of archaeological data known to the author were collected first. This included material studied at first-hand and reports consulted in the process of writing up those sites. Secondarily, the bibliographies of these reports were studied for further sources of data. Where the raw measurement data were not present in the reports authors were contacted with requests for that data. In addition, colleagues in many countries were contacted concerning either their own work or reports they could provide copies of or references for. Requests for data were also placed on the ZOO ARCH e-mail list and replies received. Periodically the data were analysed to check that a good geographic and temporal spread was being achieved. The data collection efforts were then targeted to fill gaps and expand 'thin patches'.

3.2 Database construction and structure

The database used to collect and store all the data for this project was constructed using Borland Paradox software (Version 7). This package was used because the author was already familiar with using it to construct databases and enter and extract data from them and at the start of the project it was supported on the University of York, (UK) internal network. Parts of the basic structure and some of the coding behind the user interface were taken from a bone recording database constructed by John Carrott and Debs Jaques for the Environmental Archaeology Unit, York, to whom I am indebted for teaching me how to use and adapt the original.

The database consists of a number of inter-linked forms and tables. The forms are the user interface, whilst the tables contain all the data entered by the user. The basic structure and forms ofthe database is shown in Figure 3.2. Each form is linked to the other forms joined to it as indicated by lines in Figure 3.2. These links are bi-directional i.e. the user can go forwards and backwards between forms, Each form has a series of buttons that perform tasks related to that form and its associated table and also take the user between forms in the database. If a record needs to be deleted for some reason then the 'delete current record' button is used. When all information has been entered for a site (in all forms) the 'next record' button is clicked. Some of the boxes (called fields) are automatically filled by the software, whilst others have 'lookup' tables (accessed by pressing the space bar) to enable consistent (and limited) information to be put into a field, and the remainder are used for plain text.

Figure 3.2. *Flow diagram of database form structure*

The Sites form (shown in Figure 3.3) is the starting point for entering data. This form requires general information about the site from which a particular bone assemblage was collected. The 'Site ID no.' field is an automatically generated integer so that number repetition cannot occur. The 'period' field has a lookup table, allowing only a limited number of periods to be entered. The rest of the fields are all plain text fields and are selfexplanatory.

Following the flow chart in Figure 3.2, there are two possible directions can be taken. One is to fill in the References form (Figure 3.4), which has a number of fields and buttons similar to the Sites form, the software automatically carries across the 'Site ID no.' from
the previous form, so it does not have to be entered manually. The bibliographic details are then entered into the remaining fields. The Dating form (Figure 3.5) can then be accessed and the phasing and dating information for the current site entered. Again the' Site ID no.' is brought across automatically. On a multi-phase site the 'next record' button is used between each phase.

Figure 3.3. *Layout and appearance of the Sites form.*

Figure 3.4. *Layout and appearance of the Referencesform.*

By navigating back to the Sites form the second route can be taken using the 'Measurements' button, which brings up a menu containing a list of bone elements, one of which can then be selected. The sample form shown in Figure 3.6 is for the humerus. As before the 'Site ID no.' is brought across automatically. The measurement values are then typed in the correct column with the codes as given in Table 3.1 above. The measurements for all the specimens of that element can be typed by clicking the 'Next record' button between specimens.

Figure 3.5. *Layout and appearance of the Dating form.*

	precimentarios Bread Phase	GLC	CH	80	Bd	部目	HTO
102	Onager	219.00	234.00	29.00	65.60	61 80	30.90
100 1933 397	Dom at	215.80	225.40	27.90	61.00	58.20	29 20
100 1975 125	Przewa	258.00	273.00	35.40	76 30	6900	33 40
100 1980 29	Przewa	262.20	276.10	32.90	74.80	71.10	34.10
100 1973 109	Przewal	248.10	265.50	34.80	71.80	65.90	31.00
100 1962 228	Przewe	272.30	282.70	32.00	82.80	7180	36 40
100 1925 78	Norwed	282.00	300.00	35.60	78.40	73 90	37.00
100 1927 235	Arab	313.00	328.00	337.30	91.20	81.40	
http://www.com.com/com/com/com/ Return to Sites		Next record		DELETE CURRENT RECORD			
Pathology							

Figure 3.6. *Layout and appearance of the Humerus form.*

The tables that contain all the information entered via the forms also contain additional information that is generated by the computer. For instance, all the tables containing the measurements by element also have a field into which the name of the element is automatically recorded, and a bone ID number is also generated by the computer for each specimen. This last information is required when the data are analysed so that each record has a unique identifier. This is necessary so that repeated data (e.g. identical measurements) are not overlooked. The queries function is used to extract specific data from the database by asking questions of single tables or multiple linked tables.

3.3 Analytical techniques and statistics

The aim of this section is briefly to introduce some of the more complex analytical and statistical techniques that were used for this research. The descriptions will be limited to how the techniques were undertaken and applied, rather than a detailed account of the statistical formulae and principles on which the tests are based.

3.3.1 Log-ratio technique

This technique was first published by Simpson (1941) and was proposed for use on archaeological material by Meadow (1981) (although he termed it the log size index). 'The technique was developed in order to compare graphically the relative rather than absolute dim ensions of a number of anim als orgnoups of anim als' β impson *et al.* 1960: 356, quoted in Meadow 1999: 288). The technique involves dividing the value of the specimen by the standard value and then converting the answer into its logarithm:

log (archaeological measurement / standard measurement).

A negative result indicates the archaeological specimen is from a smaller animal than the standard, and *vice versa.*

The standard can be the measurements of a single specimen or the means of the measurements from a group of specimens, either archaeological or modem. Eisenmann and Bekouche (1986) used the mean of the measurements of a sample of one particular species (the onager: *E. hemionus)* as the standard. The means of the other species were then tested against this. There are many ways of graphically displaying the results of this technique, depending on the exact nature of the data and what information is required from it. Eisenmann and Bekouche (1986) plotted the mean values of the measurements of different species against each other as line diagrams to see differences in the proportions of measurements from the standard (e.g. Figure 4.16). Other workers (e.g. Albarella 2002; Johnstone and Albarella 2002) have made histograms of the results to see if a sample is generally larger or smaller than the standard, and to detect changes in size through time. This will be the most usual display method in this research, as the technique will mostly be employed to detect differences in size between groups of data.

An advantage of this technique is that measurements from different elements can be pooled, once the log-ratio has been undertaken, because they are then directly comparable, thereby optimising the use of sparse data. It should be noted however, that the best results are obtained from pooling measurements in a single direction (e.g. all length measurements), rather than using all available measurements (e.g, lengths, breadths and depths) together (Davis 1996; Meadow 1999). Another advantage of this technique is a rescaling of the

variance of the data. If the ratios of the specimens to the standard are taken without conversion to logarithms, the variance of the sample is substantially increased. The conversion to logarithmic values brings the variance back down to a level near that of the original data.

There is no published standard for calculating log-ratios of horse (or any equid) remains. Therefore a standard had to be established for use in this research. The original proposal was to use the mean values of the data obtained from modem Przewalski horses in reference collections. The reasoning behind this choice was that a reasonably large sample of Przewalski horses, including both males and females and a variety of ages, was available. There is very little variation in phenotype between Przewalski individuals and their physical appearance is reasonably widely known. However, it was discovered that Przewalski horses have significantly different limb proportions to those of domestic horses (see Section 3.4 below), making them unsuitable as a standard against which to compare archaeological domestic horses.

Therefore, a similar group of domestic horses was needed to construct a standard. A breed such as the Exmoor would be ideal as it also has little phenotypic variation (in pure-bred individuals). Although a collection of Exmoor individuals does exist in the laboratory at Cambridge University (Cambridge, UK), the keeper of that collection denied access to the author. Although Dr Marsha Levine has made use of the Cambridge Exmoor collection in published works, the biometric data have never been published. Therefore an important and potentially very useful dataset is unavailable for use by the zoo archaeological community.

As a result of this, it was decided to use the measurements of three Mongolian ponies from the collection at the Museum für Haustierkunde (Halle, Germany), as the standard for this research. The individuals (Numbers E mgl 1, Emgl 3 and Emgl4) were all female, all of a similar size and aged about *15* years, 14 years and 16 years respectively. All were collected as part of Hagenbeck's expedition to Mongolia in 1901, and were adult at the time they were caught so the ages may be underestimated by a few years. Some pathological bones were noted in one individual, but only the left hock was involved so the measurements of the unaffected right hock were taken.

Table 3.2 gives the means of the measurements of the three Mongolian ponies for use as the standard against which to compare the archaeological material when using the logratio technique.

Table 3.2. *The mean of the measurements of three Mongolian ponies for use as the standard in log ratio calculations. For codes see Table 3.1*

3.3.2 *Students t-tests*

Student's t-tests were used to determine the significance of observed differences between sets of data. These tests have been employed in a slightly unorthodox way because of the limitations of archaeological data. For instance, in some cases there was no guarantee that the specimens from a sample were completely independent (i.e. some bones could theoretically belong to the same individual). However, because t-tests require independence of data points, it was assumed for the present present research purposes. The exception to this was where the bones were obviously not independent, i.e. when a whole skeleton or articulated limb was analysed. In this case either a mean value calculated from all the bones or measurements from a single bone, taken as representative, were used, depending on the exact circumstances of the calculation.

The t-tests were carried out using Micrsoft Excel software. The data analysis tools in this software include several versions of the t-test; for this research the 'two samples: assuming equal variance' option was used. This is because the purpose was to test the difference between two datasets, both of which consist of measurement data, mostly from a single element, the variance of which is unlikely to be significantly different (Johnstone and Albarella 2002: 7). The test was usually only undertaken when the sample size was greater than 10, to limit the errors associated with small sample size. The degrees of freedom are not stated for each test but can be calculated from the summary tables given using the following formula: $d.f = n - 1$, where n is the number of cases.

3.3.3 Discriminant function analysis

Discriminant function analysis uses multiple variables to find the maximum separation between groups of data. It also quantifies the scale and direction of differences between pre-defined groups and the statistical significance ofthe discriminating functions produced (Baxter 2003). The software will also reclassify the known cases to test the validity of the . discriminating criteria. This technique was used for the separation of horse, donkey and mule bones (see Chapter 4 for the results).

The discriminant function analysis was carried out using SPSS (version 10) software. In order that the methodology can be repeated, the following paragraph should allow other workers to obtain the same results, even if not using exactly the same software package. The analysis was undertaken for each element individually, using species as the grouping variable and the chosen measurements (see Section 3.1) as the independent variables. Output options were set to give case-by-case discriminant data, so that the identification result, posterior probability, and Mahalanobis distance for each individual specimen were obtained as well as a summary table. A plot of all cases was also produced using the first two canonical functions as the axes. SPSS automatically gives the Eigenvalues, chi-squared results, group centroids and standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients, but these may need to be requested in other software packages.

In addition, pair-wise analyses were carried out for each element, to test whether the species could be separated when only two were present. This was to test whether the small size of the dataset (particularly for mules) was limiting the success of the discriminating criteria when all three were analysed together. The same variables and output options were used for this analysis, as described in the last paragraph.

Once the best results for each element had been established using the modem data (Chapter 4), the methodology was applied to the archaeological data and a method of assessing the likelihood that the resulting identifications were correct was established. The first part was straightforward: the analyses were rerun with the archaeological data as ungrouped

cases (i.e. outside the range of the grouping variables). The resulting plots show the archaeological points and the summary tables give the statistics and group membership for the archaeological specimens.

It was thought likely that there would be a spread of points, similar to those seen for the modem data, leading to 'grey areas' between the group centroids where the identifications may be less clear. In order to filter out the uncertain group attributions, the identification results were subjected to the following procedure in order to clarify which were most likely to be correct. To achieve this two additional statistics were analysed: the Mahalanobis distance from the centroid and the posterior probability of group membership. The standard deviation (SD) of the Mahalanobis distances from the centroid for the modem data was calculated so that a limit of 1 SD from the group centroid could be defined. Levels of identifications were then assigned to each case on the following basis.

- Definite identifications were assigned to those bones with a Mahalanobis distance within 1 SD of the group centroid and with a posterior probability of group membership higher than 0.8 (where $1 =$ certainty)
- Probable identifications were assigned where one of the above criteria was met
- Possible identifications were assigned where neither criterion was met.

3.3.4 Withers height calculations

The estimation of withers height from the length of bones is an established zooarchaeological method of comparing the size of animals, for example, between phases of a site or in comparison to modem breeds (Reitz and Wing 2000; O'Connor 2000). It also has the advantage of increasing the size of the sample that can be used by making measurements from different elements directly comparable (O'Connor 2000). The withers are the highest point of the shoulders, at the base of the neck; therefore withers height is sometimes also referred to as shoulder height, particularly for animals other than equids that have less prominent withers. Withers heights will mostly be quoted in millimetres throughout the results, with conversions to hands (see Section 1.5.5) where comparisons with modem breeds are made and elsewhere when approportiate.

The calculation of withers height from the length of the long bones is simply a process of multiplying the greatest (or lateral) length of the bone in question by a pre-determined factor, as discussed in more depth in Section 3.4. Once the withers height data have been calculated for each element they can be combined and then displayed in the same ways as other measurement data, for instance as histograms.

3.4 Critical evaluation of withers height calculation methods

Withers height calculations have been briefly introduced above. The aim of this section is to present an evaluation of the published methodologies and indicate which was the best to use for this research. Methods of calculating horse withers heights only arer evaluated. They cannot be used without modification on donkeys and mules. Because the latter have differently proportioned limbs to those of horses, factors calculated for use on horse bones may produce withers heights that are consistently too large or too small on certain elements. This problem will be addressed later in this section.

There are a number of issues relating to the calculation of the withers height from bone length that should be addressed before talking about the methods themselves. Many of these issues have been raised by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974) and May (1985).

There are many factors that can influence the relationship of bone length to withers height in individuals, and include all the factors that can affect bone growth (see Chapter 2). In particular, sexual dimorphism and castration, body shape (pony/horse conformation, different breeds) and nutrition (individual and population differences) affect the relationship of the bone length to the withers height, or rather the proportional contribution that each element makes to the overall withers height.

For instance, if an individual experiences a period of poor nutrition during growth, then those bones that are already fused will not be affected but the growth of unfused bones could be stunted, resulting in different limb proportions compared with a well nourished individual (Section 2.3.3). The same kind of effect might be observed in castrated individuals, depending on the age at castration (Section 2.3.2). This may even be a humaninfluenced problem: for instance the oxen (castrated male cattle) of villagers in Bosnia were found to be bigger than the cows and bulls as a result of being better fed, since they were considered of more importance as working animals (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974).

In addition to calculating withers heights from the major long bones, it has been attempted from other bones of the skeleton. Kiesewalter (1888) provided factors for calculating the withers height from the size of the vertebrae, pelvis, tarsus and first phalanx, as well as the long bones and skull. However, none of them is particularly reliable (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974), either because the measurements are too small, which makes the errors of multiplication too great, or the measurements are not closely enough correlated will the withers height. Problems of accurately measuring a group of bones together (i.e. the tarsals) also cause errors. Sometimes a combination of these problems compounds the errors of the final calculation.

Several workers have tried to use the skull length to calculate withers height (Nehring 1884; Kiesewalter 1888; Vitt 1952). However, there are a number of problems with this calculation, such as which skull length measurement is used for the calculation where the descriptions are not particularly clear. The basilar length is used in Vitt's (1952) calculations, whilst the profile length is used with Kiesewalter's (1888) factors. Also, the skull length is not nearly as closely correlated with the withers height as the limb bone lengths. For example, the Arab horse has a naturally short head and the Przewalski a large one in comparison to overall size when compared with other breeds.

The calculation of withers height from skull length can give an indication of the size of the head of an individual in relation to overall size, and therefore the look of the animal as a whole. It is useful in comparing individuals from different sites or phases but is not a good measure ofheight on its own (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974). May (1985) suggests that the use of a regression equation for the calculation of the withers height from the skull length is slightly more accurate than using a simple multiplication factor. However, it should still only be used with the above restrictions placed on the interpretation of results.

Another thing to bear in mind when calculating and interpreting the results of withers height estimations is the errors inherent in the calculation and possible range of variation in a population. The difference between the actual withers height and the estimated value has been estimated to be as much as 100 mm, with an average of 40 to 50 mm either side of the estimated value (Von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974; May 1985). May (1985) has also worked out that these calculation errors are not reduced when combinations of elements are used in the calculations instead of single elements, suggesting that this is about the limit to which the error can be reduced.

In addition to the calculation errors, there is also the problem of population variation. Von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974) suggest that a range of variation of200 to 250 mm is normal for a modern breed or a confined prehistoric population. Therefore the overall range of variation can be much larger when one considers the possibility of cross-cultural contact and trade, such as across the boundaries of the Roman Empire. This is illustrated by the horse bones from Manching, Germany which show a great range of withers heights (1120 to 1480 mm), the largest individuals of which, it is argued, clearly show influence from the neighbouring Roman horse populations (Boessneck *et al.* 1971).

Therefore, when only a few bones are recovered from a site the sample may not represent the full range of variation of the population. This can then lead to misleading interpretations of the data. For instance, if few bones are recovered and all give tall (or short) withers height values, then a statement to the effect that horses on that site are large (or small) could be misleading. Sample size is something that has to be considered when interpreting the results of withers height reconstructions and the data placed in a wider context.

It should therefore be remembered that all reconstructed withers heights can only be estimates. The published methods are based on a limited number of individual skeletons from reference collections and will reflect the proportions of those individuals. The problem ofa small sample not being representative of the whole population also applies here.

Moving on to a discussion of the specific methods, there are two established systems in the published literature for reconstructing the withers height of horses from the length of the long bones. The first of these is the system published by Kiesewalter (1888) and the second by Vitt (1952). Both methods have previously been evaluated by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974), Ambros and Muller (1975) and May (1985) and, rather than repeat the work contained in those three papers, a summary of the findings will be presented here together with an overview of the two methods.

The Kiesewalter (1888) method uses a simple multiplication factor to obtain the estimated withers height from the length of the bone. The factors given in Table 3.3 are those quoted in von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974); they note that in Kiesewalter's (1888) original publication a mistake had been made with the factor for the humerus, which they corrected for their paper. To calculate the withers height from a single bone, the length of the bone (exactly which measurement is specified in the second column) is multiplied by the factor in the third column, the result being the withers height estimate. The unit of measurement of the calculated withers height will be the same as that used for the initial bone measurement.

Worked example using a modem Exmoor pony metacarpal: the lateral length 200.6 mm, when multiplied by the factor 6.41, produces an estimated withers height of 1285 mm (12.3 hh).

Table 3.3. *Multiplication/actors/or calculating horse withers heights using the system 0/ Kiesewalter* (1888) *as taken/rom von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974)*

Quoting the withers height to the nearest millimetre may be seen as spurious precision when the preceding comments on the accuracy of the method are taken into account. However, it is felt that this level of precision needs to be maintained for further analytical work, so that the results are presented as accurately as possible. Therefore, where a withers height is quoted to 1285 mm this should be read as 1285 ± 0.50 mm. This is similar to ¹⁴C dates that are quoted to a year, but with $a \pm$ error either specified or implied. In this instance, because the error is only an estimate (based on the figures given above from other workers' estimates), not a calculated figure, it is not systematically repeated on all the withers height estimates. The 80 mm ranges quoted in Vitt's (1952) work (Table 3.4) would therefore give an estimated \pm figure of 40 mm, which is the lowest average figure suggested by the workers mentioned above.

However, because Kiesewalter 's (1888) factors were not calculated from the living heights of individuals but were based on the estimation of the withers heights from mounted skeletons (as stated in von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974; Ambros and Muller 1975), they could underestimate the withers height of archaeological horses but will definitely not overestimate them. The reason they may underestimate the withers height is because no allowance is made for joint cartilage and synovial capsules, hooves and the ligaments, muscles and skin of the withers area. The accuracy of this method was tested by May (1985) and found to be as accurate as the method of Vitt (1952) , which was based on living withers heights.

The method published by Vitt (1952) works on a slightly different principle. He published a table of values (reproduced as Table 3.4) that gives a range of estimated withers heights that corresponds to a range of greatest length measurements. It should be noted that Vitt's (1952) method works with the greatest length not the lateral length (see below).

Worked example using the same Exmoor bone as previously: this time using the greatest length of 210.0 mm. Looking along the metacarpal row in Table 3.4 to find the range containing 210.0 mm ('smaller than average' column 205 to 220 mm) and looking down to the last row gives a withers height range of 1280 to 1360 mm (12.2 to 13.2 hh). This shows that the estimate produced using Kiesewalter's (1888) method falls within the range from Vitt's (1952) data table.

Although giving a range for the withers height alleviates the problems of calculation errors discussed above, it has the disadvantage that further analytical work cannot be undertaken on the values. For instance, histograms of withers heights can only be constructed using the ranges defined in the table and little statistical analysis can be undertaken to illustrate differences between periods or sites, with the exception of frequency comparisons. For this reason Vitt's (1952) method as it stands was not well suited to the current research.

Table 3.4. *Table* of values for the greatest length of the bones and their corresponding *withers height range (takenfrom Vitt 1952)*

A point that has caused confusion (and therefore wrong results) on many occasions is that the method of Vitt (1952) uses the greatest length whilst that of Kiesewalter (1888) uses the lateral length. A few cases where confusion has happened are quoted von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974) and May (1985). In addition, the author recently came across a poster at a conference (Lyublyanovics 2002) where the mistake occurred again. The poster claimed to have found particularly tall horses from the Roman site of Albertfalva (near Budapest, Hungary). However, the greatest length had been used in conjunction with Kiesewalter's factors. This meant that the withers heights were overestimated by as much as 130 mm (apart from the inherent errors of the method). Therefore, the Albertfalva horses were probably of a stature normal for the period rather than exceptionally large. This example illustrates the fact that because the greatest length can be as much as 25 mm longer than the lateral length, using GL with Kiesewalter's (1888) factors will overestimate the withers height (and *vice versa* using Ll in Vitt's (1952) table).

May (1985) discusses the issue of whether the withers height calculations are subject to allometry, i.e. whether the proportions of the limb elements to withers height are different in larger individuals than in smaller ones. This would mean that the withers height calculation is not linear and the use of simple multiplication factors would be inappropriate. To test this May (1985) used both linear and logarithmic regression equations of both Kiesewalter's (1888) factors and the equations on which Vitt's (1952) table were based, to show that both methods produce very similar results that are close to the known withers height of the sample. Therefore, whilst there is a clear allometric (non-linear) relationship between bone length and withers height in mammals as a whole, horses occupy a short enough section of the curve that it approximates a straight line. Hence, allometry does not playa significant role in these calculations. This conclusion means that simple multiplication factors for estimating the withers height are quite satisfactory and produce results with acceptable error ranges.

Just as von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974) had to correct the Kiesewalter(1888) humerus factor, May (1985) adjusted all of the factors very slightly so that they are more accurate; this mainly involved using three decimal places rather than two. In addition, May (1985) tackled the problem of not being able to use the Vitt (1952) ranges for further work by calculating factors for use with the greatest length from the tables of Vitt. Table 3.5 below shows the two sets of corrected factors as given by May (1985). These are the factors that will be used for this research as it allows use to be made of published measurements where either the lateral length or greatest length were taken.

Table 3.5. *Corrected factors for the determination of the withers height from the lateral lengths (based on Kiesewalter* 1888) *and greatest lengths (based on Vitt* 1952) *of the long bones, taken from May (1985).*

Worked example using the same bone aspreviously: the lateral length (200.6 mm) gives a withers height of 1284 mm (12.3 hh) and the greatest length (210.0 mm) gives a withers height of 1281 mm (12.3 hh). A difference of only 3 mm in the calculated withers heights from the two measurements on the same bone shows the close agreement of the two methods. Other individuals tested showed up to 20 mm difference between the two estimated wither height values, suggesting a range of individual variation in the morphology of the bones. However, this difference falls within the inherent errors of the method and is such a small proportion of the overall height that it will not greatly affect any subsequent analytical work.

The measurements from the skull of the Exnoor individual used in the worked examples above wee then used to see if the skull is in proportion to the body. The basilar length of this individual is 462 mm. Using the regression equation of May (1985):

Withers height (WH) = $(3.268 \times \text{basilar length}) -194.82$

 $WH = (3.268 \times 462) - 194.82$

 $WH = 1315.0$ mm

This shows that the head of this Exmoor individual is only slightly larger than average in relation to its body size, and for this individual this way of calculating the withers height is relatively accurate. However on other modem skeletons the difference was far greater, underlining the statements made above that this method should only be used in conjunction with the limb bone estimates, not by itself.

When calculating the withers height from all the long bones of a single individual, Ambros and Muller *(197S)* state that a range of 70-80 mm in the estimates from the different elements is acceptable, but if it is greater than lOO mm it should be thought of as an extreme value and the possibility that the bones are not from the same individual should be considered. However, when the withers heights were calculated for all the long bones from the modem reference specimens that are known to be the same individuals the difference between almost all of the values was over 70 mm and many were over 100 mm (Table 3.6). This seems to contradict the argument of Ambros and Muller *(197S)* and therefore it is suggested here that, where a difference of more than *ISO* mm is calculated from the bones of an alleged single skeleton, the possibility that the bones are not from the same individual should be considered.

Specimen Number Breed		Mean	Min	Max	Difference
1927.235	Arab	1580.9	1515.9	1610.0	94.0
24.5.4.1	Arab	1524.6	1480.9	1543.7	62.7
37.1.26.10	Arab	1586.2	1543.4	1651.4	108.1
E arb 3	Arab	1468.8	1421.4	1514.0	92.5
H40	Arab pony	1478.8	1413.9	1528.1	114.2
1937.51	Pony	1000.1	953.8	1067.6	113.7
BZL1	Pony	1166.8	1086.7	1235.9	149.1
E pon 1	Pony	1369.1	1325.4	1425.9	100.5
LWH3	Pony	1234.6	1211.9	1259.2	47.3
BZL332	Exmoor	1334.0	1282.9	1382.5	99.6
1961/29	Icelandic	1280.9	1242.9	1305.6	62.7
E mgl 1	Mongolian	1334.0	1290.5	1367.9	77.4
E mgl 3	Mongolian	1318.6	1274.0	1352.5	78.6
E mgl 4	Mongolian	1348.5	1320.2	1402.0	81.8
H37	New Forest	1220.1	1165.6	1254.5	88.9
L2161	New Forest	1377.8	1338.7	1424.0	85.3
1925.78	Norwegian	1428.9	1396.9	1460.4	63.5
1911.145	Tonkin	1283.7	1244.6	1315.7	71.1
TPOC1	Welsh	1183.0	1140.8	1231.6	90.8
BZL135	Welsh A	1205.7	1160.5	1231.5	70.9

Table 3.6. *The minimum, maximum, mean and difference (all in mm) for the calculated withers heights of modern horse reference specimens. Specimen no sfrom Table Al*

Table 3.7. *Limb elements ranked from lowest to highest estimated withers height for the modern reference material. Il=humerus, Ri=radius, MC=metacarpal. F=femur, T=tibia. MT=metatarsal.Specimen numbersfrom TableA^J*

Breed	Specimen no.		Lowest estimate			Highest estimate			
Przewalski	02.9.25.1	F	T	R	H	MT	МC		
	07.5.15.1	F	$\mathbf H$	T	R	MC	MT		
	1929.37	F	T	$\bf H$	$\, {\bf R} \,$	MT	МC		
	1953/147	${\bf F}$	T	$\mathbf H$	$\, {\bf R}$	MC	MT		
	1962.228	F	T	R	MT	MC	\mathbf{H}		
	1973.109	F	MC	T	MT	$\, {\bf R} \,$	\mathbf{H} .		
	1973/237	F	T	$\, {\rm H}$	$\mathbf R$	MC	MT		
	1975.125	F	${\bf R}$	T	MC	$\, {\bf H}$	MT		
	1980.29	${\bf F}$	$\mathbf T$	R	MC	$\mathbf H$	MT		
	45.6.11.1	F	H	R	T	MC	МT		
	E wld 1	${\bf F}$	T	$\mathbf R$	$\mathbf H$	MC	MT		
	E wld 2	${\bf F}$	$\bar{\rm T}$	R	$\bf H$	MC	M _T		
	E wld 4	$\overline{\mathbf{F}}$	R	н	T	MC	MT		
	LM Uprzl1	$\mathbf F$	$\mathbf R$	T	MC	$\mathbf H$	M _T		
	LM Uprzl 3	F	R	T	$\mathbf H$	MC	MT		
Arabs	1927.235	F	$\mathbf T$	${\bf R}$	$\bf H$	MC	MT		
	24.5.4.1	F	MC	T	MT	\mathbf{H}	$\mathbf R$		
	37.1.26.10	R	$\mathbf F$	T	H	МC	MT		
	E arb 3	$\mathbf F$	T	MC	R	MT	$\mathbf H$		
	H40	T	R	F	MT	$\bf H$	MC		
Ponies	1937.51	MC	MT	R	T	$\mathbf F$	$\mathbf H$		
	BZL1	MC	MT	${\bf R}$	$\bf H$	T	$\mathbf F$		
	E pon 1	MC	МT	$\mathbf R$	$\mathbf F$	$\mathbf H$	T		
	LWH3	${\bf R}$	T	MC	${\bf F}$	$\boldsymbol{\mathrm{H}}$	MT		
	BZL332	MC	${\bf R}$	$\mathbf F$	MT	T	$\mathbf H$		
	1961/29	$\mathbf F$	R	MC	$\mathbf T$	MT	$\mathbf H$		
	E mgl 1	R	MC	MT	T	$\mathbf F$	$\bf H$		
	E mgl 3	$\mathbf R$	F	MC	T	$\mathbf H$	MT		
	E mgl 4	R	MC	MT	$\mathbf T$	$\mathbf F$	\bf{H}		
	H37	МC	MT	${\bf R}$	T	F	$\mathbf H$		
	L2161	$\bf H$	T	${\bf R}$	$\mathbf F$	MC	MT		
	1911.145	MC	$\mathbf F$	MT	$\mathbf H$	T	R		
	TPOC1	T	F	$\mathbf R$	MC	MT	$\mathbf H$		
	BZL135	MC	F	MT	${\bf R}$	$\bf H$	T		
Donkeys	1933.397	F	Н	R	MT	MC	T		
	1968/696	$\mathbf F$	$\, {\rm H}$	MC	${\bf R}$	T	MT		
	47.7.16.6	MC	MT	$\bf H$	$\mathbf F$	R	T		
	86.1756	${\bf F}$	$\bf H$	MC	${\bf R}$	MT	T		
	Ea 11	F	$\mathbf R$	$\mathbf H$	MC	T	MT		
	Ea 12	F	MC	$\, {\bf H}$	R	T	MT		
	Ea 15	F	H	MC	MT	T	\mathbf{R}		
	M131	F	MC	$\mathbf H$	MT	R	T		
	1893.634	F	$\, {\rm H}$	R	MT	R	T		
	E abs wld1	F	$\, {\rm H}$	R	МC	T	МT		
	LM Uass2	$\mathbf F$	MT	МC	${\bf R}$	T	н		
	LM Uass3	F	MC	MT	H	R	T.		
Mules	1970/5	MC	MT	F	$\mathbf R$.	Н	T		
	1970/6	MC	F	R	MT	T	H		
	1972/337	F	R	H	MC	MT	T		
	1972/338	F	R	MC	MT	T	$\, {\bf H}$		
	Eml mlt 1	MC	R	H	F	MT	T		
	LM Umule 1	MT	MC	${\bf R}$	H	F	T		
	LM Umule2	MT	МC	F	H	R	$\mathbf T$:		

Another use of being able to analyse the withers height data further is that conclusions can be drawn about a particular population. For instance, if all the metapodials produce higher values than the other bones, then this part of the limb must have been elongated in that particular group of animals (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974). This is something that will be considered when discussing the use of horse-derived factors on donkey and mule bones (see below) but is useful when comparing groups of horses from different sites, geographic areas or time periods.

The next problem to address is the use of horse-derived factors on donkey and mule bones. As a precursor to this, it was necessary to establish whether the factors were producing consistent results on all parts of the skeleton from the modem horse sample. This was done by calculating the withers heights for all elements, using both factors where possible, and then calculating the average for each element. The estimated withers heights from all elements were then ranked in ascending order for each specimen (Table 3.7).

For all the domestic horses there was a fairly random spread of the elements, suggesting that individual variation was playing the greatest role in determining which elements produced the highest and lowest withers height estimates. However, the Przewalski horses showed a very distinct pattern, with the lowest value always being estimated from the femur and the highest mostly from the metapodials. Using the same calculations on the horses and mules produced a less clear picture. However, the results did show that donkeys . had quite long tibiae and radii, and short humeri and femora, although the metapodials were somewhat variable in length. The mules seemed to have relatively long tibiae and short metapodials but the other bones were somewhat variable.

Inorder to see if the observed differences in the relative lengths of the bones were significant a second analysis was undertaken. The greatest lengths of the bones were re-expressed as a percentage of the greatest length of the femur. Student's t-tests were then carried out between the values for each element for paired species. The results are given in Table 3.8. The Arab group was not included in this analysis because there were insufficient numbers for a statistically meaningful result to be obtained.

The analysis showed that the most obvious differences observed between the groups were confirmed by the t-tests. The largest number of differences was between the wild and domestic horses. The longer metapodials (and to some extent also the zygopodium) of the wild horses are likely to be an adaptation for faster locomotion in response to the predator - prey relationship these animals would experience in the wild. It seems that the process of domestication has removed that particular selection pressure and domestic horses are now characterised by shorter metapodials and a differently proportioned stylopodium and zygopodium than their wild relatives. It is interesting to note that Arab horses which have been bred for speed (amongst other things), seem to be reverting back to the 'wild type' limb conformation (C. Johnstone, unpublished data), although this could not be rigorously tested because of the small sample size.

The observed difference between the ponies and the donkeys and mules was the elongation of the tibia in the latter groups. This was proven to be the case with the t-tests. However, there were highly significant differences between the ponies and donkeys on all elements except the humerus, suggesting that the proportions of both the metapodia and the zygopodia differ between donkeys and ponies. As might be expected from a hybrid, there were fewer differences between the ponies and mules than between the ponies and donkeys, but again the elongation of the zygopodium was evident. There were also a few significant differences between the donkeys and mules, most notably in the metapodials. However, the tibiae were not different. This suggests that the mules are inheriting their zygopodium conformation (particularly tibia) from the donkey sire and their metapodium conformation from the horse dam.

Because the withers height factors have been found to be less reliable for the femur than for the other elements, this is perhaps not the best element to use for limb proportion studies. The same analysis described above was repeated expressing the greatest length as a percentage of that of the humerus. The results of the t-tests on these comparisons are given in Table 3.9. It is immediately apparent that there are fewer differences between the elements and groups than shown in Table 3.8, suggesting that the difficulties outlined for the femur might indeed have been affecting these comparisons.

The consistent results between the two analyses are the difference between the lengths of the metatarsals for the Przewalski-pony comparison and the tibia for the pony-donkey comparison. As discussed above, the first of these differences (and the difference in femur length seen in Table 3.9) may be the result of a lack of selection pressure on the domestic animals. The pony-donkey tibia proportion differences suggest a real difference in limb proportions.

This work indicates that the horse-derived withers height factors would not give acceptable results for some donkey and mule elements. However, the difference between the minimum

160

and maximum estimated withers heights for donkeys and mules was no greater than for those calculated for the ponies, as shown in Tables 3.8 and 3.9. This suggests that the discrepancies introduced by the limb conformation are of the same order as the interindividual variation seen in horses and the errors of the estimation technique.

Table 3.9. *Results oft-tests on limb proportions of the modern reference material as a proportion of the humerus.* $N =$ *not significant*, $* =$ *significant at* 95% *level*, $** =$ *significant at* 99% *level*

For these reasons, the factors based on horse skeletal proportions were be used in this research on all isolated long bones except the femur of horses, because of the underestimation of the withers height observed in many cases. Taking into account all the analyses undertaken above, for donkeys and mules the horse-derived factors were considered sufficiently accurate to be used on all elements except the femur and tibia. Where whole or part skeletons were studied, all elements were used to calculate the withers height to establish if the limb proportions seen in the modem material also held true in the archaeological material, but only those also used for the isolated bones were used to calculate the mean withers height for that individual.

Although this is not the place to investigate this point further, it is suggested that an appropriate line of research would be to test a sample of zebra *(Equus burchelli)* measurements on the null hypothesis that they should show the same selection pressures and therefore limb conformation as the Przewalski horse. In addition, more Arab individuals and also Thoroughbred horses could be tested to see if their limb proportions conform to the 'speed' model.

3.5 Summary

The methods outlined in this chapter were used to address the research questions posed in Chapter 1. They should also allow another researcher to reproduce the work carried out for this research. The only part of the methodology not outlined here is the species identification methods. Itwas felt these merited a more detailed study and have, therefore, been accorded a chapter in their own right (Chapter 4).

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Chapter 4 - Critical evaluation of methods of species separation

The importance of being able to distinguish between the different equine species and their hybrids, in order to shed some light on the distribution and use of the different species, has been highlighted in Chapter 1. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methods currently available for the differential identification of equine species, to highlight the fact that this is not an easy task, to present an evaluation of which methods are most appropriate to the type of data to be used in this research, and, to show the development of a methodology for use in this research where none of those available proved suitable.

4.1 Dental morphology

The most frequently found elements in archaeological assemblages are usually teeth, both isolated and in their respective jaws. For this reason much time has been devoted to studying dental characteristics that will allow species level identification. Equids as a group have one of the more complex enamel fold patterns found in the animal kingdom. Therefore there is potentially a lot of detail in these patterns that can be used to differentiate species, but there are a few difficulties.

The morphology of the cheekteeth (3rd premolar $(P3)$ to second molar $(M2)$) in equids is quite similar, making even an anatomical identification of an isolated tooth a problem. However, it is essential to do so, because there are minor differences in the enamel folds between teeth that could be confused with taxonomic characters. The molars are usually more reliable to identify to species (Davis 1980). There is also a lot of intra-species variation, which can lead to overlap between species. In addition, age-related changes to the occlusal surface of the teeth can lead to unclear enamel patterns and less certainty in identification. The degree of wear is an important factor: if too little enamel is exposed the pattern is not accurately discernible, and if the tooth is too worn the enamel pattern can become distorted (Davis 1980). For these reasons only the permanent dentitions with moderate wear are generally studied. Because the enamel fold structure in equid teeth is complicated, there are a number of terms used to describe the various features accurately. The nomenclature of these features varies in different publications, so Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the terminology to be used in the current research.

Figure 4.1. *Nomenclature for the occlusal enamel patterns of equid mandibular teeth. The metastylid and metaconid are often referred together to as the 'double knot '.*

Table 4.1 of dental characteristics is a compilation of the work of various authors, including Davis (1980), Armitage and Chapman (1979), Uerpmann (2002) and Eisenmann (1986), detailing dental characteristics. These characteristics are illustrated in Figure 4.3.

Table 4.1. *Enamel pattern characteristics used to identify horses, donkeys and mules*

Characteristic	Horse	Donkey	Mule
Mandibular teeth			
Shape of lingual fold	U-shaped and deep (Figure 4.3a)	V-shaped but quite shallow (Figure 4.3b)	V-shaped but as deep as horses (Figure 4.3c)
Penetration of buccal fold	Partial penetration, the fold reaches the 'neck' made by the ento- and metaflexids (Figure 4.3a)	No penetration of fold into 'neck'(Figure 4.3b)	As much or more penetration than horses (Figure $4.3c$)
Shape of 'double knot'	Asymmetrical, with posterior side appearing pointed and the anterior rounded (Figure 4.3a)	Nearly symmetrical, both sides rounded (Figure 4.3b)	Nearly symmetrical, more like donkey (Figure 4.3c)
Maxillary teeth			
Pli caballin (Caballine fold)	Usually well developed but can be absent (Figure 4.3d)	Usually absent (Figure 4.3e)	Intermittent or reduced (Figure $4.3f$)
Interstylar profile	Deep and rounded U-shape with thick styles sometimes with columns to interstylar dents in the top (Figure 4.3d)	Pronounced angles from surfaces, forming a flat-based U shape (Figure 4.3e)	More like donkey (Figure 4.3f
Protocone	Elongated, particularly posterior half with flattened inner surface and narrow shape. (Figure 4.3d)	Short and oval, both halves roughly equal length, lingual wall often concave (Figure 4.3e)	Smaller than horse, also less assymetrical (Figure 4.3f)
Fossette folds	Complex (Figure 4.3d)	Small and simple (Figure (4.3e)	Variable (Figure 4.3f)

In addition to the characteristics mentioned in Table 4.1, there is an additional feature of mule teeth that, although not always clear, is very useful when present. The mandibular P4 quite often looks substantially larger than the surrounding teeth (Uerpmann 2002). Although no work *seems* to have done on quantifying this, length and breadth measurements of this tooth in comparison with neighbouring teeth may provide significant results. This may be a product of hybrid vigour but only seems to affect this particular tooth.

Figure 4.3. *Enamel pattern characteristics used to identify horses, donkeys and mules*

4.2 Dental biometry

The use of dental biometry to distinguish equid species has mostly been based on the morphological criteria outlined above. The inherent problems of anatomical identification of the tooth are still present, although Payne (1991) found that, because the variability of the enamel patterns within a population overlapped with the tooth row variability but species differentiation patterns barely overlapped, this was not as much of problem as had been first thought. However, the problem of tooth wear was found to affect the measurements of the morphological features quite considerably. For this reason it is recommended that teeth only just in wear and those with a great deal of wear are excluded from this kind of analysis.

Figure 4.4. *Mean protocone indices for the maxillary cheekteeth of donkeys, half-asses (hemiones) and wild horses (from Eisenmann* 1986: 93,*fig 18).*

Eisenmann (1986) used a combination of morphology and measurements for discrimination. The overall size of the teeth is not enough to separate donkeys and horses, as the range of variation from both species overlaps quite considerably. However, the length of the protocone on the upper teeth shows quite a marked size difference between donkeys and horses. In addition, when the protocone index is calculated (LP x 100/OL, LP = protocone

length, $OL = occlusal length$; see Figure 4.5 for measurements) there is frequently a difference between the P4 and Ml of horses and donkeys. The latter have a relatively long protocone on the P4 and short on the Ml, whilst the reverse is true for wild horses (Figure 4.4).

Payne (1991) took the work of Eisenmann further by adding other measurements designed to quantify the differences highlighted in morphological studies (Table 4.1). These measurements are shown below (Fig 4.5).

Figure 4.5. *Measurements 0/ equid maxillary (left) and mandibular (right) teeth.for which the codes are explained below (after Payne* 1991: 135).

The codes are as follows: $OL = \text{occlusal length}$, measured from the approximate centres of the mesial and distal sides, including the external cement; $Be = buccolingual length taken$ with one jaw of the calliper in contact with both the parastyle and mesostyle and the other on the protocone, including the enamel but not including the cement; $Bapf = the distance$ the postfossette projects above the prefossette at right angles to OL (usually measured on enlarged photocopies); $LP =$ greatest length of protocone including enamel; $B3 =$ width from protoconid to metaconid at right angles to OL; $B4 =$ width from hypoconid to metastylid at right angles to OL; Lnd = greatest length of double knot including enamel; $LF = greatest length of postflexid including enamel; Bei = smallest distance between internal$ enamel of buccal sulcus and lingual sulcus.

In addition, Payne (1991: 136-7) gives a four-point scale for grading the development of the pli caballin and the degree of penetration of the buccal sulcus. Figure 4.6 shows the development of the caballine fold with. Similarly in the lower teeth, the penetration of the

buccal sulcus is graded on a 4-point scale (Figure 4.7) based on the tip of the sulcus in relation to the post- and preflexids.

Figure 4.6. *Illustration of the 4-point scale to record the development of the pli caballin. 0* $=$ no fold at all; *tr* $=$ *trace*; $+$ $=$ *present*; $++$ $=$ *marked development (from Payne* 1991:137).

Figure 4. 7. *Illustration of the 4-point scale to record the penetration of the buccal sulcus.* 1 = *tip does not reach line joining buccal most parts of post- and preflexids ,.*2 = *tip crosses line but does not reach line joining post- and preflexid at nearest points (as in this example),·* 3 = *tip is across that line but more than 0.5 mmfrom lingual sulcus,·* 4 = *tip is within 0.5 mm of lingual sulcus (from Payne* 1991: 137).

These measurements can help identify a tooth anatomically, although Payne (1991: 139) points out that this is not always reliable, and there is some overlap between molars and premolars in terms of size and morphology, particularly for maxillary teeth.

These measurements allow a more objective way of describing the enamel patterns. It should then be possible to characterise the range of variation within a species using these measurements in combination with the known morphological characteristics (Table 4.1), and therefore to assign an unknown specimen to species on the basis of its measurements. Payne (1991: 163) says that 'equid teeth, are neither so uniform that single characteristics can be used to identify single teeth nor so variable that there is no purpose in trying to work with and identify collections of isolated teeth'. He goes on to say that the range of variation between species overlaps but that assemblages of teeth should be identifiable, even if individual specimens are not. Some more work needs to be undertaken on using these measurements in relation to mules, as most work has been done on separating donkeys, horses and half-asses (hemiones).

In conclusion, it seems that using a combination of dental morphology and biometry it should be possible to identify most teeth, both in jaws and isolated cases, to species with a reasonable degree of confidence. However, in terms of the current research, which is mainly based on published measurements, the identification of mules from teeth will not be easy. Usually only length and breadth measurements of teeth are routinely recorded for Roman equids, if at all, making it impossible to use the above methods.

4.3 Bone morphology

There is a serious problem with looking at the bone morphology of mules, as there appear to be very few mule skeletons in museum collections. There is one mounted (and therefore difficult to study) skeleton in the Natural History Museum in London (UK), two skulls in the Laboratoire d' Anatomie, Paris (France), one mounted skeleton in The Naturalis Museum, Leipzig (Netherlands), four complete skeletons in the Zoologische Statsammlung, Munich (Germany), a further four complete skeletons in the Institut fur Palaeoanatomie (also in Munich) and two specimens (one mounted, one un-mounted) in the Museum fur Haustierkunde, Halle (Germany). Some of these skeletons are from mules bred using the particularly large donkeys of the Poitou breed, which means that they are not good comparative specimens for archaeological material. Appeals on the ZOOARCH e-mail list failed to locate any further specimens in Europe or indeed worldwide.

This lack of reference specimens seems to be extraordinary given the former abundance of mules in many countries of the world up until the advent of mechanised transport and beyond in many inaccessible and mountainous areas. This lack of reference material was highlighted as a major problem at the recent (January 2002) workshop on Equid identification held in Basel, Switzerland. Itwas agreed by all present that the procurement of mule skeletons should be a priority, particularly where information was available on the parent animals.

Most morphological work has been on separating horses, donkeys and hemiones (Eisenmann 1986; Lepetz 2002). Only one study has looked at the specific differences between horses and mules (Peters 1998).

4.3.1 Cranial morphology

Looking at the cranial morphology first, Table 4.2 gives a list of characteristics that can be used to differentiate horses and donkeys, and in some cases also mules. As can be seen, there are not many distinguishing characteristics when the cheekteeth are not present. There is also the problem that it is very rare to find complete skulls or mandibles in archaeological assemblages. The curvature of the incisor row seems to be a fairly reliable characteristic (see Figure 4.8, which shows the relative lengths of the diastema) as long as the animal is not so aged that the angle of the teeth has altered, giving them an elongated appearance with triangular occlusal surfaces.

Characteristic	Horse	Donkey	Mule	Reliability
Vomar length	Short	Long	Long	
Muzzle shape	Breadth at posterior I3 borders greater than that between inter-alveolar borders	Muzzle enlarged in the middle	Muzzle enlarged in middle	
Muzzle shape	Incisor row quite straight (Figure 4.8)	Incisor row very curved	Incisor row curved(Figure 4.8)	Age dependant, most reliable in young adult animals
Size of auditory meatus	Small	Large	Large?	
Position of orbits	Orientated for peripheral vision	Orientated for forward vision	Orientated for forward vision?	
Diastema length	Short (Figure 4.8)	Long?	Long (Figure 4.8)	

Table 4.2. *Summary of morphological characteristics of the cranium*

Figure 4.8. *Horse (left) and mule (right) mandibles, showing relative lengths of diastema and curvature of the incisor row (from Kunst 2000).*

For the purposes of this research, crania are unlikely to be of any great value in separating mules from horses and donkeys because of their scarcity in the archaeological record. Also the crania will not be very helpful in determining the size of the horses of the Roman world because the head is not necessarily proportionate to the size of the body (see Section 3.4). They will, however, help to build a picture of the look of the Roman horses when the skull size is compared with body size, and also determine the shape of the head.

Eisenmann (1986) investigated the possibility of using the number of supra-orbital foramina as a discriminating feature. Eisenmann (1986) suggests that half-asses can be distinguished from donkeys and horses by the fact that half asses generally have multiple supra-orbital foramina and asses and horses usually have single ones. From the specimens examined in museums for the current reasearch, this seems largely true except that the incidence of multiple foramina is substantially increased in Przewalski specimens. One explanation of this is that most Przewalski horses have been bred from a limited gene pool caused by the small number of animals captured prior to their extinction in the wild. This may have had the effect of increasing the incidence of some non-metric traits, including multiple supraorbital foramina. This is therefore not a reliable way of differentiating equids but may have some value in looking at horse movement and breeding as a future line of research.

4.3.2 Post-cranial morphology

Moving on to post-cranial morphology, there are a number of characteristics that have been proposed for the separation of horses, donkeys and mules. The morphology of all three is very similar so many studies have tended to concentrate on the sizes of the bones, both individual elements and the relative lengths of the bones within the skeleton. The problem with morphological differentiation of equids has been highlighted on a number of occasions in the past, particularly with reference to horses, donkeys and half-asses on prehistoric sites in the Near East. More recently the problem of identification of hybrid animals has been highlighted, particularly with reference to mules. Several zooarchaeologists have been working on this problem.

Peters (1988) has published a number of criteria for the identification of mules, and the following descriptions and figures are taken from his work on skeletons in the collections of the Institut fur Palaeoanatomie and Zoologische Statsammlung, Munich (Germany). The bones that appear to show consistent differences are the scapula, radius, metacarpal, tibia and first phalanx. On the scapula (Figure 4.9) there is a noticeable ridge on the caudal edge at the distal end where the medial curve of the margo caudalis is strengthened. The collum scapulae is slightly twisted, such that the caudal half falls away towards the edge more sharply (as in deer).

The radius (Figure 4.10) shows two characteristics that differentiate mules and horses. In mules and donkeys the palmar side of the shaft is delineated from the distal articular surface by the crista transversa, which forms quite a deep sulcus or depression. In addition, the area of shaft above the distal articulation on the palmar side is slightly concave, whereas it is flat or slightly convex in horses. The rough area of bone on the medial and palmar side of the shaft distal to the ulna scar is much more pronounced in donkeys and mules than in horses. The sulcus on the border between the epiphysis and the diaphysis seems to be the clearest characteristic.

Figure 4.9. *Morphological characteristics of the scapula. a-b) Horse scapula; c-d) mule scapula, in lateral and caudal views. Mule characteristics are the torsion of the collum scapulae* (1) *and the resulting pronounced strengthening of the caudal border* (2) *(from Peters 1988).*

The distal end of the tibia (Figure 4.11) is characterised by an expansion of the medial half of the distal articulation in the medio-plantar direction. This means that viewed from the distal end the shape of the articular surface is more like a trapezium in mules and is rectangular in horses.

Figure 4.10 Morphological characteristics of the radius. a-b) Donkey radius; c-d) Mule radius; e-j) Horse radius, in palmar and distal views. Typical donkey and mule characteristics are the sulcus at the epiphyseal junction (1), *the depression in the distal palmar area of the shaft* (2) *and the more pronounced muscle insertions below the ulnar scar* (3) *(from Peters 1988).*

Figure 4.11 *Morphological characteristics of the tibia. e) Horse tibia, j) mule tibia. The typical mule characteristic is the medio-plantar extension of the medial half of the distal articular surface, leading to a trapezoidal shape of the distal end (from Peters 1988).*

The metacarpals of mules (Figure 4.12) are noticeably more slender then those of horses. As in the radius there is also a slight depression on the palmar side of the shaft above the distal articulation, which is hardly ever seen on horses and even then it is certainly not as pronounced as in mules. This depression gives the shaft a very slender appearance in the anterior-posterior plane at the distal end.

Figure 4.12 *Morphological characteristics of the metacarpal. a-b) Horse metacarpal;* c*d) Mule metacarpal, in palmar and medial views. The more slender appearance and also the depression on the distal palmar area of the shaft* (1) *distinguish mule metacarpals (from Peters 1988).*

The first phalanges of mules are also more slender than those of horses. On the posterior surface the muscle insertions form a triangular shape that is much more prominent in mules than horses and also has a much more distinct ridge where the two scars join together at the distal end. This apex is placed more proximally on the bone in mules than in donkeys (Figure 4.13). This may be quite difficult to detect in archaeological material, because this is also a way of differentiating anterior and posterior phalanges in all equids (Eisenmann 1986).

In addition to these criteria, Lepetz (2002) has encountered other differences between the bones of horses and donkeys, where the mules appear to be more like donkeys. The descriptions that follow may not be entirely accurate as they were translated from French as the paper was being given. Despite numerous subsequent e-mails the author was unable to contact Sebastian Lepetz for further information and clarification. For the humerus (if the whole bone is present) the shaft shows more torsion in horses than in donkeys. This

can be seen if the bone is placed on a flat surface with the lateral side downwards: in horse two parts of the proximal tuberosity rest on the surface, in donkey only one. If the bone is stood on its distal end, the shaft of the donkey bone is perpendicular to the distal end, whereas in horse it is at an angle.

Figure 4.13. *Morphological characteristics of the first phalanges. Horse (a-c, g-i) and Mule (d-f, j-l) first phalanges in dorsal, palmar and medial views. The slenderness, more pronounced palmar muscle scars* (1) *and position of the apex of these muscle scars (2) distinguish the mules (from Peters 1988).*

On the radius, as well as the sulcus mentioned by Peters (1988), Lepetz (2002) has found that the whole bone is more curved in donkeys and mules than in horses. If the bone is laid on a flat surface on its anterior face, both the distal and proximal ends will touch the surface in horses (or at least very nearly), whereas in donkeys and mules it will rock quite considerably on the middle of the shaft. In addition to the depression on the distal, plantar side of the metacarpals, the proximal articulation is slightly different. In horses the articular surface is quite concave, whereas in donkeys and mules it is almost flat.

For the femur, it is once again the torsion of the shaft that seems to be important. When placed on a flat surface with the anterior face downwards, in horse the femur rests on the distal and proximal articular surfaces, but in donkey it rests on the distal articulation and the third trochanter with the femoral head off the surface. On the tibia, the lateral malleolus

(the fused remnants of the fibula) of horses protrudes further distally than in the donkey when viewed from the posterior side. The distal articular facets in the astragalus have a distinct ridge separating them in the donkey, which is less marked in horses. Table 4.3 summarises all the morphological characteristics.

Element	Characteristic	Horse	Donkey	Mule
Scapula	Caudal ridge	Not present (Figure 4.9a,b)	Not present	Present (Figure 4.9c,d)
Humerus	Shaft	Twisted and at an angle to the distal end	Straight and perpendicular to distal end	Straight and perpendicular to distal end
Radius	Distal epiphyseal sulcus	Not present (Figure 4.10e,f	Shallow sulcus sometimes present (Figure $4.10a,b$)	Pronounced sulcus present (Figure 4.10c,d)
	Distal, palmar surface	Flat or convex (Figure 4.10e)	Concave (Figure 4.10a)	Concave (Figure 4.10c)
	Rough surface distal to ulna scar	Slight (Figure 4.10e)	Pronounced (Figure 4.10a) Pronounced (Figure	4.10c)
	Anterior-posterior shaft curvature	Almost straight	Curved	Curved
Metacarpal	Distal, palmar depression	Not present (Figure 4.12a,b)	Shallow	Pronounced (Figure 4.12c,d)
	Proximal artculation	Concave	Almost flat	Almost flat
Femur	Twisting of shaft	Twisted	Straight	Straight
Tibia	Distal, medio-plantar expansion	Not present, rectangular shape (Figure $4.11e$)		Present, trapezoidal shape (Figure $4.11f$)
	Lateral malleolus	Protrudes distally	Less distal protrusion	Less distal protrusion
Astragalus	Distal articular ridge	Rounded	Sharp	
First phalanx	Muscle insertion triangle	Not prominent, apex indistinct (Figure $4.13a-f$		Prominent ridges and apex (Figure 4.13g-I)
	Position of apex	Near distal end	Near distal end	Higher up shaft

Table 4.3. *Summary of differentiating characteristics of the post-cranial skeleton.*

4.3.3 Limb proportions

The question of limb proportions has been partly addressed in Section 3.4 in relation to the use of horse-derived factors in withers height estimation. That work highlighted the fact that there was considerable variation in the proportions each element contributed within species and between species. The possibility that the differences observed between Przewalski horses and domestic ponies resulted from the lack of natural selection pressure on the domestic animals, leading to a reduction in metapodial length, was put forward. Similarly, the increased length of the metapodials of the Arab horses was suggested to be an artificial selection pressure for speed that resulted in a return to the 'wild' type of limb conformation.

The work of Duerst (1922, quoted in Peters 1998) showed that horses that primarily use one gait for their work have limbs with different proportions. For example, trotting horses have relatively short humeri and femora whilst racehorses have relatively long ones. The opposite is true of radii and tibiae. Horses that primarily walk, such as heavy horses, tend to have proportions inbetween the extremes. However, from the work of Duerst it is unclear whether these limb proportions were the result of a conscious choice of a conformation that was known to perform that particular job, or whether selective breeding for good trotting or racing horses has ended up with the conformation reflecting the use.

Environment can influence limb proportions, with desert animals having long metapodials and forest dwellers having shorter ones. This puts forward an alternative hypothesis for the differences between domestic ponies and Arab horses, the latter being originally desert animals. The phalanges of horses in areas with dry hard ground are more slender, in relation to length, than those in areas with softer ground (von den Driesch 1972, quoted in Peters 1998).

These differences in limb proportions could lead to problems with the use of the withers height estimation factors if there is sufficient differentiation of horses bred for specific purposes in the periods under consideration. However, Peters (1998) found that the skeletal proportions of pre- and early historical horses in Germany were undifferentiated or not sufficiently differentiated to be statistically different. Peters (1988) therefore used this fact to test whether donkeys and mules were present in assemblages, as it was thought their limb proportions were different. Table 4.4 gives the skeletal proportions of Roman horses and recent donkeys and mules (taken from Peters 1998). Incomparison to donkeys, horses have a longer stylopodium and shorter zygopodium and metapodium. Mules fall inbetween in their proportions: the stylopodium is similar to horses, the zygopodium is more like those of donkeys, and the metapodium is proportionately shorter than both horses and donkeys.

Table 4.5 proves a compilation of the information available on the differences between the limb proportions of the three species considered in this study (taken from Eisenmann 1986; Groves 1986; Peters 1998). These observations echo the work carried out in the current research in Section 3.4 using slightly different methods. The concordance between different authors using different methods and arriving at the same solutions suggest that the results are not spurious and that differences in limb proportions do exist between the different species.

Table 4.4. *The proportions of the larger limb bones expressed as a percentage of the sum of the greatest lengths (GL) of the respective elements (after Peters* 1998: 155).

Element		Humerus		Radius		Metacarpal
Number/percentage	n	$\%$	n	%	n	%
Horse	13	34.0	52	39.5	137	26.5
Mule	8	33.8	8	39.9	8	26.3
Donkey		33.1		40.3		26.7
Element	Femur		Tibia		Metatarsal	
Horse	10	38.4	10	35.1	109	26
Mule	7	38.4		35.5	7	26.1
Donkey		37.8	7	35.5	7	26.7

Table 4.5 *Relative lengths of elements within the respective limb*

4.4 Bone microstructure

Dittman (2002) has investigated the possibility of using the histology of bone to determine species. The microstructure of bone is influenced by biomechanical properties such as locomotion and weight, such that differences in the wayan animal uses its limbs can be seen in the histology of the bones themselves. Thin sections of bone were taken from the anterior side of the proximal metacarpal of five individuals of each of several equine species (Dittman 2002). The Haversian canals and osteons were then measured. The measurements taken were the minimum and maximum diameters, the area and the circumference. Using discriminant analysis the differences between most of the species and the hybrids were quite clear. Domestic horses and Przewalski horses were not distinguishable however, suggesting that they are too closely related and. that their limb use is almost identical, which slightly contradicts the evidence of limb proportions as demonstrated in Section 3.4.
Although this technique seems to be a good proposition for separating donkeys, horses and mules from modem material there are a number of issues that would need to be considered before the technique was considered reliable. One of these issues is the question of age-related Haversian remodelling, which was not addressed in the original paper. The technique is also time consuming and expensive, and invasive and so not always suitable for use on archaeological material. Although the technique seems to work on modem reference material, it has not yet been tested on archaeological samples. It may be the case that the taphonomic degradation of the structure of the bone is too great for accurate measurement of the Haversian canals and osteons. This technique seems worth further investigation and could form part of future research but it is not considered further here.

4.5 Computed tomography

Computed tomography (CT) will only be mentioned briefly here because the equipment used to produce the results is specialised and usually only found in hospitals and medical or veterinary research laboratories. The technique involves using a CAT scanner to produce images of the cross-section of bones at various points along their length. From these images a measure of the thickness and density of the compact bone is obtained. These data, together with traditional osteometric data, are subjected to discriminant analysis. This produces results that has enabled separation of donkeys, horses and hybrids in >90% of cases (Artemiou 1999; Forstenpointner *et al.* 2002). However, when the method was tested on archaeological material it was found that the measure of density was far too variable to produce reliable results. The variability of the density of the compact bone in archaeological material is most likely to be affected by taphonomic factors as outlined in recent papers focusing on the porosity of bone (Turner-Walker *et al.* 2002 and Robinson *et al. 2003).* Further work is being undertaken to refine the technique without using density as a variable.

Cross-sectional morphology has also been used to study the differences between horses, donkeys and their hybrids (Kunst 1997a, 2002). It is known that the cross-sectional shape of a bone is closely related to the way the limb is used and its loading patterns. There are also known differences in gait and posture between horses and donkeys, so it was surmised that these differences should be detectable in cross-sectional area. The results indicated some degree of difference between species, but there was also great variability within species. This intra-species variability is likely to reflect the work the animals undertook during life and the conditions under which it took place, as is well known bones can change according to the stresses placed upon them.

Both of these techniques have yet to be explored fully and as a result their usefulness to the current research was limited. In addition, CAT scanners are scarce outside the institutions mentioned above and access to them is severely limited, so that this kind of analysis would be difficult to undertake without bringing material from many collections to one place for analysis.

4.6 DNA analysis

This relatively new field may in the future provide a definitive solution to the problem of hybrid identification. However, little work has been done on this particular problem and there are a number of difficulties that would need to be overcome before it would be a cost-effective means of discrimination. It should be remembered that all work on ancient DNA has to be based on the current state of knowledge of modem DNA (Brown 2001), so unless information is available on the genome of the species in question little work on the ancient DNA can be undertaken. A large amount of work has been undertaken on the genome of the domestic horse, including the determination of the entire mitochondral DNA (mDNA) sequence (Xu and Amason 1994), and the nuclear genome is also being determined (Ellis 2001).

Previous studies on horse relationships have used a variety of molecular techniques including looking at protein polymorphisms, restriction enzyme analysis of mDNA, sections of the control region ofmDNA and short sequences of 16S ribosomal RNA (rRNA) (Lister et al. 1998). Whilst it has been possible to find out that modem breeds of horse are different from each other using micro satellite analysis (Bjornstad *et al.* 2000). Lister *et al. (1998)* found that they were unable to distinguish breeds using mDNA. Lister *et al.* (1998) were able to establish significant differences between horses, zebras and onagers, and that the genetic time frame of the divergence of these species agrees with the fossil records. This ability to distinguish between different equid species has great potential for looking at the problems of differentiating horses and donkeys, and should also be able to determine their hybrids.

Whilst Lister *et al.* (1998) were unable to show breed types in the genetic information, they were able to establish that 'the amount of sequence divergence between modem horses is greater than could have arisen within the timescale of domestication', suggesting that domestic horses derive from wild stock distributed over an extensive enough geographic

region to have contained a considerable pre-existing haplotype diversity (Lister *et al.* 1998: 275). They were also able to establish that the Przewalski horses originated from the same diverse genetic stock as domestic horses, but there was no conclusive evidence that they have either had a separate history since that time and are therefore a wild population, or that they are so similar to domestic breeds that they represent a feral population, leaving that question unresolved. This high degree of genetic diversity in horses from the point of domestication onwards may be a drawback to studying types of horses in ancient populations unless specific genes can be isolated that reflect aspects of phenotype such as height, build and coat colour.

One of the major problems with studying ancient DNA is the rate of DNA survival in ancient materials. For instance, water can induce breakage in the DNA strands that results in many small pieces of DNA being present (Brown 2001). These can than be subject to other forms of decay. The preservation of DNA in bone has been positively linked to the state of histological preservation (Colson *et al.* 1997). Therefore, taphonomic conditions that preserve the histological structure of bone (such as waterlogging) will also preserve the DNA. This can help in determining whether a sample is likely to be of use in a study of ancient DNA. Specific studies of post-mortem changes in the porosity of bone, caused by both loss of organic matter and microbial action (Turner-Walker *et al.* 2002; Robinson *et al.* 2003), have shown that the degree of porosity due to microbial action can be used to indicate the likelihood of DNA survival. The more microbial destruction has taken place, the higher the bone porosity and the lower the chances of DNA survival.

Colson *et al.* (1997) also found that age of the sample is not a discriminating factor in the preservation of DNA (at least not in the range of the 200-12,000 years of their study). This is corroborated by the work of Lister *et al.* (1998), who they were able to get amplifiable and recognisable DNA from 16-40,000 year old material from the Siberian permafrost and from 12,250 year old material from waterlogged deposits in Kents Cavern where, but not from more recent material from the dry environment of Bronze Age Botai, Kazakhstan. The three results Lister *et al.* (1998) did manage to obtain were from hundreds of amplifications carried out on over 50 samples, indicating that studies of ancient DNA will always be limited by the degree of preservation of the bones themselves.

Another problem that is particularly relevant to the question of determining horses, donkeys and hybrids is that much of the work, up to now, has concentrated on the mitochondrial DNA, which only reflects the maternal inheritance. It has been determined in several studies

that only a limited number of maternal lines have contributed to the domestic horse gene pool (Jansen *et al.* 2002) and that the rate of mutation in these lines is so slow that differences in modern breeds often do not show up. This seems to contradict the statement of Lister *et al.* (1998) given above concerning the possible polyfocal domestication of the horse. However, Lister *et al.* (1998) only states, that there are more maternal lines than could have arisen from a single line of domestication, and that there was considerable rather than an enormous degree of diversity in those lines. Therefore the studies can be seen as pessimistic and optimistic views of the same situation.

The limited number of maternal lines in the horse would be a benefit in studying hybrids, as the degree of variation would be less, making positive identification of maternal horse inheritance easier. However, in studies of breed differences it is a major problem, as highlighted by Lister *et al.* (1998), because the movement of horses for cross-breeding has historically entailed mostly male individuals. The mitochondrial markers are unlikely to reflect this and could in fact underestimate the effect of cross-breeding. Jansen *et al. (2002)* have had more success differentiating breeds by studying the D-Ioop area of the mDNA. However, even their study showed that there is a great deal of overlap in types between breeds. Mitochondrial DNA is perhaps not the best part of the genome to study regarding differences and future work on nuclear DNA and V-chromosome sequences may provide more useful information.

For the particular issue of hybrid identification, it may be that a combination of mDNA and V-chromosome sequences would give better results. After all, nearly all living organisms inherit DNA from both parents (Brown 2001) and looking at one side only will not give a balanced picture. This is particularly relevant to the identification of mules because looking at either mDNA or Y chromosomes will only identify half the parentage, which will not distinguish the mules from the parent species on that side. Because mules are a hybrid, it may be possible to identify them by looking for the combination of 'horse' markers on the mDNA (maternal inheritance) and 'donkey' markers on the Y chromosome (paternal inheritance). However, this means that survival of sequencable fragments of both mDNA and V-chromosomes in the same bone is crucial, which may not occur frequently enough for good results. This approach is still worth investigating in future research.

4.7 Bone biometry

Although the size of bones has been alluded to in Section 3.4 looking at the relative proportions of limb segments, this section will deal specifically with work that has been undertaken using measurements of individual bones. This includes work on simple measurement indices, log-ratio techniques and multivariate statistics. The measurements on which this work is based are explained in Chapter 3.

4. 7.1 *Bivariate plots*

Itwas observed with museum specimens that the metapodials and first phalanges of donkeys and mules looked more slender than those of horses. A simple bivariate plot of shaft breadth against greatest length would therefore go some way to differentiating the species. Figures 4.14 and 4.15 show that the plots do to some extent separate the species, mainly because donkeys are generally significantly smaller in both dimensions than horses. The plots do not, however, distinguish mules from horses. Although the metapodials and first phalanges of mules are apparently visually more slender than those of horses, the difference is not great enough to separate them mathematically. This may be because the metapodials are particularly slender in the anterior-posterior plane (Figure 4.12) and less so in the mediolateral plane that is measured using SD.

Figure 4.14. *Scatter plot of greatest length (GL) against shaft diameter (SD) for modern metacarpals.*

Another relatively simple technique that has been used to differentiate equids is estimated withers height. The working methods of this technique have been discussed in Chapter 3. Although estimated withers height can be used to distinguish between horses and donkeys, it cannot differentiate small ponies and donkeys because they are of similar height. Similarly, mules cannot be distinguished from large ponies and horses by height alone. In addition, there are the previously discussed problems of using horse-derived methods on donkeys and mules. As simple biometric methods do not separate the species and in particular cannot detect the hybrids it is necessary to use more complex methods.

Figure 4.15. *Scatter plot of greatest length (GL) against shaft diameter (SD)for the modern first phalanges.*

4.7.2 Log-ratio technique

Vera Eisenmann has worked extensively on the problem of equid identifications. Together with colleagues she has written many papers on the subject, of which several are of particular relevance to this study (Eisenmann 1986; Eisenmann and Bekouche 1986; Dive and Eisenmann 1991). The log-ratio technique was used extensively in these works on equid identifications. The working of this system has been explained in Chapter 3.

It is necessary to reiterate the fact that Eisenmann uses a different measurement system to that employed by the majority of zooarchaeologists (Section 3.1). This has meant that whilst evaluating the possibility of using this technique in the current research, the nearest equivalent measurement to the more widely used von den Driesch (1976) system was used. With reference to the cranium first, all the species and hybrids were compared with

the mean of a group of Onager *(Equus hemionus onager)* specimens. This illustrates well the differences between the major equine groups but as will be discussed below, is perhaps less applicable to this research. The conclusions that are drawn from the ratio diagrams comparing the horses, donkeys and hybrids are that horses have a short vomar bone, a narrow diastema in relation to the muzzle and a small auditory meatus; donkeys have broad supra-orbital crests, anteriorly placed orbits, long vomars, large auditory meati and a wider diastema in relation to the muzzle. Hybrids were determined to be more horse-like but have long vomars, and the muzzles have ass proportions (Eisenmann 1986) .

Figure 4.16. *Log-ratio diagram of cranial measurements for ponies* (+), *Przewalski horses (x), donkeys (DJ and mules (0) using onager as the standard and the Eisenmann system of measurement (after Eisenmann 1986).*

The practice of comparing the horses, donkeys and hybrids to an onager standard has less relevance for this research, because the onager is quite different. Also, ratio diagrams are confusing and difficult to interpret clearly. For this reason it was decided that the work should be repeated using one of the equid samples relevant to this study as the standard and also using the measurement system of von den Driesch (1976).

Figure 4.17 shows the skull measurements of von den Driesch's (1976) system plotted using the mean of Przewalski horses as astandard. There are several interesting features of this graph. It shows that although the body sizes of the two domestic horse groups are very varied their heads are quite close in size, whilst donkeys have proportionately smaller heads and the mules have large heads. All the domestic horses have proportionately smaller

cheek teeth (measurements 22-24) than those of the Przewalski horses, probably a factor of domestication. All the domestic animals show narrower muzzles (measurement 45), probably also a reduction in tooth size from the wild horses. However, mules and donkeys have a proportionately much narrower muzzle than all other categories, with the Arab horses coming a close second. One other interesting feature is the width of the occipital condyles, which are proportionately larger in domestic animals and much larger in mules and Arabs. There seems to be no anatomical significance behind these differences, and they are not strong enough to enable mule skulls to be separated from those of horses with any confidence. In addition, it is unlikely that the separation would be possible on incomplete skulls, which would preclude most archaeological specimens.

Figure 4.17. *Log-ratio diagram of cranial measurements using Przewalski horses as the standard and the Von den Driesch* (1976) *system of measurement.*

The log-ratio technique was originally also applied to the metacarpals (Eisenmann and Bekouche 1986) and the first phalanges (Dive and Eisenmann 1991). Therefore, it seemed appropriate that this work should be repeated using the current dataset and measurement system. Taking the metacarpals first of all, the measurements were again plotted against a Przewalskii standard.

Figure 4.18 shows that the donkeys are consistently much smaller than any of the other groups on all measurements, but particularly regarding the shaft and distal measurements. The two domestic horse groups have larger distal ends and smaller proximal ends than the Przewalski horses. Indeed the DP measurement (see Table 3.1 for definitions) seems to be proportionately quite a lot smaller. The mules show a very similar picture to the standard group, just slightly bigger, and the DP measurement is more similar to the standard than domestic horses. Again the visual slenderness of the mule metacarpals does not show up graphically. Indeed both the Arab and donkey groups show proportionately more slender shafts than the mules. From this it can be seen again that it is very difficult to separate mules from horses, and size is the main factor separating the donkeys. If the pony and Arab groups are combined their pattern is similar to that of the Arabs but overlapping in size with the mules (C. Johnstone, unpublished data), again demonstrating the problems of differentiating the two.

Metacarpals (przewalski standard)

Figure 4.18. *Log-ratio diagram of metacarpal measurements using Przewalski horses as a standard and the von den Driesch* (1976) *system of measurement.*

The picture for the first phalanges is very similar (Figure 4.19). Once again the donkeys plot out slightly differently, showing a greater slenderness in the shaft than the other groups. Also the proximal end of the donkey phalanges is proportionately much narrower in the anterior-posterior plane than those of the ponies and Przewalski horses and slightly more so than the mules and Arabs. The mules are very similar to the Arab horses and not greatly different from the other horses: certainly not enough different to be able to separate them with confidence. This pattern stays the same if the pony and Arab data are combined.

As Figures 4.16-4.18 have shown, the log-ratio technique will allow the separation of donkeys from horses and mules, mostly on the basis of size but also on small morphometric characteristics. However, it is impossible to distinguish mules from horses with any degree

of certainty. The original analysis using Eisenmann's (1986) measurement system seemed to be slightly more successful. However, the number of mules used in the original study was very small (two individuals) and therefore an inadequate sample. Even in the original study the differences were very slight.

1st phalanges (Pnewalski standard)

Figure 4.19. *Log-ratio diagram offirst phalanx measurements using Przewalski horses as a standard and the von den Driesch system of measurement.*

The current reworking was only carried out on the metacarpals and first phalanges as these were the bones used in the original study, so it is possible that other bones may give better results. However, it was decided that as metacarpals and first phalanges are the most frequently occurring bones on archaeological sites it would be expedient to find a method for differentiating these bones.

4.7.3 Trivariate morphometric analysis

The basis of trivariate morphometric analysis is an unpublished paper by Davis (1982), which sets out the methodology. It was never taken further because the dataset was considered too small and the species separation was not 100% accurate (S. Davis *pers. comm.).* Itwas considered worthwhile to try the method with a larger sample and to include the mules, which were not included in the original work.

The method is based on the step-wise discriminant analysis of six measurements taken on the first phalanx. These measurements are GL, Bp, Dp, SD, Bd, and Dd which in the original paper (Davis 1982) were numbered 1-6 inthat sequence. First of all a size correction measure was applied to the measurements, which was done by expressing the measurement as a percentage of the total of all six measurements. These size-corrected figures were put through step-wise discriminant analysis (Davis 1982), which calculated the canonical variables that were then used to plot the maximum separation of the groups. It was found that three of the variables (OL, SD and Dp) were causing the most separation. Therefore Davis (1982) gives the canonical variables for plotting points manually using these three variables. However, it is still necessary to take all six measurements so that the corrected measures can be calculated. This can be quite a drawback with archaeological material that is abraded or broken.

From Figure 4.20 it can be seen that the method does not work as well with the larger dataset as it did in the original work. This is probably a product of the fact that the original survey only used Przewalski horses in the horse group so that the full range of variation within the species is not represented. There is some degree of overlap between the horse and donkey groups, with three Arab phalanges falling within the donkey group. As with the other techniques tried so far, the mules fall right in the middle, overlapping both groups.

Figure 4.20. Trivariate method (after Davis 1982) *of equid species determination using measurements of the first phalanx (Means taken from Davis* 1982).

4. 7.4 *Discriminant function analysis*

Davis' (1982) work was extended by applying multivariate methods to other bones and using more measurements. When the original work was undertaken (1982), computer statistics packages were less adaptable and less user friendly. More sophisticated software packages are now available that can cope with larger amounts of data. For the following work SPSS (version 10) software was used (see Chapter 3 for exact usage). One change that was made from the method of Davis (1982) was to use the unmodified measurements, without calculating a size correction. This has the advantage that the data input is simpler at the beginning and the results are simpler to interpret in terms of the original measurements. The disadvantage is that size then becomes part of the discriminating criteria, which may not always be particularly helpful if the dataset the model is built on is not large enough to represent the range of size variation of the species.

Analysis was undertaken on the measurements of the following bones: scapula, humerus, radius, metacarpal, femur, tibia, astragalus, calcaneum, metatarsal and first phalanx. However, the discussion that follows does not include the scapula, astragalus and calcaneum, because the analysis could only poorly discriminate the three groups using the few measurement variables available in each of these cases (C. Johnstone, unpublished data). In addition, although measurements of the skull and mandibles were taken on the modem specimens, it was decided that these were less likely to be of use in the work on archaeological material (due to poor preservation of these elements), and they were excluded from the analysis. The data used in the following analyses is given in Appendix Table Ala.

Initially pair-wise discriminant function analyses were carried out on all the elements to check whether the small sample size was affecting the results of the discriminant function analyses (see Chapter 3). These analyses showed that whilst the donkeys and mules were 100% distinguishable (Table 4.6) on all elements, the donkey-horse and mule-horse separations were not perfect on some elements.

Analysing the probabilities of group membership showed that even where the overall reclassification rate was lower, most individual cases still had a high probability of group membership (>80%). This result suggests that for most elements a larger sample (particularly of mules) would improve the prediction of group membership considerably. These results once again highlight the fact that the lack of mule reference material is a serious problem n researching the issue of identification.

Table 4.6. *The* % *correct reclassification by element for the pair-wise analyses*

The results of the discriminant function analyses of all three species are presented on the following pages on an element-by-element basis. The results for each element are described fully so that the limitations of the results can be understood. Table 4.7 gives a summary of the relevant statistics for each analysis.

Table 4.7. *Element-by-element statistics from discriminant function analyses with all measurements*

Element	Total no.	$%$ correct	Chi-squared significance				
	of cases	Reclassification	Function 1	Function 2			
Humerus	56	85.7	$P = 5000$	$P = 0.005$			
Radius	55	87.3	$P = 5000$	$P = 5000$			
Metacarpal	59	76.3	$P = 5000$	$P = 0.096$			
Femur	58	81.0	$P = 5000$	$P = 0.04$			
Tibia	62	91.9	$P = 5000$	$P = 5000$			
Metatarsal	51	86.3	$P = 5000$	$P = 0.013$			
First phalanx	112	82.1	$P = 5000$	$P = \leq 0.000$			

Starting with the humerus, Figure 4.21 shows the results of the discriminant function analysis using all the measurements taken on this bone (see Table 3.1). The data points are particularly spread out over the whole area of the graph, with not much clustering around the group centroids (three-dimensional means), and a large area of overlap between the three groups. This may indicate that this element is rather variable within each species. The humerus certainly seems to form a very variable proportion of the front limb, as demonstrated for the withers height calculations (Chapter 3), which may be reflected in these results.

Figure 4.21. *Discriminantfunction analysis of modern equid humerus measurements.*

As would be expected from such a scatter of points the correct reclassification rate was quite low, 85.7%, meaning that 85 out of every 100 unknown cases would be correctly identified. Of the 56 cases analysed eight cases were wrongly identified, a single donkey as a horse, three horses as donkeys and a further two horses as mules. The confusion between horses and donkeys was far greater for the humerus than for any of the other elements, perhaps again reflecting the within-species variability of this bone.

In addition, the specimens that were wrongly identified seem to be the largest and/or smallest individuals, suggesting that size may be a significant factor in the identifications. In order to check whether this is true, t-tests were performed on the length measurements to see if the groups were significantly different in terms of size. The results for all the bones are shown in Table 4.8. As can be seen, the lengths of the humeri of all three groups were significantly different from each other, which may have bene contributing to the separation and causing outliers to be misidentified.

When chi-squared tests were performed, only the first function was significant (Table 4.7) indicating that most of the separation was done on the x-axis. This reflects the good donkeymule pair-wise separation (Table 4.6) and the less good division of the horses from either.

On the first function, the measurements causing most of the separation were GLC and BT, whilst on the second function GLl and Bd were most important. Because there were both positive and negative values for the canonical variables of both functions, shape was an important part of the separation, not just size.

Table 4.8. *The results oft-tests on length measurements of long bones.* ** = *highly significant* (99% *level),* * = *significant* (95% *level), NS* = *not significant*

Element	Measurement Donkey-mule		Mule-horse	Donkey-horse
Humerus	GLC	**	**	**
Radius	GL	米米	$*$	**
Metacarpal	GL	冰冰	NS	**
Femur	GL	冰冰	**	**
Tibia	GL	**	**	**
Metatarsal	GL	**	NS	**
First phalanx	GL	冰冰	**	**

Table 4.9. *Best reclassification rate for the discriminant function analyses on each element and the measurements used to achieve that result.*

A method of refining the discrimination is to see ifthere are too many variables and this is clouding the issue. By dropping out measurements singly and in pairs it may be possible to achieve a better separation of species. When individual measurements were dropped from the analysis of the humerus, it was found that GU, Bd or BT could be dropped from the analysis without adversely affecting the results (i.e. the reclassification rate stayed the same). Similarly GLl and Bd as a pair could be dropped from the analysis and the reclassification rate stayed the same (Table 4.9). This would be quite useful for archaeological material, where GLC and BT are more likely to be measurable than GLl and Bd, which are more affected by superficial abrasion of the bones. So although the rate of reclassification could not be improved in this case, more archaeological cases could be run through the revised analysis.

From the analysis of the radius measurements, Figure 4.22 shows a reasonably clear separation of all three groups. The reclassification for the analysis of all measurements was correct in 87.3 % of the cases (Table 4.7), meaning that 87 in 100 unknown specimens should be identified correctly. Only seven cases from the total of 55 were reclassified wrongly, and these were two mules identified as horses, two horses identified as donkeys and three horses identified as mules. There seemed to be some consistency in the sizes of the animals being wrongly identified; some of the larger horses were being identified as mules, the smaller mules as horses and the smaller horses as donkeys. As with the humerus, t-tests were run on the length measurements to test whether size was an important part of the discrimination. Table 4.8 shows there was some degree of confirmation that size was an important identification feature, particularly for the donkeys. However, the horse/mule separation was less influenced by size that for the other pairings.

Figure 4.22. *Discriminant function analysis of modern equid radius measurements.*

Both functions gave highly significant results in the chi-squared tests (Table 4.7), indicating that both were contributing to the species separation. The separation of donkeys from horses and mules was mostly on the first function, and separation of mules from horses was mostly on the second function. The measurements that were contributing most to the separation were Bp, BFp and Bd for the first function, and GL, Bp and Bd and DFd for the second function. As with the humerus, the canonical variables of both functions showed both positive and negative values, indicating that shape was an important part of the separation.

A slight problem with the results from the radius was that they included one of the measurements devised by the author (DFd), which will not be available for most archaeological data. Rerunning the analysis without the DFd measurement resulted in a lower correct reclassification rate (82.5%). This was improved by also taking out the Bp and Bd measurements (86%; Table 4.9). Evidently the repetition of proximal and distal breadths was confusing the issue. This analysis, without Bp, Bd and DFd, was be used for the current research but measurement DFd should be taken for identification purposes in the future.

Taking the metacarpals next, the results were less good than with the previous two elements. Figure 4.23 shows that whilst the donkey metacarpals separated out well in a clearly defined group, the mules and horses did not separate particularly clearly. The pair-wise analyses reflected this, with the donkey identifications being completely correct but the horse-mule separation only being correct in 73.3% of cases (Table 4.6). For this pairing many cases had a less than 70% probability of group membership, which also indicated that the separation of horses and mules on this element was the least good of all the elements analysed.

This problem was also evident in the overall reclassification rate of 76.3% using all the measurements (Table 4.7). This means that in an unknown sample only % of metacarpals will be correctly identified as horse, donkey and mule. Of the 59 cases in the modem data set, 14 were reclassified incorrectly, 11 horses as mules and three mules as horses. The identification of donkeys was not a problem and again was size related on the basis of the t-tests (Table 4.8). However, the problem of separating horses and mules did not seem to be size related, as these misidentifications occured in both larger and smaller horses and mules. This was borne out by the t-tests, in which the mule-horse pairing gave a 'not significant' result (Table 4.8).

As with the humerus, only the first canonical function was highly significant (Table 4.7). This was again reflected in the way the points were spread on the plot, with most variation on the x-axis and little variation on the y-axis. Perhaps surprisingly the measurements that were causing most of the separation on both axes were GL and LI, with Dp, SO and Dd on the x-axis and Bd on the y-axis. This suggests that the morphology of either the proximal articular facets or the distal trochlea (or both) is different in donkeys from both horses and mules. It also suggests that mules inherit the morphology of their metacarpals from the horse dam and are therefore more 'horse-like' (confirming the results from the limb proportion analyses in Section 3.4). As before, the canonical variables of both functions had a mix of positive and negative values, indicating that shape was important in the separation, supporting the previous evidence.

As the reclassification rate on the metacarpal was so low, it was imperative to test whether a selection of measurements would perform better than the whole set. Very surprisingly, given the heavy involvement ofLl in the separations above, it was found that by dropping Ll out on its own or in combination with Bp or SO the reclassification rate went up to 81.4% (Table 4.9). A slight improvement was also found if Gl was dropped (79.7%). These results will once again enable more archaeological data to be tested because often only one length measurement is taken. However, because the correct reclassification rate is still quite low, this element should probably not be used in the analysis of the archaeological material. This is a pity as complete metacarpals are one of the more frequently occurring elements in assemblages.

Now looking at the hind limb, the results of the analysis of all measurements of the femur are shown in Figure 4.24. The degree of scattering of the points was slightly less for the femur than the humerus, indicating a more uniform shape and size within species. However,

none of the groups clustered around their respective group centroids and there was a large amount of overlap between the groups. The pair-wise analyses showed that donkeys and mules were completely separable and donkeys and horses almost so, whilst horses and mules were less clearly separated (Table 4.6). The probabilities of group membership were relatively high for both these last two pairs, again suggesting that the small dataset was hampering identification.

Figure 4.24. *Discriminant function analysis of modern equid femur measurements.*

The reclassification rate for all measurements on the femur was 81.0%, which was the second lowest value for the elements studied (Table 4.7). Eleven cases out of the total of 58 were wrongly attributed, two mules as a horses, three horses as donkeys and a further six horses as mules. Once again, there was a slight bias towards the larger horses being identified as mules, and the small ones as donkeys. This was confirmed in the t-tests on the lengths (Table 4.8), where all three pairs gave highly significant differences.

The first function was highly statistically significant (Table 4.7) and the second function was also significant (as was usual) but at a lower level ($P = 0.004$), indicating that most of the separation was occurring on the x-axis. This was less clear graphically than in previous figures, perhaps because of the greater degree of overlap in the groups. The measurements of GL and Bd were contributing most to the separation on the x-axis, whilst DC was

causing the smaller amount of separation on the y-axis. On this element the loadings of the canonical coefficients were mostly positive, indicating that size may well have been contributing much more to the separation than had been the case for the other elements.

Once again the poor reclassification rate prompted further work to improve the success rate by taking measurements out the analysis. Taking out Bd on its own, the rate stayed the same (81.0%). Taking out Bp on its own or in combination with GLC improved the rate very slightly to 81.4%. The best result (Table 4.9) was achieved by taking out just GLC. resulting in a reclassification rate of 82.8%. However, this is still not a particularly good rate of correct reclassification, so this element should probably not be used in looking at the archaeological material. This will not be too much of a problem as whole femora are rare in archaeological assemblages.

As with the radius, the tibia (Figure 4.25) gave surprisingly good results. The separation of all three groups was good (although a few stray individuals were noted), the horses and donkeys forming quite tight clusters around the group centroids, whilst the mules were more widespread. The pair-wise analyses showed that the donkeys were 100% separable from both mules and horses and the mule horse separation was only slightly less good (Table 4.6). The probabilities of group membership were consistently high in all three pairs, suggesting that once again an increase in sample size would benefit the identification rate.

The reclassification rate for the analysis of all measurements was correct in 91.9% of cases, the best result of all the elements (Table 4.7). Of the 62 cases tested, only five were incorrectly identified: all five were horses identified as mules. As before the problem seemed to occur with the largest of the horses and this was strongly borne out by the results of the t-tests on the lengths, where there were highly significant differences between all three groups (Table 4.8).

The results of the chi-squared tests on the canonical functions showed that both were highly significant (Table 4.7). This was visible graphically (Figure 4.25), with the donkeys separating from the other two on the x-axis and the mules and horses separating on the yaxis. The measurements contributing the most to the first function were Bp Bd and Dd, and for the second function Ll and Bp were the most prominent. Although the t-tests showed that size was playing a significant role in the separation of species, the loadings of the canonical coefficients indicated that shape was at least as important, with a spread of positive and negative values.

199

Figure 4.25. *Discriminant function analysis of modern equid tibia measurements.*

The reclassification ratewith tibiae was so good that there seemed little chance that removing measurements would improve matters, and this proved to be the case. However, the same rate could be achieved by removing SD, Bd or Dd individually (Table 4.9). As this element is most likely to produce accurate results, all these permutations of the analyses can be used on the archaeological material to maximise the results.

Given the poor results on the metacarpal, it was quite surprising that the metatarsal gave a far better reclassification rate and more obvious graphical separation of the species (Figure 4.26). As has been the case for most elements, the separation of the donkeys was quite clear-cut but the horse and mules much less so. The pair-wise analyses produced almost identical results to those of the tibia, with the donkeys giving 100% correct identifications from both horses and mules and the horses and mules giving a slightly lower rate (Table 4.6). The probabilities of group membership were slightly lower than for the tibia, but still high enough to suggest that, as was the case for all elements, a larger sample size would produce better results.

The reclassification value for the analysis of all measurements was 86.3 %, which is the third highest rate for the elements analysed (Table 4.7). From the total of 51 cases seven misidentifications occurred. A single donkey was identified as a mule, two mules as horses and four horses as mules. With this bone there was less uniformity in the size of the

specimens being wrongly attributed and this is reflected in the t-tests on lengths. Whilst the donkeys were, as usual, highly significantly smaller than the horses and mules, there was no significant difference between the mules and horses (Table 4.8). This indicated that shape was playing a greater role than size in the identifications, particularly of horses and mules.

Figure 4.26. *Discriminant function analysis of modern equid metatarsal measurements.*

As with the metacarpals, only the first function (x-axis) gives a highly significant result with the chi-squared tests (Table 4.7), which was perhaps surprising given the degree of separation visible on the y-axis. The measurements contributing most to the separation on the first function were Bp and Bd, with GL and Bd on the second function. The spread of positive and negative loadings on the canonical variables confirmed that shape was playing an important role in the discrimination.

Although the reclassification rate was good, the analyses were still rerun without some measurements to try and improve the results. Taking Ll out individually produced the same rate (86.3%), and removing LL in combination with SD or Dd made a slight improvement to 86.5% (Table 4.9). As before this would allow more archaeological material to be studied, as many authors do not take both length measurements.

Figure 4.27 shows the results for the pooled data from both hind and fore first phalanges from the modem data set. The reason the phalanges were pooled is that for too many archaeological phalanges it would be impossible to assign them to hind or fore feet with sufficient accuracy. Sometimes it is difficult to do when they are known to be from the same individual, let alone when there is a great variety of shape and size in isolated finds. As stated above in the section on morphology, some of the differences that separate horses and mules are very similar to those for determining hind and fore, which is an additional problem for this research. Furthermore, where the measurements were gathered from published sources, identification to hind or fore phalanges was often not stated.

Figure 4.27. *Discriminant function analysis of modern equid first phalanx measurements.*

As in the trivariate analysis (Davis 1982; see section above), the donkeys formed a readily identifiable group towards the left side of the graph (Figure 4.27). In fact they were more clearly separated using the unmodified measurement data, suggesting that size alone is a factor in the identification of donkeys from horses (as has been discussed above). Unfortunately the distinction of horses and mules was less clear than using the method of Davis (1982), with both centroids close together and a large amount of overlap between the two groups. The pair-wise analyses were similar to the two preceding elements and reflected the visual separation, with donkeys being 100% identifiable from both horses and mules, but the horses and mules only having a correct reclassification rate of 76.7% (Table 4.6). The probabilities of group membership were quite good for all three pairings.

For this element, the poor separation of mules and horses in the pair-wise analyses suggests that even if a larger dataset were obtained, the differentiation of horses and mules would still be less good than with the other elements.

From the analysis of all the measurements, the correct reclassification rate was 82.1% (Table 4.7). From the total of 112 phalanges, 20 were wrongly reclassified cases of which 16 were horses identified as mules and the remaining four were mules identified as horses. Most of these were both the hind and fore phalanges from the same individuals, so eight horse and two mule individuals were causing the problems. The t-tests of greatest length showed that once again all three groups were highly significantly different to each other (Table 4.8), indicating size was an important factor in the differentiation.

Unlike other elements where a large scatter of points was shown, both functions were highly significant according to the chi-squared tests (Table 4.7). This was slightly surprising given the poor separation of the horses and mules on the y-axis; however the number of cases was higher for this analysis than for the previous elements, possibly influencing the chi-squared results. All the canonical coefficient values were low but those contributing most to the first function were GL, Bp and SD, and to the second function were GL and BFd. Both positive and negative loadings were given for the canonical variables, indicating that shape was playing a role in the separations as well as size.

Rerunning the analysis without some measurements resulted in slight improvements to the reclassification rate. Dropping out Dp resulted in the same rate (82.1 %). Leaving out SD on its own or in combination with Dp resulted in a reclassification rate of 83% (Table 4.9). Because the reclassification rate was quite low, and because of the problems arising from combining hind and fore phalanges, this element should not be used for looking at archaeological material.

All the preceding analyses were carried out using whole bones. As the results were good for whole radii, tibiae and metatarsals, it was decided to analyse the measurements of these elements further. These further analyses were to investigate whether it was possible to get as good a differentiation with just the distal or proximal measurements of these elements, as these fragments are more commonly found in archaeological assemblages. Unfortunately, it seems that in all cases (C. Johnstone, unpublished data) the length measurements are crucial to the success of the discrimination as none of the analyses of proximal and distal measurements produced a correct reclassification rate above 70%.

203

4.8 Summary

For the study of equid material at first hand there seem to be many reliable morphological characteristics that will separate horses and donkeys, and a smaller number of features that will separate the mules from both. Whilst many existing biometric methods of separation will distinguish between donkeys and horses, they fail to separate the mules from the horses. The use of discriminant function analysis, as described above, seems to have potential for the differentiation of the bones of all three equids in the archaeological record. This capability is, however, limited by the fact that whole bones are required for an identification based on measurements alone to be reliable.

Many more sophisticated techniques such as studies of bone microstructure, computed tomography and DNA analysis, are all at the experimental stage, and whilst they show promise they are not at a stage that can be used reliably at present.

Given the fact that, for this study, most of the material cannot be studied at first hand, the most useful and reliable technique seems to be the use of discriminant function analysis on whole bones. Hence for nvestigation of archaeological material for this research, the method and analyses described above (Sections 3.3.3 and 4.7), for the radius, tibia and metatarsal, will be used to identify the equid remains.

Chapter Five - Materials

The aim of this chapter is to outline the materials studied in this research This includes the modem reference material used for the production of the species separation methodology (Chapter 4), establishing a standard for use in log-ratio analysis (Section 3.3.1) and evaluating the withers height calculations (Section 3.4). These data were collected firsthand by the C. Johnstone, following the methodology set out in Section 3.1.1, from collections across Europe.

The collection of most of the archaeological data was not carried out first-hand but taken from published material; the time limits of a PhD thesis did not allow enough data to be collected first-hand. The search for these data is outlined in Section 3.1.2 and the database into which all the data and information were entered is outlined in Section 3.2.

5.1 Modern reference material

Measurements were collected from specimens of known species to form a baseline against which the archaeological data could be compared, both for identification and analytical purposes (as described above). Table 5.1 lists the institutions where the reference material resided, together with information on the number of specimens measured. This is not the total number of specimens in that collection, as juvenile and incomplete skeletons were not measured for this study.

Collection	Code	Specimens measured
Birmingham Zooarchaeology Laboratory, Univ. of Birmingham, UK	BZL	13 E. caballus
British Museum (Natural History), London, UK	BMNH	$ 7E$. asinus, 4 E. caballus, 3 E. przewalski
Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France	MNHN	$ 2\ E$. asinus, 4 E. caballus, 5 E. Przewalski, 2 mules
Institut fur Paleoanatomie, Munich, Germany	LMU	2 E. asinus, 1 E. caballus, 2 E. przewalski, 6 mules
Zoologische Staatsammlung, Munich, Germany	ZSM	1 E. asinus, 1 E. caballus, 2 E. przewalski, 4 mules, 1 E. hemionus onager.
Royal (Dick) Veterinary School, Edinburgh, UK	RDVS	1 E. przewalski
Naturalis Museum, Leiden, Netherlands	NML	li Mule
Museum für Haustierkunde, Halle, Germany	MHKH	$ 4 E$. asinus, 6 E. caballus, 3 E. przewalski, 2 mules, 3 hinnies
Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, private collection, UK	SHD	1 E. asinus, 1 E. caballus
Terry O'Connor, private collection, UK	TPOC	$ 1 E$. caballus
Keith Dobney, private collection, UK	KD.	$ 1 E$. hemionus onager

Table 5.1. *Collections that supplied modern reference material*

A list of the individual specimens, their breed, age, sex and other details where known, is given in Appendix Table AI. As can be seen, much of this information is lacking for many of the specimens, particularly those collected a long time ago. With many museum collections the information has been lost, or was not collected in the first instance.

The number of horse skeletons from the various reference collections totaled 37, of which 21 were from domestic horses and 16 from Przewalski horses. The domestic horses included five Arab horses, two New Forest ponies, three Welsh ponies, four Mongolian ponies, single specimens of Icelandic, Norwegian and Exmoor ponies, and four ponies of unnamed breed. Of these, 31 were complete skeletons and six were part skeletons. One of the complete skeletons was a mounted specimen and hence not all the measurements could be taken. Several domestic horse breeds were initially chosen to represent the range of variation likely to be encountered in the archaeological material. However, the availability of skeletons in collections limited this to some extent, so small horses and ponies without breed details were also measured. Breeds such as Shetland ponies, Thoroughbred and Shire horses were not included as they were considered to be smaller or larger than anything likely to be present in the archaeological samples.

For the donkeys, 17 skeletons were measured, of which 10 were domestic (including two Poitou giant donkeys), two feral and five wild. Of these 14 were complete and three were incomplete. The numbers of mules was more limited, with only nine complete skeletons (one of which was mounted and therefore only limited measurements could be taken) and seven incomplete skeletons, of which four consisted of skulls only. In addition to these, three hinny and two onager skeletons were measured for comparison if needed.

5.2 Archaeological data

Archaeological measurement data were mostly collected from published sources together with information about the sites, such as dating, type of site and some context information. Further data were collected from various colleagues who made available unpublished material or more complete data than that which had been published. The site name and database-generated site number, together with references, are given in Table 5.2. Full bibliographic references are then given in the main bibliography and more information about the sites is contained in the gazetteer (Appendix Table A2). A map showing the approximate locations of these sites across the Roman Empire is given in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.2. *Names of archaeological sites from which data was obtained together with references. Where full data was not published, source of data is given in square brackets [j.*

	Site no. Site name	Reference	35	
3	Edix Hill	Davis 1995		
4	Market Deeping	Albarella 1997	36	
5	Beckford	Gilmore 1972	37	
6	Wardy Hill	Davis 1999		
$\overline{7}$	Blackhorse Road	Legge et al. 1989	38	
8	Hardingstone School	Gilmore 1969	39	
9	Hardingstone enclosure	Gilmore 1969	40	
10	Twywell	Harcourt 1975		
11	Ivinghoe Beacon	Westley 1966	41	
12	GA, Tanner Row	O'Comor 1988 [pers. comm.]	42	
13	Wavendon Gate	Dobney and Jaques 1996	43	
14	Lincoln	Dobney et al. 1996 [pers. comm.]	44	
15	Scole-Dickleburgh	Baker 1998	45	
16	Birdlip	Dobney and Jaques 1990	46	
17	Great Holts Farm	Albarella 1997	47	
18	Camulodunum	Jackson 1947		
19	Scole	Jones 1977	48	
20	Northchurch	Gebbels 1976	49	
21	Skeleton Green	Ashdown and Evans 1981	50 51	
22	Braughing	Ashdown and Evans 1977	52	
$23 -$	Puckeridge	Croft 1979	53	
24	Dunstable	Jones and Horne 1981	54	
25	Redlands Farm	Davis 1997	55	
26	Stonea	Barker 1976b	57	
27	Lynch Farm	Wilson 1975	58	
28	Longthorpe II	King 1987	59	
29	Norman cross	Albarella 1997	60	
30	Tort Hill East	Albarella 1997	61	
31	Tort Hill West	Albarella 1997	62	
32	Vinegar Hill	Albarella 1997		
33	Longthorpe fortress	Marples 1974	63	
34	Wall Mansio	Round 1992	65	

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5.3 Time frame and geographic areas covered

The following tables were compiled to illustrate the amount of data obtained from different time periods and geographic areas. Starting with the latter, Table *5.3* gives the number of sites and total number of measured bones collected for this study by modem country. This shows that whilst the greatest portion of the data comes from northern Europe, there are some data available for comparison with the Mediterranean, central and eastern Europe, and North Africa.

The spread of data by geographic area can be explained in two ways: firstly there is the question of the quantity of excavation and the quality of recovery on individual sites, and secondly there is the matter of taphonomic variation affecting the preservation of the bones themselves. The problems of recovery and taphonomic bias have been discussed in many publications (e.g. Lyman 1994; O'Connor 2000; Reitz and Wing 2000) and it is sufficient to just mention them here as factors to be considered. For each of the countries in Table *5.3* the extent to which each of these factors has affected the numbers of measurable bones varies considerably.

There is also the problem of accessibility of data to be considered. The variation in archaeological excavation and publication traditions between the countries covered in this research is considerable and as such has affected the ability to collect data from published

sources. For instance, as a matter of course German site reports contain very detailed archives of almost all aspects of post-excavation analysis, including complete tables of raw measurement data from the bones, whereas those from Britain tend to favour summary tables rather than raw data.

Contacting authors directly to obtain data resulted in mixed success: some were very willing to share data whilst others seemed to be reluctant to do so, meaning that their data cannot be used by any other workers. One of the reasons for the small quantity of data from France was that although Sebastien Lepetz was known to hold a large database of equid measurements, he failed to reply to e-mail requests for reprints of his work and information from his database.

In addition there is the problem of accessing foreign language publications through the British library system, particularly those from former Eastern block countries and further afield in the Near East and Africa. The limitations of funding and time both precluded visits to libraries abroad, but this is a step that could be taken to expand the database for future research.

Table 5.3 *Numbers of sites and numbers of measured bones by country.*

212

It is interesting to note that although there appears to be a large volume of data from both Britain and Germany, the sites from which these data come are not evenly spaced across the countries but cluster quite considerably (Figure *5.1).* This is also true for areas with less data such as the Netherlands, France and Hungary. This is most likely to have been caused by the nature of the opportunities for archaeological excavation and also the locations of research institutions and individuals whose publications were easily accessible.

The data can also be split into regions based on the Roman provinces, as defined by King (1999). Table *SA* gives the name assigned to each region by King (1999), together with the modem countries that are included in that region and the total number of measurable bones collected from each. These regions were used to split the results of the various analyses into geographic areas for comparison. The reason for splitting the data according to the Roman provinces rather than by modem country is that the provinces each had a unique character, because of the interactions between the native peoples and Roman citizens (Section 1.2), which it is hoped can be detected in the results of the various analyses in Chapter 6.

Moving on to splitting the bones by period, Table 5.5 shows the number of sites and number of bones by period, as defined in Section *1.5.* The difference between the numbers of sites in Tables *SA* and *5.5* is explained by the fact that some sites cover both the Iron Age and Roman periods so are counted in both categories in Table *5.5.*

Table 5.5. *Numbers of sites and numbers of measured bones by period*

Table 5.6 highlights the fact there were problems with the dating ofmany deposits. Although deposits had been identified as Roman, there was often no more specific dating available. Sometimes this was because the whole site had not been more accurately dated and sometimes the bone reports did not state which phase particular bones were from. In addition, there were deposits that were too widely dated (or came from the crossover period, 2nd -3rd centuries AD) to be included in either the early (1st century BC - 2nd century AD) or late (3rd - 6th centuries AD) groups. There were also significantly fewer bones recovered from later Roman deposits than from the earlier ones, although it is possible that many of the 'Roman' dated bones could be from the later date categories. Table 5.6 shows that almost a third of the bones could not be dated more accurately than to the Roman period as a whole.

Table 5.6. *Numbers of bones by date category within the Roman period (only includes major long bones*

214

Another way of looking at the data is by element, in order to observe any bias in element distribution across different periods. Appendix Table A3 gives the numbers of bones by element on a site-by-site basis, whilst Table 5.7 gives the numbers of bones for each element by period and Figure 5.2 shows this in the form of percentages. It can be seen that, as would be expected from taphonomic studies (Lyman 1994), the most robust elements (metapodials and phalanges) are best represented in all periods, with the astragalus, tibia and radius following next.

Table 5. 7. *Numbers of bones for each element by period (See Appendix Table A3 for explanation of element codes)*

Period Cran Mand Scap Hum Rad MC Fem Tib Astr Calc MT Phall Total							
Iron Age 10 19 114 136 255 290 99 251 185 66 252 317 1994							
Roman					68 103 272 324 530 667 199 523 275 127 621 477 4187		
External 2 15 18 24 55 251 28 37 128 27 159							38 782
Total					80 137 404 484 840 1208 326 811 588 220 1032 832		6963

Whilst these results follow general taphonomic models, it should be remembered that these figures do not represent the whole picture as they only include the measurable bones from the site. However, it is usually the case that the bones most likely to survive intact are also those that most often can be measured. It is fortunate that the bones with a high survival rate that produce the highest numbers of bones are those that have proven to be most successful in differentiating horses, donkeys and mules (Chapter 4).

Figure 5.2. *Percentages of bones for each element by period.*
Another likely bias in this distribution is that introduced by post-excavation protocols. This is likely to affect the element distribution when only certain elements are routinely measured, or where, in combination with the taphonomic history, only certain measurements are taken. For instance, when only greatest lengths and shaft diameters are taken, this will severely limit the quantity of bones that will be included from that site in this study. This is usually why the numbers of bones available for analysis (Chapter 6) were lower than the numbers given in the tables and figures in this chapter: the relevant measurements were missing, either through fragmentation of the bones or a restrictive recording protocol.

Although there are still gaps and 'thin patches' in the dataset, the time that would have been spent on filling them further would not have been justified by the quantity of additional data, in the context of this research. However, for future research, targeting the collection of additional data towards these areas could enhance the results, by allowing more closely dated analysis of some of the inferences drawn here and giving sufficient numbers of cases for significance tests to be performed on differences observed but not currently able to be tested.

Chapter Six - Results of data analysis

This chapter presents the results from the various analyses undertaken on the archaeological dataset outlined in Chapter *S.* The first analysis undertaken was the identification (where possible) of both complete skeletons and individual bones to species level following the methodology outlined in Chapter 4, and the results are given in Section 6.1. The estimated withers heights were then calculated using the methods and limitations outlined in Section 3.4 and utilising the identifications established in Section 6.1. The results of these analyses are given in Section 6.2. Shape indices were then determined, again making use of the previously established identifications, for the purpose of evaluating the build of the animals being studied (Section 6.3). Lastly log-ratio analysis was carried out on a more limited dataset in order to determine the size and shape of the horses of the Roman world in relation to a modem standard and to corroborate any results from the withers height and shape index analyses; these results are set out in Section 6.4. Finally, a summary drawing together the results of all the above-mentioned analyses, comparing them with modem equids, and providing a basis for the discussion in Chapter 7, is provided in Section *6.S.*

6.1 Species identification

The aims of the analyses presented in this section were to use the methodology developed in Chapter 4 to corroborate or refute existing identifications of archaeological specimens based on morphological criteria of the teeth and post-cranial bones. Another aim was to identify to species as many as possible of those archaeological bones identified as equid. It was hoped that these results would then either confirm or contradict the hypothesis that the dearth of mules in the zooarchaeological literature thus far is due to issues of identification.

The analysis is split into two sections here, in the first looking at the identification of complete skeletons and articulated limbs, as many of these have morphological identifications already published, and the second analysing the isolated skeletal elements, the majority of which are cited as horse or equid in the original publications.

6.1.1 Species identification of skeletal elements/rom complete skeletons and articulated limbs

Various sites in the arcaheological dataset have produced complete skeletons and articulated limbs. It was decided to analyse these separately from the isolated bones. This was partly

to provide a check that the methodology was producing usable and internally consistent results, to check previous identifications, and to give an idea of the proportion of species. Table 6.1 gives a list of the sites from which complete skeletons and articulated limbs were recovered, and more details of these sites are given in Appendix Table A2. Although the site of Mons Claudianus produced many limbs, many of the elements were not complete enough for this analysis and many consisted of lower limbs (metapodials downwards) that were also less useful for this analysis, so it was excluded. Most of the other sites listed in Table 6.1 produced whole skeletons, but again many elements were not complete enough for this analysis and were excluded. A total of 19 sites produced 71 skeletons or limbs for analysis.

Table 6.1. *Archaeological sites from which complete equid skeletons and articulated limbs, with correct measurements for species identification, were recovered. l=late, M=mid, E=early*

	Site no. Site name	Area	Site type	Date	No. skeletons/limbs
37	Kesteren De Prinsenhof	Rhineland	Cemetery	1st century AD	4
42	Druten	Rhineland	Villa	L 1st - E 2nd centuries AD	$\overline{\mathbf{3}}$
43	Elms Farm	Britain	Small urban	M3rd - M4th centuries AD	$\overline{2}$
59	Chichester cattlemarket	Britain	Urban	Romano-British	$\overline{2}$
67	Ikhester Church Street	Britain	Urban	L 3rd - 4th centuries AD	$\mathbf{1}$
71	Piovego	Italy	Cemetery	2	$\mathbf{1}$
92	Feddersen Wierde	Rhineland		1st - 5th centuries AD	5
96	Kunzing east Vicus	Rhineland	Cemetery	L 2nd -M 3rd centuries AD	6
105	Mons Claudianus	Egypt and N. Industrial Africa		M 1st - M 2nd centuries AD	7
110	Nijmegen, new excavations Rhineland		Urban	12 BC - L 1st centuries AD	$\boldsymbol{4}$
114	Unterlaa	Rhineland	Urban	L 1st - 3rd centuries AD	12
115	Bad Wimpfen	Rhineland		Small urban lst - 3rd centuries AD	$\overline{2}$
117	Pompeii stable	Italy	Urban	1st century AD	$\overline{2}$
118	Carnuntum	Rhineland	Military	E - M 3rd centuries AD	$\overline{\mathbf{4}}$
119	Albertflava	Danube and Balkans	Military	2nd - 3rd centuries AD	$\overline{2}$
128	Krefeld-Gellep	Rhineland	Military	69 AD	6
135	Swestari	Danube and Balkans	Cemetery	Thracian L3rd century BC	5
141	Szentes-Vekerzug	Danube and Balkans	Cemetery	Iron Age	1
143	Histria	Danube and Balkans	Small urban	Iron Age	$\overline{2}$

The analyses were run element-by-element, on all bones with enough measurements to produce accurate results. Detailed results on a case-by-case basis are given in Appendix Tables A4-A8. Levels of identifications were assigned as described in Section 3.3.3 for all bones analysed and are given in Table 6.2. In the subsequent figures in this section, open symbols represent the cases within 1 SD of the centroid, whilst black symbols are outside this range. The most numerous element was the metatarsal, which is one of the three most reliable elements for species identifications (Chapter 4). Hindlimb elements seemed to be more complete than those of the forelimb, at least in the middle and upper elements. The metacarpal was excluded from this analysis because of the poor identification rate.

Figure 6.1. *Group centroids and approximate ranges of the modern material for a typical element.*

Figure 6.1 shows the approximate ranges of the modern material for a typical element. The areas inside the curves are where members of that group would normally be located. This will help clarify subsequent figures where the slightly' abnormal' identifications lie. Figure 6.1 also illustrates that the mule and horse centroids are usually closer together than either is to the donkey centroid, showing the potential for a greater overlap between these two groups.

Looking in detail at the metatarsals, there were 47 analysable bones in total, all of which had the optimum measurements (Appendix Table A4). Figure 6.2 shows the results of the discriminant function analysis. There is a large cloud of points identified as horses in the bottom right quarter of the graph together with a few that merge with some identified as mules in the upper right quarter. The mule identifications are all quite far from the group centroid but are distributed evenly around it. The horse identifications are much more skewed away from the group centroid towards the bottom right comer of the graph. The donkey identifications are all a long way from the group centroid and are almost equidistant between the mule and donkey centroids.

Figure 6.2. *Species identification of archaeological metatarsals from complete skeletons and articulated limbs. Note the following conventions for this and subsequent figures: large open circle* = *group centroid; small solid symbols* = *identifications outside the* 1*SD range; small open symbols* = *identifications within the* 1*SD range.*

Inorder to clarify the exact procedure for designating levels of identification, the results of this element will be explained in detail. There were two mules and eight horses within the 1 sd range, of which both mules and six of the horses also had high probabilities and were thus designated definite identifications (H or M). The two horses with lower probabilities were designated as probable horses (H^*) . The points outside the 1 SD range in the bottom right quadrant had high probabilities (as did two horse points, in the upper right quadrant) and were most likely to be horses, so these were also designated as probable horses. The two mules close together in the upper left quadrant were designated as probable mules (M"') because, again, although they were outside the 1 SD range they had high probabilities. Similarly, although the donkeys were a long way from the centroid, the probabilities are very high so they were designated probable identifications (D*). The horses above the zero line (except the two mentioned above) and the remaining three mules were all in ambiguous territory, both outside the 1 SD range and with low probabilities, so were designated as possible identifications (H? or M?). These results are summarised in Table 6.2, for ease ofunderstanding the procedure. Full results for this and the other elements are given in the Appendix.

Table 6.2. Species identification of the metatarsals from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs illustrating the procedure for determining the level of identification. $ID = Identification$

The next element to be analysed was the tibia, as this gave the most accurate identifications on the modern material. There were 23 complete bones, of which 16 had the optimum measurements; the rest had the next best combination (Appendix Table A5). Figure 6.3 shows the results of the 16 optimum bones. As the other seven bones were subject to a slightly different analysis they could not be plotted on the same graph because the centroids were in slightly different places. This is because group centroids are specific to the parameters of the analysis. The points were arranged in similar ways around their group centroids as the metatarsals in Figure 6.2. The levels of identification and relevant statistics are given in Table 6.3. Of those bones displayed on Figure 6.3, there were nine horse and two mule definite identifications, two mule and one donkey probable identifications and two horse possible identifications. Amongst the tibiae not displayed on Figure 6.3 there were three positive identifications (two horse, one mule) and the three probable identifications (one each horse, donkey and mule), and a single horse possible identification.

Figure 6.3. Species identification of tibiae from complete archaeologicalskeletons and articulated limbs

Table 6.3. Species identification of the tibiae from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs illustrating the procedure for determining the level of identification

			Site no. Specimen Probability Mahalanobis distance Within 1	SD	ID level
42	1.18	0.87	6.82	$_{\rm N}$	M^*
42	12.2	0.91	4.21	$\mathbf N$	H^*
92	skelett2L	0.99	0.19	Y	H
92	skelett2R	0.97	0.22	Y	H
92	skelett1L	0.92	0.95	Y	H
92	skelett3L	0.75	1.15	Y	M^*
105	600	0.93	2.14	N	D^*
105	1108	0.98	1.47	N	D^*
110	147/128-20	0.54	3.74	N	H?
114	23A	0.92	0.18	Y	H
114	68	0.66	2.52	N	H?
114	71	0.83	0.48	Y	H
118	Maultier 1	0.66	1.06	Y	M^*
118	Pferd 1	0.99	0.72	Y	${\bf M}$
118	Pferd 2	0.80	0.58	Y	H
118	Pferd 3	0.84	1.14	Y	H
128	3510	0.73	2.21	$\mathbf N$	H?
128	3573	0.98	0.87	Y	M
135	1	0.96	1.18	Y	H
135	$\overline{2}$	0.99	0.23	Y	H
135	3	0.93	0.90	Y	Н
135	$\overline{4}$	0.93	0.18	Y	$_{\rm H}$
135	5	0.82	0.50	Y	M
			222		

Moving on to the third element, the radius, there were 21 radii, all with the optimum measurements for identification analysis. The results are shown in Figure 6.4 (and Appendix Table A6). As with the previous two elements the mules cluster around their centroid and the horses are spread away from the centroid into the right bottom quarter of the graph. All four of the mules were definite identifications. Whilst the single donkey was within 1 SD of the centroid, it had a low probability and was, therefore, only a probable identification. Amongst the horses there were five definite identifications, nine probable identifications and two possible identifications. The statistics used to obtain these identification levels are shown in Table 6.4.

Figure 6.4. *Species identification of radii from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs.*

The next element to undergo analysis was the humerus. There were 20 humeri with the optimum measurements and a single further case with one less measurement (Appendix Table A7). Figure 6.5 gives the results of the analysis on the 'optimum' bones and shows that the three group centroids are not as far apart as in the previous figures, which means that the areas covered by the 1 SD range overlap to a greater extent. The mule and horse centroids have 'swapped' places (Figure 6.5) with the mules in the bottom right and the horses at the top centre. Amongst the mules and horses, there were four positive identifications (all mules), ten probable identifications (six horse and four mule) and six possible identifications (five horse and one mule). There were no donkey identifications. The single bone not displayed on Figure 6.4 was identified as a possible mule.

Table 6.4. *Species identification of the radii from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs illustrating the procedure for determining the level of identification*

			Site no. Specimen Probability Mahalanobis distance Within 1 SD ID level		
43	6640	0.833	1.208	$\mathbf Y$	Η
43	6640	0.863	1.472	N	H^*
92	skelett1L	0.941	0.762	Y	H
92	skelett1R	0.918	0.452	Y	H
92	skelett2R	0.927	0.489	Y	H
92	skelett3L	0.856	0.659	Y	$\mathbf M$
110	147/128-15	0.716	3.043	N	H^*
114	25	0.815	0.174	Y	H^*
114	30	0.899	0.398	Y	H
118	Pferd 1	0.865	2.459	N	H^*
118	Pferd 2	0.968	3.134	$\mathbf N$	\mathbf{H}^*
118	Pferd 3	0.768	1.441	Y	M
128	3392	0.880	4.176	N	H^*
128	3510	0.485	1.833	Y	D^*
128	3557	0.583	3.093	N	H?
128	3577A	0.834	0.048	Y	$\mathbf M$
135	1	0.738	0.392	Y	H^*
135	$\overline{2}$	0.698	0.539	Y	H^*
135	3	0.526	0.835	Y	H^*
135	$\overline{4}$	0.515	1.289	N	H?
135	5	0.956	0.490	Y	$\mathbf M$

Figure 6.5. *Species identification of humeri from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs.*

Figure 6.6. *Species identification of femora from complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs.*

The last element to be analysed was the femur. There were 24 bones with optimum measurements (Figure 6.6) and a further three with one less (Appendix Table A8). As with the humerus, the area covered by the 1 SD range is quite large, allowing greater overlap between the groups. However, this appears to be less of a problem here, as most of the bones cluster well around the centroids. There were 11 positive identifications (six horse and five mule), 12 probable (eight horse, three mule and one donkey) and one possible (mule). The three bones not displayed on Figure 6.6 were two probable horses and one probable mule.

Table 6.5 gives a summary of the identification (and level) of all analysed elements. It also gives an overall identification for individuals where there was more than one element to consider. Taking all the bones individually there was a total of 139 identifications, of which 94 were horses, 38 mules and seven donkeys. The numbers and percentages of these that were definite, probable and possible identifications are given in Table 6.6. The ratio of horses: mules: donkeys was 12.5:5.5:1. The low numbers of donkeys were to be expected as most of the data were from northern and eastern Europe. The ratio of horses to mules indicated that the mules had previously been misidentified in the archaeological record, so confirming literary sources.

Table 6.5. Species identification of complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs Site no. see Table 6.1, specimen number as quoted in original report. $H/M/D =$ definite identification (horse/mule/donkey), with* = probable identification, with? = possible identification (defined in text), $+$ = bone present but measurements too few for identification, $-$ = bone not present or not measured

The proportion of definite to probable identifications is interesting. At one extreme, there were no definite donkey identifications but mostly probable ones. This may be an indication that there is a size discrepancy between the modem sample and some of the archaeological individuals. At the other end of the scale, there were almost as many definite as probable identifications amongst the mules. The high proportion of definite identifications suggests that, although the number of modem individuals was small, they seem to be similar to the Roman ones. Many of the probable identifications were what could be termed 'super' mules, i.e. ones that are exhibiting extreme mule characteristics, and are often quite a long way from the group centroid but away from either of the other groups. There were almost twice as many probable horse identifications as there were definite ones. However, as with the mules, many of them are unlikely to be anything except horses because of their positions on the figures, and could be again be termed 'super' horses. These possible discrepancies in size are discussed further in Section 6.5.

*Table*6.6. *Numbers andpercentages of horse, mule and donkey identificationsfrom complete archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs. Percentages were calculated as a percentage of the species total except in the last column where they were calculated as percentages of the total number of bones.*

Looking in detail at the individual skeletons on a case-by-case basis, very few of the identifications were completely clear-cut with each element giving the same identification (even with varying levels of identification). However, there were equally few skeletons for which it is impossible to give an overall identification. There were a great many that fall in between these extremes and were identified to the probable level (Table 6.5). Skeletons 1 and 2 from Feddersen Wierde, skeleton 1632 from Kunzing, skeleton 23A from Unterlaa, skeleton Pferd2 from Camuntum and skeletons 1 to 3 from Swestari are all examples of clear-cut identifications: they had consistent results across the elements present with either definite or probable levels of identification.

The most ambiguous cases were skeleton 1.18 from Druten, skeleton *147/128* from Nijmegen, skeletons Maultierl and Pferd3 from Camuntum and skeleton 4 from Swestari. In the case of Pferd3 from Camuntum, there may be a case to argue that there are two animals represented, as the front limb indicated mule and the hindlimb horse. However,

the report clearly shows a photograph (Kunst 1997b: 185, Abb 1) of the entire articulated skeleton in situ, refuting the above hypothesis. Clearly this individual has an ambiguous morphology. The other cases mentioned above also seem to have ambiguous morphologies and it is clear that in some cases it is just not possible to assign an accurate identification to those individuals using the methodology presented here. It also gives an indication of the confidence that can be applied to identifications based on single bones.

The rest of the skeletons with more than a single bone analysed were given probable overall identifications, as they were more consistent than the ambiguous individuals but not as consistent as the clear-cut identification. These include skeleton 6640 from Elms Farm, skeleton 3 from Feddersen Wierde, all the skeletons from Kunzing (except 1632), skeleton Pferdl from Camuntum, skeleton 3510 from Krefeld-Gellep and skeleton 5 from Swestari. All the rest of the individuals had only a single analysable bone and were thus identified only on that element, rather than overall.

Some of the identifications using this methodology confirmed the original identifications, whilst others contradicted. At Kunzing inGermany, there were six almost complete skeletons of which 1581 and 1620 had been identified as mules and the other four (1575/5, 1632, 1641, 1703) as horses, on the basis of their tooth morphology, in the original report (von den Driesch and Cartajena 2001). However, on the basis of their limb morphology 1632 is identified here as a definite mule, with 1641 and 1703 as probable mules and 1620 as a probable horse. 1575/5 is the only individual whose tooth morphology and limb morphology agree (horse probable identification). Only one bone (metatarsal) of 1581 was complete enough for analysis and was a possible horse identification.

One possible reason for the differences in identification could be that three of the animals were young (limb epiphyses closed but vertebral epiphyses open, so <5 years) and had therefore not finished the circumferential growth of the bones (see Chapter 2 for discussion of this issue). These are individuals 1575/5, 1581 and 1620. It was hoped that calculation of the shape indices for these individuals (Section 6.3 below) would elucidate this potential problem. It is also possible that the young age of these individuals meant that the enamel patterns were not fully in wear and could therefore have been misinterpreted. However, the other individuals were fully adult (8-12 years) and have still produced different identifications based on the teeth and the limbs.

At Camuntum in Austria a further six skeletons were excavated, of which only four could be analysed using the current methodology. On the basis of both tooth morphology and visual differences in bone morphology, one mule and three horses were identified in the original report (Kunst 1997b). Using the current methodology Pferd 2 is confirmed as a definite horse and Pferd 3 as a probable horse. Maultier 1 was one of the ambiguous

individuals, with an overall identification of possible mule, which at least partly confirms the visual identification. However, Pferd I, whilst slightly inconsistent, has been given a probable mule identification overall. As this individual is fully adult (11 years) it may therefore be another skeleton with ambiguous morphology.

Much of the equid assemblage from Mons Claudianus in Egypt was originally identified as donkey, aided by the fact that many articulated limbs were present, some with hooves and skin still intact (Hamilton-Dyer 2001). Most of the limbs were from the metapodials downwards so often only one analysable bone was present for the current analysis; therefore the identifications using the research method were are based on single elements. It is reassuring that most of the identifications are confirmed as probable donkeys. As has been discussed above, the probable status is due to the large distance of the individuals from the group centroids. The only anomaly between the original identifications and the new ones is individual 549, which was originally identified as a donkey but has been identified as a definite horse here. A possible mule (604) has also been identified, which does not help clarify its original unidentified status.

As has been stated earlier, more mules, both definite and probable, were found using this method than by using visual morphological characters. These include two probable identifications from rather unexpected sites. The first of these is skeleton 3 from Feddersen Wierde, for which three of its four analysable bones were identified as mule and the last as a possible horse. This is surprising as Feddersen Wierde is a Germanic settlement site, quite some distance beyond the *Limes* border of the Roman Empire. The possible significance of this will be discussed after the isolated bones have been analysed.

The second unexpected mule came from the Iron Age Thracian site of Swestari. Of the five bones of skeleton 5, three were definite mule identifications, one a definite horse and one a possible horse. The definite horse identification was on the femur, which is not as reliable as the top three elements. This mule identification is surprising because of its date of 3rd century BC, when Roman influence in this area was not known to have occurred. However, it is possible that contact with classical Greece could have resulted in the trading of donkeys or mules or the knowledge of their breeding.

The scarcity of donkeys amongst the European material is backed up by only a single find of a probable donkey at Krefeld Gellep in Germany. Skeleton 3510 had three analysable bones, of which two were identified as probable donkeys and one only a possible horse. This is the site of a battle between Roman forces and Batavian rebels in AD 69, so these equine casualties of war are likely to have military origins. The presence of a donkey and also three mules (3559, 3573 and 3577A) is therefore quite understandable.

6.1.2 Identification of isolated skeletal elements

The analysis of the isolated elements should build on the results from the skeleton and limbs. Although analyses were carried out on all the major long bones, only the results from the analysis of the three 'best' bones (tibia, radius, metatarsal) are considered here. This is because the remaining elements, whilst providing as many identifications as possible for the subsequent size and shape analyses, only replicate the results of the better elements without adding further information. The full results are shown in Appendix Tables A12- A14.

The metatarsals were most numerous; and the full results are given in Appendix Table A9. Because there were so many isolated metatarsals with optimum measurements (255) and others with the next best combination (19) it would have been impossible to see the results clearly if they were all displayed on a single graph. For this reason the results were split by region and in some cases also into pre- and post-(Roman) conquest phases. The regions and site types were based on the categories used by King (1999), as given in Chapter 5.

Figure 6. 7. *Species identifications of archaeological equid isolated metatarsals from Iron Age Britain.*

Looking at Britain first of all, the data were split into pre- and post conquest phases (Figures 6.7. and 6.8) for clarity of presentation. All seven points in Figure 6.7 are within 1 SD of their group centroids and the horses in particular (all definite identifications) form a nice cluster around the centroid. The most surprising feature of these results is the presence of two mules, both of which are probable identifications due to a fairly low probability. Some possible explanations for the presence of mules in Iron Age Britain are discussed below. Moving on to post-conquest Britain (Figure 6.8), there were 21 analysable bones, of which 11 were definite identifications (nine horse and two mule), six were probable (one mule, one donkey and four horses) and four were possible (all horses). As has been the case on most of the previous figures, the horses spread away from the group centroid into the lower right quadrant of the graph, the mules cluster around the centroid and the donkey is some distance from the centroid but clearly separate from the other two groups. The probable donkey bone and most of the mules all came from sites in the Cambridgeshire/Norfolk area that were farmstead/villa and small town settlements. The only case associated with a military fort was from Castleford.

Figure 6.8. *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from Roman Britain*

Moving across the Channel to Gaul, again the data were split into pre- and post-conquest groups. Figure 6.9 shows the pre-conquest data. The grouping of the points around the centroids is slightly more central for both the horse and mule groups, making the possibility of overlap between the groups somewhat greater. There were 21 analysable bones, of which nine were definite (eight horse and one mule), nine probable (five horse, three mule and one donkey) and three possible (two horses and one mule) identifications. As with the British data, the slightly surprising results were the presence of a few mules and a single donkey in pre-conquest material. The donkey came from Gournay, and the mules from Goumay, Variscourt and Beauvais, all in the north-east of France and all Late Iron Age in date. The site of Goumay extends into the Roman period and the others both exist into the period when contact with Roman areas was entirely likely. Hence the presence of a donkey and some mules can be explained by the same hypotheses given for the British Iron Age material below.

There was a similar number (17) of analysable bones from Roman period Gaul and these are displayed on Figure 6.10. The positions of the groups around the centroids follow the usual pattern for this element. There were eight definite (six horses and two mules), seven probable (five horses and two mules) and two possible identifications (both horses). Three of the mule identifications were from Pommeroeul in Belgium, the fourth from Macon in France. Most of the horses were also from the site at Pommeroeul.

Moving to the Rhineland area, rather than splitting the data into pre- and post-conquest groups, they were split into groups representing those sites inside the Roman Empire and those beyond the boundary. Figure 6.11 shows the data for the Roman area. The mule and horse groups are clustering in the usual pattern, with almost all points clearly separated. There were 23 analysable bones, of which nine gave definite identifications (four horses and five mules), 11 probable (six horses, four mules and one donkey) and three possible (all horses). Most of the sites from which the mule and donkey bones came were either urban or military in nature. Therefore it would be interesting to see if there were any differences between the ratios of horses and mules on military and civilian sites. This analysis (see below) needed to be based on all elements, there being too few metatarsals.

Figure 6.9. *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from Iron Age Gaul*

Figure 6.10. Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from Roman Gaul

Figure 6.11. *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from the Roman Rhineland*

Figure 6.12. Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from the Rhineland beyond the Roman boundary

Figure 6.12 shows the results from the area beyond the Roman frontier along the Rhine. There were 122 analysable bones, most of which (98) were from the settlement at Feddersen Wierde. The pattern of clustering on Figure 6.12 is different to most of the previous figures. In addition to the drift of horse points towards the lower right corner of the graph, there is also a cluster around the zero area. This group seems to consist mainly of horses, but the probabilities of these and the few neighbouring mules are so low that their identifications are particularly ambiguous. The main group of mule points is much nearer to the horses than has been the case in many of the previous figures, resulting in only two definite mule identifications, in comparison with the 11 probable and six possible identifications.

For the horses there were 57 definite, 30 probable and 14 possible identifications. There were two probable donkey bones. Whilst many of the probable horses are most likely to be horses because of their position in the lower right quadrant of the graph, many of the probable mules are in the overlap zone between the horses and mules and are therefore somewhat more ambiguous. There is a possibility that there is something consistently different in either size or shape (or both) between the cluster around the zero mark and that nearer the group centroid and this is explored further in Section 6.1.3.

Figure 6.13 shows the results from the Danube and Balkans. The pre- and post-conquest material has been plotted on the same graph, as there were only three Iron Age bones, all of which were identified as horses (one definite and two probable, in the lower right quadrant).

The clustering follows the usual pattern and in particular is very similar to the material from the Roman Rhineland (Figure 6.11). There were 33 Roman period analysable bones, of which nine gave definite identifications (six horses, two mules and a donkey), 17 probable (10 horses, six mules and one donkey) and seven possible (five horses and two mules). All of the mule and donkey identifications came from Tac-Gorsium in Hungary, a large villa site.

Figure 6.13. *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid metatarsals from the Danube and Balkans*

There were so few points from Italy and Greece that it is sufficient to describe them here. There were two bones from Italy, of which one was identified as a probable mule and the other a probable horse. The bones from Greece came from the Classical period (3rd century BC) site of Kassope and all five were identified as donkeys (four definite and one probable). It is interesting that these donkeys clustered much closer to the group centroid than any of the previous donkey identifications, and this is discussed below.

The next element to be examined was the tibia. Comprehensive results are given in Appendix Table A10. Although there were considerably fewer analysable tibiae (49), they were grouped by region for ease of direct comparison with the metatarsals. There was a single bone from Egypt that was identified as a probable donkey (data not shown). Although the point was a long way from the group centroid, it had a high probability and this was consistent with the results on the metatarsals from this site (Mons Claudianus). Two bones from Italian sites were both identified as probable mules, as they were just into the overlap zone between horses and mules (data not shown).

For Britain and Gaul there were no complete Iron Age tibiae, so all the data plotted on Figure 6.14 are of Roman date. There were two bones from Britain, both identified as horses (one definite, one possible). Of the seven bones from Gaul a single definite horse identification was made, two probable identifications (one horse, one mule) and four possible (two horse, two mule). There seemed to be less clear differences between the horse and mule tibiae groups than there were on the metatarsals, in spite of the fact that the methodology produceed more accurate results on modem samples of this element.

Figure 6.14 *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid tibiae from Roman Britain and Gaul.*

Figure 6.15. *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid tibiae from the Roman Rhineland* ²³⁶

The only other area producing analysable tibiae was the Rhineland region. The results were split into two groups, those from pre-Roman and External Rhineland forming one group and, those from Roman deposits forming the other. Taking the Roman material first, Figure 6.15 show the results. There were 24 analysable bones, of which seven were definite identifications (two horses and five mules), 11 were probable (10 mules and one donkey) and six were possible identifications (four horses and two mules). A very high percentage of the tibiae from this region was identified as mules (17) and most (15) were probable or definite identifications. This is a very large proportion and, as with the metatarsals, any link with site type needs to be investigated further. The single donkey is located in the upper left quadrant of the graph, an apparent trend for most of the donkeys from Roman deposits.

Figure 6.16. *Species identification of isolated archaeological equid tibiae from Iron Age and External Rhineland*

From Iron Age and External Rhineland (Figure 6.16), there were 13 analysable bones, of which three were definite identifications (two horses, one mule), three were probable (all donkeys) and the remaining seven *were* possible identifications (two donkeys, one mule and four horses). This was a particularly low level of identification, particularly as this is the most reliable element. As with the metatarsal, there seems to be a group of individuals around the zero point that is present on this graph but not present on the others. Most of these points are once again from Fedderesen Wierde, and they are discussed further below.

The last element to be analysed was the radius. There were a total of 98 analysable bones, all of which had the optimum measurements (Appendix Table Al1). As with the two previous elements, the results were grouped by region so that they were directly comparable. Once again there were small numbers of bones from Italy and Egypt that are not illustrated here. Of the five bones from Mons Claudianus in Egypt, one probable donkey and four mules (one definite, one probable and two possible) were identified. The donkey was in a similar position on the graph (upper right quadrant) to those identified as donkeys on the other elements from this site. The mules were slightly more ambiguous and one was actually nearer the donkey centroid than the mule one.

Of the four bones from Italy, three were from the Punic site of Olbia. These clustered closely round the donkey centroid and were all identified as definite donkeys. The fourth bone was from Emilia (an Iron Age site) and was identified as a possible donkey; as with those from Mons Claudianus it was in an overlap area, between all three groups.

Figure 6.17 *Species identifications of isolated archaeological equid radii from Roman Britain and Gaul*

There were 20 radii from Britain and Gaul of which 19 were from Roman deposits (Figure 6.17) and one was Iron Age. This Iron Age radius was from Britain and was identified as a definite horse. There were four Roman bones from Britain, all of which were identified as horses (two definite and two probable). Amongst the 15 radii from Gaul there were four definite identifications (two horses and two mules), 10 probable identifications (four horses, five mules and one donkey) and one possible horse identification. The donkey is much closer to the other groups than has been the case on many of the previous figures and evidently the 1 SD area is quite large, hence the probable identification. As on some of the previous figures, some of the mules are situated well above the centroid, which once again may be showing a distinctive characteristic of Roman mules. The horses are spread typically around the centroid and into the bottom right quadrant of the graph.

Comparing the Roman bones from the Rhineland (Figure 6.18) which those of Britain and Gaul, there is a far greater concentration of bones in the overlap zone between the horses and mules and a greater spread to the right hand side of the graph in the Rhineland sample. From the total of 24 radii, there were only five definite identifications (two horses and three mules), a reflection of the greater number of bones in the overlap zone. Of the remaining bones 18 probable identifications (seven horses and eleven mules) and one possible horse identification were made. As with the mules from Gaul, there are a number of cases above the centroid, but there are also a large number in the overlap zone. For this area there are many more horses in the overlap zone, suggesting that the differences between the horses and mules in this area may be less pronounced than in previous cases.

Figure 6.18. *Species identification of isolated archaeological equid radii from Roman Rhineland*

The Iron Age bones from the Rhineland area are shown in Figure 6.19. There was a total of 15 radii, of which only one was definitely identified (horse), seven were probable identifications (two horse, one mule and four donkeys) and seven were possible identifications (six horses and one mule).

These Iron Age bones produced a substantially different picture to the Roman bones (Figure 6.18) from the same area. The four probable donkey bones were all from the Manching Oppidum. This is not too surprising as the site is only just pre-Roman and is known to have traded extensively with the Roman Empire. The two mules (one probable and the other possible) were also from Manching. These results are quite reassuring as they are identifying donkeys and mules where they could be expected to be present from other lines of evidence. One of the most striking features of Figure 6.19 is the position of the horses on the graph. Rather than the usual spread through the right lower quadrant, they are mostly bunched to the left of the zero line, into the overlap zone with the donkeys. Once again this may be question of size, which will be considered below.

Figure 6.19. *Species identification of isolated archaeological equid radii from Iron Age Rhineland*

Figure 6.20 shows the data from External Rhineland. There were a total of 30 radii, of which 15 were definite identifications (13 horses and two mules), seven were probable (six horses and one donkey) and eight were possible (seven horses and one mule). Comparison of the External Rhineland data and Iron Age data (Figure 6.19) shows some similarities. Once again there are a number of horses that fall to the left of the zero line, overlapping with the donkey data: as before the small size of some of these animals may be contributing to this positioning. However, there is also a large number of horses spread in the usual pattern in the lower right quadrant of the graph, possibly indicating quite a range of size and shape in these animals. The two definite mules are well away from the overlap zone and indeed are in the position seemingly indicative of Roman mules.

The Roman period results from all three elements were also grouped by more accurate date categories to determine any chronological trends. However, there were no visual

differences in the spread of points on each graph (data not shown), suggesting that the range of sizes and builds of the animals remained similar throughout the Roman period and therefore the results are only presented here in Table 6.7. This table again highlights the fact there is a problem with the dating of many deposits, as has been discussed previously (Chapter 5), and that there is more early Roman material than there is late.

Figure 6.20. Species identification of isolated archaeological equid radii from External Rhineland.

Table 6. 7. *Numbers ofhorses, mules and donkeys by date for the Roman period. Data from metatarsals, tibiae and radii combined. Figures inparentheses refer to numbers of definite, probable and possible identifications, in that order*

Species		1st- 2nd century AD 3rd - 4th century AD Unspecified Roman		Total
Horses	46 (20,17,9)	15(7,4,4)	37(8,20,9)	98
Mules	29(8,17,4)	15(5,9,1)	30(8,19,3)	74
Donkeys	3(0,3,0)	θ	4(0,3,1)	7
Total	78	30	71	179

Table 6.8 shows that there is a slight difference in the proportions of mules to horses between the earlier and later periods. During the 1st and 2nd centuries AD there are only two-thirds as many mules as horses. Whilst there are far fewer bones dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, there are slightly more mules than horses. In the unspecified and total categories the percentages marginally favour the horses but are again almost equal. These data hint that as the Roman Empire became more established in an area, the 'more Roman' use of mules increased. However, chi-squared tests performed on the results in Table 6.8

gave 'not significant' results (see Table 6.11 for test statistics), showing that observed differences between the periods were not statistically different.

Table 6.8. *Numbers and percentages of horses and mules by date for the Roman period. Data from metatarsals, tibiae and radii combined. Only definite and probable identifications were used.*

In addition to splitting the Roman material by date, the material from the area with the most data (the Rhineland) was also grouped by site type. Table 6.9 shows the numbers of bones (with definite or probable identifications) from this area by species grouped into military, vicus and civilian site types. The vicus sites are separated from the military and civilian sites as they tend to have characteristics of both. There seems to be a difference between the military and vicus sites on one hand and the civilian settlements on the other, with a greater proportion of mules in the former, and an almost equal split of horses and mules in the latter. However, as with the previous data grouping by date, chi-squared tests gave 'not significant' results (Table 6.11).

Table 6.9. *Numbers of horses and mules identified from military and civilian sites in the Rhineland area. Only definite and probable identifications were used.*

As the Roman and Iron Age data had been separated it was quite easy to look at the differences in species proportions between these two periods. Looking at the Iron Age data (excluding the Greek site as being too different from the rest of the European sites), there was a ratio of 7.5 horses: 1.5 mules: 1 donkey. As most of the mules and donkeys were from late Iron Age sites with known contact with the Roman Empire, this was not unexpected, with horses predominating. Incomparison with the Iron Age, the Roman period produced a ratio of 14 horses: 10.5 mules: Idonkey. This ratio showed an even higher proportion of mules than for the complete skeletons (12.5:5.5:1). This maybe reflecting the difference in status between horses and mules, with some horses being treated as 'special' animals and accorded a separate burial whereas the mules were disposed of in any way possible.

Table 6.10. Numbers and percentages of Roman horses, mules and donkeys by area. Data from all elements combined. Only definite and probable identifications were used. Areas as defined in Section 5.3 *(Table* 5.4), *letter codes shown in this table will be used subsequently in tables andfigures.*

Combining all the identification results for the Roman period and splitting the definite and probable data by area (see Chapter 5 for definitions of areas), some interesting differences in the species proportions were seen (Table 6.10). The Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans areas showed very similar percentages of all three species. Gaul was also similar but with a slightly higher proportion of horses then the other two species. Britain, however, showed a somewhat different picture, with a much higher proportion of horses and a correspondingly lower number of mules and no donkeys. When a chi-squared test was performed on these data the results showed there were highly significant differences between all of the areas and also between the four with the most data (Table 6.11). Although the numbers from Egypt were small the proportions of species were very different to all the other areas, and this probably reflects the fact that these data represents a single site of a type not found in the other areas: an industrial quarry.

Table 6.11. *Summary of chi-squared tests on identification data. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant* (99% *level). For area abbrviattons see Table 6.10.*

6.1.3 Summary of species identification results

The results from running the identification analyses on the complete skeletons and limbs were not as clear-cut as had been hoped for. Taking all the bones individually there was a total of 139 identifications, of which 94 were horses, 38 mules and seven donkeys, which gave a ratio of horses: mules: donkeys of 12.5:5.5:1. However, within each specimen or limb very few of the identifications were completely clear-cut with each element giving the same identification. Indeed some cases had such a mix of identifications that they can be described as having ambiguous morphologies. It is therefore clear that in some cases it is just not possible to assign an accurate identification using the research methodology. This work on the complete skeletons and articulated limbs has highlighted the fact that identifications based on a single bone, with a 'possible' identification level, should be treated with caution and certainly not used as a definite identification.

For the isolated skeletal elements the data were split by period, so it is possible to discuss the Iron Age (including External) and Roman data separately. For the Iron Age data (excluding the Greek site as being too different from the rest of the European sites) there was a ratio of7.5 horses: 1.5 mules: 1 donkey. In comparison, the Roman period produced a ratio of 14 horses: 10.5 mules: Idonkey. The difference in the proportion of mules between the two periods is striking and shows that the contemporaneous Roman literature is proving to be a better guide to relative species abundance than the zoo archaeological record thus far. This helps confirm the hypothesis that the lack of mules in the zooarchaeological literature is due to identification problems.

From the identification analyses undertaken it is possible to suggest that there are groups of individuals within each species with similar morphologies. For instance, there are two groups of donkeys, the first of which clusters around the group centroid, such as the material from the site ofKassope in Greece (3rd century BC), and must therefore be very similar to the modem material that the centroid was derived from. The second group clusters to the top left of each graph, and whilst they are unlikely to be anything other than donkeys because of their distance from the other species, they must have had slightly different characteristics to the majority of the modem sample. Most of the Roman donkeys fall into this cluster. It is quite possible that there is a slight size difference between the modem and archaeological samples that is causing this separation of individuals as most of the modern individuals were relatively small.

For the mules there are two noticeable clusters ofindividuals, one of which lies around the group centroid. A subset of this group lies slightly further away and towards or into the overlap zone with the horses. These for the most part have had to be identified as 'possible' mules. Two possible explanations can be put forward. Either these are mules that have

morphologies at the horse end of the scale and are therefore genuinely difficult to identify, or this is an issue relating to the fact that the size of the bones may be important in the separation of horses and mules and this is masking some of the morphological differences. In most instances the second cluster is situated above the centroid, but some distance from it. These are what have been termed as the 'super' mules, and it is suggested that these are showing exaggerated mule characteristics, but the question of size cannot be discounted.

For the horses there are more clusters discernible. As with the other two species, there is a cluster around the group centroid that must therefore be very similar to the modem sample. There is also a subset of that group, which in most cases is situated above the centroid and therefore comes into the overlap zone with the mules. The same explanation put forward for the mules in this zone applies here too. The third cluster is more a drift of individuals that fills the space between the centroid and the lower right comer of the graph. These are 'super' horses, with either exaggerated horse characteristics or again slight differences in size from the modem sample. For both the 'super' mule and 'super' horse groups they are unlikely to be wrongly identified because the points are situated away from the overlap zones with the other species.

Two other groups of horse identifications may have similar explanations. The first is clustered around the zero area and therefore potentially in the overlap zones for all three species. This group seems to consist mainly of horses, but the probabilities of these and the few neighbouring mules are so low that their identifications are particularly ambiguous. The second is mostly bunched to the left of the zero line into the overlap zone with the donkeys. It is interesting that most of the individuals in the first group come from the site of Feddersen Wierde and the second group come from Manching. It is therefore a possibility that there is something internally consistent about these groups, in either size or shape (or both) that is causing these clusters. It also suggests that there are likely to be consistent differences in size or shape between these groups and the modem sample.

All the groups mentioned above that do not cluster around the group centroids may be explained by slight differences in size or shape, or both, from the modem samples. Analysis of withers heights, shape indices and log-ratios should help elucidate this.

Another interesting point to emerge from the analysis of the species identifications is that where the original workers had attempted identifications, this methodology confirms some of the identifications whilst contradicting others. In particular identifications based on tooth morphology alone seemed to contradict the limb morphology. In some cases the animals were young (limb epiphyses closed but vertebral epiphyses open, <5 years) and therefore may not have finished the circumferential growth of the bones (see Chapter 2 for discussion of this issue). It is hoped that the calculation of the shape indices for these

individuals (Section 6.3 below) may shed some light on this potential problem. It is also possible that the young age of these individuals meant that the enamel patterns were not fully in wear and could therefore have been misinterpreted.

However, the other individuals were fully adult (8-12 years) and still had different identifications based on the teeth and the limbs. It is difficult to present an explanation for these ambiguous identifications other than the fact that maybe some individuals have such ambiguous morphology of both teeth and bones that a secure identification is impossible.

Looking at the distribution of mules and donkeys across time and space produced some unexpected results. The presence of donkeys and mules outside the Mediterranean basin in the Iron Age was not previously suspected, but can be explained satisfactorily on a siteby-site basis. For the mule from Swestari (3rd century BC, Thracian cemetery) it is possible that, whilst Roman influence in this area and time period is unlikely, potential contact with classical Greece could have resulted in the trading of donkeys or mules or the knowledge of their breeding.

For the mules and donkeys in Iron Age Britain and Gaul two possible explanations can be put forward. Most of the sites that these bones came from had a continuous occupation from the Iron Age, through conquest and into the Roman period. It is therefore possible that the bones came from contexts that were dated by residual artefacts and may actually be Roman in date. Alternatively, in the case of Thorpe Thewles and some of the sites in Gaul, there is known to have been extensive trade between the occupants of the sites and the Roman Empire before conquest, which could easily have included these animals as beasts of burden or as trade items in their own right. Neither of these hypotheses is immediately testable, so the presence of donkeys and mules in pre-conquest deposits must be considered a possibility.

In a similar way, the presence of donkeys and mules in areas beyond the borders of the Roman Empire was not previously suspected. Most of these individuals were from Feddersen Wierde and therefore the second explanation given for the Iron Age material applies equally well to this material.

For the Roman period the identifications were grouped by date to determine any chronological trend. No differences were discernible between the data from the earlier and later Roman periods, suggesting that the range of sizes and builds of the animals remained similar throughout the Roman period.

Combining all the identification results for the Roman period and splitting the definite and probable data by area showed some interesting differences in species proportions. The

Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans areas were very similar, with percentages of roughly 56% horses, 40 % mules and 4% donkeys. Gaul was also similar but with a slightly higher proportion ofhorses to the other two species. Britain, however, had a much higher proportion of horses and correspondingly lower number of mules. Chi-squared tests showed these differences were highly significant (Table 6.11). Although the numbers from Egypt were very small, the proportions of species were very different to all the other areas and this probably reflects the fact that the data represent a single site of a type not found in the other areas: an industrial quarry.

In addition to splitting the Roman material by date and area, the material from the area with the most data (the Rhineland) was also grouped by site type. There appeared to be a slight difference between the military and vicus sites on one hand and the civilian settlements .on the other, with a greater proportion of mules in the former, and an almost equal split of horses and mules in the latter. However, chi-squared tests gave 'not significant' results (Table 6.11)

In other areas a few interesting observations could be made about the distribution of species and site types. In Britain most of the mules came from farmstead/villa and small town settlements rather than the urban centres or military sites. In the Danube and Balkans area all of the mule and donkey identifications come from Tac-Gorsium in Hungary, a large villa site. However, this last observation may just reflect the fact that the large Tac-Gorsium assemblage contributed most of the data for this area.

The aim of this section was to establish whether the lack of mules in the zooarchaeological literature was due to identification problems or to a real absence of the species. It is clear from the substantial numbers of mules presented here, identified using the research methodology, that the former is the case. Indeed, in this dataset, there are roughly twothirds as many mules as there are horses, suggesting contemporaneous Roman literature provides a more accurate representation of relative species proportions than zooarchaeological literature.

6.2 Withers height estimation

6.2.1 Calculation of estimated withers height from complete skeletons and articulated limbs

The material outlined in Section 6.1.1 was also used for the withers height estimation analysis. As before, the complete skeletons and articulated limbs were analysed separately from the isolated bones, to provide a check that the methodology detailed in Chapter 3 is producing internally consistent results and that there are no major differences in limb proportions between the archaeological and modem material. Refer to Table 6.1 (above) and Appendix TableA2 for details of the sites from which complete skeletons and articulated limbs were recovered.

In order to provide as comprehensive a guide as possible to the withers heights of these individuals, additional elements were included, for which the length measurements were present but had not been used for the species identification work because other measurements were missing. For the main part of the analysis only data from those individuals identified to the definite or probable level have been used ('identified' bones). The individuals with possible identifications (' ambiguous' bones) have been kept separate, so that the data can be used to see if it is possible to clarify the identifications using the withers height in conjunction with the discriminant function analysis. Although withers height is a measure derived from bone length, the multiplication factors involved should amplify any differences between the groups and hence could aid identification.

The withers heights were calculated from the lengths of the major long bones using the factors given in Table 3.5. Where both length measurements were present the average of the two estimates was used. Detailed results of these calculations for all the skeletons and articulated limbs are given in Appendix TablesA15-20. To check the limb proportions of these individuals against those of the modem animals, the same procedure was used as described for the modem material in Section 3.4. The estimated withers height values were ranked from lowest to highest and these are shown in Table 6.12, grouped by . identification level. As with the modem data the factors quoted for the femur were consistently underestimated the withers height for all three species, and the tibiae of the mules provided the highest values for the withers height. These observations confirm that the limb proportions of the modem and archaeological individuals are very similar, justifying the use of the quoted factors on this material.

Table 6.12. Limb elements ranked from lowest to highest estimated withers height for the and the contract annually since the inglest estimated miners height of the
archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs. $H =$ humerus, $R =$ radius, $MC =$ metacarpal,
 $F =$ femur, $T =$ tibia, $MT =$ metatarsal, $ID =$ identification

As proposed inthe Section 3.4 and backed up by the evidence given above, it was decided that the femur would not be used to calculate the withers heights of isolated bones and would also not be used in further analyses of the withers heights of the skeletons and articulated limbs. In addition the withers height calculated from the tibia would only be used where the bones were identified as coming from horses. For the skeletons and articulated limbs the mean withers height was calculated from the appropriate elements and the results are given in Table 6.13. These results are also shown graphically as histograms (Figure 6.21).

Site no.	Site name	Specimen no.	ID	Mean (mm)	Site no.	Site name	Specimen ID no.		Mean (mm)
37	Kesteren De Prinsenhof	1.21	H ²	1514.07	114	Unterlaa	25	н	1347.18
37	Kesteren De Prinsenhof	2.27	H^*	1487.88	114	Unterlaa	30	H^*	1341.81
37	Kesteren De Prinsenhof	11.28	H^*	1471.55	114	Unterlaa	35	H۰	1348.34
37	Kesteren De Prinsenhof	11.34	H?	1446.51	114	Unterlaa	40	H^*	1378.74
42	Druten	1.18	M*	1521.54	114	Unterlaa	48	M*	1397.23
42	Druten	12.4	H^*	1381.09	114	Unterlaa	49	M ?	1461.94
43	Elms Farm	6640	H^*	1409.61	114	Unterlaa	71	H	1368.83
43	Elms Farm	6640	H^*	1412.22	114	Unterlaa	73	Н	1312.67
59	Chichester cattlemarket	XXIII	H^*	1462.22	114	Unterlaa	23A	H*	1343.17
59	Chichester cattlemarket	XXIII	H^*	1463.00	115	Bad Wimpfen	Skele 4	M	1482.28
67	Ilchester, Church Street	F ₂₆₇	H^*	1364.60	115	Bad Wimpfen	Skele 6	M	1404.32
71	Piovego	N ₂	H^*	1348.99	117	Pompeii stable	B	M^*	1437.43
92	Feddersen Wierde	skelett1L	H	1368.64	117	Pompeii stable	$\mathbf c$	M ₂	
$\mathbf{2}$	Feddersen Wierde	skelett1R	H	1371.71	118	Carnuntum	Maultier 1 M*		1496.55
92	Feddersen Wierde	skelett2L	H	1261.88	118	Carnuntum	Pferd 1	М	1533.18
92	Feddersen Wierde	skelett2R	н	1272.55	118	Camuntum	Pferd 2	н	1437.81
92	Feddersen Wierde	skelett3L	M^*	1377.23	118	Carnuntum	Pferd 3	H*	1444.32
96	Kunzing east vicus	1581	H ²	1457.26	119	Albertfalva	Horse 1	H?	1439.04
96	Kunzing east vicus	1620	H^*	1458.49	119	Albertfalva	Horse 2	H?	1577.34
96	Kunzing east vicus	1632	M^*	1449.74	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3392	H^*	1452.21
96	Kunzing east vicus	1641	M^*	1437.27	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3510	D*	1186.92
96	Kunzing east vicus	1703	M^*	1396.69	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3557	H?	1495.60
96	Kunzing east vicus	1575/5	H^*	1402.54	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3559	M	1477.0
105	Mons Claudianus	549	H	1251.10	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3573	M	1449.08
105	Mons Claudianus	604	M ₂	1331.73	128	Krefeld-Gellep	3577A	M	1438.95
105	Mons Claudianus	1486	D^*	1231.27	135	Swestari	1	н	1237.68
105	Mons Claudianus	1544	D*	1257.72	135	Swestari	2	H	1252.12
105	Mons Claudianus	1719	D*	1297.35	135	Swestari	3	H	1283.44
110	Nijmegen new excavations	147/128 H? 1514.15			135	Swestari	4	H*	1390.46
110	Nijmegen new excavations	179/16	H^*	1241.67	135	Swestari	5	M	1502.04
110	Nijmegen new excavations	179/16		M* 1355.12	141	Szentes-Vekerzug	6	H^*	1317.59
110	Nijmegen new excavations	1961/621		H? 1224.52	143	Histria	P18	H^*	1440.73
114	Unterlaa	18	н	1386.35	143	Histria	P25	H?	1453.82

Table 6.13. *Mean estimated withers height calculated from the appropriate elements of the archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs*

250

Figure 6.21. Histograms of estimated withers heights for all the archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs by species for the definite and probable identifications.
Figure 6.21 shows all the estimated withers heights for the 'identified' archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs. There is a striking difference in the size distributions of the horse, mule and donkey groups. The modal class of the mules at 1400-1450 mm is one class higher than that of the horses (1350-1400 mm). The donkeys overlap the smallest of the horses but not at all with the mules. This is reflected in the summary statistics shown in Table 6.14. This evidence backs up the indication from Section 6.1 that the length of the bones is contributing heavily to the species identifications based on biometric factors. Therefore, we would expect to see big differences in the estimated withers heights based on this method of classification.

Table 6.14. *Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights of the archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs. All measurements in mm*

Category	\mathbf{n}		Min Max Mean		SD
Horse	34		1237.68 1487.88 1368.03		73.02
Mule	16			1355.12 1533.18 1447.23 52.29	
Donkey	$\overline{4}$			1186.92 1297.35 1243.31 46.38	
?Horse		9 1224.52 1577.34 1458.04 98.09			
?Mule	$3 -$			1331.73 1461.94 1414.60 72.01	

The differences observed in Figure 6.21 and Table 6.14 were tested for statistical significance using Student's t-test, the results of which are given in Table 6.15. As can be seen all three groups are highly significantly different from each other, confirming the observations made above.

Table 6.15. *Results oft-tests on the estimated withers heights of the archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), u=highly significant (99% level).*

The results for the 'ambiguous' individuals are shown in Figure 6.22. Apart from the smallest possible horse and mule individuals, the rest fall at the upper end of the horse range and also overlap with the mule range (Figure 6.21). From this evidence it is not possible to suggest whether the possible identifications are correct or not. The results of testing these data against the 'identified' data (Table 6.15) show that the possible mules could be either mules or horses, but the possible horses are more likely on the basis of their height to be mules. This is only a tentative suggestion that cannot be corroborated by other means and therefore all these individuals will have to remain ambiguous.

Skeletons and limbs

Figure 6.22. *Histogram of estimated withers heights for archaeological skeletons and articulated limbs by species with possible identifications.*

Unfortunately there were too few individuals to split the withers height results into regional, period or site type groupings. Therefore these data will be combined with the results from the isolated bones to provide greater numbers for meaningful analysis.Discussion of the size of individual skeletons will not provide any further useful information, until a more comprehensive picture of the estimated withers heights is gained with the additional data from the isolated bones.

6.2.2 Calculation of estimated withers height from isolated skeletal elements

This section contains the results of three analyses. Firstly, values for withers height from the isolated bones were calculated on an element-by-element basis to check internal consistency of results. The withers heights estimates were calculated for the same three elements as were used for the species identification (radius, tibia, metatarsal). These results are presented in some detail to show the working method and highlight aspects of the results. The metacarpal and humerus results (the femur was not used for the reasons outlined above) were also calculated. Secondly, the results of all appropriate elements for each species were combined. These combined results are only summarised here, as they did not add much to the information gained so far. Lastly the results were grouped by period, region and site type to maximise the information that could be gained from the withers height data.

Results from isolated individual elements

The results of the withers height estimate calculations on the isolated metatarsals are detailed in Appendix Table A21. There were a total of 585 isolated metatarsals with one or both length measurements. Of these, 236 were 'identified' bones (169 horses, 51 mules and 16 donkeys), and a further 38 'ambiguous' bones from the analysis in Section 6.1. The remaining 312 metatarsals were 'unknown'.

Figure 6.23 shows the histograms for the 'identified' bones. The difference in size between the species is very similar to that shown for the skeletons (Figure 6.21). However, the modal class for the horses is two groups smaller (1250-1300 mm) and that of the mules one class smaller (1350-1400 mm). This may be a reflection of the larger numbers of specimens involved. As with the skeletons, the mules as a group appear to be on average a little larger than the horse group. With this bone there is some overlap between all three groups, including overlap between the donkeys and mules. Of particular note are the quite substantial sizes at the upper end of the donkey range. This helps confirm earlier indications that larger donkeys were present in the archaeological sample that were not represented in the modem sample. This contradicts suggestions that the large donkeys are just misidentified mules or horses.

Table 6.16 shows the summary statistics for the metatarsals, showing the overlap between the ranges of the three 'identified' groups but also the clear separation of the three means. Testing this separation using t-tests showed that all three were highly significantly different (Table 6.17).

Isolated Metatarsals: Mules

Isolated Metatarsals: Donkeys

Figure 6.23. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the 'identified' archaeological isolated metatarsals by species.*

Table 6.16. *Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights (mm) of the 'identified' archaeological isolated metatarsals by species*

Table 6.17. *Results of t-tests on the estimated withers heights of the 'identified' archaeological isolated metatarsals. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant* (99% *level).*

Results from the 'ambiguous' and unknown specimens are shown in Figure 6.24. The ambiguous mules are towards the lower end of the identified mule range, whilst the opposite is true of the ambiguous horses. Therefore, perhaps size is part of the problem with the identification of these individuals, reinforcing previous indications. If the lengths of the bones are heavily involved in the species identification procedure, then the area where the lengths overlap will produce less clear identifications. Therefore, the differences seen in the withers height estimates will be exaggerated, because the smaller mules and larger horses are not being included by virtue of their ambiguous identification status. Therefore, it is possible that the mean size of the horse group is being underestimated and that of the mule group overestimated.

The t-tests (Table 6.17) show that the ambiguous horses are unlikely to be donkeys but are actually closer to the identified mules than the identified horses. Similarly, the ambiguous mules are unlikely to be donkeys and are closer to the identified horses than the mules, although the number of ambiguous mules is small. These results strengthen the argument that size may be part of the problem with the identification of these individuals.

Figure 6.24. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological isolated metatarsals by species.*

Unsurprisingly, the spread of the unknown individuals covers most of the combined range of the identified specimens, strongly suggesting that all three species are present in the unknown sample. The unknown group is most similar (t-tests, Table 6.17) to the horse group but, given the likely proportions of species, horses are expected to form much of this group. The distribution in Figure 6.24 for the unknown specimens shows a possible bimodal distribution. If this is the case, it might be possible to split the data into groups for further analysis. To test this, the cumulative frequency distribution was plotted (data not shown) but, as the distribution showed an almost perfect sigma curve, there was no evidence

to back up the possibility of a bimodal distribution. Therefore, unfortunately, no further analysis can be undertaken on the unknown data.

Moving on to the results from the isolated radii, there were a total of 328 isolated radii with at least one length measurement. Of these 76 were 'identified' bones and a further 22 were' ambiguous' bones. The remaining 230 radii were unidentified. The 'identified' bones comprised 42 horses, 24 mules and 10 donkeys. Detailed results of the withers height calculations are given in Appendix Table A22. The results for the 'identified' bones are shown in Figure 6.25.

The pattern seen for the metatarsals in Figure 6.23 is repeated in Figure 6.25 for the radii, with very little variation. The less symmetrical shapes of the histograms are most likely due to the smaller numbers of specimens involved. The modal class of the horses is at 1300-1350 mm, one group higher than for the metatarsals, and that for the mules is 1450- 1500 mm, two classes higher than for the metatarsals. Although the numbers are still small the donkeys show a clearer modal class at 1200-1250 mm but the larger individuals observed from the metatarsals are absent from this group. As seen with the skeletons, there is no overlap between the mules and donkeys, but considerable overlap between the horses and mules. This can also be seen from the summary statistics in Table 6.18. The t-tests (Table 6.19) show that, as with the other results so far, the three species are highly significantly different in size.

The results for the 'ambiguous' and unknown specimens are shown in Figure 6.26. In this instance both the ambiguous mules and horses fall towards the lower end of their respective ranges, meaning that it is unlikely to be solely size that is playing a role in the identification problems. The t-tests (Table 6.19) show that the ambiguous horses are most likely to be horses with possibly also a few donkeys. There were too few ambiguous mules to apply ttests to this group.

Isolated Radii: Mules

Figure 6.25. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the 'identified' archaeological isolated radii by species.*

Table 6.19. *Results of t-tests on the estimated withers heights of all the archaeological isolated radii. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant (99% level).*

Isolated Radii: Ambiguous

Isolated Radii: Unknown

Figure 6.26. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological isolated radii by species*

The range of the unknown group (Table 6.18) is larger than the combined ranges of the identified groups, again strongly suggesting that all three species are present in this sample. As with the metatarsals, the t-tests (Table 6.19) show that the unknown group most closely resembles that of the horses, suggesting a high proportion of horses in its composition.

It was proposed earlier that the tibia should not be used for calculating the withers heights of mules and donkeys. The results given here illustrate why that decision was correct. There were very few isolated tibiae with complete length measurements, a total of234, of which 31 were 'identified' bones, 17 'ambiguous' and 186 unknown. The 'identified' bones comprised seven horses, 19 mules and five donkeys and the 'ambiguous' bones comprised 10 horses, five mules and two donkeys. Detailed results of the withers height calculations are given in Appendix Table A23.

Figure 6.27 shows the results for the 'identified' specimens. Once again there are differences between the ranges of the groups. The modal class of the horses is 1250-1300 mm, the same as for the metatarsals. However, the modal classes of the mules and particularly the donkeys are considerably higher than for any of the previous bones, confirming that the calculations based on the tibia are overestimating the height for these two species. The observed differences could not be tested for significance because of the small numbers of specimens involved. Table 6.20 gives the summary statistics for the tibiae, and shows that the mean height of the donkeys is larger than that for the horses, and whilst this may partly be a product of the small sample size, it also illustrates the point made above.

Withers height (mm)

Figure 6.27. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the 'identified' archaeological isolated tibiae by species*

Because of the inaccuracies of using the tibia for calculating the withers height of mules and donkeys there is no point showing the ambiguous or unknown specimens as it is even less likely than for the other elements that they can be identified further. The minimum value of the unknown specimens is extremely small but this value has been checked against the original publication and seems to be correct.

The results of the withers height calculations for the humerus and metacarpal are shown in Appendix Tables A24 and A25. The summary statistics are given in Tables 6.21 and 6.22 and the t-test results in Table 6.23. There were no t-test results for the humerus as the sample sizes were too small.

Table 6.21. *Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights (mm) of the archaeological isolated humeri by species.*

Table 6.22. *Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights (mm) of the archaeological isolated metacarpals by species.*

As can be seen the results are very similar to those for the metatarsal and radius, with the exception of the far greater range of donkey sizes from the metacarpal. In fact both the largest and smallest donkey individuals were calculated from this bone. The range of the horses' measurements is also largest on this element, which may be a reflection of the larger sample size.

Table 6.23. *Results oft-tests on the estimated withers heights of the archaeological isolated metacarpals. N*=not *significant*, *=significant (95% level), **=highly *significant* (99% *level)*

In addition, the 'ambiguous' metacarpals are more ambiguous than their counterparts in the metatarsals and radii, as shown in the t-test results. Only the ambiguous donkeys are more likely to be donkeys or horses than mules; the ambiguous mules and horses could be any of the three. This may be a reflection of the lower identification rate from the discriminant function analysis, or of the larger sample size and greater overlap between the groups.

Results from combined elements

The appropriate results from each isolated element (i.e. without tibia for mules and donkeys) were pooled with the average estimates from the skeletons and limbs to produce the combined results discussed below. This produced a total of 697 'identified' and 189 'ambiguous' bones. The 'unknown' specimens were not included in any further analysis at this stage: the results would not be meaningful because of the differences already identified between the species. The 'identified' specimens comprised 513 horses, *13S* mules and 49 donkeys; the 'ambiguous' specimens comprised 132 possible horses, *4S* possible mules and 12 possible donkeys.

Figure 6.28 shows the combined results for the 'identified' specimens. Figure 6.28 highlights the differences already discussed between the three species, as do the summary statistics in Table 6.24. Of particular note is the large size range of the donkey specimens, and the generally larger size of the mules in comparison with horses. As expected the t-tests (Table 6.25) showed that the sizes of three species were highly significantly different.

Figure 6.29 shows the results for the combined 'ambiguous' specimens. The overlap between the three groups is much greater (Table 6.24), indicating that size must be playing a part in the discriminant function analysis identification process and that those that are within the overlap zones are harder to identify with confidence. The t-tests (Table 6.25) showed that whilst the 'ambiguous' donkeys were most likely to be donkeys there was a possibility some may be horses. However, the 'ambiguous' horses and mules could be a mixture of any or all of the three species, as the groups as a whole do not closely resemble anyone species.

Table 6.25. *Results oft-tests on the estimated withers heights of the combined archaeological specimens. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant* (99% *level).*

Combined: Donkeys

Figure 6.28. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological specimens by species.*

Combined: ?Mules

Combined: ?Donkeys

Figure 6.29. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'ambiguous' archaeological specimens by species.*

Results from grouping the data by area, period and site type

The combined data from the identified specimens, were then grouped by area, period and site type for each species. The quantity of further work undertaken depended largely on the numbers of specimens; hence the most work was carried out on the horse data and the least on the donkey data. The horse data will be examined first.

The data were firstly grouped by period into three categories, Iron Age, Roman and External (contemporaneous with the Roman period but beyond the borders of the Empire). The total of 513 identified horses comprised 76 specimens from the Iron Age, 177 from the Roman and 260 from the External period. The results (Figure 6.30) indicated that whilst there was considerable overlap, there seemed to be a size increase between the Iron Age and Roman periods, with the External specimens in between.

Table 6.26 shows the summary statistics for all the combinations of the horse data to be discussed in this section. The data relating to Figure 6.30 showed that there was almost 100 mm difference in the mean height between the Iron Age and Roman groups and that the External mean lay between them. Figure 6.30 shows that the data for the Iron Age and External periods are centrally, normally distributed about the modal class, whereas the Roman data are skewed towards the upper end of the range. The range of the Roman data is about 50 mm greater than that of the Iron Age data and is entirely at the upper end of the range. These two facts suggest that whilst there were still some smaller individuals present in the Roman period, many more larger individuals were present.

Table 6.27 shows the t-test results for all the combinations of the horse data to be discussed in this section. As suspected there were highly significant differences in size between the Iron Age, Roman and External period horses.

Table 6.26. *Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights (mm) of the combined identified' archaeological 'horses. Area codes defined in Table 6.10*

Horses: External

Figure 6.30. Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological horses by period.

Inorder to determine whether there are any differences *between* the horses from different geographic locations, the data was grouped by region. These regions are based on those of King (1999), the details of which can be found in Chapter 5. The grouping into Iron Age and Roman periods was continued through these analyses to determine whether there *were* differences in each region by period. As can be seen from the summary data (Table 6.26) there were very few specimens from both Italy and Egypt so *these* are not presented graphically and could not be used in the *t-test* analyses. Figure 6.31 presents the data for Iron Age Roman periods in Gaul, Britain, the Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans areas.

The first group of analyses were aimed at detecting any differences within each region between periods. InGaul and the Rhineland there were very obvious size increases between the Iron Age and Roman periods: this size increase was much less obvious in Britain and the Danube and Balkans areas. Taking these area-by-area, the data from Gaul showed central normal distributions for both the Iron Age and Roman data, with modal classes of 1200-1250 and 1300-1350 mm respectively. There was a straightforward increase in size between the two periods with the smallest individuals being lost and larger individuals being gained. The range (Table 6.26) was also reduced in the Roman period. The t-tests (Table 6.27) showed that the size increase between the Iron Age and Roman periods in Gaul was highly significant.

Britain showed a rather different picture to that of Gaul. The Iron Age data showed a bias to the larger end of its range, with the modal class being the highest class in the range (1300-1350 mm), higher than for Gaul in the same period. The range was also considerably *less* wide than that from Gaul for the same period, whilst the mean was higher (Table 6.26). The Roman British data formed a *less* biased distribution, with a considerably wider range, particularly at the upper end. The slightly ragged appearance of the distribution is most likely due to small sample size. Whilst the modal class was exactly the same as that of the Iron Age data, the mean was somewhat higher. The *t-test* (Table 6.27) showed that there was a significant, but not highly significant, difference between the two periods in Britain, as would be expected for the less obvious changes.

The Rhineland area showed a pattern more similar to Gaul than to Britain. Whilst the numbers *were* quite small, the Iron Age period showed a centrally positioned normal distribution with a modal class of 1200-1250 mm. This is smaller than either Britain or Gaul, but the mean is not that different (Table 6.26). The Roman data were biased towards the upper end of its range, with a modal class of 1350-1400 mm, higher than the previous regions, and the mean was also higher. The t-test (Table 6.27) shows that there was a highly significant difference in size between the Iron Age and Roman periods in the Rhineland.

The Danube and Balkans area showed a similar picture to that from Britain, except that the sizes were greater in both periods. The Iron Age data had a similar narrow range to the British material but positioned two class intervals to the right, and in this case the modal class was the smallest of the range (1200-1250 mm). Whilst the modal class was the same as for Gaul and the Rhineland, the mean is the highest for the Iron Age material (Table 6.26). The Roman material from this region had a similar narrow range, but was more centrally distributed, with the modal class at 1350-1400 mm. The mean was similar to those of the other regions. Once again the t-test showed that there was a highly significant difference in size between the two periods in this region (Table 6.27).

Other t-tests (Table 6.27) were carried out to establish whether there were any differences between the regions by period. For the Iron Age material, there were no significant differences between the sizes of the horses in Britain, Gaul and the Rhineland. However the Danube and Balkans area horses were highly significantly larger than those from Gaul and the Rhineland. The Danube and Balkans material was not, however, different from the British material, suggesting that the British material is perhaps somewhat intermediate in size between the western and eastern European material. For the Roman material, there were no significant differences between Gaul and the other three regions or between the Rhine and Danube samples. However, the British horses were highly significantly smaller than those of both the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas. These differences between the periods and regions suggest that there was no great degree of uniformity in the horses of the Roman Empire, but that there was size improvement from the preceding Iron Age stock across the whole area.

As the dating of both the Iron Age and Roman data has thus far been very broad, the issue of stock improvement after inclusion in the Roman Empire is better served by comparing the late Iron Age and early Roman periods in each area. These periods have been taken as the first two centuries either side of the conquest of an area. Typically this equates to the $2nd - 1st$ centuries BC for the late Iron Age and $1st - 2nd$ centuries AD for the Early Roman material across the three areas being studied here. Only Britain, Gaul and the Rhineland could be studied as either the dating was too broad or the sample sizes insufficient from the other regions. Figure 6.32 shows these groupings.

Horses: Roman Gaul

Horses: Iron Age Britain

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Roman Britain

Figure 6.31. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological horses by area and period.*

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Roman Rhineland

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Iron Age Danube and Balkans

Horses: Roman Danube and Balkans

Figure 6.31 *continued.*

The data from Gaul (Figure 6.32) were little changed from Figure 6.31 as all the Roman data are of early Roman date. Therefore, as would be expected, the t-test (Table 6.27) also showed that there is a highly significant size increase after the Roman conquest. The samples for Britain were very small, as much of the data could not be dated more closely. However, the t-tests showed that there was no significant difference between the heights of the horses of the late Iron Age and early Roman periods in Britain. Although the datasets in Figure 6.32 smaller than in Figure 6.31, the data from the Rhineland showed that there was a highly significant increase in size into the early Roman period.

Additional t-tests were performed, as before (Table 6.27), to test for any inter-regional differences. There were no significant size differences between the late Iron Age horses of the three regions studied. There were also no significant differences between the early Roman horses of Gaul and either of the other areas; however, the British and Rhineland horses were significantly different in size during this time period. This once again suggests that the British material is slightly smaller than the continental material, and that the horses were smaller in the west and larger in the east.

Figure 6.32. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological late Iron Age and early Roman horses by area.*

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Early Roman Britain

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Late Iron Age Rhineland

Withers height (mm)

Horses: Early Roman Rhineland

Figure 6.32. Continued

Horses: Late Roman Rhineland 1- - -

 \blacksquare [~] **El** - -

Figure 6.33. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological/ate Roman horses by area.*

950 1000 1050 1100 1150 1200 1250 1300 1350 1400 1450 1500 1550 1600 1650 1700 **Withers height (mm)**

Figure 6.33 shows the late Roman material (3rd century AD onwards) for Britain and the Rhineland (the only two areas with sufficient late Roman material for study). The range of both groups was reduced from that of the respective early Roman period (Figure 6.32 and Table 6.25) and also shows a more central distribution in both cases. Whilst t-tests suggested that there were no significant differences between the early and late Roman periods in each region (Table 6.26), the two regions were highly significantly different from each other. Also in Britain, the late Roman material was significantly different to that of the late Iron Age, suggesting that in Britain the improvement in the size of the horses was not immediately after the Roman conquest but at least 150 years later.

The next group of analyses was carried out using the data from the Roman periods of Gaul, the Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans combined. As there were no significant differences between the data of these regions by period and sub-period, it was deemed acceptable to combine the data to increase the sample size available. These analyses were to test whether there were any significant size differences between the horses deriving from different types of site. These site types were grouped on the basis of the categories set out by King (1999) and detailed in Chapter 5.

Horses: Military

Withers height (nun)

Horses: Urban

Withers height (mm)

Figure 6.34. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological horses by site type.*

Figure 6.34. *Continued.*

There were apparently slight differences between the site types; the modal classes of the military, vieus and urban horses fell at 1350-1400 mm whereas the modal class of the villa horses was one class higher and the urban 2 (small town) and rural sites was one lower. However, the t-tests (Table 6.27) on these groupings showed that there were no significant differences between any of them. This may be a product of the small sample sizes and similar mean values of many of these groups (Table 6.26). Therefore, whilst there were differences between some of the regions in both the Iron Age and Roman periods, there were no differences in the horses from particular site types.

Having examined the horse data in some detail, the mule estimates were next to be analysed. Whilst there were fewer specimens, there were enough, particularly in the Roman period, for some useful analyses to be undertaken. As with the horses, the mules were first split by period to establish any differences between them. As expected, there were few mules attributed to Iron Age or External deposits, so most of the following analyses are based on the Roman data. There were a total of 135 identified mules, of which eight were Iron Age, 23 External and 104 Roman in date (Figure 6.35).

Figure 6.35. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological mules by period*

Figure 6.35 and Table 6.28 show that the Iron Age mules fall towards the lower end and the External mules fall within the range of the Roman mules. All of the groups' positions to the right side of the histograms reiterate the fact that the mules are on average taller than the contemporaneous horses. Table 6.29 shows the results of the t-tests on the mule data. Bearing in mind the small sample of Iron Age mules, the Roman mules were significantly taller than the other two groups, which were not significantly different from each other; this may be a consequence of breeding from larger horses.

Table 6.29. *Results oft-tests on the estimated withers heights of the combined archaeological mules. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant* (99% *level).*

Following through the same order of grouping criteria as for the horses, the mules were next grouped by region. As before, there were too few specimens from Italy and Egypt, and this time also Britain, for graphical presentation to be useful. The results are summarised in Table 6.28. Figure 6.36 shows that the ranges of all three regions were very similar, and the distributions were also skewed towards the upper end of the range, particularly in Gaul and the Danube and Balkans areas. This may be a result of the smaller mules not being identified confidently. The t-tests (Table 6.29) between these regions showed that there were no significant differences in size between these mules.

Mules: Roman Gaul

Figure 6.36. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological Roman mules by area.*

As there were no significant differences between the regions, the data were pooled to allow further comparisons to be made. Grouping the data by sub-periodin with the Roman period was undertaken next. Figure 6.37 shows that the range and distribution of the three sub-periods were very similar and this was confirmed in the t-test results (Table 6.29), with no significant differences detected.

Mules: Early Roman

Figure 6.37. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological Roman mules by sub-period.*

Withers height (mm)

Mules: Vieus

Mules: Urban 2

Figure 6.38. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological Roman mules by site type.*

Figure 6.38 shows the mule data grouped by site type; whilst there were subtle differences to be observed in the modal classes between the site types, there was very little difference in the range and mean of each group (Table 6.28). This was borne out by the results of the t-tests (Table 6.29), which suggested there were no significant differences between any of the site types.

This lack of significant differences between any of the grouping criteria suggests that the mules across the whole of the Roman Empire were remarkably consistent in size. This further suggests the possibility that mules were only bred in a few locations, perhaps under careful control of the Empire. This is in stark contrast to the horses, which seem to show much more regional variation and were therefore more likely to have been locally bred. The possible exception are the slightly smaller mules found in Britain, as seen from the summary statistics in Table 6.28, which, whilst the numbers are too small to be tested further, could possibly be the result of more local breeding, perhaps to avoid the expense of transporting these animals by sea from the continent.

Unfortunately the distribution of donkeys is so scarce in all the regions and periods that it is impossible from the current evidence to suggest where the mules may have been bred if the above hypothesis is correct. There were a total of 49 'identified' donkeys, of which 23 came from two Iron Age sites, one in Italy and the other in Greece. Of the remaining 26, nine were from External sites and 17 from Roman sites.

The first thing to note from Figure 6.39 is that the range of sizes from the donkeys is far greater in both the Iron Age and Roman material than for either the horses or the mules. The Iron Age data fall to the smaller end of the Roman range and the mean is also smaller, whilst the external material falls towards the centre and has an almost identical mean (Table 6.30). The t-tests (Table 6.31) showed that there was no significant differences between the Roman and External material but that there was a significant difference between the Iron Age material and the other two (bearing in mind the small sample of external data).

The data was split by period and by area, and the summary statistics are given in Table 6.30 as there are two few specimens to present graphically. The slightly larger mean size of the Iron Age donkeys from Gaul, Britain and the Rhineland may be indicative of the fact that they all came from very late Iron Age deposits, when contact with the Roman world was known to have occurred, whereas the material from Greece and Italy was much earlier in date.

Donkeys: External

Donkeys: Roman

Figure 6.39. *Histograms of estimated withers heights for the combined 'identified' archaeological donkeys by period.*
Table 6.30. Summary statistics for the estimated withers heights (mm) of the combined 'identified' archaeological donkeys

Table 6.31. *Results oft-tests on the estimated withers heights of the combined archaeological donkeys. N=not significant, *=significant* (95% *level), **=highly significant* (99% *level).*

6.2.3 Summary of the results ofwithers height reconstruction

In summary, there are marked differences in the mean size of the horses, mules and donkeys as species, with the mules being largest, the horses in the middle and the donkeys smallest. There is overlap between the three groups and this may be contributing to some of the identification problems encountered in Section 6.1.

There are differences between the heights of the horses in the Iron Age in comparison with the Roman periods in the same regions, and this height increase occurs soon after the Roman conquest (with the exception of Britain, where it occurs later). There are also differences between the sizes of the horses in different regions during the Roman period, in particular the British material is smaller than the rest and there seems to be a slight height increase from west to east. Whilst there are slight visual differences between site types these are not significantly different. These differences suggest that local breeding of horses was perhaps the norm, and that no particular section of society (in terms of site type) had access to particular sizes of horses.

The mule data present a much more uniform size across the whole Roman Empire, in terms of date, region and site type. This suggests the possibility of centralised or controlled breeding of mules rather than localised production. The possible exception, although the numbers are too small to test, is Britain, where the mules appear to be slightly smaller. The small number of donkeys has meant that not much further information has been gained regarding the size of the donkeys by date or region. One observation, that cannot be tested, is that the donkeys found in the late Iron Age in Gaul, Britain and the Rhineland fit well within the sizes of Roman donkeys and may have arrived at these sites through trade or other contact with the Roman Empire.

6.2.4. Relation of withers height results to species identification issues

The modal class and mean withers height of the mules are higher than these of the horses. The donkeys overlap the smallest of the horses but not at all with the mules. Therefore, the withers height may be part of the problem with the identification of the ambiguous individuals, reinforcing previous indications that length is contributing heavily to the species identifications based on biometric factors. If the lengths of the bones are heavily involved in the species identification procedure, then the area where the lengths overlap will produce less clear identifications.

If this is the case, the differences seen in the withers height estimates will be exaggerated, because the smaller mules and larger horses are not being included by virtue of their ambiguous identification status. Therefore, it is possible that the mean size of the horse group is being underestimated and that of the mule group overestimated. Therefore, big differences in the estimated withers heights would be expected based on this method of classification.

One area of note is the quite substantial sizes at the upper end of the donkey range. This helps confirm earlier indications that larger donkeys are present in the archaeological sample that are not represented in the modem sample. This contradicts suggestions that the large donkeys are just misidentified mules or horses.

Inorder to determine ifbone length (as seen in the withers height calculations) is influencing the outlying groups of identifications observed and commented on in Section 6.1.3, some further analysis of the data was necessary. The location of these outlying groups in relation 289

to the 'standard' identification plot (see Figure 6.1) is shown in Figure 6.40. Groups 1,2 and 7 correspond to the 'super' donkeys, mules and horses, respectively, as discussed in Section 6.1.3. Groups 3 and 4 represent the 'overlap' mules and horses, group 5 the 'zero' horses and group 6 the horses to the left of the zero line.

Figure 6.40. Areas on the 'standard' discriminant function plot where clusters of identifications occur.

Further analysis of the data consisted of splitting the range of the withers heights for each element by species into three equal portions. Individual bones falling in the smallest third were termed 'small', the middle third 'medium' and the largest third 'tall'. These results were then related to the groups outlined above according to where each bone was located on the identification plots in Section 2.1.

From this it was discovered that the length of the bones was playing a role in the determination of species and the characteristics of the clusters observed on the identification plots. As has been hypothesised, the overlap zone (areas 3 and 4 on Figure 6.40) between the horses and mules is where some of the tallest horses and shortest mules are to be found. The' super' donkeys (area 1) are mostly tall, as are the' super' mules (area 2). The 'super' horses (area 7), on the other hand, are mostly small to medium height. Both mules and horses in area 5, where the points cluster around the zero point, are mostly of medium height, whereas the horses to the left of the zero line (area 6) are small to medium in height. From this it can be seen that in general the observations put forward in the main part of the withers height analysis about the identification of some individuals can be backed up by the evidence presented here. It may be that when the shape index results are added to these data, a clearer picture of the characteristics of the clusters will emerge.

6.3. Calculation of shape indices

Shape indices were used to give an indication of the robusticity of a particular element. When compared with the withers height of an individual the shape index can indicate whether animal had slender or robust limbs in proportion to height. As the robusticity of the limbs is correlated with the relative weight of the animal, this will indicate whether the individual was, for instance, a short stocky pony or a tall slender horse.

For this section of the analysis the results are presented in a slightly different order and in different combinations. Because of the nature of the indices being calculated, the elements could not be combined, so the material from the skeletons and articulated limbs have been combined with the isolated elements to maximise the numbers of specimens available. There are many indices that could have been calculated on the bones. However, many would not mean very much in terms of size and shape of the individuals. Therefore a maximum of three indices was calculated on anyone element, and in the majority of cases just one.

The most common index to be calculated on archaeological bones is the index of shaft breadth as a proportion of length, and is usually carried out on the metapodials. This gives a measure of the robusticity of the bones, which is taken as a proxy measure of the robusticity of the animal as a whole. Used in conjunction with the withers height estimations, a picture of the build of the animal can be obtained. As has been discussed in previous sections, the tibiae of mules seem disproportionately long in relation to the withers height in comparison with horses, and this index was used to determine whether the slenderness of the mule tibiae is similar to that of horses, and therefore the bones themselves, are larger or whether they are more slender or more robust.

In addition, indices of the articular breadths as a proportion of greatest length can be calculated. These will also give an indication of the robusticity of the bones, in terms of the size at the joint surfaces. If there are differences between the shaft breadth and articular indices, this may indicate different levels of nutrition during the growth period (Section 2.4.3), but could also highlight species and deme differences.

Index data can be presented in a number of ways to show different aspects of the data more clearly. Initially, histograms of the index values are used to show overall differences in robusticity between groups. Where warranted, the data from individual indices are also

291

plotted as x-y scatter plots to show differences in size as well as shape. Where more than one index is calculated from a single bone, indices plotted against each other on scatter plots are used to show differences in bone morphology.

6.3.1. Calculation of the shape indices on metacarpals

Shaft breadth to greatest length index

The formula used here for the shaft breadth to greatest length index is *SD/GL* x 100. This expresses the shaft breadth as a percentage of the greatest length. As in the withers height estimations, the 'identified', 'ambiguous' and unknown specimens from the species identification work were treated separately.

A total of 775 metacarpals had both the GL and SD measurements, allowing the shaft breadth *I* greatest length index to be calculated. Of these 334 were 'identified', 110 'ambiguous' and 331 'unknown'. Examining the data for the identified specimens first, there were 267 horses, 48 mules and 19 donkeys. The results of calculating the shaft breadth index on these specimens are shown in Figures 6.41-6.43 and details of these results can be found in Appendix Table A26.

The pattern seen in Figure 6.41 for the 'identified' metacarpals shows that the mules and horses appear to be much more similar than in previous analyses, with the modal classes being exactly the same and the range of the mules falling within the range of the horses (Table 6.32). The donkeys are once again more slender than the horses. The t-tests (Table 6.33) back up this evidence, with the horses and mules showing no significant difference and the donkeys being highly significantly different to both the horses and mules.

Table 6.32. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals*

Table 6.33. *Results of t-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals*

Because of this lack of difference between the 'identified' horses and mules it is hardly surprising that the data from the 'ambiguous' horses and mules (Figure 6.42) are very similar to each other and to the 'identified' data for each species (Table 6.32). The t-tests revealed that the shape of the ambiguous mules is most like that of the mules, but the 'ambiguous' horses could be either horses or mules. The 'ambiguous' donkeys are most likely to be donkeys, reflecting Figure 6.42. The unknown material is shown in Figure 6.43 and as usual covers most of the range of all three species combined. However, in this instance the t-tests showed that the unknown group actually resembled the mules rather than the horses. This, however, is likely to be a reflection of the closeness of the horse and mule groups on this element.

Because results from different elements pooled together would be meaningless, the numbers of specimens available to study were less than they were for the withers height analyses, so fewer comparisons could be undertaken between the finer data groups.

Isolated Metacarpals: Mules

Isolated Metacarpals: Donkeys

Figure 6.41. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metacarpals.*

Isolated Metacarpals: ?Mules 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2 o - - - 1.'1 rI m-~fit mrt rn 10.5 11 11.5 12 12.5 13 13.5 14 14.515 15.5 16 16.5 17 17.5 18 18.5

Isolated Metacarpals: ?Donkeys

SD/GLx 100

Figure 6.42. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' archaeological metacarpals.*

Figure 6.43. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'unknown' archaeological metacarpals.*

Table 6.34. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metacarpals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age	44	13.44	16.84	14.86	0.65
Roman	81	12.13	16.89	15.01	0.78
External	142	12.64	17.14	14.36	0.78
Iron Age area D	16	13.79	16.84	14.87	0.70
Iron Agearea E	12	13.91	15.44	14.72	0.51
Iron Age area F	7	13.44	16.17	14.81	0.89
Iron Age area G	8	14.36	15.98	15.17	0.54
Roman area D	6	14.29	16.37	15.20	0.71
Roman area E	10	14.24	15.49	14.96	0.41
Roman area F	32	12.47	16.44	15.00	0.86
Roman area G	31	12.13	16.89	15.00	0.84
Military	10	14.14	16.29	14.90	0.61
Rural	3	15.08	15.51	15.35	0.24
Urban	47	12.13	16.89	15.07	0.80
Urban 2	$\overline{7}$	14.24	16.37	14.92	0.73
Vicus	8	14.14	16.23	15.16	0.67
Villa	4	12.47	15.49	14.33	1.38

Examining the horse data, they were first split by period and the results are given in Figure 6.44. Figure 6.44 shows that the Roman horse metacarpals are most robust, followed by the Iron Age ones, with the most slender being the External metacarpals. Therefore, the larger number of External metacarpals may well be masking the robusticity of the Roman horses, and the average horse results (Figure 6.41) are consequently reduced to a level similar to that of the mule metacarpals. The ranges and means given in Table 6.34 reflect the modal classes and distributions seen in Figure 6.44. The t-tests (Table 6.35) showed that the External horses were highly significantly more slender than the Iron Age and Roman horses, but there was no significant difference between the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Splitting the data further into area groups, the Iron Age data were much as expected with the modal classes, means and ranges similar in all areas (Figure 6.45 and Table 6.34). The range and mean from the Danube and Balkans area were slightly higher than the other areas, but there were too few specimens to test the significance of this difference. There was no significant difference between the material from Gaul and from Britain (Table 6.35).

Table 6.35. *Results oft-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length indexfor the 'identified' archaeological horse metacarpals.*

The Roman material is shown in Figure 6.46 split by area. The modal classes of the three areas depicted are all the same, but the distributions are a little different. There is a hint of bimodality in the data from the Rhineland and there are very slender outliers in both the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans samples. The means are almost identical for all three areas (Table 6.34), so it is not surprising that the t-tests (Table 6.35) showed that there were no significant differences between them. Splitting the Roman horse data by site type once again produced small numbers of specimens in most categories. Figure 6.46 shows that there appears to be little difference between the modal classes and ranges of the material from different site types. As expected the t-tests (Table 6.35) showed there was no significant differences between the military and urban groups (the only ones with sufficient numbers to test), although this could be as a result of the small numbers of military specimens.

297

Isolated Metacarpals: Roman Horses 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 o - - - - - - - - e-- - - - • • **Lt** - 10.511 11.512 12.513 13.514 14.515 15.516 16.517 17.518 18.5 *SD/GL* **x 100**

Figure 6.44. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metacarpals by period.*

Figure 6.45. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horse metacarpals by area*

Figure 6.46. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metacarpals by area.*

Figure 6.47. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metacarpals by site type.*

There were considerably fewer identified mules than there were horses, so less analysis could be undertaken. When the data was split by period, there were only one Iron Age mule and three External mules, so Figure 6.48 only shows the Roman data. When compared with the horse data for the same period it can be seen quite clearly that the mules were more slender than the horses. The t-test on these data (Table 6.37) showed that there were highly significant differences between the Roman mules and horses. This adds weight to the argument that the slender External horses are obscuring the robusticity of the Roman horses.

Table 6.36. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metacarpals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Roman	44	13.05	15.84	14.52	0.67
External	3	12.67	13.93	13.37	0.64
Roman F	18	13.05	15.84	14.46	0.83
Roman G	22	13.64	15.50	14.54	0.50
Military	17	13.25	15.40	14.46	0.66
Urban	18	13.05	15.84	14.50	0.62
Villa	3	14.71	15.71	15.14	0.52

Table 6.37. *Results oft-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metacarpals.*

Isolated Metacarpals: Roman Mules

Figure 6.48. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metacarpals.*

Two areas produced enough mule metacarpals for graphical presentation and t-test analysis, the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas (Figure 6.49). There was little difference between the two areas except that the range shown by the Danube and Balkans material was quite narrow (Table 6.36). The t-tests (Table 6.37) confirmed that there was no significant difference between the two regions.

Isolated Metacarpals: Roman Mules: Rhine

Figure 6.49. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metacarpals by area.*

Figure 6.50 shows the mule data split by site type and once again only two groups had enough material for further analysis. The modal classes were slightly different and the skew of the two distributions were opposite to each other. However, the ranges and means were very similar (Table 6.36), and therefore the t-tests showed that that once again there was no significant difference between the groups. From this evidence it suggests that there is a very widespread homogeneity in the mules across the Empire.

Figure 6.50. Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metacarpals by site type

There were just sufficient numbers of donkey identifications to split the data by period, and the results are given in Table 6.38 (and Appendix Figure Al). There was little difference between the Iron Age and Roman donkeys, but the External donkeys were more slender than the other two groups. Unfortunately the groups were so dissimilar in terms of geographic location or site type little comment could be made on these differences. However, the slenderness of the External donkeys, horses and mules does lend credence to the idea that perhaps mule breeding was being carried out in areas external to the Empire using at least some local animals.

Table 6.38. *Summary statistics Jar the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological donkey metacarpals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age		10.87	14.99	13.55	.46
Roman		12.53	14.96	13.80	0.81
External	O	11.31	13.43	12.11	0.76

Proximal breadth to greatest length index

The use of articular breadth to greatest length indices (Bp/GL x 100) in combination with the shaft slenderness index can yield information on whether the bones are generally robust or slender (both indices giving high or low values, respectively) or are more robust or slender in the shaft in relation to the articular breadths. These variations can then be related to species differences, growth/nutritional problems and also possibly to deme diversity.

The results from the index of Bp/GL x 100 on the metacarpals were very similar in most respects to those shown for the shaft breadth index. As a result of this many of the figures have been placed in the Appendix to avoid unnecessary repeats within the text. A total of 723 metacarpals had both greatest length and proximal breadth measured. Of these 333 were 'identified' (267 horses, 47 mules, 19 donkeys), 110 were 'ambiguous' (73 ?horses, 27 ?mules and 10 ?donkeys) and the remaining 280 were unknown. Detailed results are given in Appendix Table A27.

Figure 6.51 shows the results for the 'identified' metacarpals, and the similarities with Figure 6.41 are striking. As before, the mules and horses appear very similar to each other, with the donkeys appearing more slender. However, unlike the shaft slenderness results (Table 6.33), there were highly significant differences between the mules and horses as well as between the other pairings (Table 6.40). This suggests that the mules have more slender proximal articulations in relation to length than the horses, and are therefore more slender overall than the horses.

Table 6.39. *Summary statistics for the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals*

305

Metacarpals: Mules

Metacarpals: Donkeys

Figure 6.51. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for 'identified' archaeological metacarpals*

Table 6.40. Results of t-tests on the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals.

As with the shaft slenderness results, the similarities between the 'identified' horses and mules compounds the problems of identification for the 'ambiguous' specimens. Their results are very similar to each other and to the identified data for each species (Appendix Figure A2 and Table 6.39). The t-tests (Table 6.40) showed that there were slight differences between these results and those of the shaft slenderness index. The 'ambiguous' donkeys and mules were unlikely to be horses but both could be either donkeys or mules, and the 'ambiguous' horses could be either mules or horses. As has been the case in most of the previous analyses, the data for the unknown specimens cover the combined range of all three species (Appendix Figure A3). As with the shaft slenderness index, the t-tests (Table 6.40) indicated that the group is more like the mules than the horses, probably reflecting the closeness of the results for these two species rather than greater numbers of mules within the sample.

Examining the horse data by period, Figure 6.52 shows that there are subtle differences between the data for the shaft slenderness and proximal slenderness indices in these groups. Whilst Figure 6.44 showed that the Roman horses had the most robust shafts and the External horses the most slender, the data for the proximal breadth index show no significant difference between the groups, this being confirmed by the t-test results (Table 6.42). This suggests that the widths of the proximal joints of all these horses are very similar to each other but that the External specimens have proportionately more slender shafts. There are

three possible explanations for this. Firstly, there could be genetic differences between these groups of animals, and the External horses are of a more slender limbed type than the other groups. Secondly it is possible that nutritional stress during growth could be responsible for producing bones with a proportionately more slender shaft (see Chapter 2). However, this would mean that the husbandry regime practised across several widely distributed sites and over a long period of time would have had to have been consistently affecting the growth rate of most individuals. The third possibility is that of sexual dimorphism, even though, as discussed in Chapter 2, equids display very little sexual dimorphism. The most likely candidate for relatively long slender metapodials would be geldings. However, it is unlikely that such a widely distributed group of bones would contain mostly castrates and the others mostly mares and/or stallions. Therefore it is unlikely that either sexual dimorphism or castration are the cause of the greater slenderness of these horses. As nutritional stress is unlikely to have consistently affected such large numbers ofindividuals it is more likely that genetic variation is the basis of the observed differences.

Table 6.41. *Summary statistics for the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metacarpals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age horses	45	20.67	24.47	22.32	0.73
Roman horses	80	19.91	25.65	22.36	0.90
External horses	142	19.32	24.50	22.12	0.88
Roman mules	44	19.87	24.29	21.82	0.94
Iron Age donkeys	6	17.48	22.64	21.22	1.87
Roman donkeys	7	19.95	21.84	21.14	0.72
External donkeys	6	19.48	21.49	20.68	0.69
Iron Age D horses	16	20.67	24.47	22.14	0.90
Iron Age E horses	12	21.35	23.26	22.32	0.64
Iron Age F horses	7	21.63	23.26	22.47	0.60
Iron Age G horses	9	21.19	23.29	22.47	0.69
Roman D horses	6	21.84	23.81	22.63	0.70
Roman E horses	9	21.59	24.67	22.58	1.07
Roman F horses	31	20.46	25.65	22.39	1.04
Roman G horses	32	19.91	23.42	22.21	0.75
Roman F mules	18	20.33	23.11	21.69	0.83
Roman G mules	22	19.87	23.85	21.84	0.94

Figure 6.52. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for 'identified ^I archaeological horse metacarpals by period.*

Table 6.42. *Results of t-tests on the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metacarpals.*

When the horse data were split by period and by area (Appendix Figures A4 and *AS),* the Iron Age Gaul specimens appeared to be slightly more slender than those from other regions, but the t-tests (Table 6.42) showed there were no significant differences between any of the regions in either the Iron Age or the Roman period, and there were also no significant differences between the Iron age and Roman samples from those regions with enough data to test. The mules presented a similarly uniform picture, with no significant differences between areas (Appendix Figure A6).

Distal breadth to greatest length index

The distal breadth to greatest length index (Bd/GL x 100) gave some remarkably different results to the other two indices. A total of 760 metacarpals with both measurements was present. There were the same number and split of identified and 'ambiguous' specimens present as for the previous analysis, together with 317 unknown specimens. Detailed results are presented in Appendix Table A28. Figure *6.53* shows the results by species for the identified specimens and it is immediately apparent that there is a substantial difference between the horses and the other two species in their distal breadth indices. The results of the t-tests confirmed this (Table 6.44).

This suggests that the morphology of the distal end of the mule metacarpals more closely resembles that of the donkey whilst the proximal end is more like that of the horse. The shapes of mule hooves are more like those of the donkey (long and narrow) than the horse (almost round at the front). As this is related to the size of the articular surface, the width of the phalanges and hence the distal end of the metacarpal will also reflect any narrowness.

The 'ambiguous' specimens (Figure 6.54) show a similar pattern to the identified specimens but with a lesser degree of separation. This may be one of the factors affecting identification: those horses with smaller distal breadth measurements in relation to length and the broader mules are less clearly separable. The results of the t-tests confirmed these observations (Table 6.44) as whilst the ambiguous mules are most likely to be mules the 'ambiguous' horses could be any of the three species. These identification issues also affect the broader donkey metacarpals, where there is a clear overlap with the mules and also to some extent with the horses. The t-tests showed that the 'ambiguous 'donkeys were more similar to the horses and mules than to the donkeys.

Table 6.43. *Summary statistics for the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals.*

Table 6.44. *Results of t-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metacarpals.*

The unknown specimens (Figure 6.55) show an interesting hint of bimodality, with a smaller group corresponding to the smaller donkey values and a larger group covering the horse mule range. The t-tests showed that the unknown specimens as a group were unlike any of the three species, as would be expected from the much larger range and hint of bimodality. Although t-tests should only be applied to data with a normal distribution, they are being used here (and in cases further on) for consistency and comparability of results. Also, whilst the data appear possibly bi- or even poly-modal, the degree is slight and questionable.

Once again the horse data were examined first, and the split by period showed that there was no visible difference between the periods (Appendix Figure A7), confirmed by the summary statistics (Table 6.45) and t-tests (Table 6.46).

The Iron Age data (Figure 6.56) show that the horses from Gaul seem to be more slender in their distal dimensions than those from the other regions. Although the numbers are small, this is in part confirmed by the t-tests that suggest that there is a significant difference between the Gallic horses and their Danube - Balkans counterparts (Table 6.46). This difference was not observable in the Roman data (Appendix Figure AS) and indeed there were no significant differences between the areas at all in this period.

17 17.518 18.519 19.520 20.521 21.522 22.523 23.524 24.525 **Bd/GL x 100**

Figure 6.53. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for 'identified' archaeological metacarpals.*

Bd/GL x 100

Figure 6.54. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for 'ambiguous' archaeological metacarpals.*

Figure 6.55. *Histograms of distal breadth - greatest length index for unknown archaeological metacarpals.*

Table 6.46. *Results oft-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metacarpals.*

For the mules, the smaller number once again restricted the subsequent analyses. As with the difference between the species overall, the Roman horses and mules showed the same highly significant degree of separation (Table 6.46). The only other split of data that could be undertaken was the Roman period data by area (Appendix Figure A9). There were sufficient numbers in the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas for a t-test to be undertaken and the results showed that there was no significant difference between the areas. This all helps to confirm the uniformity of the mules across the Roman Empire.

Figure 6.56. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horse metacarpals by area.*

In summary, the calculation of the indices on the metacarpals has shown that there are several differences that can be used to both characterise the differences between the species and variations within species. The species differences are clearest using a combination of the indices, as each one individually does not show the whole picture. Visual inspection of the proximal breadth index indicated that there was very little variation between the species, but the t-tests showed that there were significant differences, with the horses most robust and the donkeys narrowest. The shaft breadth index however, indicated that when the data from all periods were lumped together there was no significant difference between the horses and mules but that the donkeys were considerably more slender than either. However, the Iron Age and Roman horse metacarpals were significantly more robust than both the External horses and the contemporaneous mules. Using the distal breadth index showed that the horses were much broader at this joint than either the donkeys or mules, and that all three were significantly different from each other.

Therefore horses (except the External horses) have more robust shafts and broader distal ends than mules and donkeys, and donkeys have more slender proximal and distal ends than either horses or mules. The very slender shafts of the External horses seem more likely to be due to genetic variation than to nutritional stress or sexual dimorphism. In general, the Roman and Iron Age horses and mules present a very uniform picture in terms of their shape indices, across time periods and geographic areas. The slight exception to this is the hint that the Iron Age Gallic horses are more slender in their articular breadths than those from other areas.

6.3.2. Calculation of shape indices on metatarsals

Shaft breadth to greatest length index

A total of585 metatarsals had both the greatest length and shaft diameter measurements to allow analysis of the shaft breadth to greatest length *(SD/GL* x 100) to be undertaken. Of these 272 were 'identified', 47 'ambiguous' and 266 unknown. Examining the data for the identified specimens first, there were 193 horses, 62 mules and 17 donkeys. The results of calculating the shaft breadth index on these specimens are shown in Figures 6.56 - 59. Details of these results can be found in Appendix Table A29. Results that replicate the results from the metacarpals will not be illustrated in the text but in the Appendix.

In Figure 6.57 there is a clear difference between the modal index class of the horses and the other two species. The mule and donkey modal classes fall one class lower than the horses. The differences are less clearly borne out by the mean values (Table 6.47). However, because the standard deviations are so low, the t-tests performed on these data (Table 6.48), showed that the slenderness of the horse metatarsals was highly significantly different to both the mules and donkeys but the last two were not significantly different from each other. This is different to the metacarpals, where the horses and mules were not significantly different, although slight differences were observable in Figure 6.41. This suggests that whilst the mules take the length of their metapodials from the mare (Section 6.2), their slenderness is more akin to the jackass, and this is more marked in the hindlimb than the forelimb.

Table 6.47. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metatarsals*

Table 6.48. *Results of t-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metatarsals.*

Figure 6.57. Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metatarsals.

Isolated Metatarsals: ?Mules

Figure 6.58. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' archaeological metatarsals.*

When we turn to the 'ambiguous' material, the pattern that emerges is different to that observed for the withers height estimations. Figure 6.58 shows that there is a clear separation of the modal classes of the 'ambiguous' horses and mules. Although the distribution of the 'ambiguous' horses is weighted towards the larger end of the scale, the substantial 'tail' produces a lower mean than for the identified horses. In this analysis it seems that maybe the confusion arises in the 'ambiguous' horses between slender horses and mules, and for the 'ambiguous' mules, between mules and donkeys. To test these slightly further, the same data were plotted on scatter plots with the identified material (Figure 6.59) to see if there was a consistent pattern of size and shape in the' ambiguous' mules and horses.

Figure 6.59 shows that most of the horses fall towards the upper left side of the diagonal line drawn through the values where *SD/GL* = 11%. In contrast many of the mules fall to

the lower right side of this line, confirming the indications seen in Figure 6.57 that the mules are more slender in the shaft than the horses. The 'ambiguous' mules are mostly falling at the smaller end of the range for the identified mules, in the area where it overlaps with the donkeys. This backs up the interpretation that the ambiguity is mostly one of size. as the smaller mule individuals are more like the donkeys in the slenderness of their metatarsals. In addition, the linear regression equations derived from the identified data in Figure 6.59 show that the gradient of the horse and mule 'best fit' lines are very similar but the intercept is lower for the mules, indicating generally more slender bones. The 'best fit' line for the donkeys has a much lower gradient and a higher intercept than either of the others, showing that the proportions of the donkey bones are different to the other two.

There is one group of 'ambiguous' horses at the larger end of the range that is perhaps 'ambiguous' because the individuals are tall and are being confused with the mules in this area, as stated previously. There are, however, a number of smaller 'ambiguous' horses that are also quite slender (SD/GL \leq 11%), and these could easily be confused with the mules in this area on the slenderness of the shaft. However, there are also a number of 'identified' individuals in the same area so other aspects of shape must be playing a role in the identification. The t-tests (Table 6.48) showed that, as expected, the ambiguous horses are unlikely to be donkeys but could be either of the other two, and similarly the' ambiguous' mules could be either mules or donkeys.

Figure 6.60 shows the results for the unknown specimens. As in the withers height analysis, the histogram covers nearly the same range as the combined identified material, with a bias towards the horse range. The t-tests (Table 6.48) backed up this observation. Of particular note are a few specimens with very large index values (greater than 13.5). Although these appear to be very robust specimens, a pathological cause for this robusticity cannot be ruled out from the data available.

As with the metacarpals, the numbers of specimens available to study were less than they were for the withers height analyses, because only results from a single element could be studied. Examining the data for the identified horses first of all, the data were grouped by period, area and site type, using the same categories as for the withers height analysis. Figure 6.61 shows the data split by period and is in some ways similar to the withers height analysis, with the Roman horses being more robust as well as taller than their Iron Age counterparts.

321

Figure 6.59. *Scatter plots of shaft breadth against greatest length for the 'identified' and 'ambiguous' archaeological metatarsals. Solid diagonal lines show SDIGL* = 11%.

Figure 6.60. Histogram of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'unknown' archaeological metatarsals.

The External horses have very slender metatarsals in comparison with the Iron Age and Roman horses. This is reflected in the t-test results (Table 6.50), which showed that the External data are highly significantly different to both other periods and that the Iron Age and Roman data are significantly different from each other.

Table 6.49. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals*

Category	$\mathbf n$	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age	30	10.32	13.31	11.52	0.63
Roman	71	10.10	14.40	11.83	0.69
External	92	9.56	13.29	11.11	0.70
Iron Age area D	13	10.32	12.44	11.48	0.55
Iron Age area E	8	10.60	12.37	11.39	0.58
Iron Age area G	9	10.83	13.31	11.70	0.81
Roman area D	12	10.40	12.13	11.42	0.50
Roman area E	15	11.11	13.29	11.87	0.59
Roman area F	18	10.81	12.81	11.91	0.60
Roman area G	23	10.61	14.40	12.03	0.79
Cemetery	5	11.30	12.22	11.69	0.43
Military	10	10.61	14.40	11.94	1.06
Rural	4	11.14	13.26	12.00	0.90
Urban	26	10.81	13.29	11.98	0.55
Urban 2	14	10.40	12.15	11.45	0.50
Vicus	4	11.05	12.81	12.09	0.86
Villa	7	11.11	12.53	11.89	0.48

Figure 6.61. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals by period.*

9 9.5 10 10.5 11 11.5 12 12.5 13 l3.5 14 14.5 15 *SD/GL* **x 100**

5

 $\mathbf{0}$

Table 6.50. Results oft-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals

The data for the Iron Age horses, split by region, gave low numbers of specimens: 13 for Gaul, eight for Britain and nine for the Danube and Balkans. The data are presented graphically in Appendix Figure Al 0 as there were no obvious differences between the regions. The t-tests (Table 6.50) also reflected this, with no significant differences between the regions, but it must be borne in mind that because the number of specimens is low these results are only an indication of the likely significance.

The numbers of specimens are slightly higher for the Roman data when split by area, and the results are given in Figure 6.62. The most noticeable difference between the regions is the distribution of the Gaul dataset. Although there is a bias towards the more robust individuals within the range, both the maximum and minimum values are lower than for the other three regions and the range is also narrower. This is reflected in the t-tests (Table 6.50) with the horses from Gaul being significantly different to those from the other three regions, which were not significantly different from each other. Interestingly, there is also no significant difference between the slenderness of the metatarsals of the Iron Age and Roman horses from Gaul. This might suggest that in Roman Gaul horses were being bred locally from stock that still retained the conformation of pre-conquest horses. Alternatively it could be the result of post-weaning malnutrition or sexual dimorphism. Discussion of this has been made earlier in reference to the External horse metacarpals and will be continued below.

Figure 6.62. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified ^J Roman archaeological horse metatarsals by area.*

Splitting the Roman horse data by site type again produced rather low numbers in each category but did produce some interesting results. Figure 6.62 shows that there are slight differences between the site types, particularly between the urban and urban 2 site types (large towns, and small towns respectively). This difference is reflected in the t-test results, with the urban and urban 2 groups being highly significantly different. The small numbers of the military specimens may be influencing the results, as they are not significantly different to either of the other two groups. The difference between the urban and urban 2 groups is that the urban 2 horses seem to be more slender limbed than their urban counterparts. This discernible difference is in contrast to the withers height analysis, which failed to show any differences between the site types. It is perhaps to be expected that the horses inthe larger towns and cities were more robust (closer to the ideal Roman model, as discussed in Chapter 1) than those in the smaller towns.

From the analysis of the shaft breadth index of the metatarsals it seems that there are differences in limb slenderness between groups of horses that showed no differences in withers height. This suggests that the horses were not as homogeneous as the withers height data indicated.

The numbers of mules were considerably fewer than the horses and so the amount of grouping into smaller subsets that can be usefully achieved is also reduced. Splitting the mule data by period (Figure 6.64) shows that, as usual, there are very few Iron Age mules. Figure 6.64 also shows that the Roman and External data have opposite biases to their distributions, the Roman data being biased towards the more robust individuals and the External data towards the more slender limbed specimens. However, because the overall ranges and means are quite similar (Table 6.5 1), the t-tests showed that there was a significant difference at $P<0.05$ but not at $P<0.01$ (Table 6.52). This pattern of more slender limbed mules in the areas External to the Empire is the same as that seen for the horses. Two possible explanations for this can be put forward: either the mules were bred locally from local horses, or the mules that were used as pack animals going to these areas were not as robust as those used internally within the Empire.

Figure 6.63. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metatarsals by site type.*

Table 6.51. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

Table 6.52. *Results oft-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length indexfor the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

Grouping the Roman data by area again shows a similar pattern to that of the horses (Figure 6.65). Although the numbers of specimens are very small, the mules from Gaul seem to be slender limbed similar to the horses from the same region, and the same explanations for this difference probably apply here. The only areas where there were enough mules to test for significance were the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas, where no significant difference was found using t-tests (Table 6.52). The only site type containing more than a few mule specimens was the urban group (Figure 6.66). Therefore it was not possible to see if the trends observed for the horses were present in the mule data as well.

Figure 6.64. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals by period.*

Figure 6.65. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' Roman archaeological mule metatarsals by area.*

Metatarsals: Mules: Urban

Figure 6.66. *Histograms of the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' Roman archaeological mule metatarsals by site type.*

There were only 17 identified donkeys so very little further analysis could be undertaken. The results for the Iron Age and Roman periods are shown in Appendix Figure All, as there were only two External specimens. The ranges were very similar and the means identical (Table 6.53). The small numbers precluded any t-tests being undertaken. No further data splits could be usefully undertaken because of the small sample size.

Table 6.53. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length indexfor the 'identified' archaeological donkey metatarsals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age	-7	9.85	11.14	10.65	0.44
Roman	ō	9.53	11.43	10.65	0.67
External		9.12	11.93	10.52	1.99

Proximal breadth to greatest length index

A total of 553 metatarsals had both greatest length and proximal breadth measurements, allowing calculation of the Bp/GI x 100 index. Of these 271 were 'identified' (192 horses, 62 mules and 17 donkeys), 47 were 'ambiguous' (36 ?horses and 11 ?mules) and the remaining 235 were unknown. Detailed results are given in Appendix Table A30. The 'identified' data are presented by species in Figure 6.67 and show that, as with the metacarpals, the mules are substantially more slender in their proximal index than the horses. This is also shown in the mean of each species (Table 6.54) and the t-tests (Table 6.55). The difference between the horses and mules is more pronounced with this index with the modal classes further apart than on the shaft slenderness index. As before, the donkeys are smaller than the other two species but overlap considerably with the mules.

Table 6.54. *Summary statistics for the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metatarsals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Donkeys	17	14.65	18.81	17.22	0.90
Mules	62	16.22	19.08	17.74	0.62
Horses	192	16.84	20.30	18.60	0.64
?Mules	11	16.74	18.00	17.47	0.42
?Horses	36	17.00	19.83	18.15	0.61
Unknown	235	15.97	21.86	18.33	0.93

Table 6.55. *Results of t-tests on the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metatarsals*

The 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' specimens are shown in Figure 6.68, and once again the 'ambiguous' horses are towards the lower end of the horse range (Table 6.54). However, the 'ambiguous' mules fall towards the lower end of the mules range, and the t-tests (Table 6.55) reflect this, showing that they are most likely to be mules or donkeys rather than horses. The 'ambiguous' horses appear to be different to all three species in the t-tests.

Figure 6.67. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metatarsals.*

Figure 6.68. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' and unknown archaeological metatarsals.*

As usual the 'unknown' specimens cover the range displayed by all three species and mostly covering the mule-horse range. As with the shaft slenderness index, there were a number of very robust specimens. It is possible that these could be pathological specimens with both the shaft and proximal end affected, or they could be genuinely robust specimens. There is no way of confirming either hypothesis from the data available. The t-tests (Table 6.55) showed that, as usual, the unknown specimens were significantly different from all three individual species.

Analysing the horse data by period shows that, in contrast to the shaft slenderness index, the External horses were not more slender in their proximal breadth index than the Iron Age and Roman data (Figure 6.69). This is the same pattern that was seen in the metacarpals (Figure 6.52), suggesting that the morphology of the forelimbs and hindlimbs of all the archaeological horses were very similar to each other at the proximal end even if the shaft proportions were slightly different. Given the similarities between the groups on Figure 6.68 it is hardly surprising that the t-tests (Table 6.57) showed that there were no significant differences between the horses of the three periods on this index.

336

Figure 6.69. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals by period.*

Metatarsals: Roman Horses: Britain

5

Metatarsals: Roman Horses: Rhineland

Metatarsals: Roman Horses: Danube/Balkans $6 \top$ ⁵ -1------------ __ $4 \overline{}$ $\overline{3}$ 2+-------------- I- 1- !--- I- $\mathbf{1}$ $\overline{}$ 14.5 IS 15.5 16 16.517 17.518 18.5 *1919.52020.521 21.522 22.5* **Bp/GL ^X 100**

Figure 6.70. Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metatarsals by area.

Table 6.57. *Results of t-tests on the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaaeological horse metatarsals*

Dividing the periods by areas showed that there was a remarkable degree of consistency between all areas (Figure 6.70) and this was reflected in the t-tests where no significant differences were recorded between any of the areas (Table 6.57). This was in contrast to the shaft slenderness index, which indicated the Roman horses from Gaul were more slender than their counterparts in other areas. It was similar to the External data, where slender shafts were indicated but the proximal breadths were not correspondingly slender. The possible explanations given above for this variation are valid for the horses from Roman Gaul, as well as the External ones, namely nutritional stress or genetic variation (sexual dimorphism seems an unlikely cause in a sample from a variety of sites). In this case, neither explanation can be ruled out, as the numbers of individuals involved are too small.

The Roman period data split by site type showed a similar uniformity to the area data (Appendix Figure Al2 and Table 6.57), once again mirroring the results given earlier for the metacarpals on this index. However, the shaft slenderness index on the metatarsals indicated that the urban 2 group individuals were more slender than their urban and military counterparts. This could, once again, reflect genetic variation or nutritional stress and the numbers are too small to rule out either option. However, the urban 2 group came from quite widely distributed sites, perhaps suggesting that genetic variation would be the more likely cause.

When the mule data were split by period, the results were slightly different to those of the horses. Figure 6.71 shows that the External mules seem more slender on this index than their Roman counterparts, unlike the horses where no discernable difference was detected. However, the t-tests (Table 6.59) showed that this difference was not statistically significant.

Metatarsals: Roman Mules

Figure 6.71. *Histograms of proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals by period.*

14.5 15 15.5 16 16.5 17 17.5 18 18.5 19 19.5 20 20.5 21 21.5 22 22.5 **Bp/GLx 100**

 θ

 $\mathbf{1}$

As has been the case on most previous analyses of the mule data, splitting the proximal breadth data by area and by site type once again showed a remarkable uniformity across the groups (Appendix Figure A13 and A14). This was reflected in the t -test results (Table 6.59) where no significant differences were found. There were highly significant differences between the horses and mules of different periods and areas, confirming the results from analysis of the species groups as a whole.

Table 6.58. *Summary statistics for the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

Category	n	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Iron Age	6	16.22	18.45	17.69	0.88
External	18	16.54	18.58	17.60	0.51
Roman	38	16.42	19.08	17.82	0.63
Roman area F	16	16.75	19.08	18.02	0.72
Roman area G	12	16.95	18.17	17.69	0.39
Roman military	6	17.79	19.08	18.43	0.59
Roman Urban	14	16.75	18.55	17.59	0.51
Roman Urban 2	$\overline{11}$	16.42	18.56	17.62	0.61

Table 6.59. *Results of t-tests on the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

There were too few donkeys to represent graphically or to undertake t-test analyses, and as before the groups were too widely spread in time and location to allow meaningful comparison to take place. Table 6.60 is therefore just provided for completeness.

Table 6.60. Summary statistics for the proximal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological donkeys metatarsals

Distal breadth to greatest length index

A total of 559 metatarsals were available for analysis of distal breadth to greatest length (Bd/GL x 100) index. Of these 271 were 'identified' (193 horses, 61 mules and 17 donkeys), 47 were 'ambiguous' (36 ?horses and 11?mules) and 241 were 'unknown'. Detailed results are presented in Appendix Table A31. As with the metacarpals, the results of the distal breadth index on the metatarsals were quite different to the preceding index calculations. Figure 6.72 shows the results for the 'identified' specimens by species and shows that the slenderness of the mules is much more marked than on the shaft and proximal breadth indices. The donkeys were more slender still, unlike on the metacarpals where there was a greater degree of overlap between the mules and donkeys. This is reflected in the summary statistics (Table 6.61) and the t-tests (Table 6.62) where all three species are highly significantly different to each other. The explanation given for the metacarpals in terms of the distal limb morphology is also valid here, perhaps indicating that the mules. are inheriting their distal limb morphology from the jackass rather than the mare, but are separated by size (inherited from the horse).

Table 6.62. *Results of t-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological metatarsals*

Metatarsals: Donkeys

Figure 6.72. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological metatarsals.*

Metatarsals: Unknown

Figure 6. 73. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous) and 'unknown) archaeological metatarsals.*

Figure 6.73 shows the results from the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' specimens. As has been the case previously, the 'ambiguous' horses fall towards the lower end of the horse scale. However, the 'ambiguous' mules fall towards the middle of the mule range, suggesting that the distal breadth is not the factor confusing the identification of these individuals. The t-tests (Table 6.62) reflected these observations, with the 'ambiguous' mules most likely to be mules, and the 'ambiguous' horses being significantly different to all three species. As with the metacarpals, the distribution of the 'unknown' specimens showed a hint of bimodality, with the lower peak probably corresponding with donkeys. As expected, .the 'unknown' specimens were significantly different as a group to the three species separately (explanation of the use of t-tests in this situation is given in the metacarpal section above).

Splitting the horse data into period groups (Figure 6.74) showed that there was a slight difference between the Iron Age horses and the other two groups. This was reflected in the t-tests (Table 6.64), where the Iron Age horses were significantly smaller than the External ones and highly significantly smaller than the Roman ones. This is in contrast to the results from the metacarpals on this index, which showed no significant difference between the periods. These results are also slightly different to those on the shaft index for this bone, where the External bones were the most slender and the Iron Age ones only slightly different to the Roman ones. This suggests that whilst the External metatarsals have slender shafts they have relatively wide distal breadths, whereas the Iron Age metatarsals have slightly slender shafts and distal breadths.

345

Table 6.64. *Results oft-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals*

The distal slenderness of the Iron Age horses as a group was revealed to be inconsistent across geographic areas (Figure 6.75). The Gallic horses were significantly more slender than those from the Danube and Balkans area (Table 6.64). The British Iron Age horses also appeared to be distally more slender but could not be tested because the numbers were too small. This distal slenderness of the Gallic horses was also picked up in the analysis of the metacarpals and in the shaft slenderness index of the metatarsals (the first was significantly different, the latter not).

However, when the Roman material was examined by area, no significant differences were visible between the groups (Appendix Figure A15) and this was reflected in the t-test results (Table 6.64). This contrasts with the shaft slenderness index, where the Roman horses from Gaul were visually and statistically more slender than other areas. This could suggest that in the case of the Roman horses from Gaul the shaft slenderness of the metatarsals may be more likely to be caused by nutritional stressrather than genetic variation, as in both articular breadth indices no significant difference between the areas could be detected. Similarly, there were no significant differences in distal breadth index between any of the Roman groups by site type (Appendix Figure A16 and Table 6.64), whereas the shaft breadth index showed differences between the Urban and Urban 2 classes (Table 6.50). As above, it seems that this difference in shaft but not articular breadths is more likely to have been caused by nutritional stress than genetic variation.

Figure 6. 74. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals by period.*

347

Metatarsals: Iron Age Horses: Britain $4.5~\top$ 4-1----------------- 3.5 3-1--------------- 2.5 $\overline{+}$ $2+$ 1.5 $\overline{\qquad \qquad }$ $0.5+...+...$ *O+-~--~__r_--~__r_* 14.5 15 15.5 16 16.5 17 17.5 18 18.5 19 19.5 20 20.5 21 21.5 22 22.5 **Bd/GL ^X 100**

Figure 6. 75. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the Iron Age 'identified' archaeological horse metatarsals by area.*

As on most previous occasions, the mules showed a remarkable degree of homogeneity across time periods, geographic areas and site types (Appendix Figures A17-A19). The ranges and means (Table 6.65) showed just how similar the groups are, and the t-tests (Table 6.66) also reflected this, with no significant differences detectable between the groups. This was consistent with the results obtained from the most of the other indices on both the metatarsal and metacarpal and indeed the withers heights results. These very consistent results, in both height and build, across time and space is lending weight to the argument that there must have been either centralised breeding of mules or strict control over breeding in all areas of the Empire.

Table 6.65. *Summary statistics for the distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

Table 6.66. *Results oft-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals*

As before the donkeys were too few to allow any further analysis and Table 6.67 is presented here for the sake of completeness.

Table 6.67. *Summary statistics for the distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified* ^J *archaeological donkey metatarsals*

The differences observed between the horses and mules on the shaft breadth and distal breadth indices suggest that a bivariate plot of these two indices may produce some degree of separation of the species. Figure 6.76 shows the results and there is indeed some degree of separation of the mules and horses. There is, however, still quite a range of overlap. A plot of the 'ambiguous' specimens (Figure 6.77) with their identified counterparts shows that, inthe case of the mules, the' ambiguous' specimens fall into the main body of identified material. Although a few of these are also in the overlap zone with the horses, it seems most likely that the mule identifications are correct. However, when the' ambiguous' horses are examined, they mostly fall towards the mule overlap zone and in some cases look decidedly more like mules on these criteria. Therefore these 'ambiguous' horses should probably remain ambiguous, as there is no way of determining the correct identification.

Figure 6.76. *Scatter plot of SD/GL index against Bd/GL index for the 'identified' archaeological horses and mules.*

When the 'unknown' specimens are analysed (Figure 6.78), it can be seen that they spread across the ranges of both the horses and the mules. However, there are a number of individuals towards the lower edge of the cluster that are most likely to be mules as they fall below the overlap zone. Similarly, the group of individuals towards the upper right comer of the graph are most likely to be horses as there are no identified mules in this region. These identifications must of course remain tentative, as there were too few measurements on these individuals for full discriminant function analysis of species to be carried out.

Figure 6.77. *Scatter plot of SD/GL index against Bd/GL index for the 'identified' and 'ambiguous' archaeological horses and mules.*

Figure 6.78. *Scatter plot of SD/GL index against Bd/GL index for the unknown archaeological specimens.*

6.3.3 Calculation of shape indices on tibiae

Whilst shape indices are more usually carried out on the metapodials, there is no reason for them not to be undertaken on other elements within the skeleton. In this research, the purpose of examining the shape indices on other bones is twofold: to see if the results are consistent with those on the metapodials, and to elucidate the shape differences between the species that are producing the identifications in the discriminant function analysis. In order to study the first of these questions it was necessary to calculate the same indices as were used on the metapodials in order to make direct comparisons.

Shaft breadth to greatest length index

There were 222 tibiae with the requisite measurements for the shaft diameter to greatest length (SD/GL x 100) index, including 53 'identified' bones (18 horses, 28 mules and seven donkeys), 13 'ambiguous' horses and 156 'unknown' specimens. Details of the results are given in Appendix Table A32. Figure 6.79 shows the results for the 'identified' tibiae, and it can be seen that the horses and mules are quite similar to each other and the donkeys are slightly more slender. The mule range is located slightly more to the left than the horse data (Table 6.68) and also the mule modal class is lower than that of the horses. These observations are, however, not borne out by the results of the t-tests (Table 6.69), which showed that there were no significant differences between any of the three species.

The 'ambiguous' horses and 'unknown' specimens are shown in Figure 6.80. The ambiguous horses were similar to both the identified horses and mules and this was reflected in the ttests (Table 6.69), which showed there were no significant differences between either of these pairings. The same was true of the 'unknown'material, suggesting that this group mostly contains a mixture of horses and mules (and possibly also donkey,s as there were too few identified ones to test against).

The small numbers of tibiae available for this analysis meant that it was not possible to use many other data groupings. The exception to this was a comparison of the Roman horses and mules (Appendix Figure A20). These reflected the same pattern as the overall species, with no significant differences between the groups (Tables 6.68 and 6.69).

Tibiae: Donkeys

Figure 6.79. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified) archaeological tibiae by species.*

Table 6.68. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth-greatest length index for the archaeological tibiae*

*Table*6.69. *Results oft-tests on the shaft breadth-greatestlength indexfor the archaeological tibiae*

During the critical analysis of the withers heights methods, it was noted that the mules had significantly longer tibiae (as a proportion of the withers height) than the horses. Using the *SD/GL* index it should be possible to see if the mule tibiae are slender in relation to their additional length or are proportionately as robust as the horses. From Figure 6.78 it is possible to suggest the latter, as there were no significant differences between the species on the shaft breadth index. Therefore, although the mule tibiae are longer than their horse counterparts, they are also wider in the shaft diameter. It is suggested here that the shaft slenderness of the mule metatarsals is not followed through into the tibiae. This may be due to an increased muscle mass around the tibiae preventing the bone from being too slender so that it can support the mechanical stresses exerted upon it.

Figure 6.80. Histograms of shaft breadthv / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological tibiae by species.

Distal breadth to greatest length index

In contrast to the shaft slenderness index, the distal breadth *I* greatest length index (Appendix Table A33 and Figure 6.81) showed that there was a significant difference between the horses and mules (Table 6.71). Indeed the mules were more like the donkey tibiae. This reflected the results of the metapodials, where the distal ends of the mule bones were more slender than those of the horses. However, it did not reflect the picture given by the proximal end of the metapodials, as might be expected from the proximity of these two joint surfaces. The explanation for this could well lie in the length of the mule tibiae, as discussed above. If the proximal metatarsal and distal tibiae are of similar widths for the horses and mules, but the mule tibiae are proportionately longer than those of the horses, then the Bd/GI index on the tibiae will appear more slender for the mules than for the horses.

Figure 6.82 shows the results for the 'ambiguous' horses and 'unknown' tibiae. The 'ambiguous' horses showed a very similar range (Table 6.70) and profile to the identified horses and this was reflected in the t-tests (Table 6.71), where they were not significantly different from each other but were significantly different from the identified mules. The 'unknown' specimens showed a large range, as has usually been the case. In addition, there was a hint of bimodality in the distribution, perhaps corresponding to mules and donkeys at the lower end of the scale and horses towards the upper end of the scale. However, as had previously been the case the overlap was too great for any identifications to be based on this evidence alone. The t-tests showed that the unknown specimens were significantly different from the identified horses but not from the mules, perhaps indicating that there may be more mules in the sample than horses.

Table 6.70. Summary statistics for the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological tibiae

Table 6. 71. *Results of t-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological tibiae*

Once again, due to the small sample size, further analyses were severely restricted. The Roman horses and Roman mules could be compared but no other groups (Appendix Figure 21). Surprisingly, given the results above for the species as a whole, there was no significant difference between these two groups, although visually they appeared very similar to Figure 6.81. This may well be due to the small sample size of the Roman horses. Additionally, the similarity between them could reflect an inheritance of the distal breadth morphology from the mare rather than the jackass, the opposite of what was suggested for the slenderness of the metapodials.

Tibiae: Mules

Figure 6.81. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological tibiae by species.*

Figure 6.82. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological tibiae by species.*

Distal depth to distal breadth index

As there were qualitative differences in the distal morphology of the horse and mule tibiae, it was decided to try a slightly more unusual shape index to see if the visual differences were detectable biometrically. The index used was distal depth to distal breadth (Dd/Bd x 100) and the detailed results are given in Appendix Table A34 and Figures A22 and A23. Unfortunately the subtle morphological differences were not picked up by the gross measurement of distal breadth and depth, as there were no significant differences between the species (although the numbers were quite small). It is suggested that more refined measurements may be necessary to pick up the morphological differences between horses and mules.

6.3.4 Calculation of shape indices on radii

As with the tibiae, the purpose of calculating indices on the radii was twofold, to understand further the differences between the species and to comprehend more about any differences within the species by period or area.

Shaft breadth to greatest length index

There was a total of 305 radii that had both greatest length and shaft breadth measurements. Of these, 100 were 'identified' (57 horses, 32 mules and 11 donkeys), 24 were 'ambiguous' (17 horses and seven mules) and the remaining 181 were 'unknown' specimens. The results are shown in Figure 6.83 and Tables 6.72 and 73 (details in Appendix Table A35). As with the tibiae the results for the identified horses and mules were very similar, with the donkeys being slightly more slender. This was reflected in the t-tests, which showed that there was no significant difference between the horses and mules and highly significant differences between the donkeys and the other two species.

The results for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' specimens are shown in Figure 6.84. There were too few ambiguous mules to test for significant differences between pairings of species. However, the range and mean appeared very similar to those of the identified mules but also overlapped with the horses, so it is unlikely that they could be identified further on this basis. The 'ambiguous' horses were also within the range of both the identified horses and mules and this was mirrored in the t-tests, which suggested they were most likely to be mules but could be horses. The range of the unknown specimens overlapped the range of the combined species, with a bias towards the higher middle and higher end of the range. This was reflected in the t-tests, which suggested that the unknown specimens were unlikely to be donkeys but could be horses or mules.

Table 6.72. *Summary statistics for the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological radii*

Figure 6.83. *Histograms of shaft breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological radii by species.*

Figure 6.84. *Histograms of shaft breadth-greatest length index for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological radii by species.*

Table 6.73. *Results of t-tests on the shaft breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological radii*

As with the tibiae, there were too few specimens to warrant much further analysis. Appendix Figure A24 shows the results for the identified horses split by period and the summary statistics and t-tests are given in Tables 6.72 and 6.73. There were no significant differences between the Roman and External horses (there were too few Iron Age individuals to test but they were visually similar to the other two periods). Also there was no significant difference between the Roman mules and horses, as was likely given the lack of difference between the species overall.

Distal breadth to greatest length index

Figures 6.85 and 6.86 shows the results of the distal breadth to greatest length (Bd/GI x 100) index calculated on the radii. There was a total of264 radii for which this index could be calculated, of which 91 were identified (53 horses, 29 mules and nine donkeys), 18 were 'ambiguous' (15 horses, three mules) and *155* were 'unknown' specimens. Detailed results are presented in Appendix Table A36. Examining the identified material first, it could be seen that there were slight visual differences between all three species, with the horses being most robust, the donkeys most slender and the mules in between. The ranges for all three (Table 6.74) overlapped, but the means were slightly different. This was reflected in the t-tests (Table 6.75), where all three species were shown to be highly significantly different from each other. Itshould be borne inmind, however, that the number of donkeys was rather small.

These results echoed those from the tibiae, where the shaft slenderness results between the horses and mules were not different, but those from the distal slenderness index were. Whilst the radius did not produce exaggerated withers height estimates, it is possible that a similar morphological explanation to that given for the tibiae can be used here. Namely, 362

that the mule radii are more slender at their distal ends than those of the horses but that the shaft robusticity is similar in both, perhaps as a result of the physical need for strength for muscle attachment in the shaft area or a similar weight bearing requirement but slightly different joint function.

Table 6.74. *Summary statistics for the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological radii*

Table 6.75. *Results of t-tests on the distal breadth / greatest length index for the archaeological radii*

There were too few 'ambiguous' mules (three) to display graphically or to apply t-tests to. The 'ambiguous' horses are shown in Figure 6.86 and exhibited a lower range and modal class than the identified horses (Table 6.74), and this is shown in the t-tests (Table 6.75) where they were highly significantly different to the horses but not from either the mules or donkeys. This suggests that the slenderness of the distal end ofthese bones in relation to their lengths is perhaps one of the factors in the ambiguity of their identification.

As has often been the case previously, the 'unknown' specimens covered a wider range than the combined identified specimens (Table 6.74). The t-tests showed that the 'unknown' specimens were not significantly different from the mules but were from the other two species, suggesting that there may perhaps be a higher proportion of mules in this group than there has been on previous elements.

363

Figure 6.85. *Histograms of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological radii by species.*

Figure 6.86. *Histogram of distal breadth / greatest length indexfor the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological radii by species.*

Although the numbers were relatively small, the horse group could be split into period groups. Figure 6.87 shows that the Roman and External groups were slightly different to each other, with the External individuals appearing more robust than the Roman individuals. This result was borne out by the t-tests (Table 6.75), which showed that the two period groups were highly significantly different. This result was in direct contrast to the metapodials, where the External horses were significantly more slender than their Roman counterparts in most of the index results. A possible explanation may be that although the distal ends of the radii are larger, they are in proportion with the proximal metacarpals, which were also similar in all periods. This could therefore lend weight to the argument that nutritional stress in early life is affecting the metapodials of some individuals.

Figure 6.87. *Histogram of distal breadth / greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse radii by period*

When the Roman horses and mules were compared (Appendix Figure A25 for Roman mules) it was found that there was no significant difference between them (Table 6.75). This suggests that the more robust External horses are influencing the results from the species as a whole. The higher values from the External horses were producing a higher range for the horses as a whole and therefore differences between the horses and mules were detectable. The lack of difference in the Roman horses and mules may suggest that the morphology of the radius is more influenced by the mare than the jackass, as was proposed above for the same index on the tibiae.

6.3.5 Summary of shape index analysis

There are two parts of the results of the shape indices that require summarising. Firstly the characteristics that clarify differences between the species and therefore may help with identification, and secondly those results that help us understand the similarities and differences within species.

Examining the species in terms of their shape indices showed that the metapodials were very similar to each other. The radius and tibia were also similar to each other but in some respects different to the metapodials. For all the indices calculated on the metapodials the donkeys were consistently the most slender of the three species. Similarly, on all the indices the mules were more slender than the horses. However, the degree of this difference changed: in particular, the differences were more marked on the metatarsal than the metacarpal, and were progressively more pronounced from the proximal to distal ends.

From these results a bivariate plot of the shaft and distal breadth indices plotted against each other goes some way to separating the horse and mule metatarsals (Figure 6.76). Whilst this does not give complete separation, it does give a good indication that the specimens could be mules if the points lie towards the bottom of the scatter and horses if they lie to the top right of the scatter.

It can be argued that the distal slenderness of the metapodials of the mules is a morphological characteristic inherited from the jackass. Both the fore and hind hooves of mules are more like those of donkeys and much narrower than those of horses. This characteristic translates into a narrow proximal third phalanx articular surface and hence narrow phalanges and distal metapodials.

The tibia and radius differ slightly from the metapodial pattern outlined above in several respects. Because of the poor taphonomic survival of the proximal ends of the bones (particularly the tibia) it was not possible to analyse the proximal breadth to greatest length index. The shaft index showed no significant difference between the mules and horses on either bone (the donkeys were more slender on the radius where there were sufficient numbers), whilst the distal index once again showed a noticeable slenderness of the mules in comparison with the horses (the donkeys were also more slender on the radius).

The slenderness of the distal end of the tibia and radius has to be related to skeletal anatomy. The mules are more slender than the horses at the proximal end of the metapodials; therefore,

367

they should be similarly slender at the distal end of the zygopodium in order for the joints to align correctly. The lack of differentiation in the shaft slenderness could be related to the increased muscle mass around the bones of the zygopodium and therefore an increased need for mechanical strength or simply a matter of weight bearing.

Another aspect of the analysis of the shaft breadth index on the tibia in particular was the issue of the elongation of the tibia in relation to the withers height (as outlined in Chapter 3). Here the question was whether were the mule tibiae were more slender than the horse as well as proportionately longer. From the lack of difference between the mules and horses on the shaft breadth to greatest length index, it seems that the mule tibiae are as proportionately robust as the horses. The reason given above for this lack of differentiation, namely the need for mechanical strength in this area, may well not allow the tibia to be too slender.

In addition to the shaft and distal breadth indices, a distal depth to breadth ratio was calculated. This was desgined to pick up the differences in shape outlined by Peters (1998) and discussed in Chapter 4. However, these differences could not be picked up using distal breadth and distal depth measurements. This may partly be an effect of the small sample size available for this analysis, but may also be an indication that these measurements are not refined enough to pick out the morphological characteristics in enough detail.

The results from the shape indices can also give some indication of where the identification of'ambiguous' individuals is failing. On the metapodials it generally seems to be the case that the 'ambiguous' horses are those that are more slender in their breadth dimensions in relation to length, hence they are more 'mule-like' in this respect. There are two areas where the 'ambiguous' mules are causing problems. Firstly, the more robust individuals are being confused with the horses, and secondly the overall smaller individuals are overlapping with the donkeys. The 'ambiguous' mules are mostly ambiguous in their proximal and shaft dimensions, as their distal indices fall in the middle of the range for the identified material. This perhaps indicates that the inheritance of the distal metapodial morphology is a relatively reliable characteristic.

Examination of the results to reveal similarities or differences within species was unfortunately hampered by the small numbers of specimens available for analysis. Therefore for most elements no further analysis was possible regarding the donkey bones and very little on the mules. In general, there were very few significant differences between the

mule data by period, area or site type, confirming the previous observations that the mules appear to be very homogeneous across the Roman Empire. The exceptions to this were on the shaft breadth to greatest length index on the metatarsals, where the External mules were slightly more slender than the Roman ones and the mules from Roman Gaul also seemed slightly more slender than those from other areas, but were too few to test for significance. These results will be compared with those of the horses and discussed below.

The horses showed a little more variation than the mules, but still not a great deal. This was again partly due to the small sample sizes. In most of the analyses it was noted that, where there were differences by period, the Roman horses were generally more robust than their Iron Age and External counterparts. This was particularly true for the shaft indices of the metapodials but less so for the articular indices or the zygopodium. Three possible explanations for the slenderness of the shafts of the External metapodials can be considered. Firstly, it is possible that these individuals experienced nutritional deprivation during the period of time affecting the circumferential growth of the metapodials but not during longitudinal growth. Secondly, there may be some genetic basis for these individuals having more slender shafts to their metapodials. Thirdly, castration may cause the elongation of bones by delaying epiphyseal closure, and hence sexual dimorphism could be detected in this way. However, it is unlikely that a group of bones derived from several sites spread over a relatively wide geographic area would contain mostly geldings whilst the groups used for comparison contained mostly mares and/or stallions. In addition, the degree to which equids are sexually dimorphic is slight and the degree of bone elongation caused by castration is not fully known, therefore it is unlikely that this is the cause of the greater slenderness of these horses.

The first two explanations can both be argued for and against, making it unlikely that it will be possible to determine which is more likely. The large number of individuals affected perhaps argues that it is more likely that there is a genetic basis for this metapodial shaft slenderness than a temporally and geographically widespread husbandry regime that causes nutritional stress during the period of circumferential growth. However, one regime that would produce this pattern of nutritional stress is where the foals are weaned late (i.e. after their first winter) so their second winter will be the first 'on their own' in terms of nutrition. The period of circumferential growth of the metapodials, which occurs during an age range of 1*Y2* to 2 years, would coincide with the second winter, if it is accepted that foaling occurs naturally around April-May each year. Given that most of these External horses were from Northern Europe, wintertime could easily cause nutritional stress if no supplementary fodder was available to the animals.

369

A second case where there were slender individuals is the distal breadth to greatest length index of both metapodials. Here the Iron Age horses from Gaul were more slender than their counterparts in other areas and also more slender than the Roman horses from the same area. Although both explanations given above could be used here, it is much less likely that nutritional stress would affect the distal articular breadth than it would the shaft breadth. As this result is restricted to one area, it seems more likely that the Iron Age horses from Gaul had slightly more slender distal limb morphology than their counterparts in other areas, which is likely to have been genetic in origin.

On the metatarsal shaft slenderness index there were also two cases where there were more slender individuals. Firstly the Roman horses from Gaul were more slender in their shafts than those from other areas, and secondly the Urban 2 (small town) group was more slender than the Urban counterparts. This is perhaps unsurprising as both groups originate mainly from a single site. Once again both arguments nutritional deprevation and genetic, can be put forward about the origin of this shaft slenderness. Inthis case it is impossible to suggest which explanation is more likely as the numbers do not preclude a single husbandry regime and as they are from a single site they could be genetically distinct.

When the radius and tibia were examined there were far fewer specimens even than for the metapodials, which severely limited the subsequent analyses. Two points of interest were, however, noted. Firstly, the distal breadth to greatest length index on the tibia showed that even though on the overall species analysis the mules were more slender than the horses, when the Roman animals were compared no significant difference was detected. Although the number of horses was relatively small, it is suggested that perhaps the Roman mules had inherited a robusticity in their tibiae from the generally more robust Roman horses. However, it is slightly odd that this is based on the dimensions of the distal tibia, when the proximal metatarsal showed the more usual pattern of slender mules.

Secondly, regarding the distal breadth to greatest length index of the radius, the External horses were more robust than their Roman counterparts, in contrast to all other elements and indices where a difference was detected. For obvious anatomical reasons the distal radius has to be in proportion to the proximal metacarpal, for which no significant differences were noted by period. This suggests that the distal radius of the External horses is a little more robust than expected. The general slenderness of the External metacarpals is perhaps making the contrast seem greater than it really is. If this is the case, this piece of evidence lends weight to the argument that nutritional stress is the most likely causal factor for the slender shafts of the External horse metapodials.

370

6.3.6. Relation a/shape index results to species identification issues

In order to determine if the results of the shape indices could further characterise the outlying groups of identifications observed and commented on in Sections 6.1.3 and 6.2.4, some further analysis of the data was once again necessary. The location of these outlying groups in relation to the 'standard' identification plot (see Figure 6.1) is shown in Figure 6.88 and the definitions of the groups are as stated in Section 6.2.4. As with the withers heights, the range of the shape index results for each element by species was split into three equal portions. Individual bones falling in the smallest third were termed 'slender', the middle third 'average' and the largest third 'robust'. These results were then related to the groups outlined above according to where each bone was located on the identification plots in Section 2.1.

Figure 6.88. *Areas on the 'average' discriminant function plot where clusters of identifications occur*

As with the withers heights, it was discovered that the shape indices of the bones were playing a role in the determination of species and the characteristics of the identification clusters. The 'super' donkeys (area 1) have varied shape indices suggesting that length is more important in their separation. The 'super' mules (area 2) have average to robust shape indices, suggesting that although they are tall individuals they are also proportionately robust. On the other hand, the 'super' horses (area 7) have average to robust shape indices but this time linked with small stature.

The horses and mules in the overlap zone (areas 3 and 4) have average and mixed (respectively) shape indices, suggesting that the overlap in height and the similarity in robusticity are both contributing to the identification problems of these individuals. Both mules and horses in area 5, where the points cluster around the zero point, have slender to average shape indices, as do the horses to the left of the zero line (area 6). In general it seems that robusticity of the individuals is mostly reflected on the x-axis and height mostly on the y-axis of the identification plots. The characteristics of the clusters can, therefore, be roughly determined on this basis.

6.4. Calculation of log-ratios

The history and working of the log-ratio technique has been outlined in Chapter 3 so will not be repeated here. It is, however, worth mentioning that the length, breadth and depth measurements will be studied separately, as advocated by Davis (1996), so that differences within and between the three dimensions can be studied using the period, area and site type groups.

The original intention of this section was to include many of the measurements that could not be utilised in the preceding analyses and therefore increase the size of the dataset and enhance the results gained so far. However, several problems came to light during the previous analyses that meant that the scope of this section had to be scaled down. As stated above, one of the usual advantages of using this technique is that bones where only one or few measurements can be taken can be included in the analysis. However, it became clear that in this research it would not be possible to include more bones than had been used for the previous analyses because the bones have not been identified in Section 6.1. It would not be meaningful to compare 'unidentified' bones to the horse standard (Chapter 3), for example, when the bones could be from mules or donkeys.

This problem of comparing the measurements of the mules and donkeys to a horse standard is also relevant to the identified bones. If the mule measurements were compared to the horse standard, the results would be showing differences to that standard, which have nothing to do with the differences within the mules as a species and more to do with the differences between horses and mules. The same would be true of the donkeys. However, if the mule log-ratios were calculated using a mule standard and the horses using the horse standard, the two sets of results could not be compared to each other.

For these reasons it was decided that only the identified horse data would be studied for this section and the results would be used to confirm or contradict the evidence presented in the preceding sections, rather than as a separate set of results.

6.4.1 Log-ratio analysis of horse length measurements

The length measurements of the 'identified' horses were converted to log-ratio values using the Mongolian pony standard set out in Chapter 3. Where two lengths were present from the same bone, the mean of the two values was calculated to reduce the calculation errors caused by the values not being independent. However, the separate elements from the skeletons' and limbs were left as multiple values, so some dependant values were included.

A total of 609 'identified' horse length measurements could be converted to log-ratios (including the mean values where two measurements from the same bone were taken). The detailed results of these calculations are given in the Appendix Table A37. The large number of lengths meant that the data could be split into most of the groups that have previously been studied. The period groups are shown in Figure 6.89. As was the case with the withers heights, there were highly significant differences between all three groups (Table 6.76), with the Roman horses having the longest bones and the Iron Age ones the shortest.

Table 6. 76. *Results oft-tests on the log-ratio length results for the 'identified' archaeological horses*

In Figure 6.89 the distribution curves are less evenly bell-shaped than had previously been the case. Inparticular there were slight hints that the Roman data could be bimodal and the Iron Age data appeared bi- or possibly trimodal. As stated on previous occasions, the degree of polymodalism seemed to be slight and therefore t-tests were carried out for the sake of consistency of results. The polymodalism may be a product of the repeated data from the complete skeletons and limbs boosting the classes that they fall into. This presumes that the lengths of all the elements are in exactly the same proportions as the standard, for all the values to fall into such narrow class intervals. As this seems unlikely and because of the large numbers of cases involved, the less uniform pattern observed in these data may be real. Breaking the data down into smaller groups may help illuminate this issue.

In relation to the Mongolian pony standard, the External horses are clustered around the zero mark, indicating that in terms of bone length and hence height these two groups of animals are very similar. The Iron Age horses are much more spread out, two apparent groups falling either side of the zero mark. The majority are smaller than the pony standard and the minority are slightly larger than the standard. The Roman data are almost all substantially larger than the pony standard, as was expected from the withers height results.

Examining the Iron Age data in greater detail by splitting into periods, similar observations could be made about these results as were made for the withers heights split in the same way. Figure 6.90 shows that the material from Gaul has a particularly wide range, whilst the other three areas are more restricted. It is also noticeable that there is a slight west to east increase in the sizes of the horses. This was borne out by the t-tests (Table 6.76), where the Danube and Balkans material is significantly larger than the material from Gaul and the Rhineland and only misses by a fraction on the British material. This was also the pattern observed for the withers height data.

Splitting the Roman data into the same area categories produced similar results. Figure 6.91 shows that in this instance it is the British material that showed the widest range of variation. The horses from the Rhineland had the longest bones, which were significantly longer than both the material from Roman Gaul and Britain. The Danube and Balkans material missed being significantly larger than the same two areas by a very small fraction, but was definitely not different from the Rhineland data. In the withers height data the difference was only picked up with the British data, so the log-ratios have refined these observations a little. Therefore, whilst inthe Iron Age there was a slight but gradual increase in size from east to west across Europe, in the Roman period there was a much more noticeable split between the northern and western areas and the more easterly ones. It is entirely possible that this could be attributed to the large military presence with all its supporting infrastructure along the Rhine - Danube frontier, which is less prominent in the more western and northern areas.

Figure 6.89. *Histograms of the log-ratio length results from the 'identified' arcaeological horses split by period.*

Figure 6.90. Histograms of the log-ratio length results from the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horses split by area

Figure 6.91. *Histograms of the log-ratio length results from the 'identified' archaeological Roman horses split by area.*

The Roman data were split by site type to see if the military presence was affecting the size of the horses from the more easterly areas. The results are given in Appendix Figure A26 and Table A37. Whilst the numbers of measurements were still in double figures for most groups, they were smaller than for the previous groups, which may have affected the results of the t-tests (Table 6.76). From the graphs it appeared that the military group were indeed larger than the others (with the exception of the cemetery group), but the t-tests showed that there were no significant differences between any groups except the remains from cemeteries. The numbers in that group were quite small and were mostly from a single site and a small number of complete skeletons, which undoubtedly biased the results to some degree. Therefore it seems that the military presence on the Rhine - Danube frontier was not the reason (at least not the sole reason) why the horses in these areas were larger than their counterparts from Roman Gaul and Britain.

6.4.2 Log-ratio analysis of horse breadth measurements

During the analysis of the shape indices it was noted that there appeared to be a large number of animals with slender shaft breadth indices in relation to the articular breadths. Hence, the hypothesis was put forward that it was more likely that these animals had suffered nutritional stress during limb bone growth than that they were genetically more slender than the other horses. For this reason the shaft breadth was not included in the logratio analysis to avoid any possible confusion of the results, as a consequence of a mixture of causal factors affecting the bones. Therefore only the articular breadth measurements were converted into log-ratios. As with the lengths, where two log-ratios were calculated on the same bone, a mean value was taken.

A total of 619 breadth measurements was converted to log-ratio values for the identified horses. The detailed results of these calculations are given in Appendix Table A38. Figure 6.92 presents the results by period. As before the three distributions were noticeably different. The hints of bimodality seen in the length data were still visible to some degree in the breadth data. This was particularly noticeable in the Iron Age data, where there was a larger peak of values below the zero line and a small peak in the positive zone. The Roman breadth data did not show the bimodality as much as the length data. There was however, a much greater range of values than previously, covering most of the Iron Age range and extending further into the positive values. In contrast the External data had a very narrow range and, as with the length data, clusters around the zero point. The differences between the periods were confirmed by the t-tests (Table 6.77), where all three results were highly significant.

Table 6.77. *Results of t-tests on the log-ratio breadth results for the 'identified' archaeological horses*

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The differences seen in the Iron Age data when split by area in the length log-ratios were much less obvious when the breadth data were analysed (Figure 6.93). The only significant difference was between the data from Gaul and that from the Danube and Balkans area (Table 6.77), even though they look quite similar in Figure 6.93. This suggests that whilst the heights increase towards the east, the breadths do not. This indicates that the build of the eastern animals must have been slightly more slender in relation to height than those in the western areas. This contradicts the evidence from the shape indices, which suggested that the Iron Age Gallic horses were more slender limbed than their counterparts elsewhere.

The pattern that emerged from the length data in relation to the Roman horses by area was repeated in the breadth data. Figure 6.94 shows that, as with the Iron Age data the differences were less clear and the ranges were greater than for the length data. The t-tests (Table 6.77) confirmed that the same differences were present, namely that there was dissimilarity between the western and eastern areas, with the eastern horses having broader bones than those in the west. This means that the bones of the eastern horses were generally larger than those in the west rather than different in proportion.

Inall areas except the Rhineland, there were hints of bimodality in the data, with the lower group clustering around the zero mark and the second in the positive values. This might suggest that the lower group contains individuals that are similar to the preceding Iron Age horses in that area, and larger horses may have been imported during the Roman period. This cannot be tested at present given the limitations of the dating of many of the sites (as discussed in Chapter 5) and the relatively small samples from each area. As was the case with the length data there were no discernible variations between any of the site type groups. Therefore the results are given in Appendix Figure A27.

These results corroborated those from the shape index results, which suggested that the lengths and breadths of the horse bones were in proportion to each other as there was very little variation in the shape indices between periods, areas and site types.

Horses: Iron Age

Log ratio widths **Horses: External**

Figure 6.92 *Histograms of the log-ratio breadth results from the 'identified' archaeological horses by period*

Horses: Iron Age Britain

Horses: Iron Age Rhineland

Figure 6.93 *Histograms of the log-ratio breadth resultsfrom the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horses by area*

Figure 6.94. *Histograms of the log-ratio breadth resultsfrom the 'identified'archaeological Roman horses by area*

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6.4.3 Log-ratio analysis of horse depth measurements

The aim of this third part of the log ratio analysis was to add another dimension to the results obtained so far, as none of the previous analyses had taken the depth (i.e. anteroposterior) measurements into account. As with the lengths and breadths, where two 10gratios were calculated on the same bone, a mean value was used. The total of 514 depth measurements converted to log-ratio values was slightly less than for the lengths and breadths, as fewer workers had originally recorded these measurements. The detailed results of the log-ratio calculations for the depth measurements are given in the Appendix Table A39.

Figure 6.95 presents the results by period, and as before the three distributions were noticeably different. The ranges of the data from the three periods was more like those observed for the breadths, with great variation in the Iron Age and Roman data and the External group much more tightly clustered. As in both previous dimensions, there was a hint of bimodality in both the Iron Age and Roman data, once again most strongly evident in the Iron Age. Also similarly to the preceding analyses, the t-tests (Table 6.78) showed that the observed differences were highly significant. This suggests that in all three dimensions the Roman horses were larger, indicating that whilst the Roman horses were taller they were proportionately no more robust than those in the Iron Age and External datasets.

Table 6. 78. *Results oft-tests on the log ratio depth resultsfor the 'identified' archaeological horses*

Horses: Roman

Horses: External

Figure 6.95 *Histograms of the log-ratio depth results from the 'identified' archaeological horses by period.*

The Iron Age data once again show some differences between areas. Figure 6.96 shows that the Gallic bones were noticeably less deep than their counterparts elsewhere, particularly in the Danube and Balkans. The t-test results (Table 6.78) reflected this, with the Gallic horses being significantly smaller than those from Britain and the Danube areas. It is slightly surprising that they were not also significantly smaller than the Rhineland individuals, but that dataset is rather small and this may have resulted in low significance. These findings reflect the results from the other dimensions, but also amplify them. The differences between the Gallic material and that from other regions seems to be most prominent in the depth measurements and least so in the breadth measurements.

The Roman data once again reflected mainly similarities between the areas (Figure 6.97). The ranges varied quite considerably between the areas, with a particularly wide spread in the British data. The observed similarity between the areas was reflected in the t-tests (Table 6.78), where no highly significant results were obtained, and only two significant ones: between Gaul and Britain and the Danube area. Inthis instance it is unlikely that the number of cases from the Rhineland was a factor in the results of the t-tests. Therefore, it seems that there are slight differences in the bone proportions of the horses from different areas of the Empire, with the depth measurements being less variable from west to east than the other two dimensions.

As in the previous two dimensions, the results of the site type comparisons showed no differences between them, so the results are confined to Appendix Figure A28.

Horses: Iron Age Britain

Figure 6.Y6 Histograms of the log-ratio depth results from the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horses by area.

Figure 6.97 *Histograms of the log-ratio depth results from the 'identified' archaeological Roman horses by area*

6.4.4 Analysis of the combined horse log-ratio results

In order to compare directly the length, breadth and depth log -atios for the studied periods and areas, it is necessary to see the results together. For this purpose the means of each group of data, for all three dimensions, were calculated and plotted together on a single graph. This allows differences in the proportions of the bones between the various groups to be analysed.

Figure 6.98. *Graph of the mean values for the log-ratio calculations of the length, breadth and depth of the 'identified' archaeological horse measurements by period.*

Figure 6.98 shows that the profiles of the three period groups are very similar to each other but are slightly different from the Mongolian pony standard (zero line). All three have larger breadths and smaller depths in relation to length than the standard animals. This could mean that the cross-sectional shape is different, so the cross-sectional area could be different from the standard and hence the weight-bearing capacity of the bones would also be different. However, because one measurement is larger and the other smaller it is difficult to say which direction that difference would take, if any. The positions of the three groups in relation to the zero mark (standard) confirm that the Iron Age and External horses are smaller than the Mongolian ponies and the Roman horses are larger.

Studying the Iron Age data by area (Figure 6.99) shows that there are more differences between the areas than were observed between the periods. All the log-ratio mean values fall below the zero line, as expected from the overall Iron Age means. The most strikingly different groups in terms of their proportions are the Gallic and Danube and Balkans datasets. The Danube area material shows much less deviation from the standard in terms of proportion than any of the other areas. The slight downward trend from the lengths to breadths is the opposite of what is seen in the other groups. The fact that both the breadths and depths of this group are smaller than the standard indicates that the weight-bearing capacity of these individuals is reduced, implying that they are of a slightly more slender build than the Mongolian ponies as well as being marginally smaller.

Figure 6.99. *Graph of the mean values for the log-ratio calculations of the length, breadth and depth of the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horse measurements by area.*

In the case of the Gallic data, the markedly smaller size of the depth measurements in relation to the breadth means that the cross-sectional area of these bones is appreciably smaller than the standard (and the other areas). Therefore these individuals must have been of a more slender build than their counterparts elsewhere, as well as being slightly smaller in terms of height. The British and Rhineland material follows the pattern seen in the overall period groups, with the breadths slightly higher and the depths lower in relation to the lengths.

The Roman data also show interesting variation between the area groups (Figure 6.100). The data from Roman Gaul follow a similar pattern to that seen in the Iron Age data from the same region, with markedly smaller depth measurements in relation to the other two dimensions, although all dimensions are much larger. A similar comparison can be made with the British data, the proportionately higher values for the breadth measurements can be seen in both the Iron Age and Roman data, although again, the pure size is different.

The patterns of the Roman Rhineland and Danube and Balkans material show differences between these and the other two regions and also with their corresponding Iron Age datasets. In the case of the Roman Rhineland, the pattern more closely follows that of the Gallic horses than the preceding Iron Age in the region. The depth measurements are substantially smaller than the other two dimensions, once again suggesting that these animals are more slender in relation to their height than the standard Mongolian ponies. The Danube and Balkans dataset shows a marked rise in the breadth measurements in relation to both the lengths and depths in the Roman data. This is in contrast to the preceding Iron Age data and is in fact more like the pattern seen in the British data, although slightly more pronounced.

Figure 6.100. Graph of the mean values for the log-ratio calculations of the length, breadth and depth of the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse measurements by area.

Although no significant differences were detected between the Roman site type groups within the individual log-ratio analyses, when the three dimensions were put together some striking differences appeared (Figure 6.101). Whilst the number of measurements in some categories was quite small, they were all in double figures so it is suggested that these differences may not be solely a product of small sample sizes. One of the more noticeably different patterns was that of the cemetery data. Although it has been stated earlier that much of these data derived from a few individuals, it is still striking that these individuals are so much taller than the rest of the groups (as reflected in the length t-tests). What also becomes apparent in Figure 6.101 is that the bones are considerably more slender in both the breadths and depths than their counterparts from other site types. These animals were not only taller than the other groups but were also considerably more slender in their build, as the load-bearing cross-sectional area of the bones was greatly reduced.

The horses from the military and villa groups showed similarity in the proportions of the bones, with the military individuals being marginally larger all round. These two groups showed the 'usual' pattern of the breadths being larger and the depths smaller in relation to length, however the degree of slope in both parts of the graph is slightly greater than the overall Roman picture, suggesting that whilst the proportions are slightly different to the standard the overall build of the animals may not be much different. The urban group was similar to the last two groups in the proportions of lengths and breadths, but the depth measurements were larger, suggesting that these animals may have been of a more robust build than those from the military and villa sites.

Figure 6.101. Graph of the mean values for the log-ratio calculations of the length, breadth and depth of the 'identified ^Iarchaeological Roman horse measurements by site type.

The last two groups were similar to each other but different from the other groups. The Urban 2 (small town) and rural material had similar length and depth measurements to the other groups but the breadth measurements were appreciably lower than the other groups, with almost the same values as the length measurements. This suggests that these animals were of similar proportions to the Mongolian ponies in the length and breadth measurements but were smaller in the depth measurements. Once again this suggests that these individuals may have been of a slightly more slender build than the Mongolian ponies and a slightly different, although not necessarily more slender, build to the other site type groups.

These log-ratio analyses have shown that whilst the individual dimensions of the bones may be similar to each other, the proportions they form can be markedly different. The analysis of the log-ratio data has enabled many of the previous observations to be confirmed, and a small amount of additional information appertaining to bone proportions and hence build has been added. The differences observed in the site type groups in particular have revealed additional information that would not be gathered from other analyses, chiefly because the sample sizes were too small.

6.5 Summary of results

6.5.1 Summary of results relating to species identifications

The results of applying the discriminant function analysis to the archaeological data (Section 6.1) showed that there had up to this point been a major problem with the identification of equids found on Roman sites. From new methodology developed in this research (the use of discriminant function analysis) it has been revealed that two-thirds as many mules as horses are present in the Roman assemblages studied, whereas the zooarchaeological literature had previously suggested that only a few mules were present.

The species ratio for the Roman material was 14: 10.5: 1 horses:mules:donkeys, in contrast with the Iron Age for which a ratio of 7.5:1.5:1 was established. When these data were split by area there were differences in the proportions: the Rhine and Danube and Balkans areas showed similar results to the overall figures, with horses forming about 56% of the identified equids and mules about 40%. In Gaul, the proportion of horses was higher and in Britain higher still. The most strikingly different results were from Egypt, where much higher proportions of donkeys and mules were noted. However, this is probably because most identifications were from the site of Mons Claudianus, an industrial quarry site unlike any of the sites in the other regions. Another factor in these differences may be that North Africa has the climate and conditions to which donkeys are adapted and horses are not.

The results from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs confirmed the usefulness of the methodological approach of assigning identification levels, as different elements of many individuals gave differing results. This meant that had identification levels not been assigned, the results for one individual could have been extremely confusing. However, those elements with 'possible' identifications were discounted and the overall identifications became clearer. There were still six individuals that could not be assigned to one species or another as their results were too varied. Incontrast, eight individuals showed particularly clear-cut results, with most or all of the elements giving the same identification. With the 'ambiguous' results, there did not seem to be a bias towards horse or mule identifications with the complete skeletons and limbs. Therefore, it was presumed that no species bias would be introduced in the study of the isolated elements, as the wrong identifications would be evenly distributed.

In addition, there were a number of cases where the results of the identification using discriminant function analysis and that based on tooth and/or limb morphology had contradicted each other. It appears to be the case that using tooth morphology on its own can give a misleading identification, particularly in a relatively young individual where the enamel patterns on the teeth have not been fully developed through wear. Limb morphology in conjunction with tooth morphology seems to be a better approach, but perhaps a better combination of observed morphology and discriminant function analysis of the biometrics provides the best option for identification. It may still be the case that some individuals have such ambiguous characteristics that their identification is simply not possible.

Some of the reasons for the difficulties in the identification of were revealed during the analysis of the withers heights (Section 6.2) and shape indices (Section 6.3). The withers height analysis showed that there was a considerable degree of overlap in height between the horses and mules, and that many of the 'possible' identifications lay in this overlap zone in terms of height. Therefore, the smaller mules and larger horses were not being identified clearly. Similarly there was a small amount of overlap between the smaller horses and larger donkeys; however, this appeared to have been less of an identification issue as other characteristics, such as the slenderness of the bones, were sufficiently different to separate the horses and donkeys.

The results of the shape index analyses showed some differences between the species that were of some use in separating the species. These differences were noted on the metapodials and were most strongly evident on the metatarsal. The donkey metapodials were more slender than the mules and horses on all three indices calculated. The mules were more slender than the horses on the shaft and distal breadth indices, and were markedly more slender on the latter. This suggests that the distal limb morphology is inherited from the jackass and is not particularly variable across the mule population, unlike other characteristics. The bivariate plots of the shaft versus distal breadth indices went some way to separating the horses and mules. There is however, still a zone where there is overlap between the more slender horses and more robust mules.

During the identification analysis clusters of individuals were observed on the discriminant function plots. These are shown and numbered in Figures 6.40 and 6.88. Areas 1,2 and 7 corresponded to what have been termed the 'super' donkeys, mules and horse,s respectively. These were the individuals that had very high probabilities of group membership but were outside the 1 SD range, indicating that they were unlikely to be any other species but differed in some way from the modem individuals. Areas 3 and 4 covered the overlap zone between the horses and mules, whilst area 5 covered the cluster of horses (and some mules) around the zero marks. Area 6 corresponded to the cluster of horses to the left of the zero mark.

Analysis of the withers height and shape index data for these groups revealed that there are certain size and shape characteristics to these clusters. The 'super' donkeys (area 1) are all tall donkey individuals (>1250 mm, varying slightly with element) but have quite varied robusticity, suggesting that the bone length is the defining characteristic of this group.

Similarly the 'super' mules (area 2) are also all tall individuals (>1480 mm approximately). but they also have relatively robust shape indices (definition of robust depends on element). The 'super' horses (area 7) show that they are different from the preceding two clusters in that they contain the smaller to medium height horses $\left($ <1400 mm approximately) but all have relatively robust shape indices, suggesting that the modem sample may not contain many of these more robust ponies.

As suspected from the withers height analysis, the overlap areas of mules and horses (areas 3 and 4, respectively) contained the shorter mules (<1400 mm approximately) and taller horses (>1400 mm approxately). The shape indices were not contributing so much to the identification problems as they had average or varied robusticity. The horses in area 5 around the zero mark had medium withers heights and slender robusticity, suggesting that the robusticity may be contributing to the identification issues of this cluster. Finally the cluster of horses to the left of the zero line (area 6) contained individuals with both smallish heights (<1280 mm approxately) and slender shape indices.

6.5.2 Summary of results relating to horses

This summary is based on the results from the 'identified' horses only (i.e. those with definite or probable identification status) and is presented as a series of bullet points relating to each of the period, area and site type categories that have been used to divide the data in Table 6.79 for ease of comparison.

The results of comparing the horses by overall period show the following.

- The Iron Age horses are smallest (mean withers height 1252 mm), followed by the External (1290 mm) and then the Roman horses (1351 mm).
- The shape indices on the metapodials confirm that the Roman horses are the most robust as well as the tallest, with the Iron Age horses in the middle and the External ones the most slender. This is most noticeable on the shaft index but is probably caused by nutritional stress during growth rather than genetic differences in conformation.
- The log-ratio analysis reveal that the Roman horses are bigger than the standard and the other periods in all three dimensions, the External horses clustering around the zero mark and the Iron Age horses showing hints of bimodality with a more numerous group below the zero and a smaller group above the zero mark. The Iron Age data show a wider range than the other two groups.

Splitting the Iron Age data into areas revealed the following.

The Iron Age Gallic horses are different in several respects to those from other
areas. They are almost the smallest in terms of withers heights (mean 1228 mm), and have the most slender metapodials Bd/GL index. In addition their log-ratio depth measurements are smaller than in other areas. This means that as well as being short the Gallic horsesaere also of slender build.

- The British Iron Age horses are similar to their Gallic counterparts but are taller (mean 1260 mm) and marginally more robust on the-log ratios.
- The mean height of the Iron Age horses from the Rhineland is slightly smaller than either of the preceding groups (1225 mm) but the range is much narrower than for the Gallic material. They are of similar robusticity, regarding the log-ratio analysis, to those from Britain.
- The horses from the Danube and Balkans areas are the largest in terms of withers height (mean 1308 mm). This size increase from the other regions is mirrored in the log-ratio data for the lengths (as would be expected). The breadths and depths however, do not get proportionately bigger, indicating that the eastern horses are more slender in relation to length than those from the other areas. Although the metapodials shaft and distal slenderness indices suggest they are more robust, this is based on small numbers.

Splitting the Roman data by area produces the following observations.

- The very small quantity of material from Italy did not allow much analysis to be undertaken. The mean withers height is 1385 mm.
- The material from Roman Gaul is small, in keeping with the preceding Iron Age data (mean withers height 1342 mm). The shaft slenderness index on the metatarsal shows that these are quite slender individuals. This is backed up by the log-ratio analysis, where all three dimensions are small. The combined results reveal that, similar to Iron Age, the proportionately small depths suggest these Gallic horses are certainly more slender limbed than those from other areas.
- The material from Britain produces the smallest mean withers height of all the areas (1312 mm) in the Roman period. The metapodials shaft slenderness indices are marginally smaller than others but all the areas are very similar. The log-ratio lengths and breadths are very similar to Gaul but the depths are greater, indicating that the British horses are more robust than their Gallic counterparts.
- The material from the Rhineland produces the largest mean withers height for the Roman period (1364 mm). In addition, this material produces the largest log-ratio length and breadth values. However, the depth values are proportionately small, like the Gallic material, so these horses are relatively slender limbed but slightly bigger overall.
- The Danube and Balkans area also produces a tall mean withers height (1362 mm). The metatarsal distal index produces quite a robust value but this is not significantly different. The log-ratio analysis produces larger values for all three dimensions, so

these horses are proportionately larger overall than those in the other regions and are certainly more robust limbed than those from Gaul and the Rhineland.

As with the material from Italy there were very few remains from Egypt, and the mean withers height was 1316 mm.

Splitting Roman data by site type reveals the following.

- No differences are detected between site types using the withers heights, shape indices and single dimension log-ratios, mostly because there are too little data to test the significance of any observed variations. The combined log-ratio analysis however, picks up some interesting differences in bone proportions.
- Horses buried in cemetery contexts are much taller, but also proportionately more slender, than any of the other categories.
- The military and villa horses show very similar proportions to each other but the military animals are marginally larger all over.
- The horses from urban sites are a similar height to the preceding groups and the breadths were also similar but the depth measurements were larger suggesting more robust animals.
- The horses from the Urban 2 (Small town) and Rural sites were also similar to each other. Their length and depth measurements are similar to the preceding groups, but the breadth measurements are proportionately smaller than the other groups, suggesting that these animals are of a more slender build.

6.5.3 Summary of results relating to mules

As with the horses, this summary is based on the results from the 'identified' mules only (i.e. those with definite or probable identification status) and are summarised in Table 6.79. There are a number of general points concerning the mules that will be presented first to avoid repetition below.

- There were very few mules in the Iron Age or External periods, so most of the analysis is limited to the Roman period.
- The overall size and build of the mules across the geographic spread of the Roman Empire is remarkably uniform. They are mostly around 1450 mm in height, with shaft slenderness indices of around 14.5 (metacarpals) and 11.1 (metatarsals).

The results of comparing the mules by overall period show the following.

- Although there are very few mules dated to the Iron Age, they are smaller than those in the Roman period, with an average withers height of 1356 mm. Differences in the shape indices could not be tested because of the small numbers involved.
- The External mules are also smaller than their Roman contemporaries, with a mean withers height of 1361 mm. In addition their metatarsals have slender shaft indices.

This corroborates the fmdings from the External horses, where a similar pattern emerges, suggesting that these mules may have been locally raised and were subject to the same husbandry regime causing nutritional stress.

• The Roman mules have a mean withers height of 1446 mm and shape indices with values lower than the horses but more robust than the external mules.

Splitting the Roman data by area produced very uniform results. The following observations could be made about the slight differences.

- The mules from Roman Gaul are very similar to the overall picture for the Roman period, with a mean withers height of 1444 mm.
- The mules from roman britain are significantly smaller than their continental counterparts, with a mean withers height of only 1362 mm. This suggests the possibility that some local breeding of mules may have taken place in Britain and that the smaller local horses contributed to the smaller size of the mules.
- Mules from the Roman Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas are close to the overall picture for the Roman period, with mean withers heights of 1450 and 1463 mm, respectively.

No differences in the mules between site types could be detected and the log-ratio analysis that revealed differences for the horses was not carried out on the mule data because of the lack of a standard and the smaller numbers of individuals concerned. If more data were to be collected in future this would be an area for further work.

6.5.4 Summary of results relating to donkeys

As with the mules, the numbers of identified individuals severely limited the amount of further analysis that could be undertaken on this material, as can be seen in Table 6.79. Also, the Iron Age and Roman material came from different areas of the Empire so were not directly comparable, therefore the differences observed should be read with this in mind.

- The Iron Age donkeys have a mean withers height of 1145 mm.
- The External donkeys are slightly larger with an average withers height of 1249 mm. As with the horses and mules, the metacarpals have slender shaft and proximal shape indices, possibly indicating local raising of these animals.
- The Roman donkeys have a similar withers height to the External ones, with a mean withers height of 1248 mm, they are, however, slightly more robust in the shape indices than their External counterparts.
- The Roman data split by area show that there are very few donkeys in most areas studied. The Gallic donkeys are quite large (mean 1375 mm) but there are only three individuals. The donkeys from the Rhineland have a smaller mean withers

height at 1180 mm and there are a few more individuals here. The donkeys from the Roman quarry at Mons Claudianus in Egypt have a mean withers height of 1257 mm, slightly higher than the average, but this might be expected as they probably bred or selected for their large size to allow greater loads to be carried.

399

6.5.5 Comparison between data from modern breeds and from the archaeological material

The same calculations performed on the archaeological data to determine height, shape indices and log-ratios (Table 6.79) were also carried out on the modem reference specimens (Table 6.80), so that comparisons between the archaeological data and known breeds could be carried out. These comparisons were only undertaken on the mean values for each period group in the archaeological material.

It was considered unprofitable to compare the modem mules to the archaeological ones, because of the small sample size and lack of detailed information for the modem specimens. In addition, analysis of the identification results has suggested that the archaeological mules showed a greater range than the modem specimens, with the 'super' mules being somewhat different to the modem specimens available. The archaeological donkeys were also not compared with the modem ones for similar reasons to the mules, and with the additional problem that there are not really different breeds of donkey. Although nominally geographic demes do exist these were not sufficiently represented in the modem sample to allow comparison to be undertaken.

The horse groups show quite similar results to each other, with minor variations expected between several breeds. The Przewalski horses appeared to be generally similar in build to the domestic ponies, despite the differences in limb proportions noted in Chapter 3. The Arab horse group appeared to be quite different to the ponies in many of their attributes. Apart from the obvious fact that they were all much taller than any of the ponies they were also taller than the mean values for the archaeological material (but not outside the ranges of that data). In addition the Arab horses had much more slender shaft indices than any of the ponies, although the epiphyseal indices were only slightly more slender. Because of the larger overall size, most of the log-ratio values for the horses were bigger than the standard, but some of the depth values were smaller, indicating that the bones of these horses were more slender overall than the ponies.

All three archaeological groups had mean values for their attributes similar to the ponies (both wild and domestic) and very different from the Arab horses. Although none of the means exactly matched any of the breeds included in the modem sample, there were some general similarities with various pony breeds. The mean values for the Iron Age horses suggested they were quite slender limbed as well as small. This was borne out by comparison with the modem breeds. The Iron Age horses had metapodial index proportions similar to

those of the more slender built ponies in the modem sample, such as the Welsh and New Forest ponies, suggesting that their build would have been similar. The Iron Age mean height was towards the smaller end of the range shown by these modem breeds.

In contrast, the Roman means suggested that these horses were more robust as well as taller. This was illustrated by the comparison with the modem breeds, where the values were similar to the slightly larger and more robust ponies represented in the sample. These included the Exmoor and Mongolian ponies and the Przewalski horses. However, these were all quite small in terms of height and the Roman horses were larger but similarly proportioned.

The External horses were inbetween the Iron Age and Roman horses in most of their dimensions, so were harder to define in terms of the modem breeds. However the indices suggested that they were slender for their height in comparison with many of the modem pony specimens, as has been discussed above.

Table 6.80. Summary of results of withers height, shape index and log-ratio analyses on the modern reference data romany and an engine and an experimental control of the second control of the second control of the second con
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Chapter Seven - Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to bring together the results obtained from the analyses in Chapter Six with the research aims outlined in Chapter One in order to discuss some possible explanations for the observed patterns in the data. The basis of this discussion will be the research questions outlined in Chapter One, but additional material will be brought under discussion when merited by the results of the analyses.

The first section will discuss the identification of species and the species proportions; the next section will look at the effects of Romanisation on the three species in terms of changes in size and shape; the third section will discuss the differences within the species within the Empire itself; the fourth section will look at the effects of Roman contact on the equids in areas External to the Empire; the fifth section presents ideas for further research. Finally the sixth section presents the conclusions.

7.1 Species identifications and proportions

7.1.1 Species identifications

The first aim of this project was to determine whether available methodologies could reliably discriminate the bones of horses, donkeys and mules. Itwas established in Chapter Four that this was not the case, and, therefore, a new methodology was developed. This was then applied to the archaeological data (Section 6.1) to determine whether the lack of mules in the zooarchaeological record hitherto was caused by lack of identification or real absence of the species.

As has already been stated (Section 6.5) the results of applying the new identification methodology (using discriminant function analysis) to the existing biometric data have shown that there has indeed been a problem with the identification of mules in the archaeological record except for a few isolated cases. From the biometric data it is possible to say that for every three horse bones there are approximately two mule bones in Roman period assemblages as a whole.

However, there are still a number of cases where the discriminant function analysis does not allow confident identification of the bones to species. There appears to be a number of factors that are causing this. There is the initial problem that there are insufficient numbers

403

of modern reference mule specimens available for the discriminant function analysis to be 100% successful on the modern material. The separation of donkeys from both mules and horses does not appear to be a problem, but distinguishing mules from horses seems to be more difficult. The problem of lack of reference material is one that cannot be easily addressed without funds and facilities to acquire and prepare skeletons to use. In addition, acquiring mules may be relatively difficult from an ethical and legal perspective. Refining the methodology may have to wait until these issues can be resolved.

There appears to be greater variation in the archaeological material than is represented in the modern samples, leading to further difficulties in separating the species. The greater variation in the archaeological material is not surprising as the modern reference samples are restricted to certain breeds for the horses and by the numbers of specimens available for the mules (Section 5.1).

As far as the archaeological material is concerned, the main problem is the separation of some of the mules and horses. This problem is apparent not only in the isolated elements, but also in the analysis of complete skeletons where the different elements produced varied identifications. Some specimens were clear-cut, with consistent identifications across the elements, others were so mixed that an overall identification was not possible. There did not appear to be any bias in which elements produced which identifications, so it has been assumed that the morphology of each element varies slightly within the individuals. The variation in the mule bone morphology was perhaps to be expected because of the potential mix of characteristics from both parent species. The variation in the horses may be more to do with variation between different demes.

There were certainly clusters of identifications that could correspond to demes, although they were not particularly well defined. The clusters were actually more helpful, and perhaps more important, in defining some of the areas in which difficulties in identification can occur. All of these clusters were away from the group centroids, indicating differences in size and/or shape from the group of modern reference specimens rather than intermediate horse - mule traits. Analysis of the individuals in the areas of overlap between the positively identified groups showed that their withers heights were very similar. Hence the similar lengths of the bones may have been contributing to the 'ambiguous' identifications. The other clusters were around the zero mark: horses to the left of the zero line are distinguished by having slender shape indices, suggesting that the slenderness of these bones is contributing to the difficulties in obtaining positive identifications.

On the question of whether the clusters observed could be related to demes of horses, it is interesting to note that two of the clusters were formed mainly, but not exclusively, by cases from particular sites. In theory, a particular worker using slightly different measurements to others could cause this. However, as there was more than one site and worker involved in these groups this is unlikely to be the case. The individuals that made up the cluster around the zero mark came mostly from Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991) and those to the left of the zero line from Manching (Boessneck *et al.* 1971). It is therefore possible that the inhabitants of these sites used local stock with the characteristics seen in the discriminant function analysis and that these animals were all of a consistent type and hence could be termed a deme. These were the only two sites for which particular characteristics were noted from the discriminant function analysis, and this is most likely the result of the very large numbers of bones available from these sites in comparison to all the other sites used in this analysis.

There were also three areas on the identification plots where the identifications were not in doubt but the distance from the centroid was greater than 1 SD. This resulted in these groups being termed 'super' horses, mules and donkeys, as they seemed to show exaggerated characteristics of each species. Itis of course possible that some of these individuals could be from another species (e.g. onager) or hybrid that has not been included in the analysis; in particular there is the possibility that a few hinnies may be represented in the assemblages. The only way of testing this would be to extend the remit of the analysis and include hinnies in the discriminant function analysis. Once again there are the problems of obtaining modem specimens. There is no way of accurately predicting hinny morphology without modem reference specimens, but it could be argued that they would show more donkey characteristics than mules. However, documentary sources suggest that hinnies are likely to be very rare or non-existent in the assemblages under study for the current research.

At present it is assumed that the 'super' individuals are from the species already under discussion and therefore that their morphology varies slightly from that of the modem groups used for the initial species separation. From the withers height and shape index analyses on these individuals, it was determined that the 'super' donkeys were all tall individuals, taller than any of the individuals in the modem sample, which were all rather small. The 'super' mules were also all tall individuals and in addition were more robust than most of the modem reference individuals. Finding individuals in the archaeological assemblages with slightly different proportions to those of the modem reference sample is perhaps not surprising for mules, when the small size of the modem sample is probably insufficient to contain enough variation in mule morphologies. None the less, the discriminant function analysis classed the specimens as more mule-like than akin to horse or donkey. This suggests that they are unlikely to be hinnies or another equid species, as the identifications were not 'ambiguous'.

With the horses, the variation in the archaeological material is even greater than for the other two species. This is perhaps not surprising if the uses to which the animals were put are taken into consideration. The donkeys and mules were mainly used as pack and draught animals, whereas horses were mainly used for riding. The specialisation of horses for different areas of ridden activity demanded different physiques to achieve optimum performance (see Chapter 1) and this could have created the greater variation in morphologies seen in the species identification plots. The 'super' horses were more spread for the horses than they were for the mules and donkeys, as would be expected from the greater overall variation. Analysis of the withers heights and shape indices of the 'super' horses showed that they represented the smaller, more robust individuals.

The next item to discuss is the location in time and space of the identifications of donkeys and mules that had previously not been identified as such. It was expected at the outset that the mules would be found in predominantly Roman contexts, primarily because they are not mentioned as regularly in earlier (mainly Greek) literature or depicted as often in art historical sources, and this turned out to be the case. As will be shown below (Section 7.1.2), the numbers of mules increased dramatically from the Iron Age into the Roman period in all areas discussed in this research. In addition, it was expected that donkeys would be found predominantly in the areas surrounding the Mediterranean basin, as this is their natural habitat.

It was therefore something of a surprise to find that mules were present in Iron Age contexts from non-Mediterranean areas of the Empire. However, there are several plausible explanations for their presence. Many of these identifications came from sites with a continuous occupation record through the transition from Iron Age to Roman periods. Therefore it is possible that the deposits were dated by residual material and could be Roman in date. The only way of confirming or contradicting this would be to go back through the site archives to check the stratigraphy of individual contexts and this would not have been a profitable use of time during the current research. However, for future work this might be necessary in order to clarify points such as the date of the introduction of mules to Britain. Direct radiocarbon $(C¹⁴)$ dating on the crucial specimens could be undertaken.

Another explanation could be that, many of the mule bones came from late Iron Age deposits on sites with known contacts and trade with the Roman Empire, which could easily have included these animals as beasts of burden or as trade items in their own right. As the discussion below on trade within and beyond the Empire will cover this in more detail, it is sufficient to mention here which sites produced mule bones from Iron Age deposits. Mules were identified from three sites in northern France: Beauvais, Goumay and Variscourt (MenieI1984). The Oppidum at Manching (Boessneck *et al.* 1971) produced numerous mule and donkey identifications, although the dating of this site makes it contemporary with the presence of the Empire nearby so the results can be discussed regarding external contact.

A few donkey remains were also identified from Iron Age deposits outside the Mediterranean area. These included four from sites in Britain, three in northern France and the Manching Oppidum. Manching (Boessneck *et al.* 1971) and the northern French sites (Meniel 1984) have been discussed above concerning the mules identified from those assemblages, and explanations for the presence of donkeys can be argued along the same lines. Similarly, two of the sites from Britain had a continuous occupation sequence from the late Iron Age into the Roman period and the dating of the deposits could be questioned. The donkeys from Danebury (Grant 1984) come from the latest deposits on the site and as such fall into the category where the possibility of trade with the continent can be considered. Links have been demonstrated between the settlement at Danebury (Grant 1984) and that at Hengistbury Head, which was certainly trading with the continent.

Unexpected donkey and mule identifications were also observed from sites contemporaneous with, but outside the boundaries of, the Roman Empire. The most numerous identifications were made from the site at Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991), where 18 mules (one skeleton and 17 isolated bones) and 10 donkeys (all isolated bones) were identified. As discussed in Section 1.2, trade beyond the boundaries of the Empire was extensive and included areas far further from the boundary than Feddersen Wierde. In addition it has been shown that the degree of interaction between the inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde and the Roman army in particular, was manifested in changes in the economy of the site as well as the appearance of traded goods. It is therefore perhaps not so surprising that donkeys and mules were found at this site. Further discussion of trade beyond the boundaries of the Empire, as relates to equids, will be undertaken below.

Within the boundaries of the Roman Empire, mules and donkeys were identified in varying quantities from all the geographic areas included in this research. The species proportions in the different areas are discussed in more detail in the next section, but in general the more northerly areas had fewest donkeys and mules, whilst Egypt had the highest, although this maybe because of the special nature of the sites there, as discussed below. Areas with high concentrations ofmilitary sites, such as along the *Limes,* also had quite high numbers of mules. Possible reasons for these differences are discussed in Section 7.3.

In all the areas mentioned above, surprisingly low numbers of donkeys were identified and some suggestions on why this is the case are set out here. It was not likely to be a problem with the identification procedure, as for almost all elements the separation of the donkeys from the other species had a 100% confidence level. It may be reflecting the paucity of data from the Mediterranean and North African areas, where the largest numbers might be expected. This is backed up by the evidence that is included from this area, from the Classical Greek site at Kassope (Friedl 1984), the Punic site at Olbia (Manconi 1995) and the Roman Egyptian site at Mons Claudianus (Hamilton-Dyer 2001), all of which produced a preponderance of donkey remains.

The lack of donkeys in more northerly areas could also be a reflection of the environment; donkeys are ideally suited to hot dry conditions and would therefore perhaps not be expected to thrive outside the Mediterranean and North African area. There is another piece of evidence that backs up this argument: Aristotle *(hist an* VIII, 28 in Peters 1998) reports that donkeys did not occur inthe Celtic and Scythian lands 'because they have bad winters' .

Alternatively, the lack of donkey identifications could be a manifestation of the data being mainly from urban and military contexts, and not the rural estates where many donkeys would have worked and where mules would have been bred. It is quite possible that a combination of these explanations could be contributing to the small numbers of donkeys identified from the dataset assembled for this thesis.

With all these donkey and mule identifications it is of course possible that because of the incomplete accuracy of the identification procedure, some of these were attributed to the wrong species. However, all of the identified cases were either from deposits within the Mediterranean area or from those dating to after the existence of the Roman state and its trade contacts. This suggests that it is entirely possible that mules and donkeys were traded either directly or indirectly as carriers of other goods from early Roman times onwards. The only exception to this is the Thracian site of Swestari (Nobis and Ninov 1986), where a single mule skeleton was identified. This can be explained by the presence of Classical

Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast with whom the Thracians traded, linking both to trade and the Mediterranean 'heartland' of these animals.

7.1.2 Species proportions

Discussion of the species proportions logically follows on from that of the species identifications. As already intimated above, there were differences in the species proportions between the main period groups and also within the Roman period between different geographic areas. As was expected, the ratio of mules to other species was higher in the Roman period than for the Iron Age period, and also higher than that for the contemporaneous External material. Data from all the Iron Age sites gave species proportions of 75% horses, 15% mules and 10% donkeys. The number of donkeys wa,s however, biased by the presence of the data from the Mediterranean sites where mostly donkey bones were recovered. If these were left out, the proportion of horses was even higher, as expected for this period.

The Roman period produced a ratio of 14 horses: 10.5 mules: 1 donkey (55%, 41% and 4%, respectively). As stated previously, this presents a very different picture to that from the zooarchaeological record before this research was undertaken. Prior to this research the identification of a mule bone was a rare occurrence, leading to the impression that mules were not numerous inRoman deposits, which was in turn at odds with the impression gained from the contemporaneous literature and art historical sources. On the basis of the information gained from the application of discriminant function analysis to the biometric data, it is suggested that, in general, it should be expected to find almost two-thirds as many mules as horses in Roman period bone assemblages.

The species proportions calculated from just the complete skeletons and articulated limbs showed an increase in the proportion of horses (12.5 horses: 5.5 mules: 1 donkey). It is thought that this may be reflecting a difference in status between the horses on one hand and the donkeys and mules on the other. This is manifested in the treatment of the remains after death, with some horses being treated as 'special' animals and accorded a separate burial whereas the mules and donkeys were disposed of in any way possible. The exception to this was the group of35 equid skeletons (horses and mules) buried together as a single episode at Weißenburg (Peters 1998), where the interpretation of this deposit was casualties from a disease epidemic. The six skeletons from Kunzing *vicus* (von den Driesch and

Cartejena 2001) deposited in a single pit could be interpreted in a similar fashion. The treatment of equid remains is discussed in Section 1.2 under ritual and religious use of horses and the consumption of horsemeat, neither of which is likely to be relevant to the cases just mentioned but could relate to other burials of individual or groups of skeletons. When the species proportion information was split by area, differences became apparent that require some thought and explanation. The Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas showed similar results to the overall figures, with horses forming about 56% of identified equids and mules about 40%. In Gaul the proportion of horses was higher (64%) and in Britain higher still (82%). The most strikingly different results were from Egypt, where much higher proportions of donkeys and mules were noted, but the number of cases was rather small. There were insufficient equid remains from other areas to calculate meaningful species proportions.

The similarity of the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas to each other and to the overall proportion values is most likely to be a reflection of the large numbers of cases involved from these regions (particularly the Rhineland). It is probably the case that the overall values are reflecting the proportions for these regions. Although a number of different site types from the Rhineland contributed to the analysis, the majority were military and . urban sites, which may be biasing the results to some extent. For instance, the extensive use of mules as baggage animals by the military may have increased the proportion of mules found on these sites. The small proportion of donkeys may be a reflection of this bias insite types, or environmental factors could be the cause, as discussed above. The site types from the Danube and Balkans areas were more mixed and yet were reflecting similar proportions of species, perhaps indicating that around 55% horses, 41% mules and 4% donkeys is a good average figure for the Roman period as whole.

There are a number of suggestions to explain the differences in proportions that appear in Gaul and Britain. Again there is the issue of sample size. The numbers from both regions were smaller than for the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas discussed above, and in the case of Gaul the sample was also biased by site type, as most of the data came from one urban 2 site. The small number of bones from Gaul was mostly the result of difficulties in obtaining data from published sources abroad and difficulties of dialogue with French colleagues. Itis hoped that future research would incorporate a larger dataset and therefore it may be that the species proportions in Gaul would be more like those from the Rhineland and Danube and Balkans areas. Differences between Gaul and the Rhine-Danube frontier could be explained by the less strong military presence in Gaul in comparison with the

Limes area and the extensive use of the river systems rather than roads for the long distance transport of goods, as discussed in Section 1.2.

In addition, there is also the possibility that the small sample from Gaul is reflecting intraregional variation. Gaul varies widely in its climate from the Mediterranean south to the temperate north, and also in the Roman period it varied widely in its degree of Romanisation (Section 1.2). It is possible that the northern parts of Gaul (from where the data analysed derived) had different species proportions for reasons to do with climate and a lesser degree of Romanisation.

The sample from Britain was larger than that from Gaul and was also much more widely varied in terms of the site types from which it derived. It seems that the higher number of horses from this region is a genuine reflection of the species proportions present. As hinted at for Gaul, this may be to do with climate: donkeys (and perhaps also mules) are not so adapted to the British climate as horses. For Britain there is the additional factor that the province is an island. It was, therefore, perhaps not logistically viable to transport large quantities of mules and donkeys across the sea for use as baggage animals, and the indigenous ponies were used in this capacity instead. This may well be the case for the early post-conquest period, perhaps until donkeys were transported to establish mule breeding in Britain. Unfortunately, the dating of many of the deposits was not tight enough to allow analysis of the British data by sub-period to test this hypothesis.

The very different proportions of equids recovered from Egypt may have several explanations. The numbers of cases involved were very small and therefore could be biasing the results. All the identifications were from the site of Mons Claudianus (Hamilton-Dyer 2001), which is an industrial quarry site unlike any of the sites in the other regions, and this could be further biasing the results. Another factor in these differences may again be climatic conditions: donkeys and mules are adapted to the arid conditions of North Africa whereas horses are not. It seems, therefore, that the Egyptian material cannot really be compared with that from other areas for a number of unique reasons, although the preponderance of donkeys serves to verify the identification method.

From this evidence it appears that, although in some cases the small quantities of data available require caution in interpretation, there is a difference in the proportion of species found in different areas of the Roman Empire. These differences can be interpreted in a number of ways, including differences in site types from which the material derived, elimatic conditions favouring particular species, and logistical difficulties in transporting animals across the sea. The collection of further data to eliminate some of the biases would allow a more detailed examination of the data to determine which of these factors are affecting which areas, and build a clearer picture of species proportions across the Empire.

7.2 Effects of Romanisation on the equid population

Definitions of the term Romanisation have been given in Chapter One so it suffices to repeat here that the term is only used as a convenient name to describe the changes that occurred as a result of the incorporation of an area into the Roman Empire. To determine the effects of Romanisation on the equine population, comparisons need to be made between pre- and post-conquest remains.

One of the effects of Romanisation has already been discussed, namely the spread of donkeys and mules throughout the area covered by the Empire. Whilst this process appears to have started prior to conquest in a number of areas, possibly though trade with the Empire, there are certainly more numerous mule remains in all areas in post-conquest deposits. The smaller quantities of donkey remains have been discussed above and it seems most likely that a combination of site-type bias in the dataset and climatic conditions across the Empire have contributed to this situation.

The more widespread presence of mules in the current datset perhaps indicates that this species was more adaptable to climatic conditions than donkeys, and that it is to be found on site types that occured regularly in this research. For instance, the contemporaneous literature sources suggest that the army primarily used mules as baggage animals and do not mention donkeys in the same context. This would make sense in terms of the greater carrying capacity of a single mule versus a single donkey. A combination of the fact that outside the Mediterranean area mules thrive better than donkeys and that they have a greater carrying capacity, perhaps favoured the use of mules and hence greater numbers have been found on sites in temperate Europe.

The process of Romanisation and afterwards the maintenance of the Empire was probably what precipitated the far greater need for mules as pack animals. They enabled the army to carry sufficient supplies for campaigns to expand territory and also enabled the maintenance of standing armies in border areas. There is no reason to believe that the preceding Iron

Age communities had a pressing need for pack mules, hence the numbers of mules would have been considerably smaller, to the extent that it can be argued that even the few mules that have been found were present only through trade with Roman contacts.

The following discussion is based on the data obtained from the analysis of the withers heights, shape indices and log-ratios of those cases that were calssed as identified or 'ambiguous', as detailed in Chapter Six. In most cases only four areas are discussed: Britain, Gaul, the Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans areas. This is because there were insufficient data from the remaining areas covered for significant results to be obtained. However, where individual cases are noteworthy, they will be included.

As has been discussed in Chapter 1, the differences between the Iron Age communities that became part of the Roman Empire showed pre-existing regional differences and those differences persisted after incorporation as Roman provinces. Therefore, it seems logical to discuss the regional differences noted in the equine populations of the Iron Age as they could have had a bearing on those of the post-conquest period in the same areas. As discussed in Section 6.5, the Iron Age horse mean values showed that they were similar in build to the Welsh ponies in the modem sample, although a little taller so the following descriptions can be visualised as deviations from this.

The smallest Iron Age horses in terms of withers height were those from the Rhineland area (1225 mm), closely followed by those from Gaul (1228 mm). As well as having the lowest mean values, the horses from the Rhineland area had the narrowest range of withers heights, suggesting a fairly uniform size of animal. This may be reflecting the fact that many of these animals originated from a single site (Manching, Reichstein 1991) and were likely to have all been locally bred and therefore similar in size. The small size of most of the horses from Manching was noted in the original site report, together with the observation that the few taller individuals could have been imported through trade with the Roman Empire (Boessneck *et al.* 1971). With the application of discriminant function analysis, some of these taller animals were probably mules, but this does not alter the suggestion that they were present as a result of Roman contact.

The horses from Iron Age Britain were taller, at about 1260 mm, and the tallest horses were from the Danube and Balkans, areas at about 1308 mm at the withers. The presence of tal! horses from the Danube and Balkans areas in the Iron Age was perhaps to be expected given the contemporaneous accounts of the importation of large horses from these areas

for breeding by the Greeks both in mainland Greece and the Near East. Although to modern eyes a horse of only 13 hh would be considered a middle-sized pony, in comparison with the rest of the Iron Age horses standing between 12 and 12.2 hh, the Danube and Balkans horses were indeed somewhat larger.

In terms of build, there are also significant differences between the Iron Age areas studied. The Gallic horses, as well as being of small stature were also of slender build. All the metapodial indices gave slender figures, but this was most noticeable on the distal breadth / greatest length index. This slenderness at the lower end of the limb suggests that the animals as a whole must have been of slender build in order to be in proportion. The British Iron Age horses, as well as being taller than their Gallic counterparts, were also more robust and this was particularly noticeable on the log-ratio measurements. This suggests that the British horses were bigger overall than those from Gaul, rather than being differently proportioned.

Although the Iron Age horses from the Rhineland were marginally the smallest in terms of height, the robusticity of the bones was similar to those from Britain, suggesting that these animals were of a more robust build than those from Britain and Gaul. As discussed above, the fact that most of these cases originated from a single site may be contributing to the narrow range of values for this group and hence their similarity of appearance. The opposite is true for the horses from the Iron Age Danube and Balkans region, where the height increased significantly, but the robusticity did not increase proportionately, indicating that these animals were slightly more slender relative to their height than those from the other regions. In absolute terms they were bigger all over, suggesting a degree of allometry (positive correlation between height and slenderness) in these measurements.

Having discussed the Iron Age horses, it is now time to discuss the changes that occurred as a result of the Roman conquest of the four best represented areas. Overall, there were significant differences between the Iron Age and Roman horses in both height and build. On average the Roman horses were taller than the Iron Age ones, with a mean of 1351 mm (13.2 hh). Inaddition, the build was considerably more robust, taking into account the data from both the shape index and log-ratio analyses. The overall appearance is similar to that seen in the Exmoor, Mongolian and Przewalski ponies from the modem sample: a fairly chunky middle-sized pony. Although the mean withers height was 1351 mm, there were many more larger individuals than in the Iron Age sample and the upper end of the range extended into what today would be considered, by height, horses rather than ponies.

However, the proportions of these larger individuals were not significantly different from the smaller ones. They were certainly not of build similar to the Arab horses included in the modem sample, which had particularly slender limbs. The Roman horses are of quite robust build, which suggests that many of the art historical representations of horses were relatively accurate in this respect, if not always regarding the relative sizes of horses and humans.

As well as the overall increases in height and robusticity, there were different degrees of change within and between the regions. For instance, although there was a significant size increase, the horses from Roman Gaul were still generally smaller than those from other regions (1342 mm) and also retained their slender build. This suggests that although there must have been some improvement of the local stock for the height to increase significantly, it was not undertaken to such a degree that the characteristics of the local stock were lost entirely.

Although the Iron Age British horses were relatively tall and robust in comparison with the period mean values, the Roman British horses were not. The mean Roman period withers height was 1312 mm (13 hh), an increase of only 50 mm from the Iron Age mean. The build of the Roman animals seems to have been similar to that of the preceding period horses. The Iron Age horses were relatively robust, so the Roman ones were nearer the means for the Roman period than was the case for the heights. The horses from Roman Britain, were therefore shorter but more robust than their Gallic counterparts.

The smaller degree of change in the Roman British material could be explained in a similar manner to the lack of mules; Britain is an island and therefore it was more difficult and costly to transport animals to Britain for breeding purposes. This is also reflected in the timing of the size increases in different areas. In all the continental areas studied, the size increase in the horses appears to have taken place almost immediately post-conquest, whereas in Britain it has been demonstrated that the size increase took place in the later Roman period, at least two centuries post-conquest. This slower pace of Romanisation of the equine population of Britain seems likely to have been the result of the logistical difficulties associated with an island, rather than any particular differences in the way in which the conquest and Romanisation of the province was undertaken.

The delayed size increase in the horses of Roman Britain is, however, in stark contrast to most other domestic mammals, which on many sites show (e.g. Elms Farm; Johnstone and Albarella 2002) a marked increase in size in the immediate post-conquest period. One

possible explanation of this phenomenon is that the Iron Age horses of Britain were considered adequate for the immediate needs of the conquering army and the emergent province, whereas the meat-providing animals were not considered adequate and were improved at an earlier stage in order to satisfy the provisioning needs of the army. Alternatively, in the immediate post-conquest period the military needed to be able to control the food supply, so imported stock rather than relying on potentially hostile conquered peoples to provide for them. It is possible that horses were not considered such an important resource and did not require such close control.

In the Rhineland area, the Iron Age horses had the smallest mean height of the four areas, whereas the Roman mean withers height was the tallest of the four areas, at 1364.5 mm (13.2 hh). The robusticity also increased into the Roman period, but to a lesser extent than height, indicating that the Roman animals were of a slightly more slender build than their IronAge counterparts and similar to the Roman Gallic horses. In some ways the Rhineland Roman horses changed the most from their Iron Age predecessors within the four main areas under discussion. It seems reasonable to relate this to the heavy military presence in the region and the contemporaneous accounts of how unsuitable the Germanic horses were to the Romans (e.g. Caesar, *B.*G IV, 2).

The horses from the Roman period in the Danube and Balkans areas were also tall, with only a marginally smaller mean withers height of1362.3 mm (13.2 hh), than the Rhineland horses. However, the log-ratio analysis in particular indicated that these animals were also proportionately robust. Therefore these animals were larger in all dimensions than those from other regions and would have appeared more robust, particularly when compared with those from Gaul. In terms of comparison with their Iron Age counterparts in the same area, the Roman horses were slightly taller but significantly more robustly built.

As suggested above, the differences in the Iron Age equine populations from the areas under study would have to some extent influenced the size and shape of the succeeding Roman horses. It has been shown that, although the Iron Age horse populations did influence the Roman ones, the changes observed between the two periods differ in the various areas studied. This suggests that the nature of the 'improvement' of the horses took different forms in different areas, perhaps partly dictated by the nature of the local horses at the time of conquest and probably also partly by the needs of the Roman officials, be that civilian or army. As discussed in Section 1.2, in most aspects of changes to material culture, economics and daily life, the process of Romanisation was not uniform across the Empire and can also be seen regarding the equid population.

416

7.3 Differences within the Empire

The differences commented on in relation to the process of Romanisation can also be applied to a discussion of differences within the Empire. Other lines of evidence, such as site type, chronological trends, the presence of frontier zones and the internal trade networks, can also be used to explain some of the observed differences.

One issue to discuss at this point is the unevenness of data coverage across the Empire. Difficulties in data collection include the lack of zooarchaeological studies in some areas and the lack of availability of data from others. The data collection problems encountered during this research are not confined to zooarchaeological data, Fitzpatrick (1989) highlights the lack of quantified data, in certain areas, in relation to wine amphorae and other ceramics. This means that there are inherent difficulties in the comparison of data, as the disproportionate representation between different areas of the Empire could lead to bias in the results of analyses based on that data. Only comparing areas for which enough data were available for statistical tests to be valid has, to some extent, countered this. Where observations are based on less data, this is made explicit in the text below.

7.3.1 Regionality

The question of regionality is one that has really only recently been discussed as a possibility. Hitherto, discussions of the Roman Empire have tended to focus on the uniformity of public architecture, and portable material culture throughout the Empire. However, many studies (e.g. Wells 2001) have now highlights that whilst overt displays of Romanisation were similar throughout the Empire, it is important to bear in mind that this homogeneity was mostly restricted to the elites, and that many of the aspects of daily life of the nonelites owed more to the preceding local Iron Age cultures and traditions than those of Rome.

Regional identities have already been shown to exist in the differences in size and shape of the horses across four areas of the Empire used in this research. The Roman horses show as many similarities as differences with the preceding Iron Age horses, and the differences between the Roman horses are equally varied.

The zooarchaeological evidence can be used on its own to demonstrate regionality in the horse population, and it is hard to make direct comparisons between the contemporaneous

literature and the results of this research. The literary sources were mainly written about, and by people living in, the core areas of Empire around the Mediterranean, and this is one of the areas that suffers considerably from lack of zoo archaeological data. As described in Chapter One there are many limitations that have to be considered when applying observations in the contemporaneous literature to areas outside Italy.

The descriptions of horses from various parts of the Empire (see Figure 1.5) can be correlated with the results of the size and shape analyses carried out for this study. For instance, the descriptions of the Gallic and Germanic horses being small are certainly true of the pre-Roman period, as has been outlined in the section on Romanisation. Similarly the Danube and Balkans area horses were large, as is consistent with the descriptions of horses from these areas. For the North African and Spanish horses no zoo archaeological data were available, so no comparisons can be made.

In terms of the comparison with the 'Roman ideal horse', as described in Chapter 1 and relatively accurately depicted in Figure 1.2, the statue of Marcus Aurelius, the Gallic horses as a group appear to be furthest from this ideal, and those from the Danube and Balkans area the closest. The Rhineland horses were closest in terms of height but not in build, and the British ones *vice versa.* Whether the aim of Roman horse breeders was to fulfil the Roman ideal or just to produce animals that could adequately fulfil the tasks asked of them is of course something that cannot be ascertained, as the contemporaneous written sources do not tell us this explicitly.

It is argued here that the task of most horse breeders was simply to produce animals fit for use in whatever capacity was required of them, and as such local variation would not have mattered a great dea1. There were of course exceptions to this, particularly those breeders producing horses for the chariot racing industry, where producing beautiful as well as functional horses was of paramount importance. There is no direct evidence of where these animals may have been deposited, but once their racing careers were over it is suspected they would have been sold on to work in mills, etc. This means they would be found amongst other equine remains and therefore be might not be distinguishable as a seperate deme.

In Chapter 1 it was argued that as well as specific studs producing mounts for the army, mounts were requisitioned in any way possible. Therefore, locally bred horses that fitted the criteria required by the army could have been requisitioned and would not necessarily

have been required to be of an exactly uniform type. However, it can also be argued that if the army did take all the horses of a certain type, those that were left would have been those that were substandard in height or build. In most areas a mixture of military and civilian assemblages were included in the current dataset, so the overall appearance of the data would include all types of animal. The first explanation could, however, fit the material from Roman Gaul, where no military sites were included in the sample.

The degree of regionality indicated by the current dataset suggests that horse breeding was carried out throughout the Empire and that local stock was used in many instances, perhaps with limited importation of stallions to improve the stock. This would explain the differences encountered between the overall appearances of the horses from the various areas. It should, however, be remembered that these are generalisations based on the mean values and that within each group there may well be individuals covering a variety of heights and builds. These could include those that were closer to the Roman ideal, but in most cases it would be impossible to determine if these were bred locally or imported.

In contrast to horses, the discussion of regional differences in mules can be very brief as in most instances there were no detectable differences in the dataset between the size and shape of the mules from the four main areas studied. Because of the smaller sample sizes, it was not always possible to validate some of the possible differences statistically, but in those cases that were testable the differences did not appear to be significant.

The mean withers height of the mules from Roman deposits was 1446 mm (14.1 hh), significantly larger than the mean height of the horses. As has already been discussed in Section 6.2, there may be a slight bias in the discrepancy between these mean values, as the taller horses and shorter mules were not as clearly identifiable to species, leading to the possibility that only the taller mules and smaller horses contributed to the mean withers height estimates. Until the identification procedure can be refined to enable some of these more problematic individuals to be identified, the possible bias in withers heights should be borne in mind. However, it is suggested here that although it may be slightly exaggerated, the difference in heights is real. This suggestion is based on the knowledge that modem mule breeders expect their mules to mature at a height greater than that of the mares, and this has been estimated to be as much as 100 mm (1 hh). The difference observed in the mean withers heights of the Roman mules and horses comes very close to this figure (95.4) mm).

As discussed in Section 6.2 and relating to the discussions of mule breeding in Chapter 1, the mares used by the Romans to breed mules were considered superior to the run-of-themill horses of the Empire. This suggests that they were larger than average, and this in turn would lead to the production of tall mules. The discrepancy between the mean heights of the horses and the mules can be demonstrated to stem from a number of reasons, which at present cannot be separated but do indicate that it is real.

The horse height differences apparent in the various areas of the Empire are also apparent in the data for the mules, to a more pronounced degree. The variation between the areas analysed amounts to just over 100 mm, with the mules from Roman Britain having the smallest mean withers height (1362 mm) and those from the Danube and Balkans area the largest (1463 mm). The Gaul and Rhineland mules were similar in height and close to the overall mean.

The small size of the British mules is noteworthy, even though there were only five individuals. Whilst it is a little presumptuous to speculate on the possible reasons for their small size on the basis of only five individuals, it is perhaps justifiable because it is the same argument that has been used to explain the small number of mules and the small size of the horses in Roman Britain. The explanation offered is that the logistics of moving equines across the English Channel to Britain was not cost effective on a large scale, therefore the presence and small size of the mules may be the result of local mule breeding using imported jackasses and local mares (which have already been shown to be smaller than their continental counterparts). Although this is a tentative argument based on a small sample size, it incorporates and is consistent with all available evidence whilst not contradicting any of it.

Taking the argument that some of the tallest horses were used to breed mules, it is logical that the mules from the Danube and Balkans areas were the tallest given the fact that the horse withers height mean was almost the tallest. However, it is slightly surprising that the mules from the Rhineland were not equally tall. A possible explanation of this could lie in the different political/military situation in the two areas. The Rhineland was a heavily militarised zone, where perhaps mules were not bred but brought in with other supplies from a more widely dispersed area of the Empire. In contrast it is possible that the Danube and Balkans area, whilst having a military presence along the Danube itself, was not so heavily militarised further afield. Also in view of the excellence of the horses from this area, as acknowledged by the contemporaneous sources (see Figure 1.5), perhaps breeding mules from these horses was considered to be useful and profitable.

The shape indices of the mules indicate that they were consistently more slender than the horses regarding the Roman mean values and when split by area. This is one of the defining characteristics of mules in contrast to horses and is, therefore, unsurprising. Regarding differences within the values for the mules across the various areas within the Empire, there were only sufficient numbers to test for significance between the Rhineland and the Danube and Balkans areas, where no discernible differences were detected. Therefore, although the Danube mules were taller than those from the Rhineland, they were proportionately equally slender limbed.

The similarities between the mules across the Empire by far outweigh any differences and, in fact, the degree of uniformity is quite remarkable. There are a number of possible explanations for this. One suggestion is that the Roman mule breeders preferred to use the bigger mares to breed from and this would mean that all the ensuing mules would also be tall. If these mares were all of a particular type, i.e. close to the Roman ideal, then the mules' build would also be similar. However, the identification method may have excluded mules of 'outlying' size and shape, so tending towards a mean form.

A second explanation involves the idea of centralised rather than local breeding of mules. The diversity of the horse forms seems indicative of localised breeding from different base stock. The uniformity of the mules could be argude to be the result of the reverse, i.e very few breeders, possibly mostly in Italy, breeding the vast majority of mules to supply the needs of the army, the *Cursus publicus* and private merchants. This could be inferred from Varro's *(r.r.)* descriptions of his mule-breeding establishment, which was obviously an operation of some scale. The cost of good mares and jackasses and the requirement of a large estate with suitable grazing land would have prevented many citizens from breeding mules on a large scale. Whilst this would not have prevented individuals from breeding mules for their own use, perhaps the large-scale supply of mules was only carried out on large estates.

Another suggestion is that the uses to which most mules were put dictated that an animal with certain characteristics was required, in particular baggage animals for the army. Whilst there are references in the contemporaneous literature to the fact that the army had certain requirements regarding the horses selected for its use (Section 1.3.1 and Hyland 1990), no specific references to mules in the same context have survived but it is possible that specific height and weight carrying requirements had to be met for the mules to be used by the army. As the army was one of the main purchasers of mules, breeders would have aimed to

produce mules to meet the army standards and would therefore have tried (and seem to have succeeded) to produce relatively uniform animals. The procurers of mules for the *Cursus publicus* could have exercised similar requirements, reinforcing the need for uniform animals.

The last suggestion could be considered as indirect control of mule breeding by the Roman authorities. Therefore another suggestion could be the direct control of mule breeding by the state, regulating the requirements of size and shape for mules and ensuring the mule breeders complied with these regulations. This could have taken the form of 'licensing' for the large mule-breeding establishments, such as that of the writer Varro *(r.r.).* The suggestion of direct control is perhaps a little extreme but there are indications that some control was exercised over the production of other goods. For instance, although the government supplied the army with food, it seems that it was up to individual forts to procure their own manufactured goods such as pottery, metalwork, leather goods, etc. Such goods were traded over vast distances, and whilst there is disagreement about degree of control by central government over pottery production and distribution, it seems likely that the large scale production sites in central Gaul and Rhineland were controlled in some way (Wells 2001). It is therefore possible that a similar degree of control was exercised over mule breeding.

It seems likely that the demands of the market would have dictated that the animals be able to carry a particular weight of baggage and hence breeders produced animals to fulfil those requirements by using the largest mares to produce the largest mules. The costs involved in this would have led to the control of the market by a limited number of large-scale breeding operations. Therefore, the direct control of mule breeding by the authorities may have been little more than the authority exercised by large-scale, wealthy mule breeders and landowners in their positions as senators or other official public posts.

From these various strands of evidence it can be seen that there was regionality in the equine population within the Roman Empire. The form this regionality took varies according to the species under discussion. The horses varied considerably between the areas of the Empire, both in terms of height and build, and there was also quite a wide range of variation within each area. In contrast, the mules showed a remarkable degree of uniformity between and within the four main areas under discussion, with the possible exception of Roman British mules. The differences in variation between the horses and mules can be explained in terms of local versus centralised breeding or in terms of a greater degree of selection of breeding stock for the mules than for the horses, or a combination of these.

7.3.2 Frontiers

Unfortunately, because the dataset was not as large as hoped, the question of whether the frontier zone equids had different characteristics to those from other areas of the Empire cannot be answered satisfactorily in specific terms. In general, there appear to be no greater differences between the equids from the Rhineland and the other areas, than between those other areas. This suggests that the variability of the horses overall could be masking any specific differences between those of the frontier zone and the other areas.

Differences in the equids that could be attributed to military or civilian site types will be dealt with in the section on social differences. There were insufficient numbers of cases to be able to split the site type data by area in order to determine if there were differences between the frontier zones and other areas.

The question of differences between the equines on either side of the borders in the frontier zones will be dealt with in Section 7.4 on detecting external contact in the equine population.

7.3.3 Trade and supply

A few of the issues of trade and supply in terms of the equine population of the Roman Empire have been touched upon in relation to the wide variation in size and shape of the horses and the contrasting uniformity of the mules. The logistical difficulties of transporting mules for baggage transport and stallions and jackasses for breeding to Britain have also been touched upon. This section aims to expand on these issues and raise a few other issues relating to equines in trade and supply within the Empire.

There are two main areas to discuss: the trade and supply of equines themselves and the use made of equines in the trade and supply of other goods. Discussion of the first issue falls into a number of parts relating to the breeding and movement of the different equines. Preceding sections have summarised the data relating to the representation of species and the size and shape differences between the various areas of the Empire. From this it has been suggested that horses appear to have been bred all over the Empire, using varying sizes and shapes of existing stock and improving one or more aspects from the preceding Iron Age stock. These changes indicate that at least some animals were imported into areas for the purpose of stock improvement. However, it is equally possible that the introduction of the principles of selective breeding could have caused the changes observed. Selective

423

breeding is used here not to imply any knowledge or understanding of genetics, merely the observation that like begets like. It is, however, most likely that a combination of these factors was at work.

As discussed in Chapter 1, during the Republic and early Empire periods the practice of allowing the importation of stallions to areas outside the Empire was granted only to 'friendly kings' (Braund 1989) and other such favoured individuals. It was noted that this privilege was granted to various Gallic chiefs in the Republican period, with the express purpose of using these stallions to improve their own stock. It was also noted that prior to inclusion into the Empire the Gauls actively wanted to improve their horses, whilst the Germanic tribes did not. Therefore even in the late Iron Age, Roman horses were being used to improve stock, and the 'trade' or at least the 'gifting' of horses was established (Braund 1989). Post-conquest, the movement of horses would have been less restricted in terms of who had access to breeding animals and the demand for larger animals encouraging stock improvement and selective breeding.

The combination of the evidence provided by the written sources and that gained from the analysed zooarchaeological data show that changes certainly took place in the size and shape of the horses in areas that became part of the Roman Empire, and horses must have been moved around the Empire in order to facilitate this. The extent to which this took place, and the number of horses involved, is very hard to estimate. It is unlikely that there was a specific trade in breeding horses, but certainly the more affluent breeders went to some lengths to acquire quality breeding stock, as attested to by Varro *(r.r.).*

The breeding of horses on an Empire-wide scale means that there would not have been any great need to transport horses over long distances in most circumstances. The possible exceptions to this were the supply of horses to a rapidly advancing army on campaign, and the supply of horses to the racing industry. In the second instance, it has already been mentioned that horses from North Africa and Spain were favoured as chariot horses, and that those from North Africa were certainly shipped across the Mediterranean to Italy on a regular basis (Hyland 1990; Clutton-Brock 1992). It is suspected that the Spanish horses arrived by sea as well, this being the most efficient way of travelling horses over a long distance.

It is unclear whether the supply of high quality chariot horses over long distances was restricted to the amphitheatres of Rome and central Italy or whether they were also traded

between amphitheatres across the Empire. This is one area where the contemporaneous written sources are particularly biased, by describing what was normal for Rome but neglect to tell us if the same applied across the Empire. Unfortunately, excavations of amphitheatres have not in general produced many animal remains, and where there have been horse remains they cannot be unequivocally linked to chariot racing, so it is not possible to be able to contrast the horses from Italy with those from the provinces. Indeed it is not even possible to illustrate the form that these horses took. Only those animals that actually died during the course of a race would be likely to be found near an amphitheatre. As mentioned before the majority would have probably been retired to other activities and thus would not be distinguishable from other horse remains.

It is suspected that the North African and Spanish bred horses were raced in their home areas as well as being brought to Rome and Italy and that the more northern and eastern provinces sourced their chariot horses at a more local level, particularly when it is considered that racing mania did not reach such a fever pitch in these provinces as it did in Rome and Italy. Once again, because of the lack of data and the almost impossible task of associating existing remains with racing, there is little chance that these theories can be proven in the immediate future.

Another suggestion that requires some consideration is the long distance supply of horses to the army on campaign. The supply needs of the army before a campaign and a standing army in a relatively stable environment could be met from recruitment of horses from local sources and from the specific studs set up to meet this need. However, the supply of remounts to replace those lost in action during a campaign, particularly one that was advancing fast into new territory, would have been more problematic. This would have involved the need for rapid transportation of horses to the frontline from sources some distance away. It may have been possible to take horses from the newly conquered areas, but this could not have been relied upon. A mechanism to supply from secure territory would have had to have been in place.

The problem with detecting rapid, long-distance transportation in the zooarchaeological record is that these were short-term incidents in the timeframe of the whole Empire, and as such are not easily detectable archaeologically. Whilst at least one battlefield site has been excavated (Krefeld-Gellep, Nobis 1973) and the equid remains analysed, it is most likely that these animals were brought with the army for the initial campaign. If remounts were brought in to replace casualties, they are not likely to be found in the same place. If they

were different in terms of size or build, which might indicate a different place of procurement, it would be impossible to detect as the two sets of remains would either be indistinguishable or not found in the same place.

It appears that the movement of horses around the Empire is almost impossible to detect biometrically, except in terms of the appearance of improved stock in the various provinces. This is perhaps one area where some of the more advanced scientific methodologies may be able to shed some light. For instance, the detection of the presence of different levels of minerals and isotopes in the teeth of horses maybe of use in elucidating the area in which that individual grew up, leading to the possibility of detecting horses that have moved a considerable distance.

In terms of the use of equids in the trade and supply of other goods, there are a few issues that can be discussed using the identification and size and shape data gathered in this research. As has been mentioned, one area that is of particular interest is the spread and proportion of mules across the Empire. The proportionately smaller numbers of mules from Roman Britain have been interpreted as being caused by the logistical difficulties of transporting mules across the sea, and the small size of those present as having been bred from the smaller local mares. Yet there is still the question of why there were not more mules, given the fact that the north of Britain was a military zone that required supply and this had to be done mostly by road because the rivers are not well placed for south to north transport (as suggested by Middleton 1979).

Itseems slightly odd that pack horses instead of baggage mules carried out the road transport in Britain, when in all other areas the reverse seems to be true, for the very good reason that mules can carry larger loads per animal than horses. The logistical difficulties of transporting mules across the sea must have been very high for that cost to be offset by the increased expense of having to use larger numbers of ponies instead. Perhaps it is the case that goods transported by sea could be landed at any of a large number of identified Roman ports, and the distances required for transport over land were thus reduced considerably.

Apart from two mules from military contexts in the 1st century AD, the mules present in Roman Britain are all from the deposits dated to after the late 2nd century. Given the hypothesis above that mule breeding was in general linked to centralised wealthy estates, whose owners exerted influence over the supply of mules to the army and *Cursus publicus,* this may perhaps be linked to two factors. Inthe 2nd century in Britain the development of the fenlands in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire for agriculture was undertaken to supply the northern army garrisons along Hadrian's Wall (Middleton 1979). It is possible that mules were bred as transport for this more local supply network, rather than using the ports, as has been hypothesised for the supply of goods from the continent (e.g. Middleton 1979).

It is also possible that the development of wealthy villa sites in Britain in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD may have created the circumstances for the establishment of mule breeding on a more continental model, i.e. on large wealthy estates. However, as the number of identified mule bones involved is very small, these are just observations that could be tested in the future as new data become available.

The presence of many mules in the Rhineland has already been discussed briefly in Section 7.1.2 in terms of the highly militarised nature of the area. As discussed in some detail in Chapter One, the long distance supply of the military zone on the Rhine frontier from Gaul seems to have mostly been undertaken by river (Middleton 1979) but the final transfer would have needed mules, and this could also explain their presence in large numbers in this area. These water-borne supply routes from southern and central Gaul into the Rhineland explain the transport of commodities such as pottery and products transported in amphorae, which leave particularly visible, datable and traceable evidence in the archaeological record. However, there are other supplies, such as grain, that do not leave such a convenient trace in the archaeological record.

Groenman-van Waateringe's (1989) study of the palaeobotanical evidence and agricultural practices in northern Europe has elucidated much about the supply of grain to the army in the Rhineland frontier zone. It was established that the army preferred wheat to other cereals because it was better for making bread. However, the soils and climate of much of the lower Rhineland in particular were not suited to wheat raising, as they are better for barley. Therefore, wheat must have been imported from outside the immediate hinterland of the frontier zone. This is attested to by ships recovered from the Rhine that contained . wheat as their cargo, as well as high proportions of wheat in paleaobotanical samples from fort sites (Groenman-van Waateringe 1989). In areas where wheat could be grown, such as northern Gaul, an increase in production is denoted by the replacement of small square granaries with large buildings over 20 m long (Groenman-van Waateringe 1989). This also suggests that the producers stored the grain for the army, and transport would have been required year round on a smaller scale rather than huge shipments at harvest time.

Although water-borne transport of grain has been noted, the transport of grain to and from the ships at either end of the journey would have required considerable numbers of equids, either carrying sacks or pulling carts.

This confirms the importance of beasts of burden in the military zone of the Rhineland. However, this evidence also suggests that mules are probably underrepresented in the, admittedly small, sample from Gaul. Future work needs to look at assemblages from rural sites of northern Gaul.

An exceptional site that did not provide enough data for statistically valid comparison but needs to be discussed as a noteworthy case, provides insight into perhaps the most outstanding use of equids as carriers of goods for trade. This is the porphyry quarry site of Mons Claudianus in Egypt (Hamilton Dyer 2001). It could be argued that this site only existed because vast numbers of equids were available to transport all the food and supplies to the workers in the settlement next to the quarry, and to transport the worked stone back to the coast for distribution around the Empire. Because of the special nature of the site, there were many more mules and donkeys present here than on the other site types analysed. A combination of the overwhelming need for baggage animals and the extreme climatic conditions of the area meant that horses were completely unsuited to the tasks required, and mules and donkeys dominate the assemblage. Horses were present, and were quite large, which may suggest that they were the mounts of the officers in charge of the site.

Comparison of what has been discovered from this research and the contemporaneous literature, regarding the use of equines in trade and supply, is limited by all the biases that have been mentioned previously. The problem of comparing the Mediterranean area with other areas of the Empire, which has been discussed on several previous occasions, means that the heavy use of donkeys as pack animals in Italy does not necessarily hold true for other areas of the Empire, particularly those further north. As has been shown, whilst donkeys were present in temperate Europe during the Roman period, they were not present in sufficient numbers to have carried the quantity of traded goods that have been found on sites around the Empire. The few sites analysed around the Mediterranean that have produced equine remains confirmed this to some extent, by producing more donkeys than the more northerly sites although this cannot be confirmed statistically.

The literature sources also mention the use of mules as baggage animals, particularly by the military, and this appears to be borne out by the results of this research. In the heavily militarised Rhineland area ,many mules were found, but they were also found in most of the other areas of the Empire, with the exception of Britain (as discussed above), suggesting that in areas outside the Mediterranean mules were the more important pack animal. Although this is not explicitly stated in the literature sources it is implied, so in this instance the archaeological data confirms the literature.

As has been discussed in Chapter One, it may well be the case that many of the aspects of the use of equines in trade and supply were considered too mundane for the ancient authors to bother writing about. There is thus very little written evidence that can be compared with the zooarchaeological data, so the results presented above represent new evidence on this subject.

7.3.4 Social differences

The research question to be answered here relates to whether it is possible to detect differences between the equids used by different sections of society, by comparing the equids from different types of site. It is acknowledged that by studying site types there will always be a slight mix of social classes represented, but some generalisations should be possible. However, as with Section 7.3.2 on the frontier zones within the Empire, there were not enough data when split into groups relating to site types for many statistically valid comparisons to be made.

The only analysis where enough data were present for meaningful comparison between site types was the log-ratio analysis of the horses. This analysis showed some interesting differences between the site types. In terms of differences between social classes, perhaps one of the best illustrations from the available data is the difference between the horses found in cemeteries and those from other contexts. There are two assumptions that have to be made here, firstly that the horses found in cemeteries were buried deliberately either with humans or on their own (and this is not always clear from the archaeological reports on these sites), and secondly that only those of wealthy status could afford to bury horses in this manner. It is therefore suggested that the upper echelons of society owned these horses.

As discussed in Section 6.4, the horses found in the cemetery sites were the tallest by some distance, as perhaps should be expected. However, they were of quite slender build, which

is perhaps more of a surprise. If the horses belonging to the upper classes conformed more to the Roman 'ideal' horse, they should be of a more robust build. It must be remembered, however, that these observations are based on a relatively small number of individuals.

Other site types did show differences in the proportions of the log-ratio analyses of lengths, breadths and widths. For instance, the horses from the military and villa sites showed great similarity in their proportions, although the military horses were slightly larger. The urban horses were also similar but slightly more robust. In contrast, the horses from the urban 2 and rural sites were more slender.

It is necessary at this point to bear in mind the differences observed between the horses of the different areas of the Empire, as it may be that because the observed differences in the site types are based on small numbers, the results are biased by the areas from which they came. However, a few suggestions will be made regarding possible reasons for differences in the horses from different site types.

Any differences may be attributable to the various social classes that mainly occupied the various site types. For example the military needed a particular type of mount to meet its requirements so it might be expected that these horses would be different from others. However, it was observed that the horses from urban settlements and villas were of a somewhat similar type. As many urban centres started off as veteran colonies, perhaps it is not so surprising that there are few detectable differences in the types of equids found on these sites, the ex-soldiers using what they were used to as soldiers. As Wells (2001) suggests, military and urban centres were places where changes were taken up most quickly and thoroughly, partly because this is where the elite of society was based.

Villas were a distinctive new feature of the landscape in the Roman period and were associated with a new system of agricultural production and organisation. They were also associated with a new system of social organisation and many were a means of displaying wealth amongst the elite. However, the form of these villas and the wealth displayed in them varied considerably across the Empire, as most were owned and built by locals. Although it has generally been acknowledged that elites built these villas, it has been argued more recently (Wells 2001: 176) that many were built by those of more modest means. Some villa sites can be shown to have Iron Age precursors and so show the " " progressive addition of Roman features, such as colonnades and bathhouses. One at Obemdorf in Bavaria (Wells 2001) follows this pattern but also has unusual features in the weed flora and a high proportion of horse amongst the faunal remains, suggested to be indicative of interaction with a nearby fort.

At present the most confounding factor problem for interpretation of biometric data is the potentially problematic categorisation of sites as villas in the initial interpretation of a site. However, it appears that the sites categorised as villas in this research (based on the available archaeological interpretations) have produced horses that present a similar appearance to those from urban and military contexts. This in turn leads to the suggestion that the elite of society may well have been involved in these sites, as the horses appear to have been of a similar size and build to those from other types of site that could be considered high status.

According to Wells (2001), change in rural settings was both later and less pervasive than in urban and military contexts. This is at least partly confirmed by the evidence of the size and shape of the equids from these sites. The urban 2 (small town) and rural site categories produced the smallest and most slender horses when the log-ratio results were analysed. These animals could possibly be considered to be the least like the Roman 'ideal' horse of all the site type groups. This could be interpreted in terms of the social standing of the occupants of these site types, who perhaps did not have the means to purchase or breed the larger, more robust horses favoured by the elite.

Interms of the species proportions from different site types, there is once again the problem of only small numbers of bones for comparison between the groups. There is also the problem that the numbers of bones in some categories were inflated by the presence of skeletons; this was a particular problem with the cemetery sample. Taking this into account, the rural sample produced the highest proportion of horses of all the groups at 84.2%. The next was the cemetery sample at 66.7%, closely followed by the urban sample at 64.1%.

Interms of the social differences, there are probably different reasons behind these figures, although they appear similar. The high percentage of horses from the rural sites may be a reflection of comparative wealth, or in this case the lack of it, i.e. mules may have been expensive animals, for the reasons outlined in Chapter One, and therefore rural communities may not have been able to afford them but could afford locally bred horses.

The high proportion of horses in the cemetery group is also likely to be a reflection of wealth, with only rich individuals being able to afford to sacrifice a horse to place in a cemetery. The status attached to horses was greater than that of mules, so it is unlikely
anyone rich enough to sacrifice an equine would want to be associated with a mule in this way. The mules that are present in cemetery sites may not be directly associated with human graves, but rather placed in the boundary ditches as a convenient means of disposing of a dead equine (Rielly 2000).

The proportion of horses and mules on the urban sites was close to that observed for the species proportions for the Roman period as a whole, and is perhaps what should be called 'normal'. The urban 2, villa and military sites all show less than 'normal' percentage of horses. The urban 2 and villa sites have very similar percentages, at around 55% horses and 40% mules, whilst the military sites have fewer horses than mules, at 42 and 50%, respectively. In terms of the social differences between these sites there are once again different explanations for the same proportions on different site types, but for these three site types the suggestions are all based around the transport of goods.

For the urban 2 sites, the most likely explanation is that many of these sites grew up as trading or market towns and as such mules would have been required to transport goods to and from the markets. For the villa sites, a similar explanation is feasible. Many of these villa estates were producer sites, requiring a means of transporting goods to the markets. In addition, as has been suggested a few times before, some of the villas were the main breeding centres for mules and, even if this was not the case for all, the wealth in these estates would have allowed the purchase of mules in quantity as required.

The military sites have the lowest percentage of horses and the highest of mules for all those discussed so far, and this can be explained by the need for transport of goods supplied to the army. As discussed in Chapter One many of the goods required by the army had to be transported over some distance, and mule trains carried out at least some of this transport. In addition, the army kept mules for transport of weapons and supplies when on campaign and, at least until the 2nd century, the cavalry was not considered as a major component of the army, so the number of horses needed as officers mounts was less than perhaps expected. It is perhaps not surprising to find the military sites have a high percentage of mules in comparison to the numbers of horses.

As discussed on several occasions, the species proportions from the industrial quarry site at Mons Claudianus in Egypt (Hamilton-Dyer 2001), is a special case because of the nature of the site. The proportions were almost the opposite of what was observed for rural sites, with many more mules and donkeys than on other site types. This is suggested to be the

result of both the climatic conditions of the area and also the work that was required of the equines in and around the quarry.

Whilst the quantity of data for each of the site types was not as great as was hoped, there was enough for some differences to be noted that are probably related to social differences between the site types. For instance, the sizes and shapes of the horses from the military, urban and villa sites were all very similar, probably as a result of these site types containing similar sections of society. The villas and urban centres often contained many ex-soldiers as well as the civilian elite. Inurban centres many classes of society were present, but, as has been discussed on many occasions, it is the remains left by the elite of society that tend to be most visible in the archaeological record, and this seems to be the case for the Roman horses.

The equids from the rural sites showed some features that might be expected from those belonging to the lower classes of society. The species proportions were heavily biased in favour of horses, possibly because of the cost of mules. The horses were amongst the smallest and most slender of the Roman horses, and were more like the preceding Iron Age horses in many cases, suggesting that the lower classes could not afford to import stallions to improve their stock. An alternative explanation is that in many areas the rural populations resisted Romanisation, so resisting use of mules and changing the local horse stock.

Another fact to emerge from the analysis of the data by site type was the concentration of mules on those sites involved in trade. This was most noticeable on the urban 2 and military sites, but was also noted on the villa sites. The exception to this was the urban sites, where more mules were expected. However, this may be a reflection of the nature of urban contexts, where it is often the case that equine remains are not found in contexts within the heart of urban areas, but rather on the fringes in ditches and refuse dumps. It is possible that the urban species proportions are biased by the context types represented.

433

7.3.5 Chronological trends

The question of chronological differences to be addressed here is not whether there were differences pre- and post-conquest, as that has already been addressed, but whether there were differences within the Roman period. Because the Roman Empire period spans approximately five centuries, in most of the areas covered in this research it should be possible to split the data into smaller chronological divisions and test for differences between them. However, in practice this was not possible in a large number of cases because of the poor temporal resolution on many sites, leaving a very small sample size of tightly dated material. Much of this section contains suggestions of what might be seen if dating issues are resolved and the dataset can be expanded.

A few facts could be elucidated from the small amount of tightly dated material. As discussed in the section on Romanisation, a size increase was seen to occur across the Empire after the Roman conquest, but this size change happened later in Britain than in the other areas studied. This was suggested to be a result of the Iron Age horses being relatively large and robust and the problem of the logistics of importing horses for the improvement of local stock.

The other area where there were enough data and good enough dating information to split the data into smaller time periods was the Rhineland. Here the data showed that whilst the size of the horses had increased in the immediate post-conquest period, there was no difference in withers height between the early and late Roman periods. This suggests that the initial improvement of stock was considered sufficient and that no further improvement took place through time.

Whilst the numbers of Roman mules were not sufficient to split into smaller time periods by area, overall there were just enough numbers. It was found that there was no difference in withers height between the early and late Roman periods. This is perhaps not surprising when there were very few discernible differences in the mules when split by any of the categories used in this study.

These were the only small pieces of information on any chronological differences within the Roman period that could be elucidated from the dataset as it stands at present. As indicated earlier (Chapter 5) this is mostly because of broad dating of the archaeological deposits from the Roman period. Part of the problem is that many of these sites were

excavated a considerable time ago and the refinements made in dating techniques since those times have not been applied retrospectively, meaning that in many cases they are just described as Roman. Another problem is that even where the deposits have been dated more accurately, the small quantities of bones recovered have meant that the analysis was only merited by combining all the bones together, and the more accurate dating has not been reported in conjunction with the measurements.

If the dating issues can be resolved there are a number of areas where this dataset could yield information. It could be possible to detect the hypothesised delay between an area being conquered and the setting up of the official administration and building programme, etc. (see Chapter One). It is possible that this delay would be reflected in the improvement of stock and, more particularly, in the importation of larger animals. As well as detecting an overall size increase, there is also the possibility that a bimodal distribution could be detected early on, with a group of larger imported individuals and a more numerous group of smaller native ponies, before interbreeding produces individuals in between in size. However, this would require tight dating of deposits from the immediate post-conquest period in all areas.

There is also the possibility of detecting changes within an area as the frontier advanced and retreated through time. This would perhaps be most noticeable in northern England/ southern Scotland, in the areas east of the Rhine in Germany, and in Dacia, where the advance and retreat of the Empire took place on several occasions. Once again this would require very tight dating of the assemblages and it would perhaps be difficult to find enough material from such narrow time periods.

One area that has not been addressed much in this research is the issue of the decline of the Roman Empire. This is partly because there are very few well-dated transition period sites that have been excavated recently enough to benefit from the whole range of modem dating techniques available. The other reason was to place limits on the scope of this thesis, so that it was achievable in the time frame available. However, for future work it is worth mentioning some of the questions that could be addressed with a suitable Roman decline dataset.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the European frontier provinces became increasingly heterogeneous as they responded to the Roman presence, particularly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Wells 2001). Also, archaeologically we can see an end to major building programme and a reduction in the inhabited and fortified portions of towns in the 3rd century. Inthe Rhineland area few new villas were constructed and many existing ones were abandoned, yet in Britain most of the lavish villas were not constructed until the 4th century. In addition, the rural settlement patterns in many areas began to return to a more Iron Age character, with the reoccupation of hill forts in Britain and the return of Iron Age ritual practices in northern France (Wells 2001).

The raids into the Empire by outside groups disrupted the administration of many regions, as the focus of the officials was directed towards Rome. The withdrawal of troops from some areas and the movement of those troops into different areas to deal with particular threats was perhaps more reminiscent of the earlier periods of expansion, with less standing armies and therefore changes in the supply routes and requirements. In addition, troubled times always disrupt trade, particularly long distance trade, and reliance on local goods and produce becomes more prominent.

It is possible that many of these changes could be seen in the equine populations if the chronological evidence is good enough. For instance, the disruptions of trade routes could well result in a drop in the quantity of mules and donkeys found on urban and military sites. The disruption of administration systems, pre-occupation of many of the elite and the loss of high status villas in some areas might be reflected in loss of the breeding programme that were producing the larger improved horses seen through most of the Empire.

Inthe assemblages from a few sites in Britain where there is continuous occupation through the end of the Roman period, there are a few hints that the size of domestic animals decreases (Johnstone and Albarella 2002) after the official end of Roman rule, the withdrawal of troops and the breakdown of the administration and trade routes. Certainly the mean size of the horses in the early medieval period is smaller than in the Roman period in Britain (Johnstone 1996). This is also the case in the Hungarian area (Bökönyi 1974) although the difference is less noticeable, perhaps because of the history of horse breeding in this area. The timing of the size decrease in relation to the withdrawal of the Roman Empire is one of the questions that could be asked of the dataset of there was better dating resolution, as is whether the changing settlement patterns also change the character of the differences of the horses owned by different social groups. All these questions are possible lines of inquiry to be considered in future work.

7.4 Detecting the effects of external contact

The aim of this section is to discuss the effect that contacts with areas external to the Empire had on the equine population of those areas. Chapter One discussed that fact that contact is a two-way process and that effects could be detected on both sides of the boundaries. The first part of this section is concerned with the differences noted close to the boundary with the actions of campaigning and standing armies in these areas, and the second part will discuss the changes noted as a result of long distance trade.

Most of the sites in this research from outside the Empire were from the frontier zone, but in spite of this the largest number of the bones were from a single site (Feddersen Wierde, Reichstein 1991) much further away. At the analysis stage the distinction between the two areas was not made, so most of this discussion will focus on the differences between the equines within and without the Empire.

Inmany cases it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the Iron Age settlements of areas that were never part of the Roman Empire prior to the existence of the Empire, and those that were technically still Iron Age settlements but contemporaneous with the Roman world. This is because the character of those settlements may have changed little, and the only traditional dating evidence was the existence of imported Roman goods. The use of scientific dating methods on these sites is now showing that there may have been little change in many of them, and the lack of Roman imports is not a clear indication of a pre-Roman Iron Age date. It is therefore possible that the current dataset is biased in favour of those sites for which contact with the Roman world had already been established through the presence of imported goods. Having said this, there are still differences between the equines from these sites and those from sites within the Empire that are worth discussing.

The species proportions of the External equids was similar to the that of the Iron Age ones but with an even greater emphasis on the horses, with a ratio of 21 horses: 2.5 mules: 1 donkey. This equates to percentages of 85.8%, 10.2% and 4.0%, respectively. The high proportion of horses was expected, as it was for the pre-Roman Iron Age material. Because of the contacts between the Roman and external sites, it was thought that perhaps there would be a greater presence of mules and donkeys on the external sites than for the Iron Age ones. However, this did not prove to be the case. The fact that they were present, if in small numbers, probably reflects some degree of contact with the Roman world.

437

The size and shape of the External horses showed more similarities with the Iron Age than the Roman horses, but there were differences. The mean withers height of the External horses was 1290 mm (12.3 hh), which was between that of the Iron Age (1252 mm) and the Roman horses (1351 mm). However, the shape indices on the metapodials showed that the External ones were the most slender, more so than the Iron Age horses. This was most noticeable on the shaft index and, as discussed in Section 6.3, this seems most likely to have been caused by nutritional stress during growth rather than genetic differences in conformation between horses from different areas and time periods.

The log-ratio analysis revealed the External horses clustered around the zero mark, and this suggests that they were of similar size and build to the Mongolian ponies used as the standard. This is slightly surprising given the relatively robust build of these ponies and the results of the shape indices given above. With this analysis the External horses were similar to the Iron Age ones, but more tightly clustered.

It seems that whilst the External horses were smaller and more slender than the Roman horses they were on average taller but more slender than the Iron Age horses. This may be reflection of the area from which these horses originated, i.e. the Rhineland, where (as discussed above) the Iron Age horses had the smallest mean withers height. However, the Iron Age horses from the Rhineland were relatively robust. This could suggest that between the two periods there was a change in husbandry regime that caused retardation of the circumferential growth of the metapodials. As discussed in Section 6.3 this could be the result oflate weaning and subsequent second winters without adequate nutrition. However, these differences would need further investigation to be attributed to a single cause.

The mules from External sites were also smaller than their Roman contempories, with a mean withers height of 1361 mm. In addition, their metatarsals had slender shaft indices. This corroborates the results given above for the External horses, where a similar pattern emerged, suggesting that these mules may have been locally raised and were subject to the same husbandry regime causing nutritional stress. Alternatively, these individuals may have been 'second rate' mules that were being used by traders on private rather than state business. Again further investigation would be required to try and understand which of these explanations is more likely.

The small number of External donkeys had a slightly larger average withers height of 1249 mm than the Iron Age donkeys. However, as with the horses and mules, the metacarpals

had slender shaft and proximal shape indices, again possibly indicating the local raising of these animals.

The differences between the External equids and those from both the preceding Iron Age and within the Roman Empire have a variety of explanations. Firstly there is the issue of regionality, as has been discussed in detail in Sections 7.2 and 7.3.1. The area covered by the assemblages studied is quite large and could therefore contain variation within itself, and does not overlap with much of the area covered by the Iron Age sites. This may partly be a problem with the dating of some of these sites, as eluded to earlier, and partly that the non-overlap was not discovered until after the data gathering stage of the research had been completed. For these reasons it cannot be determined whether the appearance of the underlying Iron Age horses in this area were similar to the Rhineland sites that have been analysed or similar to those from the subsequent External sites. Therefore it is hard to determine how much influence contact with the Roman Empire had on the appearance of equids in the area, but the presence of mules and donkeys can almost certainly be attributed to, and be used as evidence for, some form of contact.

7.4.1 Frontiers

The frontier areas have been discussed briefly from a standpoint within the Empire, and the issues relating to the supply of the standing armies in these areas and the differences that the heavy military presence in these areas made on the appearance and proportions of the various equids. It is now time to discuss the areas immediately outside the Empire and how the equids of these areas were affected by the presence of the Roman Empire. All the frontier zones of the Empire had different characteristics, as did the provinces, therefore it is not really possible to group them all together for the purposes of discussing contact beyond the various frontiers. For the purposes of this section, only the *Limes* frontier zone will be discussed, partly because most data were available for sites beyond this particular border and partly because it is the most extensively studied.

Because the External data were not split into different areas, as a result of the dominance of two assemblages and the paucity of data from other sites, there is little in the way of results that can be directly discussed. However, one of the large assemblages is from a site just beyond the *Limes,* in the frontier zone, so some discussion of these data can be undertaken. Possible questions for future research can be posed.

In Chapter One the issue of the supply of military garrisons on the Rhine-Danube frontier from 'friendly kings' and others in the frontier zones beyond the *Limes* was discussed(e.g. Wells 2001; Braund 1989; Hanson 1989). Itwas established that supplies were brought in from outside the boundaries of the Empire and that the frontier zone formed a kind of buffer zone and early warning system for the Empire. In addition, the societies in this zone received benefits from close association with the Empire, through the trade in prestige goods and the economic security afforded by the presence of the frontier.

Although there are fewer contemporaneous accounts of the interactions between the Empire and the communities in the frontier zone than there are of the associations with 'friendly kings' in the late Republic/early Empire period, it is possible that 'gifting' was employed in the later period as in the earlier. However, if the Germanic tribes of the frontier zones were of a similar mentality in relation to the improvement of their horses as they were in Caesar's (B.G.)accounts, then it seems likely that the frontier communities probably did not trade for horses. This is probably why the External horses were smaller and less robust than those from within the Empire.

However, the needs of the military meant that trade with these communities needed to take place, and the presence of mules and donkeys on these sites is not surprising as they would have been needed to transport goods in both directions. This is perhaps particularly noticeable because the distances involved are not great and the relevant rivers do not generally run in the right directions for efficient transport of goods.

The site previously mentioned as having produced a large bone assemblage is that of the Oppidum at Manching (Boessneck *et al.1971).* In the material dating to the period oftime when Manching was beyond the borders of the Empire, but quite close to conquered territory, many donkey and mule bones were identified. Close contact with the Roman world is seen in many other lines of evidence from the site, for example imported goods, represented by fine ceramics, metalwork and coins, and archaeobotanical remains (Wells 1996: Küster, *pers. comm.*). These have been interpreted as indicating that the inhabitants of Manching emulated Roman ways and must have traded quite extensively with the Empire: Therefore, the presence of donkeys and mules can be interpreted as more evidence of this trade, and as evidence of the method of transport employed by the traders.

Although this hypothesis works for the site at Manching, this is a unique site in many ways and perhaps not typical of most frontier sites. However, the premise that the presence of donkeys and mules in the bone assemblages from these sites can be used as an indicator of trade with the Roman Empire can still be applied and perhaps a better idea of the extent of such trade could be established through further work in this area.

Another complication in the study of the frontier zones beyond the borders of the Empire, particularly in the Rhine area, is the fact that abortive attempts were made to incorporate further territory into the Roman Empire. These abortive military campaigns mean that there was the possibility of more direct contact between the inhabitants of these further territories and the Roman world than would exist through trade alone. It is therefore possible that equids involved in these military campaigns could have become incorporated into the lives of these communities through the military sphere rather than civilian trade. This is distinctly hypothetical, and would probably be difficult to prove without very close control of the chronology of sites in such areas.

7.4.2 Trade and supply

Evidence of long distance trade, particularly of raw materials, foodstuffs and so called 'prestige' goods, has been located on sites all over northern Europe as far away from the Mediterranean as Denmark, Sweden and Poland, from as early as the last few centuries BC (Wells 2001). In order to facilitate this trade transport was required, as has been stated earlier, and where sea or river transport was not possible land transport, probably utilising equid power, would have been used.

The trade of raw materials not available within the Empire was particularly vital to the Roman economy, and in some cases was so important that conquest of the source areas was undertaken. Metal ores, including precious metals such as gold but also more utilitarian metals such as iron, copper and tin, were transported over large distances and were traded from areas outside the Empire. Examples include the sites of Gera- Tinz in Thuringia, and the Holy Cross Mountains in Southern Poland where large-scale iron production can be linked to export to Roman sites (Wells 2001). This trade must have required many equids to transport such large quantities of heavy, bulky goods over long distances, where the rivers were not particularly close and did not run in the right direction.

The trade of other commodities such as amber may have been more in the nature of incidental trade whilst carrying out political affiliations. This could certainly be the case with trade in Scandinavia. The Romans needed to be able to travel the seas around northern Denmark unhindered by pirates and to have safe harbours to use in bad weather, so it is possible that the trade of prestige Roman goods, such as fine drinking vessels and wine, with local elites in return for amber and other products may have been a kind of 'friendly king' arrangement with more emphasis on the political motives than the traded goods. For these reasons it is unlikely that equids were part of this trade, but as no sites of this nature were included in this research it cannot be ruled out as a possibility.

Another aspect of trade with communities external to the Empire was the supply of the army with agricultural produce. New agricultural settlements sprang up in response to the presence of Romans in the vicinity and, existing settlement expanded. Wells (1996) suggests that Feddersen Wierde is one of these settlements. The identification of mules and donkeys in the Feddersen Wierde assemblage initially appeared somewhat surprising, because the site was situated a long way from the boundary of the Empire and has in the past been considered as primarily an agrarian settlement that did not seem to have taken on Roman characteristics.

However, there now appears to have been a greater degree of trade between the inhabitants of the settlement and the Roman Empire than was previously thought. Whilst Roman goods such as *terra sigillata* pottery, glass beads and vessels, some coins and millstones have been found at Feddersen Wierde (Haarnagel 1975, quoted in Wells 1996), they do not occur in such quantity as they do at Manching (Boessneck *et al.1971).* It has therefore been suggested that these items may not have been the result of direct trade but a dispersion of goods between native communities, particularly as there was little evidence of what the inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde were producing for trade. However, analysis of the use of buildings themselves and the growth of the settlement has suggested that the community was involved in raising cattle on an increasingly large scale and that these cattle were traded to the Roman army garrisons along the *Limes* (Reichstein 1991; Wells 1996). This increasingly large scale of cattle production was possibly to supply leather as well as meat to the army on *Limes* (Wells 2001: 146).

It seems most likely that the presence of donkeys at Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991) was connected in some way to trade with the Roman Empire. Whether the mules were locally bred or were also traded could not be determined definitively from the current investigations. However, the shaft slenderness index and log-ratio analyses indicated that the mules and donkeys were smaller and more slender limbed than those from within the

Empire, as were the horses. This seems to suggest that the mules and donkeys could be the result oflocal breeding, as they appear to have been subjected to similar husbandry regimes resulting in limb slenderness cuased by malnutrition during particular stages of growth.

An alternative hypothesis is that these were 'second rate' mules and donkeys going to these areas for several, possibly connected, reasons. Firstly, there is the question of transport for the goods being traded for cattle at Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991). There is relevant information on this subject in the novel The Golden Ass, where Apuleius *(m.m)* records the adventures of a man transformed into an ass by witchcraft before being returned to human form. Almost as soon as he has been turned into an ass he is stolen by a band of thieves who use him to transport their booty. When they have finished with him they sell him on to others to use. Later in the story he is just abandoned after he has fulfilled his purpose.

Even though, by and large, dishonest men carried out these transactions, the custom of selling on pack animals when they were no longer required seems to have been normal practice, and was probably undertaken by honest traders as well. The practical reason for selling the pack animals when they have delivered their loads is so the trader does not have to feed them on an 'empty' return journey where no profit would be gained. This could be linked to the fact that the return journey for the traders to Federsen Wierde was cattle. It would be more efficient to transport the cattle 'on the hoof' to the army bases than to transport carcasses, particularly given the distances involved.

A second hypothesis is the use of these pack animals as a foodstuff by the inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991). There is evidence from many Germanic sites that horsemeat formed a regular part of the diet, and this can be seen in the assemblages from many settlement sites (Peters 1998: 148, 164). At Feddersen Wierde the meat weight figures suggest that horsemeat provided 22% of the diet of the inhabitants (Reichstein 1991; 243, table 94). Therefore, perhaps the unwanted (and perhaps second-rate) pack animals were sold or traded to the inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde for meat. There seems to be no evidence regarding whether donkey and mule flesh would have been eaten or not, but there is no reason to suspect it was treated differently to that of horse, particularly given the fact that the bones of all three equids were found in the same kinds of contexts on the site.

A combination of the evidence given above can be applied to the data from Feddersen Wierde (Reichstein 1991) to explain the somewhat unexpected presence of donkeys and

443

mules in the faunal assemblage. If the trade between the Romans and the inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde was chiefly that of supplying the *Limes* garrisons with beef, perhaps the small quantity of Roman goods found at the settlement was the payment for the cattle. In addition, it is possible that perishable goods that have left no archaeological trace were traded. All these goods could have been brought in using donkeys and mules, which would then not have been necessary to transport cattle 'on the hoof' back to Roman territory. These beasts of burden would then have been surplus to requirements and could have been used as part of the payment or sold for additional profit. The inhabitants of Feddersen Wierde could then have consumed them as part of their normal dietary practice.

It has been possible to make such extensive hypotheses about Feddersen Wierde because such a large animal bone assemblage was recovered from the site, and extensive analysis was undertaken along the lines of the evidence cited here. Although these hypotheses have been applied to explain the presence (and somewhat slender build) of donkeys and mules at this one particular site, the same explanations can be applied to other sites beyond the *Limes.* The combination of evidence may have to be adjusted to the individual circumstances of a site, but the underlying relationships of trade and supply between the Roman Empire and the inhabitants of settlements, often at great distance from the *Limes* border, can still be utilised.

7.S Areas for future research

This research has shown the potential for research into equids in the Roman world, but has also highlighted a number of areas where further research would be of benefit. The introduction of a new methodology for the discrimination of horse donkey and mules bones has been piloted here, but there are a number of areas where the accuracy of this methodology could be improved. Firstly, there is the problem that the sample of mules is too small, leading to a less than 100% accurate separation of mules and horses. There is also a lack of diversity in the donkey sample, leading to difficulties in ascertaining if the outlying donkey identifications are really donkeys or not. This research has highlighted the fact that there appear to be very few mule skeletons in reference collections in Europe and North America. This means that to overcome the difficulties outlined above and improve the methodology it would be necessary to obtain and prepare new mule skeletons. As the likely sources of mules are Africa, Asia and South America, obtaining skeletons has logistical and ethical considerations that would need to be addressed.

The methodology could also be expanded to include hinnies and even other equid species such as onagers and zebras. This would allow the technique to be applied to a wider range of assemblages containing equid bones, such as prehistoric sites in the Near East where there are frequently problems of differentiation between onagers, horse and donkeys. Expanding the technique to include these species would be less problematic as there are sufficient numbers of specimens already in reference collections across Europe.

As highlighted in Chapter Four there are a number of other methods and techniques of differentiation that it would be profitable to explore. The use of computed tomography may be worth exploring as being a non-destructive technique. Chemical analyses such as studies of ancient DNA and proteins would probably be are worthwhile. Some of the groundwork for DNA identification has already been undertaken, so it should be possible to continue this work, within the restrictions that any study of ancient DNA is subject to such as taphonomic problems. Recent studies of particular bone proteins have been useful in sheep/goat differentiation (M. Collins *pers. comm.)* so it is possible that this could be extended to other species. Because these techniques require destructive sampling and are relatively expensive to undertake, it is considered that an improved biometric technique would be of most use to zooarchaeologists on a day-to-day basis.

Other areas highlighted in this research that would benefit from further research include issues relating to the movement of stock. It is thought that isotope analysis could be used to detect animals that have died at a distance from where they were raised. This would aid the detection of animals imported for the improvement of stock or the breeding of hybrids. In addition, evidence of animals being moved around whilst being used for trade or for army requirements could be discovered.

The remaining areas for future study discussed here would all benefit from a larger and more tightly dated biometric dataset. It is possible that larger datasets could be accumulated for many of the areas highlighted without great difficulty, as limitations of the current research were time available for data collection and known sources of data. However, the question of more tightly dated material may have to wait until more recently excavated material is available for study, either at first hand or when published. In addition, it may be worth directly accessing some of the assemblages studied here so that further measurements can be taken on the equid bones, to allow further species identifications to be made and a greater volume of data made available for the other analyses.

Areas where more data would be helpful include the issue of regionality. In particular more data are needed from Italian sites to elucidate whether the descriptions of equids in the literary sources are nearer to Italian animals than to the areas studied so far. More data are also needed from Gaul, Greece, the Danube and Balkans area and Britain to establish more secure foundations for some of the observations that could not be tested statistically. An increase in the volume of data from these areas could help eliminate the biases of climatic variation and site type, amongst others. It would also be worthwhile expanding the dataset to include the Iberian peninsula, Near East and more of North Africa, as these were stated in the literary sources as being key areas of horse breeding in the Roman period. Other areas where more data would be beneficial are the frontier zones. Here it would be useful to study the effects of contact with the Roman world on frontier zones other than the part of the *Limes* on the Rhine, such as northern Britain, North Africa, the Danube *Limes* and the Near East.

A more closely controlled chronology is needed to detect changes through time within the Roman period. In some cases this may mean accessing original archives, utilising sites that have been excavated more recently and the possibility of direct dating (i.e. C^{14}) of particular bones of interest. In order to study changes in the equid population brought about by the end of the Roman period, dating techniques being developed using more refined studies of late Roman pottery may allow a better informed study of this period. Currently it is problematic to study this period because of the lack of available accurate dating, so further work may have to be postponed until the dating issues have been resolved.

Data from a wider variety of site types, and in particular rural sites, would help elucidate some of the issues surrounding equids in relation to social differentiation. More data in this area would also aid an understanding of the use of mules to transport agricultural produce to river and sea ports. Examination of data from a larger number and greater variety of rural sites may also allow the detection of mule breeding, and thereby confirm or refute the suggestions made here about centralised and controlled mule breeding.

The issues of external contact and trade need to be explored further in terms of areas other than the Rhine - Danube border (as with the frontier zones discussed above). In addition, a more extensive survey of sites beyond the borders, both those that are known to have had contacts with the Roman world and those not previously considered to have had contact. It would be useful to include assemblages from external sites from both the Iron Age and Roman periods, and in particular those sites that are difficult to date because of their lack of visible trade goods that date them as belonging to the Roman period rather than the Iron Age. This also applies to sites within the Empire in less Romanised areas, such as northwestern Gaul. Data from these sites could then be analysed for the presence of mules and donkeys as possible indicators of Roman dating and Roman contact.

Although this appears to be a long list of further research, it basically consists of two elements: work required to refine the methodology outlined here and associated identification procedures, and the collection of further, targeted, archaeological data collection to answer specific queries highlighted by this research.

7.6 Conclusions

The first aim of the project was to establish whether the existing methodologies used by zooarchaeologists effectively separate horses, donkeys and their hybrids. In Chapter Four it was established that this was not the case. Therefore a new methodology was developed using discriminant function analysis on biometric data, which could distinguish horses, donkeys and mules with about 80% accuracy in most instances. In addition a system for grading the likely success of an individual identification was established to eliminate the less certain identifications from the subsequent analyses.

Using the new methodology, archaeological material previously identified as 'horse' or 'equid' was re-evaluated to determine whether there was a real discrepancy in terms of species proportions between the contemporaneous literature and the zooarchaeological record. It was discovered that the hitherto perceived difference was due to identification problems.

The effective separation of horses, donkeys and mules was achieved, so it was possible to address the questions of size and shape for each species separately, allowing a more accurate picture of the appearance of these animals to be constructed. In addition, relative species proportions could be determined. The ratios of the three equids in different areas of the Empire varied considerably, probably as a result of a combination of climatic conditions, representation of site type and genuine differences in species proportions. The size and shape analyses carried out on the data for the separated species then allowed further research questions to be addressed.

It was established that the Roman conquest of a particular area had an effect on the physical appearance of horses in that area. In some areas these changes were the result of a process that started pre-conquest and continued afterwards, but the most profound changes were detectable changes between the immediate pre- and post-conquest periods. The amount of change and exactly how these changes were manifested seems to have varied greatly across the Empire. Although improvements in size were made almost universally, the appearance of the local pre-Roman stock was still evident in the form of the Roman period horses from these areas.

The differences in the Iron Age horse stock between the various areas studied here were still visible in the physical appearance of horses from diverse areas of the Roman Empire. This is in accordance with the great diversity of horses evident from contemporaneous written and art historical sources. Although exact descriptions could not be verified, general characteristics were shown to be relatively accurate. Unfortunately, because of a shortage of closely dated material, it was not possible to see if these characteristics were consistent through time, within the Roman period, or whether the horses from the various areas became more similar through time. In contrast to the horses, the mules displayed a remarkable degree of uniformity between the various regions, perhaps suggesting differences in breeding programmes from a localised one for the horses to a more centralised system for the mules.

It was initially hoped that it would be possible to establish whether there were differences between the equids from the frontier zones and those deeper within the Empire. However, as with the chronological trends, it was not possible to split the data this finely and still retain enough material for statistical analysis, so this question could not be answered satisfactorily. It was expected that the frontier zones would have show a concentration of military animal, but, as will be discussed below, it was difficult to characterise the military equines as a type distinct from civilian ones. It was noticeable that there was a higher proportion of mules along the Rhine - Danube frontier than in other areas, but this may be the result of bias in the numbers of specimens available for study.

Another research question related to the frontier zones was the question of trade and supply to various areas of the Empire, particularly military supply. Trade routes have been detected from finds for which it is easy to define the point of origin, such as amphorae and other ceramics. It was wondered whether the equid remains could also be used to detect trade routes and mechanisms. It has been discovered that there are certainly concentrations of mules at military and associated sites as the last stages of the transport chain. It was not possible to detect concentrations of mules at the producer end of the transport chain, mainly because assemblages from rural sites in the relevant areas were not plentiful.

The dilemma of whether the Romans moved large quantities of horses with the army or recruited local stock was equally difficult to determine due to small numbers of specimens available for study when the data were split into detailed categories. However, some of the analyses indicated that the horses used by the military were generally of a particular physical type, which was marginally different from that seen at other types of site. The same analyses showed that there were not necessarily differences between the types of horses used by civilians and those ofthe army, but there were more noticeable differences in the appearance of the horses and the species proportions between various site types on the basis of status and wealth. The higher status and apparently more wealthy sites had horses of a type closer to the Roman 'ideal', whereas those of lower status had horses closer to the preceding Iron Age types. This was not conclusive, however, as the differences were slight.

The final research aim related to the differences between horses within the Empire and those beyond, both those areas known to have had close contacts with the Empire and those at greater distance. It has been established that the presence of non-native equid species (mules and donkeys) within assemblages beyond the borders of the Empire in northern Europe may well be indicators of Roman trade. This seems to be the most discernible evidence of Roman influence on the equid population outside the Empire, as the size and shape of the horses in particular do not seem to have been influenced by the stock improvements that were discernible within the Empire. In terms of the spread of mules and donkeys, it appears that the influence of the Roman Empire extended many hundreds of miles from the frontiers, but to have been mostly effected through trade.

It is hoped that this study has shown the great potential for extracting information from a synthetic biometric survey of a single family of animals, once the problem of identification to species has been overcome.

449

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Appendix

The Appendix contains figures and tables that are supplemantary to those contained within the text.A list of these figures and tables is given at the beginning of the thesis.

The figures mostly comprise additional material where the results were not considered of sufficient interest to be included in the main part of the text, but are useful for detailed comparison of results. The tables include more detailed information on the assemblages and sites from which data were extracted for this research and detailed lists of the results of the vairous analyses that were undertaken.

A CD containing the Paradox database in which data collected for this research were cllated is in the envelope attached to the inside of the back cover.

Isolated Metacarpals: Roman Donkeys

Figure Al. Histograms of shaft breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological donkey metacarpals by period.

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Figure A3. Histogram of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'unknown' archaeological metacarpals.

Figure A 4. *Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metacarpals by period.*

Figure AS. Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified ^J archaeological Iron Age and Roman horse metacarpals by area.

Figure A5 continued.

Metacarpals: Mules: Roman Rhineland

Figure A6. Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metacarpals by area.

Figure A 7. *Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse metacarpals by period.*

Figure A8. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metacarpals by area.

Metacarpals: Mules: Roman Danube/Balkans 9 -- - - _ - - - _ - _.- __ _ - - _.- --.--.-.- ---- -- -..--.- - --.-..-- _ - _ ..- - -. 8+---------------------------,.,-------------------~ $7+$ $\overline{6}$ *S+----------------------~~.-,~* $4 \overline{}$ $\overline{\mathbf{3}}$ -² -I------------------- --f~.- 1,-------------------HIU ..-- O+---,--..,----,---r---,--.,............,_ 17 17.5 18 *18.5* 19 19.5 20 20.5 21 *21.5* 22 *22.5* 23 *23.5* 24 *24.5 25* **BdlGL x 100**

Figure A9. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metacarpals by area.

Figure Al O.Histograms of shaft breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Iron Age horse metatarsals by area

Figure All. Histograms of shaft breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological donkey metatarsals by period

Figure A12. Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metatarsals by site type.

Metatarsals: Roman Mules: Danube/Balkans 8 7 6 5 - 4 3 .. - 2 .. I .. - $\mathbf{1}$ o 14.5 15 15.5 16 16.5 17 17.5 18 18.5 19 19.5 20 20.5 21 21.5 22 22.5 **Bp/GLx 100**

Figure A 13. *Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metatarsals by area.*

Figure A14. Histograms of proximal breadth to greatest length index/or the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metatarsals by site type.

Figure AJ 5. *Histograms oj distal breadth to greatest length index Jor the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metatarsals by area.*

Figure A16. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse metatarsals by site type.

Metatarsals: External Mules

Figure A17. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological mule metatarsals by period.

Figure A18. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metatarsals by area.

Metatarsals: Roman Mules: Urban

Figure A19. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman mule metatarsals by site type.

Tibiae: Roman Mules

Figure A20. Histograms of shaft breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse and mule tibiae.

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Figure A21. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse and mule tibiae.

Tibiae: Mules

Tibiae: Donkeys

Tibiae: Unknown

Figure A23. Histograms of distal depth to distal breadth index for the 'ambiguous' and 'unknown' archaeological tibiae by species.

Figure A24. Histograms of shaft breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological horse radii by period.

Radii: Roman Horses

Radii: Roman Mules

Figure A25. Histograms of distal breadth to greatest length index for the 'identified' archaeological Roman horse and mule radii.

Figure A26. Histograms of log-ratio lengths for the 'identified' archaeological horses by site type.

Figure A26 continueud.

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Figure A2 7. *Histograms of log-ratio breadths for the 'identified' archaeological horses by site type*

Horses: Roman Villa

Figure A27 Continued.

Figure A28. Histograms of log-ratio depths for the 'identified' archaeological horses by site type

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Table A1. List of modern reference specimens with their details

Collection codes as specified in Table 5.1 in the main text. Information mostly taken from collection records. Where sex data were missing, this was

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Table A1a. Measurements taken from the modern reference specimens detailed in Table A1.

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Table A2. A gazetteer of sites from which archaeological data were obtained, together with information on

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Table A3. Numbers of bones by element by site.

Element codes are as follows: cran = cranium, mand = mandible, scap = scapula, hum = humerus, MC = metacarpal, fem = femur, tib = tibia, astr =

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Table A4 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of metatarsals from complete

skeletons and articulated limbs

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Table A5 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of tibiae from complete skeletons and

articulated limbs

Table A6 – Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of radii from complete skeletons and
articulated limbs

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Table A8 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of femora from complete skeletons and articulated limbs

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Table A12 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of isolated humeri

Table A13 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of isolated femora

Table A14 - Detailed information from discriminant function analysis of isolated metacarpals

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Table A15 - Results of withers height calculations on the Humeri from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs

 $WH-K =$ withers height estimate from Kiesewalter's factors

Table A16 - Results of withers height calculations on the Radii from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs

WH-V = withers height estimate from Vitt's factors, WH-K = withers height estimate from Kiesewalter's factors, $WH-M =$ mean withers height

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Table At7 - Results of withers height calculations on the Metacarpals from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs

Table A18 - Results of withers height calculations on the Femora from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs

WH = withers height estimate (Vitt's and Kiesewalter's factors are the same)

Table A19- Results of withers **height calculations on the Tibiae from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs**

Table A20 - Results of withers height calculations on the Metatarsals from the complete skeletons and articulated limbs

Table A21 - Results of withers height calculations on the isolated Metatarsals

WH-V = withers height estimate from Vitt's factors, WH-K = withers height estimate from Kiesewalter's factors, $WH-M = mean$ withers height

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Table A22 - Results of withers height calculations on the isolated Radii

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Table A23 - Results of withers height calculations on the isolated Tibiae

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Table A24 - Results of withers height calculations on the isolated Humeri

 $WH-K =$ withers height estimate from Kiesewalter's factors

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Table A25 - Results of withers height calculations on the isolated Metacarpals

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 $\label{eq:2} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^n\frac{1$

 $\beta=\frac{1}{3\pi} \alpha_{\rm b}$

(西部大学)

 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^2\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^2.$

 $\sigma_{\rm c} \sim \omega$

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 $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)})^{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n \mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)}} \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)}) \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(2)}) \cong \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)})^{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n \mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)}} \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(1)})^{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n \mathcal{E}_{\mathcal{A}}^{(2)}}$

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 $\label{eq:2} \mathcal{L} \left(\mathcal{L} \right) = \frac{1}{2} \left(\mathcal{L} \right) \, .$

大动物的 (1998) 2014年6月

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 $\label{eq:2} \begin{split} \mathcal{L}_{\text{eff}} &= \mathcal{L}_{\text{eff}} \left[\mathcal{L}_{\text{eff}} \right]

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 $\label{eq:2.1} \nabla_{\theta} \left(\mathbf{r} \right) = \left(\frac{1}{2} \sum_{\mathbf{r} \in \mathcal{R}^{\mathcal{A}}} \left(\mathbf{r} \right) \frac{\partial \mathbf{r}}{\partial \theta} \mathbf{A} \right) \mathbf{r} \left(\mathbf{r} \right) = \mathbf{r} \left(\mathbf{r} \right) \mathbf{r}$

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Table A26. - Results of the calculation of the shaft breadth to greatest length index on the Metacarpals

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 $\label{eq:1.1} \begin{array}{l} \displaystyle \frac{\partial \mathcal{F}}{\partial \mathcal{F}}(x,y) = \frac{\partial \mathcal{F}}{\partial x} \left(x-y \right) \mathcal{F} \left(x \right) \\ \displaystyle \frac{\partial \mathcal{F}}{\partial x} \left(x-y \right) = \frac{\partial \mathcal{F}}{\partial x} \left(x-y \right) \mathcal{F} \left(x \right) \end{array}$

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 $\left\langle \omega\right\rangle \in \mathcal{E}$

Table A27. - Results of the calculation of the proximal breadth to greatest length index on the Metacarpals

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Table A28. - Results of the calculation of the distal breadth to greatest length index on the Metacarpals

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 $\label{eq:2.1} \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{2} \sum_{j=1}^n \frac{$

 $\label{eq:2.1} \mathcal{E}=\frac{1}{2}\left[\mathcal{E}^{\dagger}\right]^{-1}\mathcal{E}_{\mathbf{q},\mathbf{q}}$

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 $\frac{1}{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}\left\langle \frac{1}{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}\right\rangle = \frac{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}\left\langle \frac{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}\right\rangle = \frac{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}{\lambda_{\rm{max}}}$

 $\label{eq:2.1} \frac{1}{n}\left\langle \delta_{\mathbf{y}}\right\rangle_{\mathbf{y}}^{\mathbf{y}}\left(\mathbf{y}^{(1)}\right)\left(\mathbf{y}^{(1)}\right)\left(\mathbf{y}^{(1)}\right)\left(\mathbf{y}^{(1)}\right)\left(\mathbf{y}^{(1)}\right).$

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Table A29. - Results of the calculation of the shaft breadth to greatest length index on the Metatarsals

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 $\label{eq:1} \mathcal{O}(\alpha) = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{\alpha^2 \alpha^2 \alpha^2} \, .$

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 $\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{1}{2} \sum_{j=1}^{n} \frac{1}{2} \sum_{j=1}^{n$

 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left\{ \mathcal{L}_{\text{max}}^{\text{max}}\left(\mathbf{y}\right)\right\}$

 $\sim 4\%$

 $\label{eq:3} \mathcal{F} = \mathcal{F} \times \mathcal{G} \times \mathcal{F} = \mathcal{F} \times \mathcal{F} \times \mathcal{F} \times \mathcal{F}$

 $\label{eq:1} \mathcal{I} \left(\mathcal{I} \left(\mathcal{N} \right) \right) \left(\mathcal{I} \right) = \left(\mathcal{I} \left(\mathcal{I} \right) \right) \left(\mathcal{I} \right)$

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Kacamatan Pangalang

 $\label{eq:2.1} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/2}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{1/$

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Table A30. - Results of the calculation of the proximal breadth to greatest length index on the Metatarsals

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Table A31. - Results of the calculation of the distal breadth to greatest length index on the Metatarsals

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 $\label{eq:2} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$

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 $\Omega_{\rm 1D} \lesssim 10^5$

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 $\sum_{i=1}^n \mathcal{L}_i = \frac{1}{2} \mathcal{L}_i$, where \mathcal{L}_i is a i

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 $\frac{1}{\log\frac{1}{\delta}}\left(\frac{1}{\delta}\right)^2\leq\frac{1}{\delta}\left(\frac{1}{\delta}\right)^2.$

 $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{G})$

Table A32. - Results of the calculation of the shaft breadth to greatest length index on the Tibiae المؤالي وأوضاء فالمهادي

 $\mathcal{L}^{\text{max}}_{\text{max}}$

 $f\in\mathbb{C}$ and

Table A33. - Results of the calculation of the distal breadth to greatest length index on the Tibiae Literature most

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Table A34. - Results of the calculation of the distal depth to distal breadth index on the Tibiae

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Table A35. - Results of the calculation of the shaft breadth to greatest length index on the Radii

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Table A36. - Results of the calculation of the distal breadth to greatest length index on the Radii

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Table A37. - Results of the calculation of log ratios on the horse length measurements

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 $\label{eq:1} \begin{aligned} \mathbb{E}[\hat{z}_{\alpha}]=\hat{z}_{\alpha} \hat{\beta}_{\alpha} \hat{\beta}_{\alpha} \hat{\beta} \end{aligned}$

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Table A38. - Results of the calculation of log ratios on the horse breadth measurements

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 $\mathbb{Q}_p^{\mathcal{B}}$ $\begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{pmatrix}$

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 $\epsilon \simeq \sqrt{-1}$ $\sigma_{\rm 0.33}^{\rm 0.02}$

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 $\label{eq:1} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{2}\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)^{2}$

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 $\label{eq:2} \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{2} \sum_{j=1}^n \frac{1}{$

 $\begin{array}{l} \left\langle \mathbf{e}^{i}\right\rangle _{1} \\ \left\langle \mathbf{e}^{i}\right\rangle _{1} \end{array}$

 $\omega \rightarrow \infty$

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Table A39. - Results of the calculation of log ratios on the horse depth measurements $\sim 3\,$ km $^{-1}$

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