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animals, Biometry

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Abstract: In this paper we discuss domestic livestock morphometric data
from the Late Neolithic Greek regions of Macedonia and Thessaly. Six
sites are considered, including a substantial and previously unpublished
dataset from Promachon (Macedonia). The analysis of the size and shape of
the animals indicates great variation between sites and regions,
suggestive of the co-existence of multiple styles of husbandry. The site
of Sitagroi stands out for its large and robust cattle and sheep,
probably a consequence of its environmental setting, as well as the
dynamism of its cultural and economic connections. In Thessaly, despite
the existence of inter-site connections documented through the material
culture, different sites maintained their independence in terms of
husbandry choices.

Opposed Reviewers: Paul Halstead
University of Sheffield
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Valasia Isaakidou
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Covering Letter

Dear Editor(s),

This paper is partly based on the results of George Kazantzis' Ph.D. thesis, undertaken at the University of Sheffield, UK, during the academic years 2011-2014. The Ph.D. research focused on aspects of economy and animal use from the Late Neolithic site of Promachon in Macedonia, northern Greece using the animal bone assemblage as the main source of evidence. The faunal assemblage from this site provided a substantial, previously unpublished metrical dataset, useful for local and regional comparisons. The supervisor of George Kazantzis' Ph.D thesis and co-author of this paper, Umberto Albarella, collected pig metrical data from the contemporary to Promachon site of Makriyalos in Macedonia, northern Greece. This unpublished metrical dataset from Makriyalos is also considered in this paper, along with published metrical data from four contemporary sites from Macedonia (Sitagroi) and Thessaly (Ayia Sofia, Pevkakia and Zarkos).

It is important to note that this is the first time that a local and regional comparison of Greek Late Neolithic livestock size and shape is attempted. It is therefore anticipated that the arguments presented in this paper will form an important basis for future discussion on the nature of human-animal relationships during a crucial time-period in the prehistory of northern Greece and southeastern Balkans. What is equally important however, is that, given the general scarcity of studied and published metrical datasets from Late Neolithic Greek sites, this paper will hopefully demonstrate the importance of the collection of metrical data by current and prospective zooarchaeologists working on Greek prehistoric faunal assemblages.

Finally, it should be noted that this paper was initially submitted to the *Journal of Archaeological Science*, where it was not accepted. The Editor of the journal considered that its theme would be more appropriate for publication to the *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*.

Kind regards,

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Dear Chris,

Many thanks for the reviewers' comments. We have now dealt with them and have submitted a revised version of the paper. Ultimately we found that the criticisms were not as substantial as it might have looked at a first sight. Reviewer 1 is very positive, while Reviewer 2 has expressed more concerns. We have tried to accommodate their suggestions in the paper as much as we could but, as you can see from our responses below, there are several points on which we disagree, particularly with Reviewer 2. As much as we would like to appease them we cannot possibly include mistakes or changes to the approach that we disagree with. Having said that, some points were useful and we believe they have helped us to strengthen the paper.

Best wishes,

Giorgos and Umberto

Reviewer #1:

The research paper "SIZE AND SHAPE OF GREEK LATE NEOLITHIC LIVESTOCK SUGGEST THE EXISTENCE OF MULTIPLE AND DISTINCTIVE ANIMAL HUSBANDRY CULTURES" reports a detailed biometric analysis on faunal assemblages of *Bos* sp., *Ovis aries* and *Sus* sp. from six sites from the Thessaly and Macedonia regions. Biometric variables (size and form) are used as proxies for differences of livestock management among sites for each species, on a multiscale approach (intra-site, inter-site and interregional). The report is well written (good style), methodologically sound, the research question and the results are interesting and original, and it fits well within the scope of the Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports. I recommend its publication.

I have some minor comments for the authors.

1. I find the concept of "Husbandry Cultures" problematic, which in part could be due to belonging to a different archaeological tradition, and I apologize in advance for any misunderstanding on my behalf. Despite its many definitions, it could be said that Culture refers to a shared repertory of beliefs and knowledge and its objectifications (from spoken words to artifacts and institutions). Culture so defined is constantly actualized by people and allows for a wide breath of freedom, which is necessary for its adaptation to varying social and environmental constraints on different spatiotemporal scales. Therefore, differences in the zooarchaeological record could be described either as different husbandry cultures, or as variations of a single culture. The same goes for the statement about Thessalian sites as different despite environmental similarity, and that sites maintained different strategies as a choice (lines 687-697). Differences among sites probably reflect choices, but choice could be arbitrary or not, and the key question is if such choices were alternative solutions to similar or different combinations of goals, resources and external constraints. In conclusion, I would recommend the authors to define and justify their use of the Husbandry culture concept.

We are not really sure about the point raised by the reviewer. Their definition of 'culture' appears entirely consistent with the way we have used it and it is unclear why any further clarification is needed – it should be obvious that husbandry belongs to the realm of culture. However, to be absolutely clear, we have added a sentence in the conclusions which aims to clarify the concept even further.

2. A brief section on the Greek Late Neolithic would be helpful for international readers.

In the Introduction we have added a sentence, with some references, which elaborates further on the nature of the Greek Late Neolithic. If the editors want so, we can of course expand further – even much further – but this would increase the word count and we also suspect that a potted history of the late Neolithic in Greece would only distract from the main focus of the paper. However, we are happy to follow editorial guidance on this.

3. The paper should state which software package was used for the statistical analysis.

Done (see Methods section).

4. Using mean values from an archaeological site (Promachon) as a standard for the log ratio scaling technique implies a methodological issue. The goal of the log-ratio is to enlarge samples by scaling measurements from different elements to a common scale. To that end, a reference standard is derived

from a single animal -archaeological or modern- or from the mean of various animals. In either case it is desirable to work with measurements from complete skeletons -archaeological or modern- (see Meadow 1999, p. 295). If the assemblage is common refuse, the standard of each element becomes potentially independent from that of other elements because of differential accumulation and survivorship. I think that this does should not pose a problem for the present report as it focuses on comparisons of size among archaeological assemblages. Even so, the report should clarify if the standard is derived from articulated or independent elements. If it is from independent anatomical elements, the aforementioned methodological issue should be acknowledged.

A paragraph has been added to clarify this methodological issue further (see Results section).

Reviewer #2:

1) The use of astragali GLI is fine, but I have some concerns about the use of Bd. This measurement is highly variable in my experience, and I am not convinced that it is an indication of "weight bearing" as indicated by the authors. Moreover, I am not entirely convinced that this measurement is useful for what the authors aim to achieve. They cite a paper of Johnstone and Albarella 2002. This is an unpublished paper, and this concerns me. I would suggest the authors revisit this aspect, by providing references from peer-reviewed papers to support this notion. This will have a major impact on their results and interpretation. This is a rather crucial point.

The reviewer believes that astragalus Bd is a highly variable measurement in their experience. However, we should rely on actual data to make these judgements. When coefficients of variation have been calculated astragalus Bd has been shown to be approximately in the same range of variability as astragalus GLI, and astragalus measurements in general in the same scale of variability (sometime less) than measurements from other anatomical elements. See for instance: Albarella U. & Davis S. 1996. *Mammals and Birds from Launceston Castle, Cornwall: Decline in Status and the Rise of Agriculture*. York, Circaea, 12 (1), pp.1-156. If required we can provide several more references. This is really, however, a non-issue, as astragalus Bd measurements are regularly used in the literature and, like all other width measurements, are associated with robustness. All morphometric literature is in agreement about that. See for instance the use of Bd measurements in classic and often cited articles such as: Payne and Bull 1988; Davis 1996; Davis 2000 (all cited in our paper). However, we have now changed the reference of Johnstone and Albarella (2002), with a more recent, fully peer-reviewed, version of that paper.

2) It would be necessary to include the sample size of specimens measured.

We regarded it as unnecessary as for all our diagrams sample size is clearly demonstrated by the scale of the histograms and number of points in scatterplots. We regarded this as more effective because of its visual impact.

However, we have now included sample sizes in all figure captions for the scatterplots, just to be even more explicit. Log ratio diagrams also include sample sizes.

3) Differences in environmental factors are not well considered as a potential factor in the size differences.

This reviewer seems to have overlooked our frequent references to environmental differences as possible causes for livestock morphometric differences. Here is an example: "It is worth pointing out that the environmental conditions between the two sites are substantially different. Promachon is located on the northernmost part of Macedonia, close to the mountainous and forested regions of the Balkans, with low winter temperatures and high precipitation levels, which may have been ideal for cattle pasture (Kazantzis 2015). Makriyalos is located on the southernmost part of Macedonia near the Thessalian plain; the site is fairly close to the sea with warmer and drier climatic conditions in comparison to Promachon, even during the winter".

For Thessaly we have suggested that the environmental differences between sites are not so great to justify morphometric differences. This does not mean that we have not considered the environment, but simply that we did not regard it as the most likely explanation for the observed differences. Even for fodder access we mention that this may be related to variable environmental conditions. Potential environmental causes are mentioned no less than *seven* times in the paper, including in the abstract. To insist even more on the topic would definitely be an over-kill.

4) Since astragali don't fuse (as acknowledged by the authors), the (suggested) size differences could actually relate to age differences. This aspect is not given sufficient attention.

The answer to this reviewer's question is already in our text: "the astragalus rapidly reaches adult size and, once fully ossified, it exhibits limited size change, despite not having an epiphysis, as is constrained in an articulation and has limited room for growth (Albarella and Payne 2005; Payne and Bull 1988; Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012)".

To clarify the point further we have also added a new paragraph (see Methods section) in which we specify that we have only recorded fully ossified astragali.

5) In many cases, the differences are actually quite small. I am a bit concerned that a lot is made of rather small differences. In some cases the differences amount to a few millimetres. If one considers that the two astragali from one single individual animal can vary with a few millimetres, and considering the small sample size, the results and interpretations seem like overstating the case.

There cannot be any reasonable expectation that differences between animals of the same species and roughly from the same period and region are any greater than that. In fact it is already remarkable that such differences exist. It is only between different species or, sometimes, wild and domestic forms that larger differences can be expected. The fact that some variability may exist between the left and right side in the same order of scale that we see between the groups we compare is irrelevant, because the comparison is based on populations rather than individual specimens. This is how biometry works at population level, and our observations are also supported by statistical testing. At the end of the day this is what statistics is for. Ultimately our approach is scientific rather than impressionistic.

6) It is by no means clear what the comparative postcranial remains are. Some explanations and justification would be helpful.

Once again the reviewer seems to have overlooked information that is included in the paper. The details are provided in SOM2. If the editor prefers that information to be included in the main body of the paper that is fine, but we assumed that this is what SOM is for. Please, let us know – happy to follow editorial preferences. We are now including a SOM3, in which full ranges of measurements of all species from all sites are provided for cross-reference.

7) It is highly possible that many of the astragali are from the same individual. This will obviously reduce the sample size even further.

A skeleton has only two astragali so it is not possible for "many of the astragali" to be "from the same individual". It is of course possible that a left and right astragalus do come from the same individual, but this is commingled material (rather than articulated skeletons, or partly articulated skeletons) that accumulated for centuries, so this possibility is remote. Moreover, this is how virtually all zooarchaeologists deal with biometrical analysis. One way to get round this problem is only use one side (left or right), but to reduce sample sizes by half in order to deal with a rather unlikely occurrence would not be sensible (and this is why hardly any zooarchaeologists use such approach). It must also be noted that in our recording system when two elements were regarded to derive from the same individual only one was recorded. We can make this specification in 'methods' if required, but it really seems rather unnecessary – there are so many details of this kind that can potentially be included in 'methods', but to list them all would really make for a very long and heavy going methods section. Concerning the question of sample size it must also be noted that our Macedonian samples are almost as large as they come for Neolithic sites. It is true that the Thessalian samples are smaller but they are mainly used for comparative purposes and they assume greater significance once compared with the Macedonian datasets.

8) Potential differences could also relate to different breeds. This aspect was not considered.

The concept of 'breed' is modern and it would be a serious mistake to apply it to prehistory. At most we can consider the existence of geographic types, which is what we do in the paper.

9) The settlement patterns at Drama: are these sites contemporary or do they follow chronologically? If this has not actually been demonstrated, then some of the statements are invalid.

From the context it should be obvious that we are dealing with roughly contemporary sites. To make it absolutely clear we have now specified that Dikili Tash is late Neolithic (the site has other phases but it is the late Neolithic one that is relevant to this paper)

10) I would suggest shortening the Results section somewhat, as there is a lot of repetition. It also reads a bit on the difficult side.

Please compare this with comments of first reviewer, who believes that the paper is very clearly written. We have gone through the text once again and we could not identify any repetitions in the Results section. This is information that we need to provide, so the only way we can shorten it is by moving sections to the SOM, but is this really desirable? We believe that readers will want to see the results fully explained in the main body of the paper.

Highlights

There is variation in livestock size and shape between sites and regions.

This can be linked to husbandry regimes and cultural and environmental differences.

Sitagroi has larger livestock and probably benefitted from the support of a network of local sites.

Thessalian sites had trade links, but practiced different husbandry styles.

Unlike Thessaly, wild boar is common in Macedonia, and probably did not crossbreed with domestic pig.

1 Size and shape of Greek Late Neolithic livestock suggest the 2 existence of multiple and distinctive animal husbandry cultures

3

4

Abstract

5 *In this paper we discuss domestic livestock morphometric data from the Late*
6 *Neolithic Greek regions of Macedonia and Thessaly. Six sites are considered,*
7 *including a substantial and previously unpublished dataset from Promachon*
8 *(Macedonia). The analysis of the size and shape of the animals indicates great*
9 *variation between sites and regions, suggestive of the co-existence of multiple styles*
10 *of husbandry. The site of Sitagroi stands out for its large and robust cattle and sheep,*
11 *probably a consequence of its environmental setting, as well as the dynamism of its*
12 *cultural and economic connections. In Thessaly, despite the existence of inter-site*
13 *connections documented through the material culture, different sites maintained their*
14 *independence in terms of husbandry choices.*

15 **Keywords:** Greece, Late Neolithic, Zooarchaeology, Husbandry, Domestic animals,
16 Biometry.

17

1. Introduction

18 Biometry constitutes one of the most important tools that zooarchaeologist have for
19 the investigation of past patterns of human behaviour. It can inform us on many
20 archaeological issues, ranging from animal domestication to husbandry practices,
21 feeding regimes and the introduction of new breeds and improved livestock (Albarella
22 1997; 2002; Davis 1996; 2000; Rowley-Conwy 1999; Zeder 2008; Albarella et al.
23 2007).

24 Biometry has been used by European zooarchaeologists on a regular basis, but less
25 so in Greece. For the Neolithic, the use of biometry is linked with the intensity of
26 zooarchaeological research in different regions, with Thessaly a greater focus of
27 research than Macedonia (Kazantzis 2015). This is the result of an archaeological
28 perception of the Neolithic cultures of Macedonia as largely derivative from, and
29 marginal to, those of Thessaly (Fotiadis 2001). This has led Macedonia to be
30 discussed in the context of a Thessalian, rather than a local Macedonian Neolithic
31 (Andreou et al. 1996; Perlès 2001). Only in the past 20 years has the Macedonian
32 Neolithic been placed in its original, regional context.

33 From the 1960's, many Neolithic excavations in Thessaly have been staffed with a
34 variety of different specialists, including zooarchaeologists (Trantalidou 2001). When
35 it comes to data analysis there has, however, been a tendency for zooarchaeologists
36 to confine the use of biometry to a limited range of issues, such as the origins of

37 cattle domestication (Boessneck 1962; Bökönyi 1989; Becker 1999), the use of
38 secondary products (Bökönyi 1986) and the crossbreeding of wild and domestic
39 forms (Becker 1991; 1999; Bökönyi 1989; Gejvall 1969). The investigation of these
40 issues was facilitated by the inclusion of raw metric data in publications.
41 Nevertheless, temporal and regional comparisons of different metrical datasets
42 between Neolithic Thessalian sites were attempted only by von den Driesch (1987)¹.
43 Faunal reports from Neolithic Macedonian sites tend to provide only summary
44 statistics of measurements. An exception is represented by the work of Bökönyi
45 (1986) at the Late Neolithic Macedonian site of Sitagroi, which provides a full range
46 of tooth and postcranial measurements. A lack of availability of raw data is therefore
47 one of the reasons why metrical datasets between Neolithic sites from Macedonia
48 have not been previously compared.

49 A further issue, which has not been adequately investigated, is the ambiguous status
50 of pigs. In almost all sites from Macedonia and Thessaly, pig bones were - and still
51 are - by default attributed to domesticates, while the identification of their wild
52 counterparts is limited to cases of particularly large specimens (Kazantzis 2015). This
53 is also the case for domestic cattle and its wild progenitor, the aurochs. This
54 obviously represents a potential problem, since it means that the significance of wild
55 boar and aurochs has not been properly evaluated.

56 This paper will focus on a regional comparison of the size and shape of the main
57 domesticates between Late Neolithic (6th-5th Millennium BC Cal) sites from
58 Macedonia and Thessaly. For Greece, it constitutes the first attempt to identify local
59 and regional patterns of livestock management in this dynamic period of change in
60 the prehistory of southeastern Europe (Bailey 2000; Kotsakis 1999; Renfrew 1972).
61 In Greece, in particular, the Late Neolithic is characterised by a considerable
62 expansion in the number of settlements and a burst of innovations in the material
63 culture sphere (c.f. Andreou et al. 1996; Fotiadis 2001; Halstead 1989a; 1989b;
64 Kotsakis 1999; Pappa 2008). It is important to see how such changes can be
65 compared with developments in stock-keeping strategies.

66 The exploration of livestock morphometry in Late Neolithic Macedonia and Thessaly
67 will be used to clarify issues such as:

- 68 • whether livestock was properly kept and nourished
- 69 • differences in animal herding and livestock management between sites and
70 regions

¹ In addition, Becker (1991) briefly compares the size of sheep, red deer and fallow deer between Zarkos and a number of Thessalian sites (Pevkakia, Argissa, Ayia Sofia and Kastanas), while Halstead (1992) compares ranges of measurements of domesticated and wild species between Dimini, Argissa, Zarkos, Ayia Sofia and Pevkakia.

108 those of the Early Bronze Age. Overall, three PhD publications focus on the faunal
109 material from Pevkakia (Amberger 1979; Hinz 1979; Jordan 1975), but the data used
110 in this paper exclusively come from Jordan's thesis as it is the only one focusing on
111 the Late Neolithic. Due to restrictions of small sample size the measurements from
112 the Late Neolithic (Dimini era) deposits were combined with those of the Final
113 Neolithic (Rachmani era).

114 **Table 1: Sites from Macedonia and Thessaly considered in this paper (see also Figure 1).**

N	Site	Region	Cultural periods	Metrical data – Sources
1	Promachon	Macedonia	Late Neolithic	Kazantzis (2015)
2	Sitagroi	Macedonia	Late Neolithic - Final Neolithic	Bökönyi (1986)
3	Makriyalos	Macedonia	Late Neolithic	Albarella and Dobney (unpublished data)
4	Ayia Sofia	Thessaly	Late Neolithic	Driesch and Enderle (1976)
5	Pevkakia	Thessaly	Late Neolithic - Final Neolithic	Jordan (1975)
6	Zarkos	Thessaly	Late Neolithic - Early Bronze Age	Becker (1991)

115

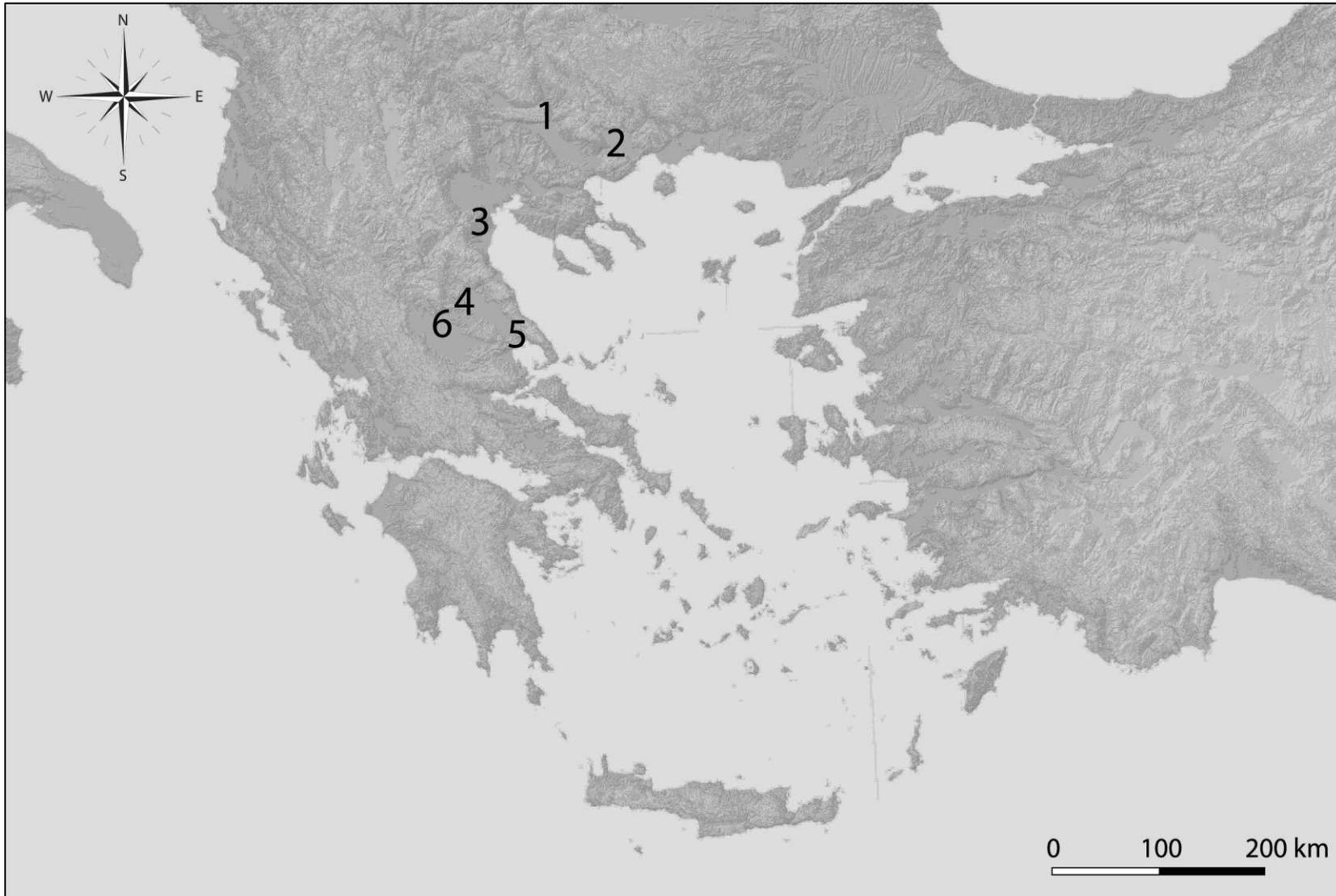


Figure 1: Map of sites mentioned in text. 1. Promachon; 2. Sitagroi; 3. Makriyalos; 4. Ayia Sofia; 5. Pevkakia; 6. Zarkos.

117 Measurements used by the zooarchaeologists who conducted faunal research in
118 these sites generally follow von den Driesch (1976). However, different researchers
119 chose to take different measurements and this limits somewhat comparability (see
120 **Supplementary Online Material 1** for more details). **Supplementary Online**
121 **Material 2** presents a table with the list of measurements used in this paper, while
122 **Supplementary Online Material 3** presents the full ranges of postcranial and tooth
123 measurements from all sites under study.

124 In this analysis there will be a heavy reliance on astragalus measurements, firstly
125 because it is a compact and dense element, which tends to survive well, therefore
126 providing good metric sample sizes. Secondly, the astragalus rapidly reaches adult
127 size and, once fully ossified, it exhibits limited size change, despite not having an
128 epiphysis, as is constrained in an articulation and has limited room for growth
129 (Albarella and Payne 2005; Payne and Bull 1988; Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012). To
130 minimise age-related variation, at both Promachon and Makriyalos we only measured
131 fully ossified astragali. Though such approach is not explicit in the older datasets that
132 we use for comparative purposes, it is unlikely that that immature/porous astragali
133 were measured, as in the past there was no tradition to measure juvenile bones (cf.
134 von den Driesch 1976).

135 Astragalus measurements are plotted for each species, first between the three
136 Macedonian and then the three Thessalian sites. Then, we compare astragalus
137 measurements between the two regions (Macedonia and Thessaly). For pigs, we
138 also plot distal humerus and distal tibia measurements, as there are sufficient sample
139 sizes. The distal tibia in particular, is a valuable bone in providing information about
140 the actual average body size of a certain population, as it is not particularly affected
141 by sex variation or post-fusion growth (Albarella and Payne 2005; Albarella et al.
142 2009; Payne and Bull 1988; Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012). The chosen measurements
143 of the distal humerus (BT and HTC) are less affected by post-fusion growth than the
144 commonly taken Bd (Albarella and Payne 2005; Albarella et al. 2006; Rowley-Conwy
145 et al. 2012), which means that age plays a less confusing role in their interpretation.
146 However, the humerus is likely to be substantially affected by sex variation (Payne
147 and Bull 1988).

148 The significance of the statistical difference between samples was evaluated using
149 an ANOVA t-test. Statistical analysis was carried out by using an IBM SPSS
150 Statistics software package. In addition to the use of individual measurements, we
151 have also applied a scaling index technique (Albarella 2002; Meadow 1999), by
152 calculating log ratios of measurements compared to a standard (Albarella and Payne
153 2005; Payne and Bull 1988; Simpson et al. 1960).

154

155

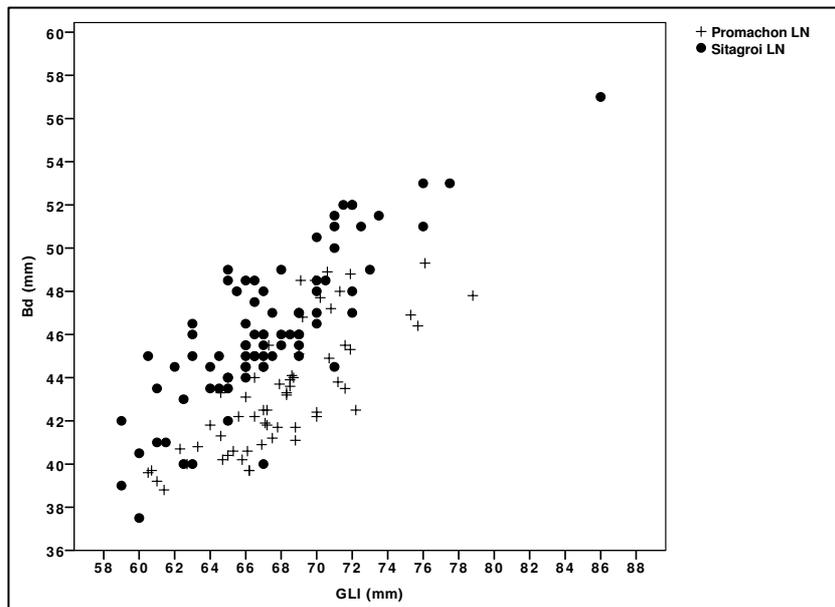
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3. Results

157 3.1. *Bos* sp.

158 3.1.1. Macedonia

159 We compare the size of cattle astragalus between Promachon and Sitagroi by
160 plotting the greatest length of the lateral half of the astragalus (GLI) against the distal
161 breadth of the astragalus (Bd) (**Figure 2**). The diagram also includes a single
162 astragalus from Sitagroi, which was identified by Bökönyi (1986) as aurochs (*Bos*
163 *primigenius*): this plots away from the main distribution, on the upper right corner of
164 the diagram. Conversely, there are no large outliers in the Promachon distribution.
165 This suggests that all cattle astragali from Promachon are likely to derive from a
166 single population, presumably domestic. The diagram shows that domestic cattle
167 astragali at Promachon and Sitagroi have similar lengths, but astragali from Sitagroi
168 have a relatively greater distal breadth (Bd). The distal breadth (Bd) is a measure of
169 the width of the joint surface and it is therefore related to the weight-bearing ability of
170 that particular joint (Johnstone and Albarella 2015). A relatively larger Bd therefore
171 suggests the presence of more robust animals.



172

173 **Figure 2: Cattle astragalus. Comparison between Promachon (N = 59) and Sitagroi (N = 81).**

174 An ANOVA t-test indicates that there is no significant difference in the greatest length
175 of the lateral half (GLI) of the astragalus between the two sites, but there is a highly
176 significant difference in the distal breadth (Bd), with Sitagroi astragali having a much
177 greater mean distal breadth ($\mu = 46$ mm) than the Promachon astragali ($\mu = 43.4$ mm)
178 (**Table 2**).

179
180

Table 2: Probability results of the difference between sample means as conducted through an ANOVA t-test. ** = highly significant; * = significant.

Local and regional comparisons	ANOVA t-test							
	<i>Bos sp.</i>		<i>Ovis aries</i>		<i>Sus sp.</i>			
	Astragalus		Astragalus		Astragalus		Tibia	
	GLI	Bd	GLI	Bd	GLI	Bd	Bd	Dd
Promachon-Sitagroi	.129	.000**	.000**	.000**	.288	.864	.442	.092
Ayia Sofia-Pevkakia	.301	.367	.971	.167	.025*	.313	-	-
Pevkakia-Zarkos	.214	.117	.081	.027*	-	-	-	-
Ayia Sofia-Zarkos	.049*	.184	.236	.050*	-	-	-	-
Macedonia-Thessaly	.154	.002**	.051	.544	-	-	-	-

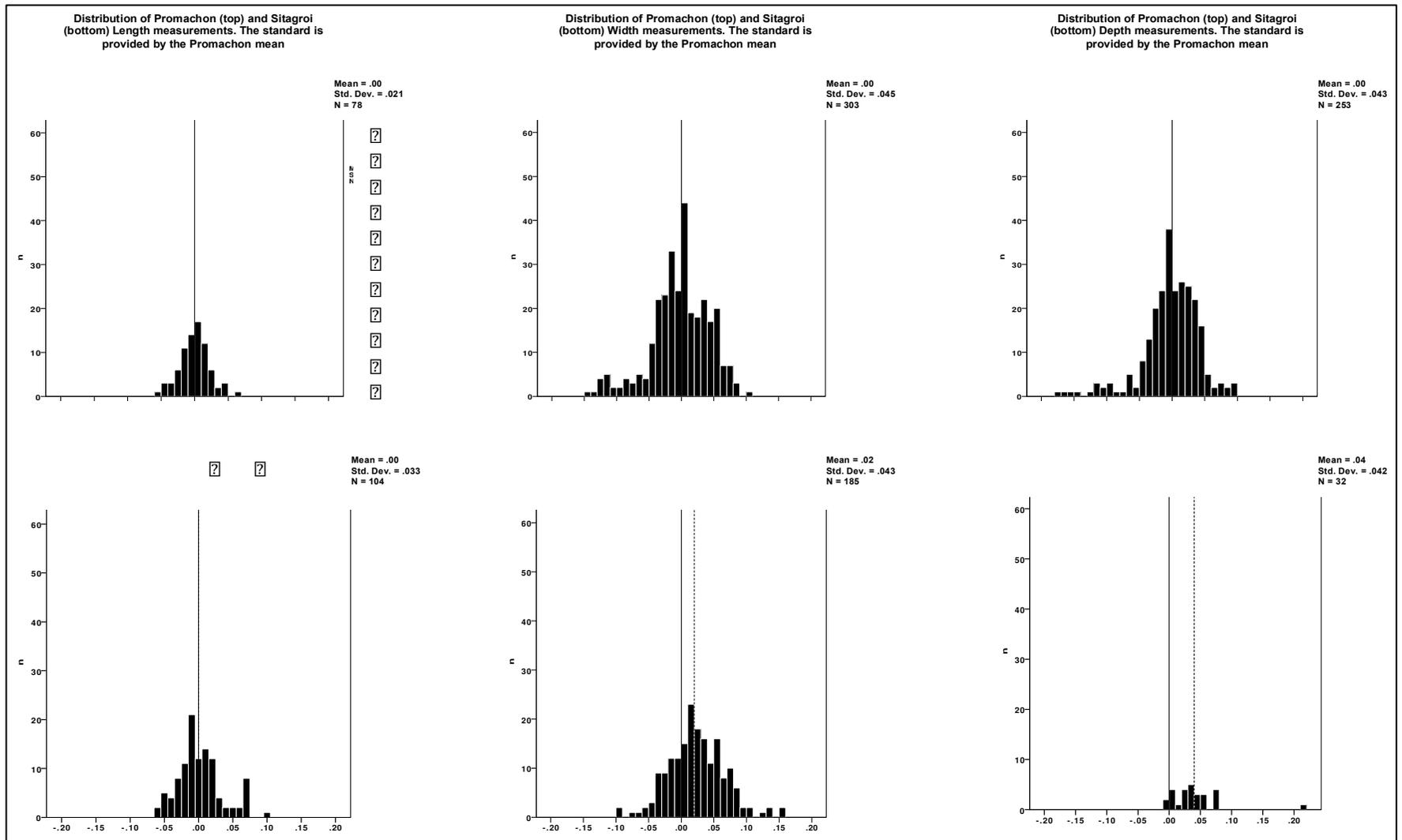
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182 To obtain large enough samples of measurements, log ratios were also calculated.
 183 **Figure 3** shows the log ratio diagrams for the three dimensions (lengths, widths and
 184 depths respectively) of cattle postcranial bones from Promachon and Sitagroi in order
 185 to see how different measurements are distributed according to the standard. The
 186 standard that we use for the calculation of the log ratio is the mean value from
 187 Promachon. Unlike the use of an articulated skeleton, a standard deriving from a
 188 commingled assemblage does not imply that the measurements will necessarily be
 189 related to each other (Meadow 1999). Chances that different anatomical elements
 190 from an archaeological assemblage derive from entirely different populations are,
 191 however, minimal, and the archaeological standard has the advantage of relying on a
 192 larger sample size (Albarella 2002). This is why archaeological standards are
 193 increasingly commonly used in the literature (e.g. Albarella and Payne 2005; Wright
 194 and Viner-Daniels 2015).

195 The log ratio analysis suggests that measurements of all three dimensions from
 196 Promachon have broadly unimodal distributions, with no large outliers. On the other
 197 hand, there are a few large outliers from Sitagroi (right hand side of the three
 198 histograms), which suggests the presence of a few aurochs specimens.

199 The log ratio diagrams also indicate that cattle bones from Sitagroi were of similar
 200 length to cattle bones from Promachon, but they were larger both in width and depth
 201 (note Sitagroi means plotting on the right hand side of the standard = mean from
 202 Promachon). Altogether the log ratio analysis supports the results obtained from the
 203 astragalus, indicating greater robustness of the cattle from Sitagroi.

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Figure 3: Distribution of Promachon (top diagrams) and Sitagroi (bottom diagrams) cattle postcranial length, width and depth measurements using the log ratio technique (Simpson et al. 1960). The standard is provided by the Promachon mean. Only fully fused postcranial bones from Promachon were considered. The mean of Sitagroi length, width and depth measurements is marked by a black dashed vertical line, and the standard measurement by a black vertical line at .00. The scale of the vertical axis is fixed to emphasize differences in sample sizes.

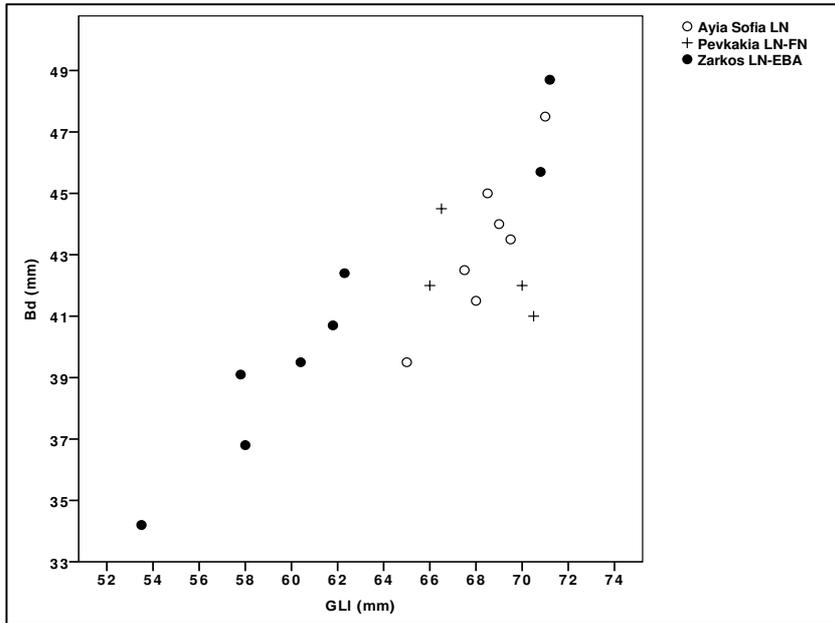
210 **3.1.2. Thessaly**

211 For this region the attribution of cattle specimens to the domestic and wild forms, as
212 published in the literature, was made *a priori* (i.e. on the basis of a general
213 impression of size at the time of the recording) rather than on the kind of biometrical
214 analysis undertaken above. The aurochs is given as present at Pevkakia (Jordan
215 1975) and Zarkos (Becker 1999), but not Ayia Sofia (Driesch and Enderle 1976).
216 However, no astragali from Pevkakia and Zarkos were identified as aurochs, which
217 means that the following scatterplot (**Figure 4**) includes only astragali regarded to be
218 domestic by the original authors of the studies.

219 Sample sizes are small, which means that interpretation needs to be cautious.
220 Nonetheless, cattle astragali from Ayia Sofia are, on average, distinctively larger than
221 from the other two sites. Most cattle astragali from Zarko are smaller, but two large
222 specimens plot on the upper right corner of the distribution, resembling in size those
223 from Ayia Sofia. Sexual dimorphism could explain the clustering of the Zarko
224 distribution, but this seems unlikely to be the only explanation as the astragalus is not
225 very sexually dimorphic (Payne and Bull 1988).

226 ANOVA T-tests (**Table 2**) indicate that there is a marginally significant difference in
227 the greatest length of the lateral half (GLI) of the astragalus between Ayia Sofia and
228 Zarko, with the Ayia Sofia astragali having a much greater length ($\mu= 68.3$ mm) than
229 the Zarko astragali ($\mu= 61.9$ mm). Clearly, the sample sizes are so small that the
230 tests are only likely to provide significant differences when the differences between
231 the means are very substantial.

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234 **Figure 4: Cattle astragalus. Comparison between Ayia Sofia (N = 7), Pevkakia (N = 4) and Zarkos (N = 8).**

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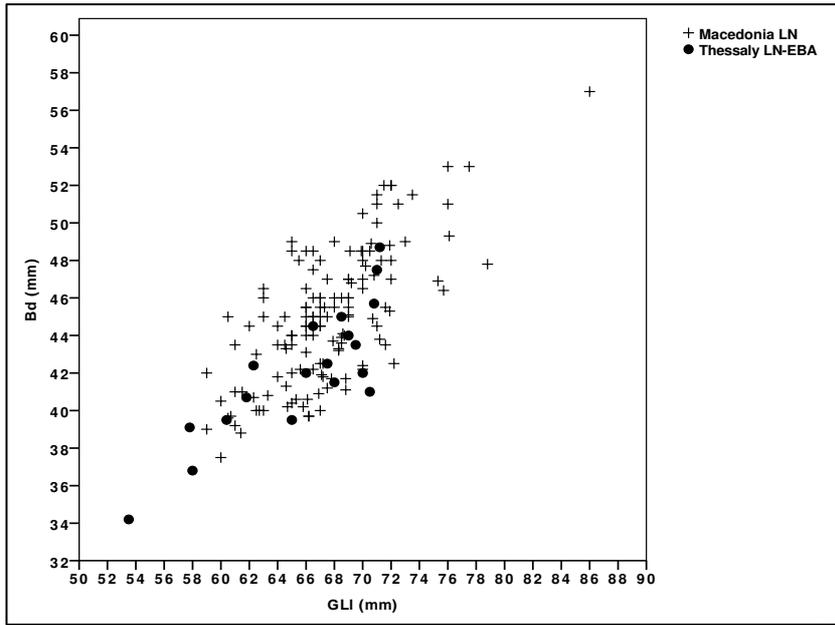
236 **3.1.3. Macedonia-Thessaly**

237 We compare the size of the cattle astragalus between Macedonian and Thessalian
 238 sites (**Figure 5**). As previously noted, although the aurochs appears to be
 239 documented in Thessaly, no astragali were attributed to this species. What can be
 240 inferred from the scatterplot is that the astragali from Macedonia tend to be larger
 241 than those from Thessaly, despite the substantial overlap. This makes the large
 242 astragali from Ayia Sofia and Zarkos unlikely to come from aurochs. In terms of
 243 shape, the astragali from Thessaly clearly plot more in the Promachon than Sitagroi
 244 area, which means that they are similarly slender to those from Promachon and less
 245 robust than those from Sitagroi.

246 An ANOVA t-test indicates that there is no significant difference in the greatest length
 247 of the lateral half (GLI) of the astragalus between Macedonia and Thessaly, but there
 248 is a highly significant difference in the distal breadth (Bd) between the two groups
 249 (**Table 2**), with the astragali from Macedonia having a greater distal breadth ($\mu= 44.9$
 250 mm) than those from Thessaly ($\mu= 42.3$ mm).

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265 Figure 5: Cattle astragalus. Comparison between Macedonia (N = 140) and Thessaly (N = 19).

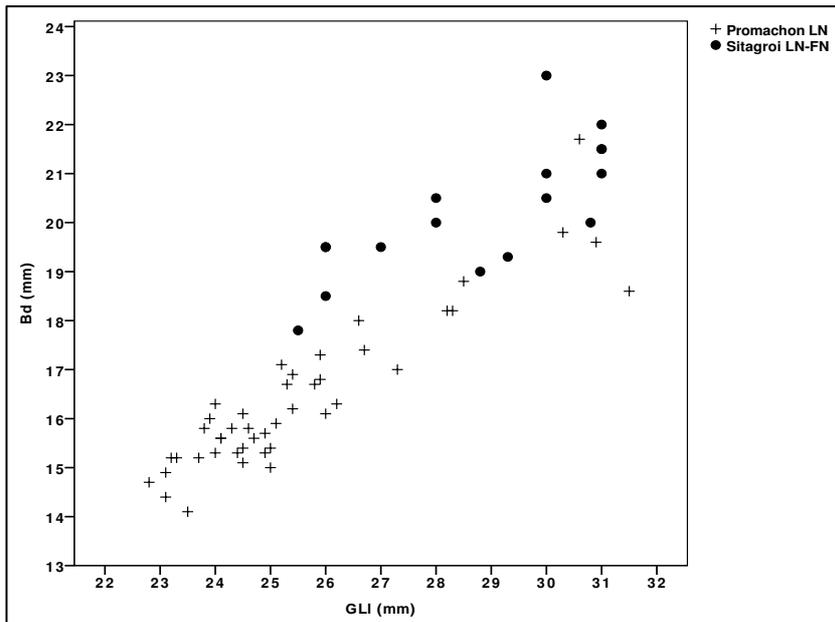
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267 **3.2. *Ovis aries***

268 **3.2.1. Macedonia**

269 **Figure 6** compares the size of sheep astragalus between Promachon and Sitagroi. It
 270 indicates that astragali from Promachon are, on average, much smaller than those
 271 from Sitagroi. This is reflected in both length and width, which means that, unlike
 272 cattle, there is no perceivable variation in shape between the two sites. The few
 273 larger Promachon astragali tend, however, to have relatively smaller widths than
 274 those from Sitagroi, an indication of slenderness.

275 An ANOVA t-test indicates that there are highly significant differences in both the
 276 greatest length of the lateral half (GLI) and the distal breadth (Bd) of the astragalus,
 277 with Sitagroi astragali having a much greater length ($\mu = 28.7$ mm) and distal breadth
 278 ($\mu = 20.2$ mm) than Promachon astragali (GLI $\mu = 25.5$ mm; Bd $\mu = 16.4$ mm) (**Table**
 279 **2**).



280

281 **Figure 6: Sheep astragalus. Comparison between Promachon (N = 44) and Sitagroi (N = 17).**

282

283 **Figure 7** plots Promachon (top diagrams) and Sitagroi (bottom diagrams) length and
 284 width measurements in order to see how these are distributed according to the
 285 standard. The standard that we use for the calculation of the log ratio is - as for cattle
 286 - the mean of the length and the width measurements of sheep postcranial elements
 287 from Promachon. Log ratios from depth measurements were not calculated, since the
 288 depths of sheep postcranial elements were not measured at Sitagroi.

289 The log ratio diagrams show that the means of both length and width measurements
 290 from Sitagroi plot on the right side of the standard (Promachon mean) indicating that,
 291 in terms of absolute size, Sitagroi sheep bones have greater lengths and widths than
 292 those from Promachon. Therefore, the log ratio diagrams are consistent with the
 293 astragalus scatterplot (and the statistical test), which indicated that sheep from
 294 Sitagroi are taller and wider than their counterparts from Promachon. The difference
 295 in lengths appears to be greater, but the difference between lengths and widths is not
 296 substantial. Nonetheless, the greater relative length of the Sitagroi animals may be
 297 due to a greater occurrence of castrates (i.e. wethers), known to keep their
 298 epiphyses unfused for longer, therefore allowing greater length of their bones (Davis
 299 1996; Hatting 1974).

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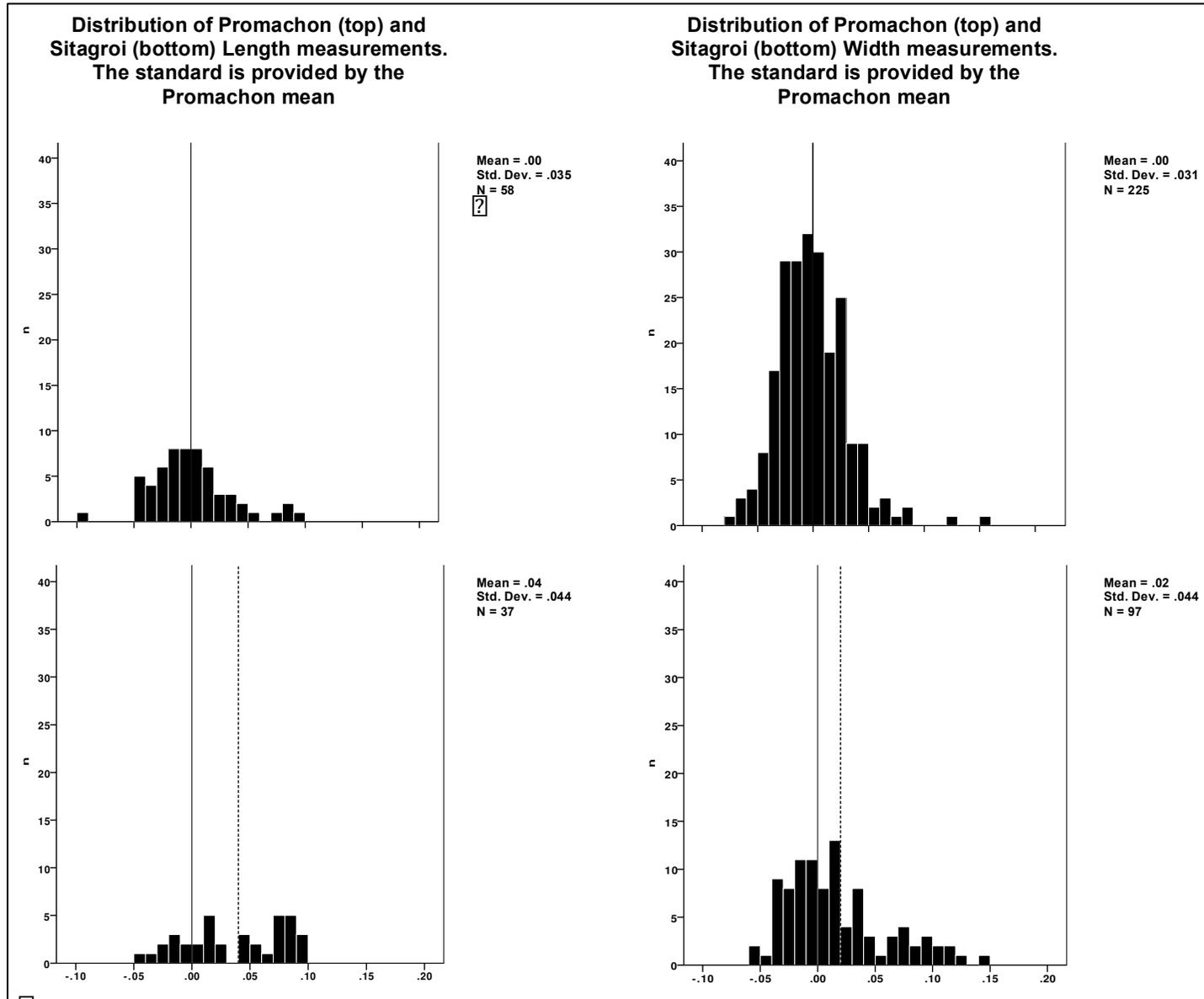
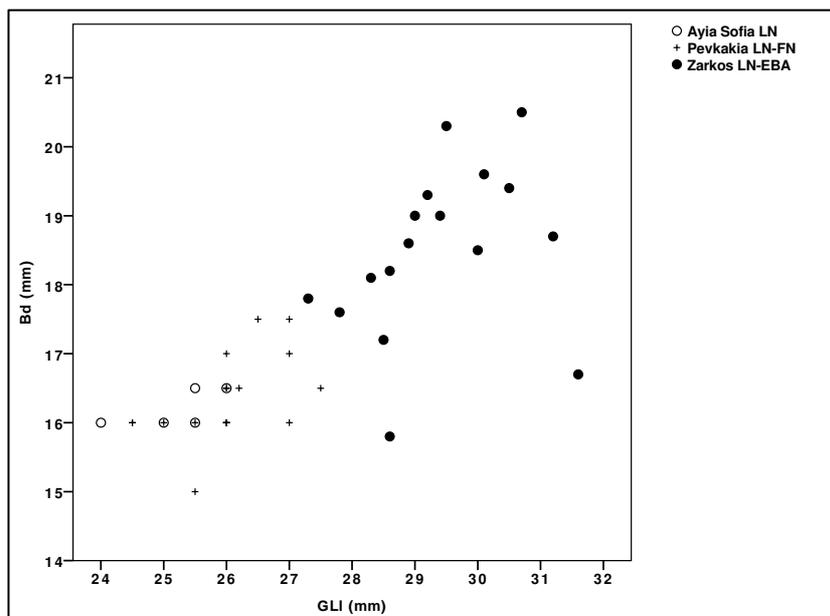


Figure 7: Distribution of Promachon (top diagrams) and Sitagroi (bottom diagrams) sheep postcranial length and width measurements using the log ratio technique (Simpson et al. 1960). The standard is provided by the Promachon mean. Only fully fused postcranial bones from Promachon were considered. The mean of Sitagroi length and width measurements is marked by a black dashed vertical line, and the standard measurement by a black vertical line at .00. The scale of the vertical axis is fixed to emphasize differences in sample sizes.

304 **3.2.2. Thessaly**

305 **Figure 8** compares the size of the sheep astragalus between Ayia Sofia, Pevkakia
306 and Zarkos. Sheep astragali from Zarkos are on average substantially larger than
307 those from Pevkakia and Ayia Sofia, though we must consider that the sample size
308 from the latter site is small. The large size of the sheep from Zarkos is noteworthy,
309 particularly in view of the completely opposite trend showed by cattle. Two astragali
310 from Zarkos are also different in shape from those from other sites as their widths are
311 relatively smaller in comparison to their lengths; this makes them more slender in
312 comparison to sheep astragali from Ayia Sofia and Pevkakia.

313 ANOVA T-tests were also undertaken to test the significance of the differences in the
314 size of the sheep astragalus between the three Thessalian sites. The only significant
315 difference that could be found concerned the distal breadth (Bd), which is
316 substantially larger at Zarkos ($\mu= 18.4$ mm) than the other two sites (Pevkakia $\mu=$
317 16.3 mm; Ayia Sofia astragali $\mu= 16.2$ mm) (**Table 2**).



318
319 **Figure 8: Sheep astragalus. Comparison between Ayia Sofia (N = 5), Pevkakia (N = 18) and Zarkos (N =**
320 **17).**

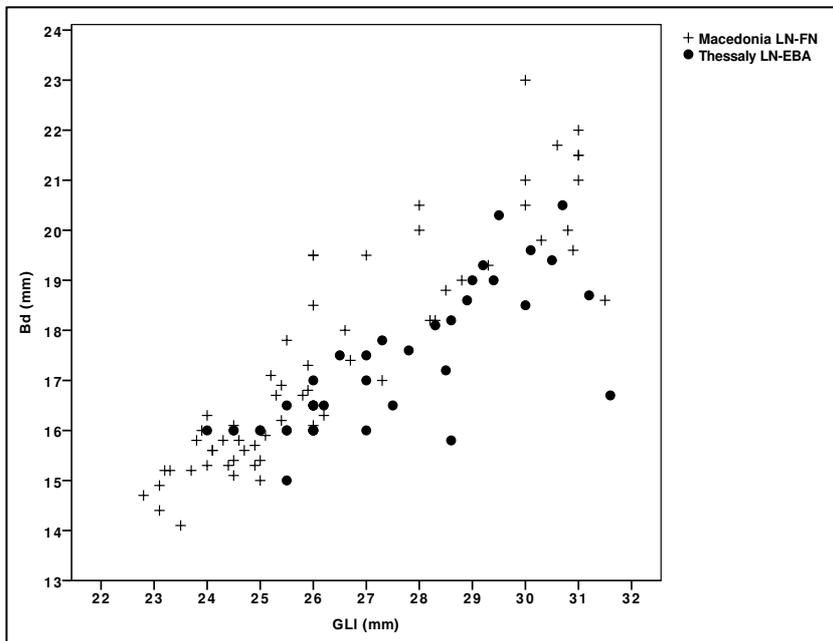
321 **3.2.3. Macedonia-Thessaly**

322 **Figure 9** compares the size of sheep astragalus between Macedonian and
323 Thessalian sites. The scatterplot indicates that the average size of the sheep
324 astragali between the two regions is roughly the same, but there are other substantial
325 differences. In Thessaly there is less variability, with the top and bottom ends of the
326 distribution almost exclusively occupied by Macedonian specimens (Promachon at
327 one end and Sitagroi at the other). There are a number of sheep astragali from

328 Thessaly that have a relatively smaller width in comparison to their length, and
329 therefore are more slender than those from Macedonia.

330 In order to statistically test the significance of the difference in the size of the sheep
331 astragalus between Macedonia and Thessaly, an ANOVA t-test was conducted. This
332 indicates that there are no significant differences in the greatest length of the lateral
333 half (GLI) and the distal breadth (Bd) of the sheep astragalus between Macedonia
334 and Thessaly (**Table 2**). This does not mean that the two groups are similar, but
335 simply that they cannot merely be characterized as one being larger than the other.

336 The results likely reflect the great variation existing between the two Macedonian
337 sites.



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339 **Figure 9: Sheep astragalus. Comparison between Macedonia (N = 61) and Thessaly (N = 40).**

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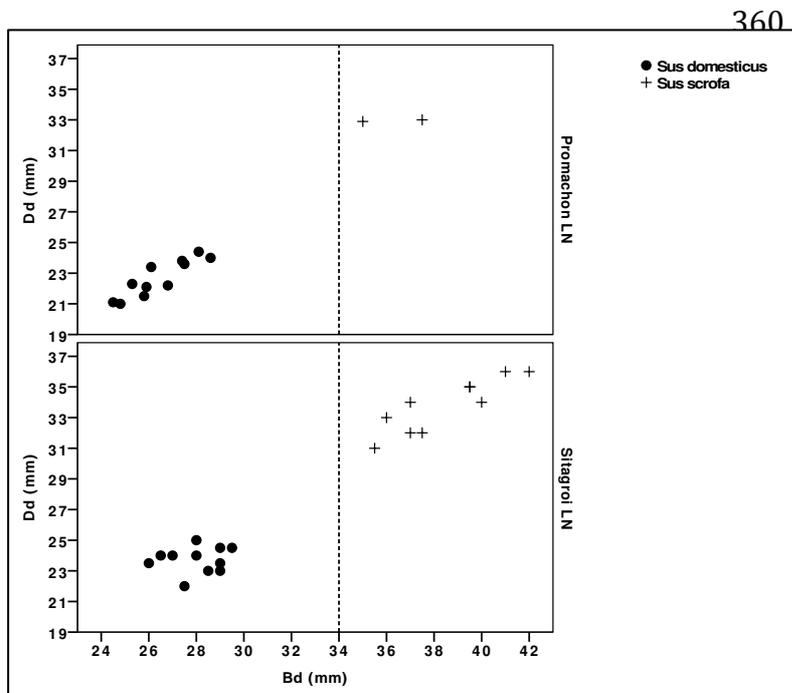
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348 **3.3. *Sus* sp.**

349 **3.3.1. Macedonia**

350 **Figures 10** and **11** compare pig tibia and astragalus between Sitagroi and
351 Promachon. We also include the astragali and tibiae from Sitagroi, which were
352 identified by Bökönyi (1986) as belonging to the wild form (*Sus scrofa*). At both sites,
353 there are two distinct metric groups, presumably domestic and wild. The Sitagroi
354 evidence supports the suggestion that the larger astragali and tibiae from Promachon
355 belong to the wild form.

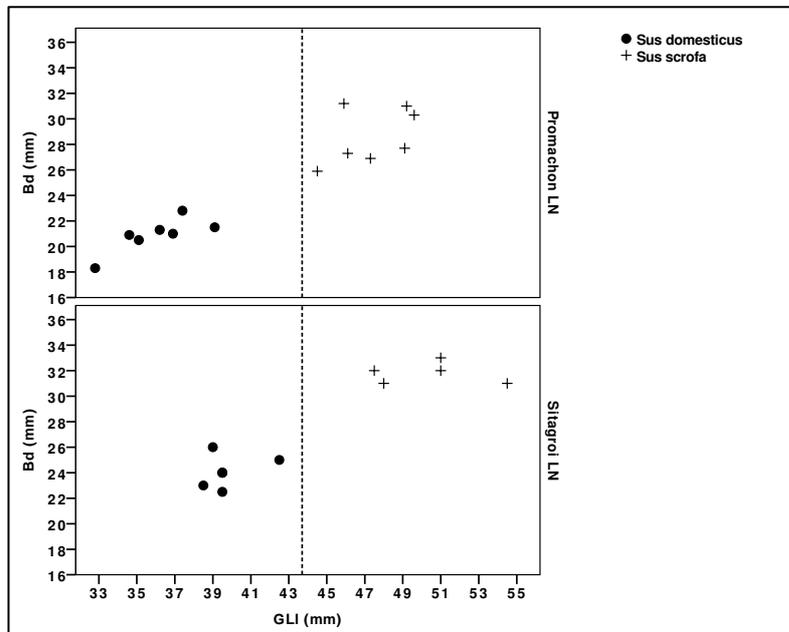
356 For tibiae, both domestic and wild populations appear to be metrically consistent at
357 the two sites. In addition, ANOVA t-tests indicate that there are no significant
358 differences in the distal breadth (Bd) and the distal depth (Dd) of the domestic pig
359 tibiae between the two sites (**Table 2**).



377 **Figure 20: Pig tibia. Comparison between Promachon (N = 14) and Sitagroi (N = 21).**

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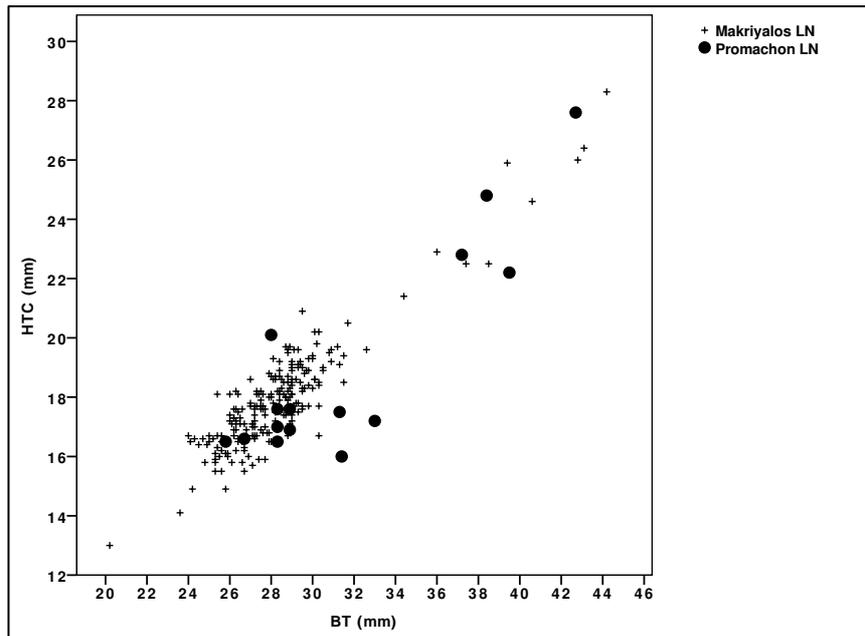
388 Domestic pig astragali from Sitagroi seem to be larger than those from Promachon,
389 but the sample is small and the significance of the difference is not confirmed by
390 ANOVA t-tests (**Table 2**).
391



392

393 **Figure 11: Pig astragalus. Comparison between Promachon (N = 14) and Sitagroi (N = 11).**

394 **Figure 12** plots the width (BT) against the smallest diameter (HTC) of the trochlea of
395 the distal humerus of pig between Promachon and Makriyalos. The diagram shows
396 that most measurements plot at the smaller end of the distribution, but there are a
397 number of large outliers from both sites. In general, pig forelimb bones tend to be
398 fairly age dependent as they are subject to greater post-fusion growth than hind limb
399 bones (Albarella and Payne 2005; Albarella *et al.* 2006; Rowley-Conwy *et al.* 2012),
400 but they are also much affected by sex variation (Payne and Bull 1988). Despite such
401 variation, and considering that BT and HTC are much less affected by post-fusion
402 growth than the commonly taken distal breadth (Bd) (Payne and Bull 1988; Albarella
403 and Payne 2005), the two main groups are best interpreted as representing domestic
404 (the majority) and wild forms. Both domestic pigs and wild boar are similar in size at
405 the two sites. The few points plotting in-between the two main clusters could equally
406 represent large domestic males or small wild females. Nonetheless, the distinction
407 between the domestic and wild forms is fairly pronounced.



408

409 **Figure 12: Pig humerus. Comparison between Promachon (N = 15) and Makriyalos (N = 215).**

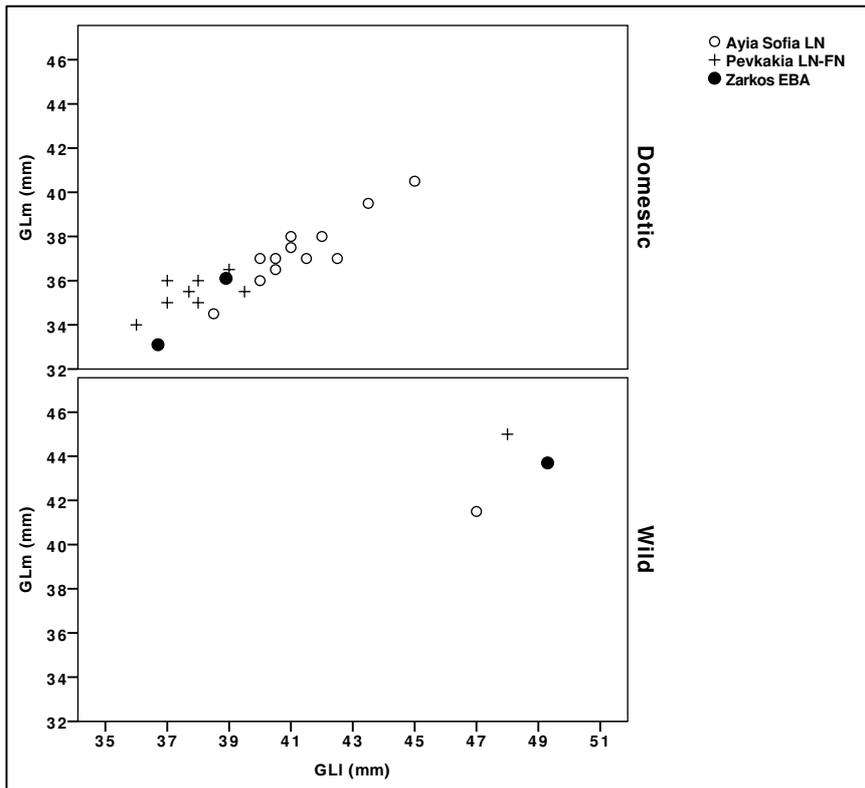
410 **3.3.2. Thessaly**

411 **Figure 13** presents a comparison of pig astragali between Ayia Sofia, Pevkakia and
 412 Zarkos. Since the distal breadth (Bd) of the pig astragalus was not measured at
 413 Pevkakia (Jordan 1975) and Ayia Sofia (Driesch and Enderle 1976), we plot the
 414 greatest length of the lateral half of the astragalus (GLI) against the greatest length of
 415 the medial half of the astragalus (GLm). As in the case of Sitagroi, we also include
 416 the astragali that were originally identified as belonging to wild individuals, though
 417 there are only a few of them. However, we should once again note that - unlike
 418 Promachon - the attribution of pig specimens to either the domestic or the wild form
 419 at Thessalian sites was made on the basis of the general impression of the size of
 420 pig bones at the time of the recording (rather than biometrically).

421 The evidence shows that the wild boar is rarer than in Macedonia. Domestic pig
 422 measurements overlap between the three sites, but, on average, those from Ayia
 423 Sofia are larger. At this site there is no clear size difference between the smaller,
 424 domestic group, and the larger, wild one. The separation that was proposed for this
 425 site (Driesch and Enderle 1976), between domestic and wild pigs is therefore,
 426 arbitrary. It is possible that the pigs from Ayia Sofia appear as large because of
 427 interbreeding with wild boar or the occurrence of some wild females within the
 428 'domestic' group. Considering the large difference between the two large specimens
 429 from Pevkakia and Zarkos and the rest of the specimens, a stronger case can be
 430 made for the occurrence of the wild boar at these two sites.

431 Due to the small sample size, measurements from Zarkos were excluded from
 432 statistical analysis. An ANOVA t-test was undertaken in order to test the significance

433 of the difference in the size of the pig astragalus between Ayia Sofia and Pevkakia.
 434 The test indicates that there is significant difference in the greatest length of the
 435 lateral half (GLI) between the two sites, with Ayia Sofia astragali having a much
 436 greater length ($\mu= 41.8$ mm) than Pevkakia astragali ($\mu= 38.9$ mm). However, no
 437 significant difference was found in the greatest length of the medial half of the
 438 astragalus between Ayia Sofia and Pevkakia (**Table 2**).



439
 440 **Figure 13: Pig astragalus. Comparison between Ayia Sofia (N = 14), Pevkakia (N = 9) and Zarkos (N = 3).**

441 **3.3.3. Macedonia-Thessaly**

442 In order to obtain large enough samples of measurements to make further
 443 comparisons between Macedonian and Thessalian sites, we use the log ratio
 444 technique (**Figure 14**). The standard that we use for the calculation of the log ratio is
 445 represented by the mean of a group of modern wild boar from Kizilcahaman in
 446 Turkey (Payne and Bull 1988). Both postcranial bones and teeth are used, as they
 447 can provide different types of information. In particular, cheek teeth do not grow
 448 further once fully formed and are only slightly - if at all - sex dependent (Albarella and
 449 Payne 2005; Payne and Bull 1988; Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012). They can therefore
 450 be useful indicators of the occurrence of distinct populations (e.g. domestic vs. wild).
 451 With regard to postcranial measurements, since the collum of the scapula is heavily
 452 subject to post-fusion growth (Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012), the scapula SLC is
 453 excluded from the calculation of the log ratios for postcranial measurements. The
 454 figure shows log ratio diagrams for teeth (length and width measurements combined)

455 and postcranial bones (length, width and depth measurements combined). This
456 combination is not ideal (Albarella 2002; Meadow 1999), but it was necessary in
457 order to obtain a sufficient sample size. By taking the Kizilcahaman wild pigs as a
458 reference point, we can see how teeth and postcranial measurements of pigs from
459 Macedonian and Thessalian sites compare to those of wild pigs from Kizilcahaman
460 and, most importantly, with each other.

461 We can see that the log ratio diagrams for tooth and postcranial measurements from
462 Promachon have a broadly unimodal distribution (with tails on the right hand side).
463 The mean of each log ratio diagram from Promachon plots on the left side of the
464 standard, thus indicating that teeth and postcranial measurements from Promachon
465 are smaller than those from Kizilcahaman. This, in turn, suggests that the bulk of the
466 pig population at Promachon belongs to the domesticated form, a pattern that
467 corroborates the results of the scatterplots. There are, however, a number of larger
468 specimens that plot on the right side of the standard, thus confirming the presence of
469 wild pigs at Promachon. The evidence from Makriyalos is also consistent with the
470 results of the scatterplot: log ratios of postcranial and tooth measurements from
471 Makriyalos indicate clear 'peak and tail' distributions (on the right hand side), thus
472 suggesting many domestic and a few wild pigs. On the other hand, the Sitagroi
473 postcranial bones plot bimodally far more than teeth, indicating that wild pigs at
474 Sitagroi are better represented by the main body than the head. Notable also is the
475 fact that the mean of the Sitagroi postcranial bones is slightly higher than the mean of
476 postcranial bones from other sites; this is probably due to a larger proportion of wild
477 boar at Sitagroi. This is also consistent with the results of both the tibia and
478 astragalus scatterplots.

479 Tooth measurements from Thessaly plot on the left side of the standard, thus
480 indicating that they are smaller than the average tooth measurements from
481 Kizilcahaman. There are no tooth measurements from Thessaly close to the Turkish
482 standard, and therefore it can be suggested that they derive from domestic pigs.
483 Postcranial measurements from Ayia Sofia, Pevkakia and Zarkos have broadly
484 unimodal distributions; the means of postcranial measurements plot on the left side
485 of the standard, indicating that these are smaller than those of Kizilcahaman. This
486 suggests that the bulk of postcranial measurements belong to domestic pigs, a
487 pattern that is also consistent with the result of the astragalus scatterplot. There are,
488 however, a number of postcranial measurements from Zarkos and Pevkakia that pull
489 away slightly on the right side of the distribution and also represent the only
490 specimens that are larger than the standard. Overall, tooth and postcranial
491 measurements from Thessaly suggest that - as in the case of Sitagroi - wild pigs are
492 better represented by bones of the body rather than the head. It is possible,
493 therefore, that wild pig crania from Thessaly were disposed off-site, due to their
494 heavy weight and limited meat content.

495 There are a number of interesting points to be made on the inter-site level. First of all,
496 Zarkos' postcranial measurements bear more resemblance to Macedonian, rather
497 than Thessalian sites, in the sense that they have a broadly unimodal distribution
498 with a tail on the right hand side (as in the cases of Promachon and Makriyalos). This
499 suggests that the bulk of the pig population from this site belongs to the domestic
500 form; however, wild pigs might have also been present. On the other hand, there are
501 a small number of measurements from Pevkakia that plot on the right side of the
502 standard and there is also a considerable distance between these measurements
503 and the main distribution. These large measurements could almost certainly be
504 attributed to wild pigs. However, it seems that the mean of postcranial measurements
505 from Pevkakia plots far more to the left than the means of postcranial measurements
506 from the other two Thessalian sites, indicating that domestic pigs from this site are
507 smaller than their counterparts from Ayia Sofia and Zarkos. It is also interesting to
508 note that the evidence from Ayia Sofia is consistent with the results of the astragalus
509 scatterplot: this showed that there is no clear size difference between the smaller,
510 domestic group, and the larger, wild one. This observation is also confirmed by the
511 log ratio, which indicates that all postcranial measurements from this site plot on the
512 left side of the standard, but there are also some measurements that are fairly close
513 to the standard and may belong to the wild form. As in the case of astragalus
514 scatterplots, the log ratios cannot suggest a clear separation between domestic and
515 wild populations at Ayia Sofia.

516 All in all, it can be argued that log ratios of postcranial and tooth measurements for
517 pigs from Sitagroi indicate a clear size difference between the smaller (domestic)
518 pigs, and their larger (wild) counterparts. The evidence from Makriyalos and
519 Promachon also confirm the results of the astragalus scatterplot, indicating that the
520 bulk of the pigs from these sites belong to the domestic form, but there are also a
521 number of wild pigs. In Thessaly, however, there is less clear bimodality. The
522 identification of wild animals appears to be more difficult here, apart from the very
523 obvious large outlier from Pevkakia. Either wild pigs are more sparsely represented
524 in Thessaly, or the wild pig population from Macedonia was larger-sized in
525 comparison to that from Thessaly.

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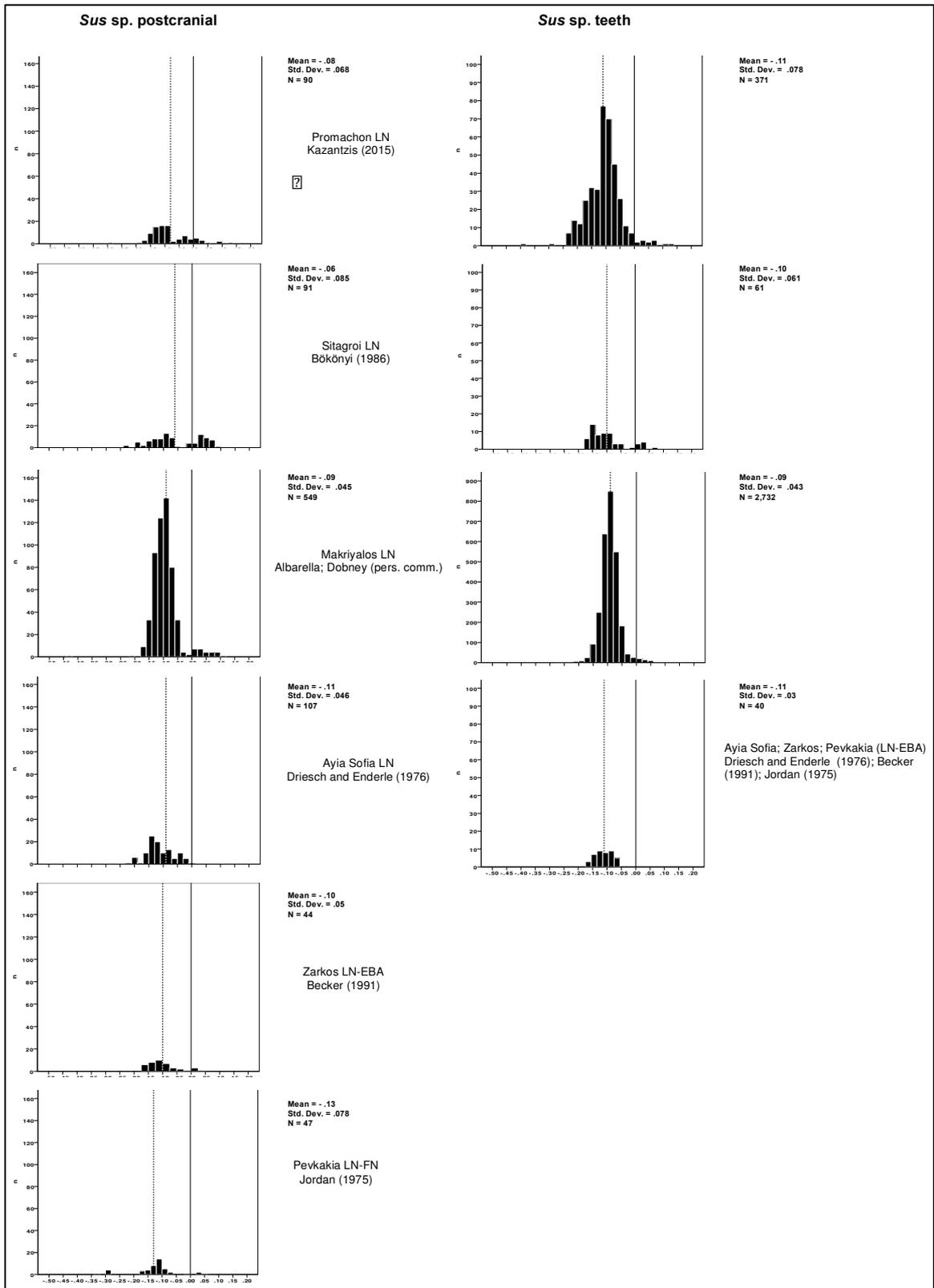
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Figure 14: Comparison of pig postcranial and tooth measurements from Macedonia and Thessaly with a standard *Sus scrofa* sample from Kizilcahaman, Turkey (Payne and Bull 1988), using the log ratio technique (Simpson et al. 1960). Tooth measurements from Promachon, Sitagroi and Makriyalos were combined. Tooth measurements from all three Thessalian sites were combined in order to increase sample size. The mean of postcranial and tooth measurements is marked by a black dashed vertical line, and the standard measurement by a black vertical line at .00. The scales of the vertical axes are fixed to emphasize differences in sample sizes.

540

4. Discussion

541 Our evidence indicates that:

- 542 • Concerning Macedonia, cattle were more robust at Sitagroi than Promachon.
543 In Thessaly there is variation in size between sites, but at all sites cattle were
544 as gracile as those from Promachon.
- 545 • At Sitagroi sheep were clearly larger than at Promachon. In Thessaly, Zarkos
546 has the largest animals, of similar size to Sitagroi.
- 547 • Domestic pigs are possibly slightly larger at Sitagroi than Promachon and
548 Makryialos and, again, there are differences between the Thessalian sites,
549 with Ayia Sofia having the largest animals.
- 550 • The aurochs is present at Sitagroi, but in small numbers. Its occurrence does
551 not seem obvious at Promachon and Ayia Sofia. However, the species was
552 originally reported for Pevkakia and Zarkos.
- 553 • Overall the wild boar is better represented than the aurochs. At Sitagroi is
554 almost as common as the domestic pig, while at Promachon and Makryialos is
555 clearly present but in smaller numbers. In Thessaly it is sporadic and Ayia
556 Sofia is the only analysed site where domestic and wild pigs cannot easily be
557 distinguished, raising the possibility of interbreeding.

558 Bökönyi (1986) argues that the large size of cattle from Sitagroi is the result of the
559 presence of a “transitional” form of cattle, represented by the crossbreeding of
560 aurochs and domesticated cattle, as well as by “newly domesticated cattle” (Bökönyi
561 1986; 72). Bökönyi’s argument was based on a group of cattle metapodials, plotting
562 between the smaller bones, assumed to derive from domestic cattle, and the larger
563 bones, assumed to derive from aurochs (Bökönyi 1986: Figures 5.2-5.4). However,
564 Bökönyi did not take into account the effects of sexual dimorphism, which is highly
565 pronounced in cattle metapodials (Albarella 1997; Bartosiewicz et al. 1993; 1997;
566 Rowley-Conwy 2003; Wright and Viner-Daniels 2015). Thus, it is possible that the
567 intermediate-sized cattle metapodials, which Bökönyi had identified in his
568 assemblage, could have been female aurochsen or male domesticated cattle.

569 The question of whether crossbreeding between aurochs and domestic cattle
570 occurred in Europe, has been the subject of much debate (Bollongino et al. 2008;
571 Edwards et al. 2007; Götherström et al. 2005; Troy et al. 2001). Its proponents have
572 argued that crossbreeding might have been unavoidable - or even encouraged - by
573 Neolithic pastoralists, in order to improve the breeding stock and increase the
574 numbers of their domestic livestock (Bollongino et al. 2008). Studies of ancient cattle
575 DNA initially resulted in the identification of repeated hybridization between
576 domesticated cattle and aurochs (Götherström et al. 2005), though this has more
577 recently been questioned (Bollongino et al. 2008). The crossbreeding of domestic
578 cattle with aurochs should not be discounted but it is not required to explain the

579 pattern identified in this paper.

580 In addition to crossbreeding, Bökönyi also argued in favour of “newly domesticated”
581 cattle in Sitagroi. In general, Bökönyi has been a proponent of the domestication of
582 cattle in Europe. Local domestication of cattle has also been suggested by
583 Boessneck (1962) in his study of the faunal material from Argissa in Thessaly (Early
584 Neolithic), as well as Becker in her study of the faunal material from Zarkos (1991;
585 1999). However, in the Aegean area domestication was introduced much earlier (c.
586 9,000 to 8,000 Cal. BP) (Zeder 2008) than the period of occupation at Sitagroi. The
587 Late Neolithic cannot be considered as a time-period during which cattle was still in
588 the process of domestication and therefore Bökönyi’s hypothesis should be
589 discounted.

590 As concerns sheep, Bökönyi (1986) does not elaborate on the large size of the
591 domestic sheep population at Sitagroi during the Late Neolithic², yet this is the
592 pattern that emerges clearly from our analysis. Overall, Sitagroi appears unusual for
593 its large sheep and robust cattle, in comparison to other Macedonian and Thessalian
594 sites (except the sheep from Zarkos).

595 The settlement pattern in the plain of Drama (where Sitagroi is located) may provide
596 some explanation. In the Late Neolithic, there was a considerable expansion in the
597 number of settlements in the plain of Drama with the use of a greater variety of
598 locations. This could have resulted in intensification in the production of food
599 resources, which allowed population numbers to increase (Blouet 1968). It is possible
600 that settlements in the plain of Drama progressed from small habitation sites to fully
601 functional villages, which provided a greater and more diversified number of services
602 (Blouet 1968).

603 It is likely that Sitagroi was linked to a group of settlements in the plain of Drama,
604 where opportunities for better responses to environmental constraints and/or food
605 limitations (possibly through a system of exchange) could have taken place. We have
606 clear evidence of such dynamic society in the plain of Drama from the site of Dikili
607 Tash (Darcque et al. 2007; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006), where there was
608 persistence and density of occupation, abundance of finds, variety and quality of
609 artefacts and a number of innovations in food-consuming procedures (such as wine-
610 pressing) (Valamoti et al. 2007). The greater size and robustness of the Sitagroi
611 livestock can be interpreted as part of this dynamic economic regime, which may
612 have led to better feeding and husbandry care. The age-at-death data of the
613 domestic livestock from Late Neolithic Sitagroi indicate a marked increase in the
614 frequency of adult deaths through time (Sitagroi III-I) (Bökönyi 1986). According to
615 Bökönyi, this indicates that these animals were not merely used for their meat, but
616 also for secondary uses (milk, wool and traction). However unlikely the use of wool

² On the contrary, he argues for a large size of sheep during the Bronze Age at Sitagroi.

617 and traction during the late stages of the Neolithic may have been (cf. Bartosiewicz et
618 al. 1997; Halstead 1995; Helmer et al. 2005; 2007; Johanssen 2005; Perlès 2001;
619 Ryder 1969; 1982; 1993), milk production remains a distinct possibility (Evershed et
620 al. 2006; Legge and Moore 2011). The greater size and robustness of the Sitagroi
621 livestock may therefore be the result of a feeding regime, which provided ample
622 and/or better quality fodder in order to meet the demands of a growing population.
623 On the other hand, the difference in the size of domestic pigs is much less
624 substantial, perhaps indicating that less importance was placed on the rearing of
625 these animals; this could go hand in hand with the still heavy reliance on wild boar
626 hunting at Sitagroi.

627 Different emphasis on the importance of different livestock may also explain variation
628 in livestock size that we have seen between sites in Macedonia and Thessaly. In
629 general, the large size of the animals may be associated with care in their husbandry
630 regimes (e.g. a good feeding regime), which seems to have varied according to the
631 site and livestock type. For instance at Zarkos, great emphasis was placed on sheep
632 breeding. At Ayia Sofia, however, the large pig size may also be linked with regular
633 interbreeding with wild boar, therefore indicating a free-range herding system, rather
634 than intensive husbandry.

635 Probably the most remarkable phenomenon that our evidence highlights is the great
636 variation in livestock size between sites and regions – and how this may vary
637 according to animal species. This evidence suggests that the sites operated rather
638 independently from each other, and husbandry regimes needed to be adapted to
639 local conditions, in terms of environment, organization of the society and cultural
640 preferences. Sitagroi probably benefitted from the support of a network of local sites
641 in the plain of Drama, in contrast with Promachon, which seems to have been rather
642 isolated in the plain of Serres. The settlement pattern in the plain of Serres indicates
643 a number of prehistoric settlements (i.e. Toumba BA, Dimitra LN, Kryoneri LN,
644 Pentapoli BA), which are located in the southern part of the plain. Promachon on the
645 other hand, is the only known site located in the northern part of the plain. However,
646 it is possible that Promachon's 'isolation' may be due to 'gaps' in the archaeological
647 research, rather than a 'genuine' pattern (Kazantzis 2015). It is likely that other
648 contemporary sites will eventually emerge, thus adding to the information currently
649 available (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2006).

650 Promachon and Makriyalos appear to be substantially different also. Metrical
651 analyses showed that cattle from Promachon were larger and more robust in
652 comparison to Makriyalos, whereas sheep were of roughly similar size (Kazantzis
653 2015). It is worth pointing out that the environmental conditions between the two sites
654 are substantially different. Promachon is located on the northernmost part of
655 Macedonia, close to the mountainous and forested regions of the Balkans, with low
656 winter temperatures and high precipitation levels, which may have been ideal for

657 cattle pasture (Kazantzis 2015). Makriyalos is located on the southernmost part of
658 Macedonia near the Thessalian plain; the site is fairly close to the sea with warmer
659 and drier climatic conditions in comparison to Promachon, even during the winter.

660 Thessalian sites on the other hand, are really different from each other, which means
661 that, despite a lack of substantial geographic barriers in the region, those sites still
662 seem to be operating rather independently. This isolation, however, is not reflected
663 on the evidence from the material culture: the evidence from the Late Neolithic
664 indicates that ware types had very widespread distributions (Perlès and Vitelli 1999).
665 The movement of fine decorated pottery and the similarities with regard to the
666 stylistic *répertoire* in locally produced wares suggest a high level of direct social
667 contact and interaction between sites and settlements (cf. Halstead 1999; Perlès
668 1990; 1992; 2001; Theocharis 1993). It is therefore clear that different sites
669 maintained distinctive husbandry strategies not because of a lack of opportunity but
670 rather as a choice.

671 **5. Conclusions**

672 Our analyses show that most sites differ from each other in terms of livestock size
673 and, in some cases, even shape. This suggests the existence of multiple areas of
674 cultural influence as well as distinctive environmental conditions that would have
675 encouraged different husbandry regimes. Macedonia and Thessaly are different from
676 each other, but there seems to be variation in livestock size also within each of the
677 two main regions. The level of nourishment and the placement of care vary according
678 to animal species across sites and regions. Sitagroi stands out because of its large
679 livestock size and heavier than average reliance of wild boar hunting. It seems that
680 the site invested substantially in cattle and sheep husbandry, perhaps supported in
681 this by the high degree of interaction with other contemporary settlements in the plain
682 of Drama. Environmental conditions may be the cause of differences in livestock size
683 between Promachon and Makriyalos, but the Thessalian area indicates that different
684 sites, even when not separated by clear geographic or environmental barriers, had
685 different husbandry priorities, perhaps dictated by cultural choices. It is for this
686 reason that we should consider these different local traditions as representing
687 *cultures*, rather than just *economies*. The overall impression that one gains is that, in
688 the Late Neolithic, Greece was a mosaic of many different cultures, interacting with
689 each other but at the same time maintaining their distinctiveness.

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Supplementary Online Material 1:

Differences are mainly noticed between German zooarchaeologists, who primarily worked on Thessalian faunal assemblages, and those who worked in Macedonia. For instance, most German zooarchaeologists did not measure the distal breadth (Bd) and the lateral depth (DI) of the pig astragalus, both of which were commonly measured for Macedonian sites. Tooth measurements were also largely neglected by almost all German zooarchaeologists (only the lengths of the third mandibular molars were measured). Bökönyi, on the other hand, did not measure the depth of various postcranial elements (e.g. tibia Dd, astragalus DI) of small ruminants (sheep/goats). There are also cases in which some of von den Driesch's measurements were reported with a different designation. For instance, the astragalus BC (Breite des Caput) measurement, which is commonly used by German zooarchaeologists in Thessaly, is actually equivalent to von den Driesch's Bd, which is a common measurement taken by the rest of the zooarchaeologists working in Macedonia. In this paper, the astragalus BC, as denominated by German zooarchaeologists, is considered equivalent to the astragalus Bd.

Supplementary Online Material 2: Postcranial and tooth measurements used in this paper. With asterisk, the measurements used by German zooarchaeologists in Thessalian sites and considered in this paper for the calculation of the log ratios for pigs.

Measurements	<i>Bos</i> sp.	<i>Ovis aries</i>	<i>Sus</i> sp.	Sources
dP ⁴ L, WP			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
dP ₄ L, WP			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
M ¹ , M ² L, WA, WP			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
M ₁ , M ₂ L, WA, WP			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
M ³ L, WA			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
M ₃ L, WA			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Atlas GL	✓		✓	<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Scapula GLP*			✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Humerus Bd*			✓	<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Humerus BT	✓	✓	✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Humerus HTC	✓		✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Radius Bp*			✓	<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Radius Bd*			✓	<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Ulna DPA*			✓	<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metacarpal GL	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metacarpal Bd	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metacarpal BatF	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metacarpal a	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metacarpal b	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metacarpal 3	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metacarpal 6	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Pelvis LAR	✓		✓	<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Femur DC	✓			<i>Payne and Bull (1988)</i>
Tibia Bd	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Tibia Dd	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metatarsal GL	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metatarsal Bd	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Metatarsal BatF	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metatarsal a	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metatarsal b	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metatarsal 3	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Metatarsal 6	✓			<i>Davis (1992)</i>
Astragalus GLI	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Astragalus GLm				<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Astragalus Bd	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Astragalus DI				<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Calcaneum GL	✓			<i>Driesch, von den (1976)</i>
Calcaneum GD	✓			<i>Albarella and Payne (2005)</i>

Anatomical element	Measurement code
Teeth (maxillary and mandibular)	dP4L
	dP4WP
	M1L
	M1WA
	M1WP
	M2L
	M2WA
	M2WP
	M3L
	M3WA
Atlas	GL
Scapula	GLP
Humerus	Bd
	BT
	HTC
Radius	Bp
	Bd
Ulna	DPA
Metacarpal & Metatarsal	Bd
	3
	6
	BatF
	a
	b
Pelvis	LAR
Femur	DC
Tibia	Bd
	Dd
Astragalus	GLI
	GLm
	Bd
	DI
Calcaneum	GL
	GD