

1 **Domestic cats (*Felis catus*) in Denmark have increased significantly in**
2 **size since the Viking Age**

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18 Word count abstract: 205

19 Word count main text: 6421

20 Number of references: 61

21 Number of tables: 3

22 Number of figures: 5

23

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24 **Domestic cats (*Felis catus*) in Denmark have increased significantly in**
25 **size since the Viking Age**

26 The earliest finds of domestic cat in Denmark date back to the Roman Iron
27 Age (c. 1-375 AD). Initially, cats occurred sparsely and only from the
28 Viking Age (c. 850-1050 AD) did they become more frequent in numbers,
29 though primarily in urban contexts and in connection with fur production.
30 In medieval times, cats became beasts of pest control in rural settlements,
31 manorial estates as well as in the expanding towns, where large and
32 numerous refuse heaps attracted various rodents. To investigate size trends
33 over time of the domestic cat (*Felis catus*) in Denmark, bone
34 measurements and statistical analyses were performed on archaeological
35 and modern material. Domestic cats were found to increase significantly in
36 size over time since the Viking Age. Limb bones and mandibles exhibited
37 the most significant change in increase (up to 16%), as compared to
38 modern female cats, and tooth size the least (c. 5.5%). The most plausible
39 explanations for such a size increase were improved living conditions
40 caused by increased food availability and a possible shift in human usage
41 of the cats, from a rat and mice captor to a well-fed and well-cared pet.
42 Despite the observed increase in size, domestic cats have kept many
43 osteological features indistinguishable from their wild progenitor.

44
45 **Keywords:** *Felis catus*, domestic cat, size increase, Middle Age, Viking
46 Age

47

48 **Introduction**

49 *Domestication of cats*

50 All domestic cats (*Felis catus*) descent from the wildcat (*Felis silvestris*) populations
51 widely distributed over Europe, Africa and Southwest Asia (Kitchener 1991, Clutton-
52 Brock 1999). The domestic cat we know today stems from the Middle East subspecies
53 *Felis silvestris lybica* (Clutton-Brock 1999, Driscoll et al. 2007). One of the earliest
54 probable finds of a domestic cat has been documented from Cyprus dated to approx.
55 7,500 BC (Vigne et al. 2004). Since there are no fossil records of wildcats from Cyprus,
56 the cat must have been brought to the island intentionally by people (Clutton-Brock
57 2012, Vigne et al. 2004). It was a young cat buried together with a human, indicating a
58 special bond or relation between humans and cats during the early Neolithic (Vigne et
59 al. 2004, Driscoll et al. 2007). Furthermore, in ancient Egypt, around 3,700 BC, we find
60 archaeological records of mummified cats suggesting a close cat-human relationship
61 (Van Neer et al. 2014). Zooarchaeological evidence points to a commensal relationship
62 between humans and cats lasting thousands of years before humans exerted substantial
63 influence on their breeding (Clutton-Brock 1999, Vigne et al. 2004, Van Neer et al.
64 2014). This prolonged human animal relationship without leaving domestication traits
65 on the cats was termed “commensalisation” (e.g. Vigne 2015), explained as the mutual
66 benefits for the cats having increased food availability as formed by the many mice
67 attracted by stored cereals and on the other hand people benefitting from this new pest
68 control, eventually leading to domestication (Clutton-Brock 1999, Vigne et al. 2004,
69 Vigne 2015, Van Neer et al. 2014).

70 The spread of domestic cat to Europe followed ancient land and maritime trading
71 routes and Ottoni et al. (2017) showed that cats started to spread across the

72 Mediterranean as early as 1,700 BC and the spread was suggested to be due to their
73 increasing popularity and usefulness on ships infested with rodents (Faure & Kitchener
74 2009). Between 400 and 1,200 AD, ancient Egyptian cats became substantially more
75 frequent in the rest of Europe (Ottoni et al. 2017) and depictions of cats in domestic
76 contexts are found on Greek artefacts from as early as the end of the sixth century BC
77 (Faure & Kitchener 2009). In medieval times it was compulsory for seafarers to have
78 cats on-board their ships (Johansson & Hüster 1987), leading to their dispersal across
79 trading and warfare routes. Spread of the black rat (*Rattus rattus*) and house mouse
80 (*Mus musculus*) by sea routes (O'Connor 2008, Engels 2001, Jones et al. 2013)
81 encouraged cat dispersal for the control of these new pests (Engels 2001, Jones et al.
82 2013). Besides using cats as pest controls, the expansion of the domestic cat may also
83 have been for cultural usage, which in Medieval Europe included trade of domestic cat
84 pelts to be used as clothing (Ewing 1981).

85

86 ***Domestic cats in Denmark***

87 During the Roman Iron Age (c. 1-375 AD) new pets were introduced to Denmark.
88 Among these, and although rare, was the domestic cat (Hatting 1990, 2004, Damm
89 2000, Faure & Kitchener, 2009), which easily found its place near the farms and in the
90 open country. The oldest genuine find of a domestic cat derives from a cremation grave
91 in Kastrup, Southern Jutland (ZMK 153/1971) dated to the Late Roman Iron Age c. 200
92 AD (Aaris-Sørensen 1998). The find consists of a single astragalus with visible cut
93 marks together with burned bones from an adult person. Together with the cat bone a
94 sheep astragalus with a drilled perforation was found – both astragali have undoubtedly
95 been used as amulets (Aaris-Sørensen 1998). At this point, the wildcat populations were

96 barely present in Denmark anymore (Aaris-Sørensen 1998). The latest occurrence of a
97 wildcat in Denmark was from the site Næsbyholm Storskov (ZMK 106/1965) near
98 Sorø, Zealand dated to the Early Roman Iron Age (c. 1-100 AD) (Damm 2000, Hatting
99 2004, Møhl 2010).

100 Through the Roman Iron Age and early part of the Viking Age the domestic cat
101 was a sparsely distributed animal, represented by very few bones among a vast amount
102 of animal bones, usually also by bone fragments in too poor conditions to measure.
103 However, there are some sites with cat remains (besides those used in the study).
104 Lundeberg, Svendborg (ZMK 78/1986, Hatting 1994) and Seden Syd, Odense (ZMK
105 238/2005, Kveiborg 2007b) dated to the Late Roman Iron Age c. 200-375 AD,
106 Dankirke, Ribe (ZMK 125/1968) dated to c. 500 AD (Hatting 1991), Ribe (ZMK
107 120/1974, Hatting 1991) dated to c. 700 AD, and finally Posthuset, Ribe (ZMK 6/1992,
108 Enghoff 2006) dated to c. 725-760 AD (see Table 1). Dental measurements on the
109 Dankirke and Ribe specimens documented that the cats were the domesticated form
110 (Hatting 1991).

111 During the Viking Age, it was common to trade domestic cat pelts for use in
112 clothing throughout Europe (Ewing 1981) and they were highly priced (Damm 2000,
113 Faure & Kitchener 2009). In Denmark, we find examples of what could possibly be cat
114 fur production sites. For instance, in a pit from Overgade, Odense, Denmark, a large
115 number (N=1783) of cat bones comprising 83.5% of the mammal bones of the pit,
116 providing a MNI of nearly 70 based on calvaria, exhibited clear signs of having been
117 killed for their pelts (Hatting 1990, 2004). Hatting's conclusions were due to i) clear cut
118 marks around the snout (upper jaw, *maxillare* and nose, *nasale* and lower jaws,
119 *mandibula*) on the majority of skull bones and ii) evidence on the cats' neck bones

120 indicating that the cats were killed by a powerful jerk when the head was pulled from
121 the body (Hatting, 1990, p. 184). All skeletal elements of the cats were present in the
122 Odense pit but in varying numbers with skulls being the predominant element; some
123 bones were disarticulated and some formed complete skeletons. Furthermore, the age
124 and size distribution with most of the cats having been killed at an age just less than one
125 year and the remainder (adults) presumed female cats led Hatting to suggest that the
126 adult females were part of a breeding stock (Hatting, 1990, p. 192). Although, the
127 relative abundance of cat bones found at Viborg Søndersø was smaller than at Odense
128 these cats exhibited skinning traces like those of the Odense cats (Hatting 1998).
129 Likewise, during the Middle Ages recently excavated finds further support to the
130 possible existence of skin production farms and evidence of specialized pelt production.
131 A pit from Læderstæde, Roskilde dated to c. 1200-1400 AD revealed a large number of
132 cat bones (N=434), comprising c. 19% of the domesticates of the find, showing that the
133 cats had age patterns, skeletal element representation and skinning traces very similar to
134 those of cats from the Odense pit (Hansen 2017).

135 During the Middle Age, cat remains were more commonly found in refuse layers,
136 and in greater numbers (Møhl 1971), together with bones of other medieval domestic
137 livestock (Hatting 1990, 1998, 2004). The earliest known find of black rat in Denmark
138 is from the Viking Age (Rantzau 2015). The fact that subfossil occurrences of black rats
139 in Denmark were from locations near the coast suggests that seafaring vessels were the
140 dispersal vectors of rats (Rantzau 2015) and domestic cats probably followed the same
141 dispersal pattern. The expanding towns resulted in great amounts of consumption waste
142 deposited, which may very likely have been an important food source for the cats,
143 directly as well as indirectly by attracting rodents especially mice and rats.

144

145 [Table 1 near here]

146

147 ***Measurable implications of domestication***

148 The domestic cat is one of the world's most numerous pets (Driscoll et al. 2009), yet it
149 is probably the least domesticated. The cat still has its hunting instinct, is territorial and
150 generally solitary and it also lacks so-called neotenous characteristics (i.e., retention of a
151 juvenile characters seen in other domesticated animals) (Clutton-Brock 1999). There are
152 some modern cat breeds that exhibit phenotypic variation, but overall it is nowhere near
153 the variation seen in dogs. It has been argued, and is also well accepted, that mammals
154 subject to domestication, although not uniformly present in all species, undergo a
155 decrease in body size (Tchernov 1984, Meadow 1984, Grigson 1989, Tchernov and
156 Horwitz 1991), reduction in cranial capacity, shortening of the facial region of the skull,
157 including jaws and sometimes associated with reduction in size of cheek teeth, and
158 reduced sexual dimorphism (Tchernov and Horwitz 1991, Clutton-Brock 1999). These
159 morphological changes appear to hold true for most mammals, e.g. sheep and goat
160 (Zohary, Tchernov and Horwitz 1998), cattle (Grigson 1969, Tchernov and Horwitz
161 1991), pigs and dogs (Davis and Valla 1978, Tchernov and Horwitz 1991, Clutton-
162 Brock 1999) and finally cats (Kratochvíl 1973, 1976, 1977, French et al. 1988, Clutton-
163 Brock 1999). The domestic cat of northern Europe was from the very beginning
164 reported to be small sized because its wild progenitor the subspecies *F. s. lybica* had a
165 smaller body size than the *F. s. silvestris* (Johansson and Hüster 1987, p. 24). In
166 present-day Denmark the zoogeography and size trends of the wildcat was studied by
167 Damm (2000), whereas the domestic cat has never been subjected to systematic

168 biometric studies. In this study we aim at exploring the phenotypic variation and
169 possible size changes by conducting biometric analyses on remains of domestic cat from
170 its first appearance in Denmark through the Middle Ages to present-day.

171

172 **Materials and Methods**

173 *Archaeological material*

174 The archaeological bone material available from the collections of the Zoological
175 Museum, Natural History Museum of Denmark (NHMD) covers a wide range of time
176 periods and localities in Denmark (Table 2, Figure 1). The material was sub-divided
177 into six groups according to chronological period, although temporal overlaps could not
178 be avoided. Group 1) Late Bronze Age, Group 2) Iron Age, Group 3) Viking Age,
179 Group 4) Viking Age/Early Middle Age, Group 5) Middle Age and Group 6) Post
180 Medieval Time.

181 The excavated material from Kongens Nytorv (ZMK 19/2011), Copenhagen, was
182 temporally split into two: Kongens Nytorv Early (1050-1550 AD) and Kongens Nytorv
183 Late (1550-1660 AD), and assigned to groups 5 and 6, respectively. Three assemblages,
184 Odense (142/1970), Læderstræde (ZMK 61/2015) and Svendborg (ZMK 154/1977)
185 originate from structures that may be characterized as fur production sites. In order to
186 include medieval material from other contexts, we included two contemporaneous
187 collections, Ørkild (ZMK 127/1988) and Næsholm (ZMK 104/1941), deriving from
188 high-status settlements where cats served different purposes. The sample sizes of Ørkild
189 and Næsholm were too small to allow for a pooling of high-status sites in a separate
190 group. For groups 1 and 2, the museum collections consisted of very few specimens:
191 Almosen (ZMK 48/1992) of one tibia only, Gyngstruplund Nordøst (ZMK 136/2005)

192 also of one tibia, Strøby Toftegård (ZMK 53/1996) of one radius and the bog find
193 “Jernkatten” (ZMK 81/000) of a single individual comprising of both calvarium and
194 postcranial bones.

195 There is not much information about sexual dimorphism in domestic cats.
196 Previous studies have focused on the wildcat, finding few measurements of the
197 calvarium to differ significantly between sexes, although with some overlap (Kratochvil
198 1976, Knospe 1988, Petrov 1992). Sex identification of the domestic cat, however, is
199 limited to only a few morphometric characteristics on pelvis and mandible (Pitakarnnop
200 et al. 2017). Pitakarnnop et al. (2017) generated an equation for parameters on pelvis
201 applicable with 97.3% accuracy. However, this analysis used measurements on
202 complete pelvis (left and right pelvic bones fused at the pelvic symphysis) which in
203 archaeological material only on very rare occasions have been found. Pitakarnnop et al.
204 (2017) also generated an equation from mandible measurements, but with only 64.9%
205 accuracy. We therefore chose to omit assessing a sex ratio of the archaeological material
206 and instead assumed both sexes to be represented in the material.

207

208 [Figure 1 near here]

209

210 ***Modern reference material***

211 To investigate the size trends of domestic cat through time, the archaeological material
212 was compared to modern material of domestic cats (1870 – present). To account for
213 sexual dimorphism in cats, the modern material had to be divided into three groups:
214 Group 7) Females, Group 8) Unknown sex and Group 9) Males. None of the modern
215 cats represent modern special breeds such as Angora or Siamese because selective

216 breeding has caused these particular breeds to have different proportions of the
217 calvarium and possibly also post cranial discrepancies compared to modern common
218 breeds (e.g. Hatting 1990). Table 2 provides an overview of the nine groups of all the
219 material.

220

221 [Table 2 near here]

222

223 *Selection and measurements*

224 To avoid duplicate measurements of the same individual, only the bones from the right
225 side of the animal were used. For the Kongens Nytorv material bones from the left side
226 were measured when no corresponding right-side bones had been found from the
227 context in question. Further, only adult cats were used – or rather, immature or juvenile
228 individuals with unfused epiphyses and/or a porous rough bone surface were omitted.

229 For the limb bones, the individual is defined as adult when both epiphyses are fused to
230 the diaphysis but still included if the fusion lines are visible (O'Connor 2008). For the
231 mandible, it is difficult to distinguish the adult cats. An individual was included when
232 the permanent dentition was present (see Hatting 1990, Damm 2000), and additionally
233 for the modern individuals, only included when the limb bones belonging to the
234 specimen in question were determined as adults. Measurements of the bones were
235 performed according to the standards proposed by Angela von Driesch (1976). An
236 electronic slide calliper with 0.01 mm accuracy was used. The bone measurements on
237 cat remains of Odense and Svendborg (Matr. nr. 607a) were extracted from Hatting
238 (1990). The bone measurements selected for this study for the limb bones were: greatest
239 length (GL) and smallest breadth of the diaphysis (SD), and for the mandible: total

240 length of mandible from the condyle process – infradentale (TL), height of mandible
241 between P₄ and M₁ (HM (P₄)), length of the cheek tooth row (CTR) P₃-M₁ and length
242 of M₁ (M₁).

243

244 *Statistical analyses*

245 A Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test was used to test the data for normal distribution and
246 further a Tukey's outlier test was performed. None of the datasets of the measurements
247 contained outliers that needed to be removed. For the statistical analysis, one-way
248 ANOVAs were performed on eight bone and tooth measurements. See Table 3 for
249 further details. Finally, post hoc Tukey-Kramer Multiple Comparison Tests were
250 performed for pairwise analyses of the groups.

251 A linear model of the data used to calculate percentage of increase between
252 groups was created from a selection of the data: groups 3-9. Groups 1 and 2 were
253 excluded due to small sample size ($N \leq 2$). Hatting (1990) suggested that the adult
254 individuals of the Odense material might solely be females. As this possibility could not
255 be ruled out and since we did not assess the sex ratio of the archaeological material, we
256 took the conservative approach to use only females of the modern material for
257 comparison (Table 3). This means, that observed increases constitute the smallest
258 possible differences between archaeological groups and modern material.

259

260 [Table 3 near here]

261 [Figure 2 near here]

262

263

264 **Results**

265 For the statistical analyses, groups 1 and 2 could not be included in all analyses due to
266 paucity of material. The statistical results are displayed in Table 3. The one-way
267 ANOVA values for all measurements are significantly different between groups,
268 ($P < 0.001$). From the linear model of GL of femur (GL) measurements, we estimate the
269 percentage increase in size over time. We find an average increase of the limb bones of
270 16% between the Odense cats (group 3) and the modern females (group 7), and an
271 increase of 4% between Post Medieval Time (group 6) and the modern females (group
272 7). For the mandible measurements, the average increase between the Odense Cats
273 (group 3) and modern females (group 7) was also 16% and between Post Medieval
274 Time (group 6) and modern females (group 7) 4%. The measurements to show the least
275 increase are those of the teeth, CTR and M1. For M1, the increase between the Odense
276 cats (group 3) and the modern females (group 7) is c. 5.5% and between Post Medieval
277 Time (group 6) and the modern females (7) only 1.5%. Percentage increase for the other
278 measurements can be found in Table 3 (see also Figure 2).

279 The multiple comparisons of femur length between groups are displayed in Figure
280 3 show that the size of domestic cats increased with time. The Viking Age and Middle
281 Age groups together (a) and the Post Medieval Time and Females group together (b),
282 which also groups with Unknown Sex and Roman Iron Age (c). Males group with
283 “Unknown sex” and Roman Iron Age (d). Group 4 is also included in group (b) but this
284 could very likely reflect the small sample size ($N = 3$). The same trend is seen for the
285 mandible measurements and teeth measurements but not as evident (Figure 4).

286 Figure 5 shows a plot of the breadth and length of tibia with all groups included.
287 This plot also shows the natural overlap in size between groups that overlap in

288 chronological time periods. The one measurement of group 1 Bronze Age falls between
289 the Middle Age and Post Medieval period, and the two measurements of Group 2 Iron
290 Age, falls within the range of the modern material.

291

292 [Figure 3 near here]

293 [Figure 4 near here]

294 [Figure 5 near here]

295

296 **Discussion**

297 We find clear evidence of an increase in body size of the domestic cat from the Viking
298 Age till today. Some of the groups, especially those from the Viking Age and Middle
299 Age (groups 3-6), have broad and overlapping time periods hence some of the groups
300 overlap chronologically. The Viking Age and Middle Age cats also overlap in their
301 measurements. However, if we look at the pairwise comparison graph of femur length
302 (Figure 3) we still see a gradual increase from the Viking age through the Middle Age.
303 As previously stated it was not possible to divide the archaeological material according
304 to sex. It was, however, evident from the size variation of cats from the Viking Age and
305 medieval materials that both sexes were present. This means that the observed size
306 increase is an absolute minimum increase and that the size increase was in effect larger.

307 An early medieval assemblage of domestic cats (N=1030) from Haithabu, present-
308 day Northern Germany, dated between the ninth and eleventh centuries was examined
309 by Johansson and Hüster (1987). The Haithabu domestic cats were shown to comprise
310 both sexes and further to be significantly smaller than modern domestic cats (Johansson
311 & Hüster 1987), and comparable in size to the Viking Age and medieval cats of the

312 present analysis. O'Connor (2007) too found Viking Age / medieval cats to be smaller
313 than modern domestic cats.

314 As for the modern material, Group 8 Unknown sex will naturally also overlap
315 with both Group 7 Females and Group 9 Males since we expect to have both sexes in
316 this group. Despite some overlaps of the chronological groups, we do find a clear
317 tendency for an increase in size of the species from the Viking Age through all groups
318 compared with the modern material, for the mandibles as well as limb bones.

319 Furthermore, in Figure 3, Group 4 (Viking Age/Early Middle Age) overlaps with
320 the Post Medieval Time and modern females. This could possibly reflect the small
321 sample size of this group (N=3). The earliest groups (1 and 2) comprise very few
322 specimens but are remarkably large in comparison to the Viking Age/Early Middle Age
323 individuals (Figure 5). A hypothesis to this observation could be that the earliest and
324 indeed rare occurrences of the domestic cats in Denmark may represent high prestige
325 gifts or goods imported for trade. At the early stage present-day Denmark did not have a
326 domestic cat population. The Kastrup urn find of a domestic cat astragalus, which could
327 unfortunately not be measured due to burning, was from a high-status burial site (see
328 Jensen 2006). Further, the Almosen, Tyvelse, as well as the "Jernkatten" finds were
329 recovered from ritual bog deposits (U. Møhl in litt., Jørgensen 1992). The early
330 domestic cats were special and valued creatures, which is very much in accordance with
331 the status of early domestic chicken (*Gallus domesticus*) which were found as whole
332 skeletons in ritual contexts or in graves (e.g. Gotfredsen 2017).

333

334 We do not find the same increase in size for the teeth as seen for limb bones and
335 mandible measurements, especially regarding length of M1. Although we see significant

336 statistical differences between groups, the length of cheek tooth row (CTR) and M1 do
337 not have as steep an increase over time as the limbs and mandibles (Table 3), which is
338 also in accordance with the findings of both Hatting (1990) from Odense and Johansson
339 & Hüster (1987) from Haithabu. Altogether, this means that the body of domestic cats
340 has increased over time, but the teeth did not follow the same rate of size increase.
341 Perhaps teeth evolve more conservatively or slowly than other skeletal elements. Teeth
342 may have withstood reduction during the domestication process as proposed by Clutton-
343 Brock (1999), Damm (2000) and Kratochvíl (1976) before body size started to increase
344 again.

345

346 General changes in size are well documented for other carnivores (Clutton-Brock
347 1999, Davis and Valla 1978, Tchernov and Horwitz 1991). Most studies find an
348 increase in body size. These studies primarily concern changes taken place within the
349 last century and seen in relation to global warming. A typical case is Bergmann's rule,
350 which states that the same species is larger in cold areas (i.e. further to north) and
351 smaller in warm areas (Bergmann 1847). This applies to the stone marten, *Martes foina*,
352 in Denmark, which became smaller with rising temperatures (Tom-Tov et al. 2008) but
353 also due to changes in dietary access. Size change in relation to food availability was
354 found for the Eurasian lynx, *Lynx lynx*, in Sweden (Tom-Tov et al. 2009) with
355 dwindling food availability resulting in smaller body sizes. In contrast, also an increase
356 in body size may be due to changes in the environment, expanding agriculture and
357 altered land use. This in turn could have led to an increase in food availability as in the
358 case of the red fox, *Vulpes vulpes* and badger, *Meles meles*, in Denmark (Tom-Tov
359 2003, Tom-Tov et al. 2003). The amounts of waste and garbage produced by an

360 increasing human population and urbanisation allow for certain species to fully rely on
361 human waste as their primary food source (Tom-Tov 2003).

362

363 Plausible explanations for the observed increase in size of the domestic cat could
364 be increased food availability, most likely from human waste, and/or perhaps intentional
365 selection by humans as also suggested by Hatting (1990). Further, it has been shown
366 that food availability during growth has a major effect on body size of animals (Tom-
367 Tov et al., 2009). The cat underwent a change from a fur providing and rodent catching
368 animal (Johansson & Hüster 1987, Hatting 1990, Engels 2001, O'Connor 2008) to the
369 present-day pet invited indoor, fed and cared for. The implication is that cats would
370 have had to use less energy to find food thereby enabling them to spend energy on body
371 growth instead. Domestic cats in medieval Schleswig c. eleventh to fourteenth centuries
372 exhibited a larger size and a larger size variability than the aforementioned early
373 medieval Haithabu cats (Benecke 1994). Although, no differentiation into cat breeds
374 were observed, Benecke (1994, p. 353) still considered this to be a result of a more
375 intensified cat household. A paleogenetic study by Ottoni et al. (2017) found no signs of
376 selective breeding induced by humans prior to 1300 AD in Europe. Instead they
377 document a new type of coat pattern to emerge which, however, did not become
378 common until 1700 AD (Ottoni et al. 2017). The first appearance of more “fancy
379 breeds”, such as Persian or Siamese, was around 1800 AD (Driscoll et al. 2009).

380 Despite how far back in time we can trace the first occurrence of the domestic cat, this
381 proves how remarkably little domestic cats have changed in appearance over time. The
382 most familiar trait of pet domestication is the shorting of the snout, which gives the
383 animals a more juvenile look the so-called neotenous traits and this is of course present

384 for some cat races. However, most domestic cats still resemble their wild progenitor
385 very much in the skeletal structure, in size and regarding specific muscle attachments on
386 single skeletal elements. The domestic cat also displays a very independent nature like
387 the wildcats – even though they are being fed they still go on successful hunts for birds
388 and mice.

389

390 French et al. (1988) conducted a study of the Scottish wildcat, *Felis silvestris*
391 *grampia*, domestic cat, and their hybrids. They found the wildcat material from the first
392 half of the twentieth century (1901-1941) were genetically purer, whereas more recent
393 individuals (1953-1978) had a significant hybrid proportion due to interbreeding
394 between the two species. Hybridization may have been caused by the decreasing
395 numbers of wildcats from around the 1940s and the destruction and division of suitable
396 habitats (French 1988 et al., Damm 2000). Simultaneously, the encounter of domestic
397 cats had steadily risen (French et al. 1988).

398

399 According to Hatting (2004) and Møhl (2010) there were no longer wildcats in
400 Denmark by the Early Roman Iron Age (c. 1 - 100 AD). In addition to the
401 aforementioned Kastrup cat dated to the Late Roman Iron Age (Aaris Sørensen 1998)
402 there are a few other occurrences of cat from the Late Roman Iron Age, for instance,
403 Lundeberg, Svendborg (Hatting 1994) and Seden Syd, Odense (Kveiborg 2007b).
404 Further, a recently excavated Iron Age site Postgården VI, Aalborg dated to c. 250 BC –
405 100 AD, provided a cat bone (Østergaard 2016) which was directly radio carbon dated
406 (S. Østergaard pers. comm. 2016). However, it could not be ascertained that these cat
407 remains were in fact from domestic cats. In addition, there are a few sites with possibly

408 older specimens of the domestic cat but with very broad dates: Almosen (ZMK
409 48/1992) dating to the Late Bronze Age (1100-500 BC) and the bog find “Jernkatten”
410 (“the Iron Cat”) (ZMK 81/0000) that dates to the Iron Age (500 BC – 375 AD).

411 One cat in our dataset, the “Jernkatten” (Group 2), stands out. Its’ measurements
412 of postcranial bones fall within the range of the modern males of domestic cat -
413 however, the measurements of the calvarium fall within the wildcat category according
414 to measurements of Kratochvíl (1973, 1976) on Czechoslovakian wildcats. We find the
415 mean value for wildcat length of M1 to be 8.5 mm (min = 7.4, max = 9.8) and for the
416 domestic cat 7.00 mm (min = 5.7, max = 8.0) (Kratochvíl 1973, 1976). The length of
417 the “Jernkatten” M1 is 8.64 mm, falling within the wildcat range. According to Damm
418 (2000, appendix F) the length of M1 of wildcats (N=18) from the Ertebølle period to the
419 late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age in Zealand had a mean value of 8.60 (min = 7.6 mm,
420 max = 9.1 mm). Also, for the CTR, where the wildcat range is in average 21.70 mm
421 (min = 19.4, max = 24.0) and for the domestic cat 18.41 mm (min = 16.6, max = 20.5)
422 (Kratochvíl 1973, 1976). For the Danish wildcats on Zealand this measurement varied
423 between 19.8 mm and 22.8 mm with a mean of 21.8 mm (N=11) (Damm 2000,
424 appendix F). Again, “Jernkatten” falls within the wildcat range with its 21.35 mm of the
425 CTR. Consequently, we suspect the “Jernkatten” specimen might be a hybrid of the
426 wildcat and the domestic cat. Petrov et al. (1992) also performed measurements on
427 calvaria of Bulgarian wildcats. If we compare the measurements (both mandibles and
428 teeth) then “Jernkatten” falls within the range of a male wildcat. Thus, “Jernkatten” has
429 limb bone measurements falling within the range of our modern domestic male cats but
430 skull and teeth having the size as those of wildcats.

431 If we assume that the Almosen cat is from the very late phase of the Late Bronze
432 Age (500 BC) and that last appearance of the wildcat was in fact from around 100 AD,
433 then there should have been at least 5-600 years of overlap between wildcat and
434 domestic cat in Denmark and hence an opportunity for hybridization. However, it
435 should be noted that the wildcat at this point was decreasing in number (Degerbøl 1933,
436 Damm 2000) and that the domestic cat was still very rare (Hatting 1990, 2004). The late
437 find of wildcat at Næsbyholm Storskov dated to the Early Roman Iron Age led Møhl
438 (2010) to suggest a possible refugium for wildcats to have existed on central Zealand,
439 Denmark, since another late wildcat from the Late Bronze Age locality Kornerup near
440 Roskilde (Degerbøl 1933) have been found in the vicinity. Such a refugium in central
441 Zealand would have made such an overlap in time plausible, at least in eastern
442 Denmark. According to Damm (2000) there are no hybrids documented from Danish
443 excavations so far. Considering the striking resemblance between the domestic and the
444 wild form is it may never have been considered to investigate this aspect.

445

446 **Conclusion**

447 Present-day domestic cats of Denmark have increased significantly in size since the
448 Late Viking Age. Archeological material found in the NHMD, Zoological Museum
449 collections indicate that the earliest finds of domestic cats were from the Bronze Age /
450 Iron Age. They were large in size, comparable to present day cats, and possibly
451 represented rare and perhaps precious gifts or goods imported for trade. In contrast, the
452 domestic cats of the Viking Age and Middle Age were much smaller, although
453 gradually increasing in size, than the early Iron Age cats and today's domestic cats.

454 This may be due to the influx of small type domestic cats to the urban centres
455 developing during that period.

456 For future studies, we would like to further investigate the early domestic cats
457 including “Jernkatten” and the possibility of hybridization. We would need more direct
458 radio carbon dates on the last wildcats and the earliest domestic cats in order to fully
459 shed light on the first occurrence of this late coming domesticate in Denmark and in
460 combination with genomic studies to investigate whether hybridization really happened.

461

462 **Acknowledgements**

463 Inge Bødker Enghoff, who was the BSc supervisor of Julie Bitz-Thorsen, is thanked for
464 her help, guidance, and interest in this project. Carl Chr. Kinze is thanked for his much-
465 appreciated comments and linguistic corrections of the manuscript. Further, Morten
466 Steineke and the Museum of Copenhagen are thanked for help with dating the cat
467 material of the Kongens Nytorv excavations. From the NHMD we thank Kristian
468 Gregersen for helping us find the necessary material from the collections and Knud
469 Rosenlund for always having his door open for questions. Finally the two reviewers are
470 thanked for their suggestions on improving the manuscript.

471

472 **Funding**

473 The work was carried out at the Zoological Museum, Natural History Museum of
474 Copenhagen, Denmark.

475

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709 **Table Captions**

710

711 Table 1: An overview of samples used in the present study compared to a selection of
712 contemporaneous Danish sites. The number (NISP = number of Identified Specimens)
713 of domesticates (dog, cat, pig, cattle, sheep/goat, and horse), the number of cats and the
714 relative frequency of cat remains are given. The sites and contexts are chronologically
715 arranged.

716

717 Table 2: An overview of archaeological collections and modern material of domestic
718 cats from Denmark dating from 1100 BC to the present time. Groups designate the
719 grouping for the statistical analyses.

720

721 Table 3: Statistical analyses and calculations on bone measurements of Danish domestic
722 cats: Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test for normal distribution, One-Way ANOVA and linear
723 regression for eight bone measurements, and calculations of size increase between
724 groups 3, 6 and 7.

725

726 **Table 1**

SITE	DATING	NISP (DOMESTICATES)	NISP (CATS)	% CAT BONES	COLLECTION NO.	REFERENCE
10. ALMOSEN, TYVELSE ^A	1100-500 BC	380	1	<0.1	Z.M.K. 48/1992	<i>det.</i> G. Nyegaard 1992
”JERNKATTEN” ^A	500 BC – 375 AD	NI	6	-	Z.M.K. 81/0000	<i>det.</i> U. Møhl
2. GYNGSTRUPLUND NORDØST	0-200 AD	244	1	<1	Z.M.K. 136/2005	Kveiborg 2007a
LUNDEBORG, SVENDBORG	200-375 AD	7,210	4	<0.1	Z.M.K. 78/1986	Hatting 1994
SEDEN SYD, ODENSE	200-375 AD	3,624	3	<0.1	Z.M.K. 238/2005	Kveiborg 2007b
DANKIRKE, RIBE ^B	c. 500 AD	NI	2	-	Z.M.K. 125/1968	Hatting 1991
RIBE, RIBE EXCAVATIONS 1970-76	c. 700 AD	5,995	7	<1	Z.M.K. 120/1974	Hatting 1991
POSTHUSET, RIBE	725-760 AD	1,078	5	<1	Z.M.K. 6/1992	Enghoff 2006
11. STRØBY TOFTEGÅRD	650-1075 AD	3,074	1	<1	Z.M.K. 53/1996	<i>det.</i> A.B. Gotfredsen
3. OVERGADE, ODENSE ^C	1070 ± 100 AD	2136	1783	83.5	Z.M.K. 142/1970	Hatting 1990
1. VIBORG SØNDERSØ	1000-1300 AD	10,992	166	1.5	Z.M.K. 14/1998	Hatting 1998
12. VEJLEBY, LOLLAND ^D	1000 – 1300 AD	928	6	0.65	Z.M.K. 109/1971	<i>det.</i> U. Møhl
8. KONGENS NYTORV EARLY	1050-1550 AD	9,487	247	2.6	Z.M.K. 19/2011	Steineke & Jensen 2017, Enghoff 2015
6. NÆSHOLM SLOT ^E	1240 -1340 AD	2,494	23	0.9	Z.M.K. 140/1941	Møhl 1961
7. LÆDERSTRÆDE, ROSKILDE ^C	1200-1400 AD	2251	434	19.3	Z.M.K. 61/2015	Hansen 2017
4. SVENDBORG, MATR. NR. 607A	1200-1500 AD	16,264	251	1.5	Z.M.K. 154/1977	<i>det.</i> Tove Hatting
5. ØRKILD BORG	1200 -1534 AD	5,288	109	2.1	Z.M.K. 127/1978	Jansen et al. 1988
9. KONGENS NYTORV LATE	1550-1660 AD	7,481	466	6.2	Z.M.K. 19/2011	Steineke & Jensen 2017, Enghoff 2015

727 ^ADesignates that the find is a sacrificial bog deposit.

728 ^BThe Dankirke bone material was not quantified, only the cat bones were counted and presented in Hatting 1991.

729 ^CDesignates that the assemblage derives from one single context a pit.

730 ^DThe measured bones of Z.M.K. 113/1962 derived from a cemetery, therefore the NISP counts were taken from a contemporaneous settlement at
731 Vejleby Z.M.K. 109/1971.

732 ^EThe number of domesticates were estimated from Møhl (1961) who did not publish the exact NISP counts for the most abundant species.

733 NI = No Information

734

Accepted manuscript

735 **Table 2**

SITE NO.	SITE	TIME PERIOD	DATING	COLLECTION NO.	REFERENCE	GROUP
10	ALMOSEN*, TYVELSE	LATE BRONZE AGE	1100-500 BC	Z.M.K. 48/1992	<i>det.</i> G. NYEGAARD 1992	1
-	“JERNKATTEN” ^Δ , BOG FIND	PRE ROMAN - ROMAN IRON AGE	500 BC - 375 AD	Z.M.K. 81/0000	<i>det.</i> U. Møhl	2
2	GYNGSTRUPLUND NORDØST	EARLY ROMAN IRON AGE	1-150 AD	Z.M.K. 136/2005	KVEIBORG 2007 A	
11	STRØBY TOFTEGÅRD	GERMANIC IRON AGE/VIKING AGE	650-1050 AD	Z.M.K. 53/1996	<i>det.</i> A.B. Gotfredsen	
3	OVERGADE, ODENSE	VIKING AGE	1070 ± 100 AD	Z.M.K. 142/1970	Hatting 1990	3
1	VIBORG SØNDERSØ	VIKING AGE/EARLY MIDDLE AGE	1000-1300 AD	Z.M.K. 14/1988	Hatting 1998	4
12	VEJLEBY, LOLLAND	VIKING AGE/EARLY MIDDLE AGE	1000-1300 AD	Z.M.K. 113/1962	<i>det.</i> U. Møhl	
7	LÆDERSTRÆDE 4, ROSKILDE	MIDDLE AGE	1200-1400 AD	Z.M.K. 61/2015	Hansen 2017	5
4	SVENDBORG	MIDDLE AGE	1200-1500 AD	Z.M.K. 154/1977	<i>det.</i> T. Hatting	
5	ØRKILD BORG	MIDDLE AGE	1200 - 1534 AD	Z.M.K. 127/1978	Jansen et al. 1988	
6	NÆSHOLM SLOT	MIDDLE AGE	1240 - 1340 AD	Z.M.K. 104/1941	Møhl 1961	
8	KONGENS NYTORV EARLY	MIDDLE AGE	1050 - 1550 AD	Z.M.K. 19/2011	Steineke and Jensen 2017	
9	KONGENS NYTORV LATE	POST MEDIEVAL TIME	1550-1660 AD	Z.M.K. 19/2011	Steineke and Jensen 2017	6
	MODERN FEMALES	PRESENT	1870 – PRESENT			7
	MODERN UNKNOWN SEX	PRESENT	1870 – PRESENT			8
	MODERN MALES	PRESENT	1870 – PRESENT			9

736 * Nyegaard (1998) noted that the cat bone was of a slightly different coloration than the remaining bones of the find hence there is a risk that the bone

737 may be an intrusion.

738 ^Δ There is little information on the “Jernkatten” bog find regarding provenance and exact dating within the Iron Age.

739 **Table 3**

MEASUREMENT	N	KOLMOGOROV-SMIRNOV	ONE-WAY ANOVA	a	b	R ²	y(3)	y(6)	y(7)	%INCREASE (group 3 vs. 7)	%INCREASE (group 6 vs. 7)
HUMERUS (GL)	50	D=0.0731, P=0.9340	F _{7,42} =18.509, P=0.001	3.8863	69.820	0.7065	81.479	93.138	97.024	16.02%	4.00%
RADIUS (GL)	53	D=0.0739, P=0.9138	F _{7,45} =20.356, P=0.001	3.5932	69.087	0.7039	79.867	90.646	94.239	15.25%	3.81%
FEMUR (GL)	64	D=0.0881, P=0.7030	F _{7,56} =22.225, P=0.001	4.3319	76.129	0.7024	89.125	102.12	106.45	16.27%	4.06%
TIBIA (GL)	65	D=0.0725, P=0.8596	F _{8,56} =18.579, P=0.001	4.7457	78.248	0.6647	92.485	106.72	111.47	17.03%	4.26%
MANDIBLE (TL)	94	D=0.0971, P=0.3377	F _{7,86} =43.738, P=0.001	2.2866	45.932	0.7681	52.792	59.652	61.938	14.77%	3.69%
MANDIBLE (HM(P4))	148	D=0.0913, P=0.1697	F _{7,140} =35.828, P=0.001	0.4666	7.5117	0.5264	8.9115	10.311	10.778	17.32%	4.33%
CHEEK TOOTH ROW (CTR)	126	D=0.0725, P=0.5211	F _{7,118} =16.514, P=0.001	0.3376	16.596	0.4379	17.609	18.622	18.960	7.13%	1.78%
M1	141	D=0.0580, P=0.7306	F _{7,133} =9.1503, P=0.001	0.0740	6.6816	0.0860	6.9036	7.1256	7.1996	4.11%	1.03%
Average Increase Limbs										16.14%	4.03%
Average Increase Mandible										16.05%	4.01%
Average Increase Teeth										5.62%	1.41%

740 Abbreviations: GL = Greatest length. TL = Total length of mandible from the condyle process - infradentale. HM(P4) = Height of mandible between P₄

741 and M₁. CTR = Length of the cheek tooth row. M1 = Length of M₁.

742 Group 3 = Odense (Viking Age), Group 6 = Post Medieval Time (1550-1660 AD) and Group 7 = Modern material (1870 – present), females.

743

744 **Figure Captions**

745 Figure 1: Map showing the locations of sites providing cat remains for the biometric
746 analysis. Numbers are referring to numbers in Table 2. Drawing: Julie Bitz-Thorsen
747 modified from Knud Rosenlund.

748

749 Figure 2: A selection of cat calvaria from the examined groups of this study. From the
750 left to the right upper row: modern wildcat, MK689, Hungary, male; “Jernkatten”
751 (Group 2); Overgade, Odense (Group 3); Læderstræde 4, Roskilde (Group 5). From the
752 left to the right lower row: Svendborg (Group 5); Næsholm (Group 5); female modern
753 cat, K330 (Group 7); male modern cat, K362 (Group 9).

754

755 Figure 3: Plot showing the differences in femur length between groups of domestic
756 cats. This was done by multiple comparisons using Tukey’s HSD. Boxes indicate the
757 mean for each group and error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval. Means sharing
758 a letter are not significantly different. Group 1: Late Bronze Age (N=0), Group 2:
759 Roman Iron Age (N=1), Group 3: Viking Age (N=9), Group 4: Viking Age/Early
760 Middle Age (N=3), Group 5: Middle Age (N=15), Group 6: Post Medieval Time
761 (N=13), Group 7: Modern females (N=5), Group 8: Modern unknown sex (N=6) and
762 Group 9: Modern males (N=12).

763

764 Figure 4: Plot showing the differences in M1 length between groups of domestic cats.

765 This was done by multiple comparisons using Tukey’s HSD. Boxes indicate the mean
766 for each group and error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval. Means sharing a

767 letter are not significantly different. Group 1: Late Bronze Age (N=0), Group 2: Roman
768 Iron Age (N=1), Group 3: Viking Age (N=35), Group 4: Viking Age/Early Middle Age
769 (N=20), Group 5: Middle Age (N=32), Group 6: Post Medieval Time (N=13), Group 7:
770 Modern females (N=6), Group 8: Modern unknown sex (N=15) and Group 9: Modern
771 males (N=19).

772

773 Figure 5: Plot showing the measurements of tibia, greatest length and smallest breadth
774 of diaphysis, for the groups of domestic cats. Group 1: Late Bronze Age (N=1), Group
775 2: Roman Iron Age (N=2), Group 3: Viking Age (N=5), Group 4: Viking Age/Early
776 Middle Age (N=1), Group 5: Middle Age (N=23), Group 6: Post Medieval Time (N=8),
777 Group 7: Modern females (N=5), Group 8: Modern unknown sex (N=5) and Group 9:
778 Modern males (N=13).

779

780 **Figure 1**



781

782

783

784 **Figure 2**

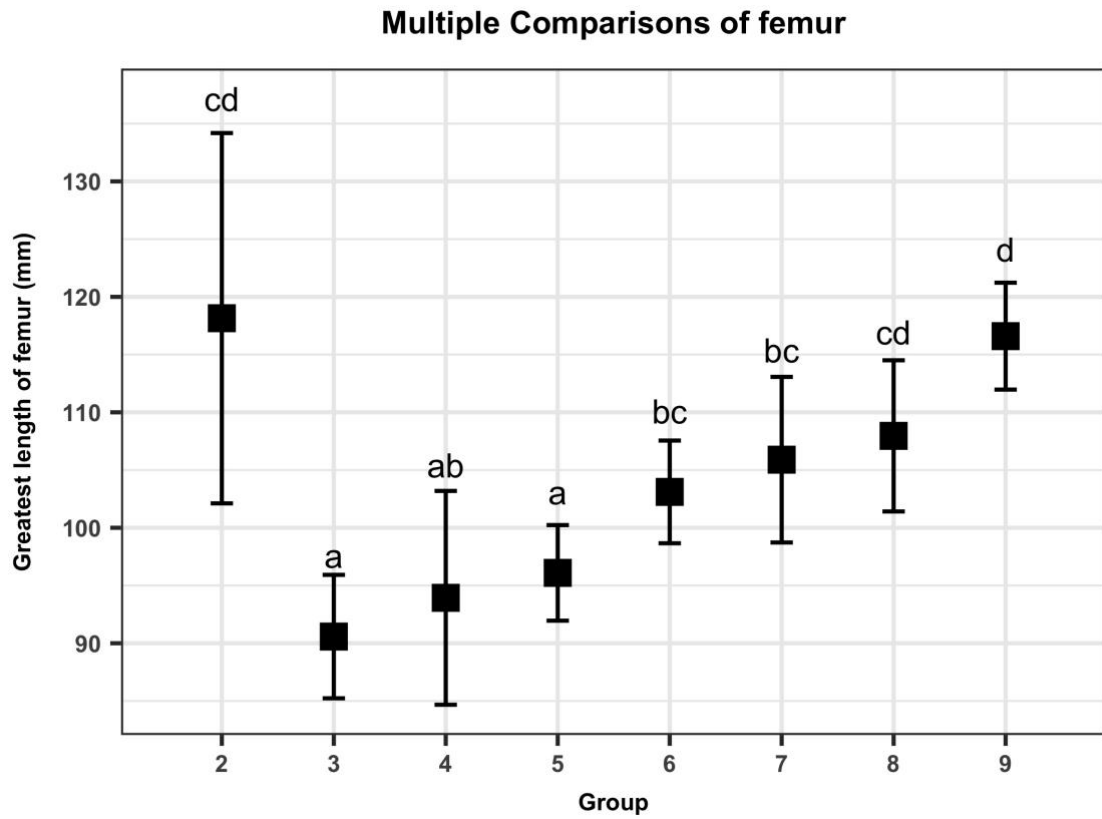


785

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787

788 **Figure 3**

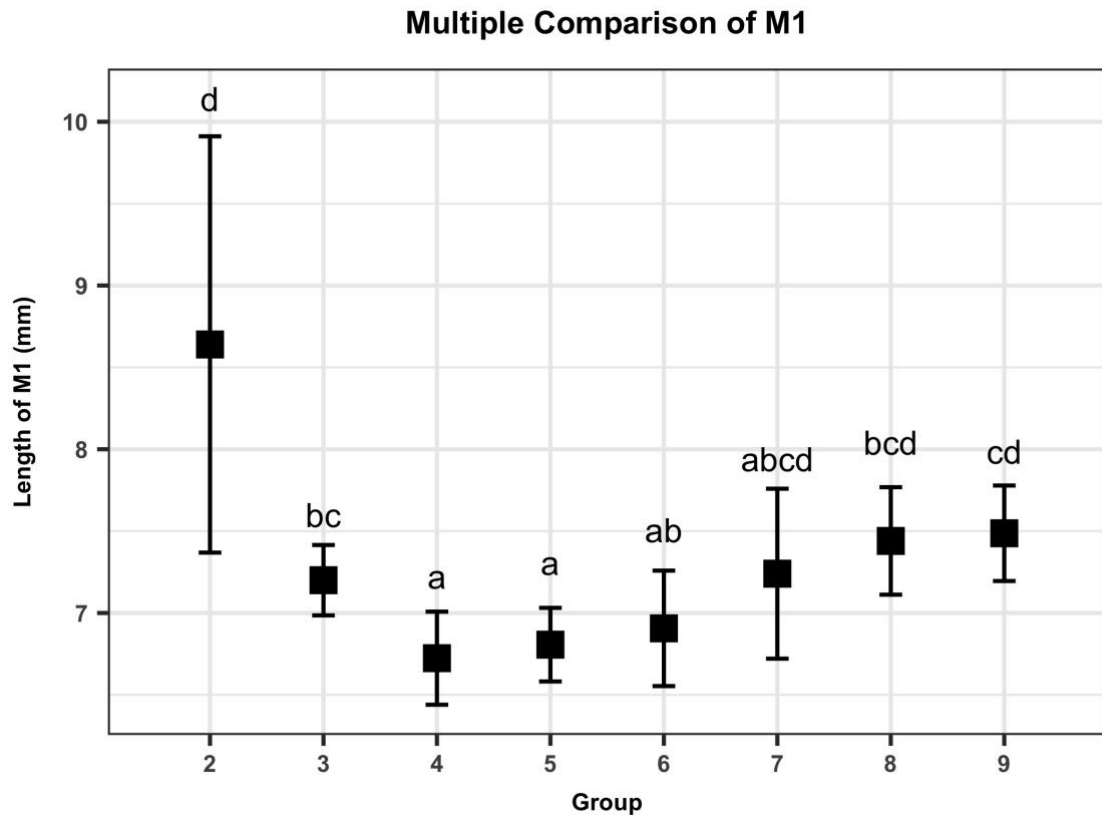


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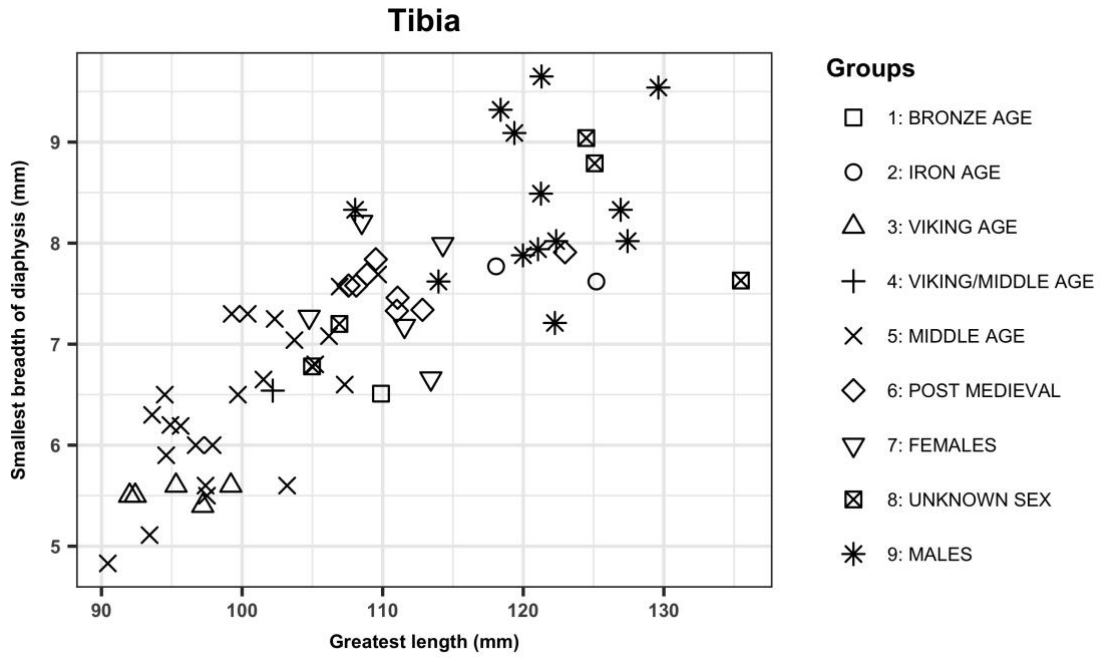
792 **Figure 4**



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795 **Figure 5**



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