

### THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

### Edinburgh Research Explorer

# Isotopic evidence for dietary diversity at the mediaeval Islamic necropolis of Can Fonoll (10th to 13th centuries CE), Ibiza, Spain

#### Citation for published version:

Pickard, C, Girdwood, L-K, Kranioti, E, Marquez-Grant, N, Richards, MP & Fuller, BT 2017, 'Isotopic evidence for dietary diversity at the mediaeval Islamic necropolis of Can Fonoll (10th to 13th centuries CE), Ibiza, Spain', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, vol. 13, pp. 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2017.03.027

#### **Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

10.1016/j.jasrep.2017.03.027

#### Link:

Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

**Document Version:** Peer reviewed version

Published In: Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports

#### General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

#### Take down policy

The University of Édinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



## Isotopic evidence for dietary diversity at the mediaeval Islamic necropolis of Can Fonoll (10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), Ibiza, Spain

- Catriona Pickard<sup>1\*</sup>, Laura-Kate Girdwood<sup>1</sup>, Elena Kranioti<sup>1</sup>, Nicholas Márquez-Grant<sup>2,3</sup>,
   Michael P. Richards<sup>4,5</sup>, Benjamin T. Fuller<sup>5,6,7</sup>
- 5 <sup>1</sup>School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9AG, UK
- <sup>2</sup>Cranfield Forensic Institute, Cranfield University, Defense Academy of the United Kingdom,
  Shrivenham SN6 8LA, UK
- <sup>3</sup>School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford
   OX2 6PE, UK
- <sup>4</sup>Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia V5W 1S6, Canada
- 11 <sup>5</sup>Department of Human Evolution, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Deutscher
- 12 Platz 6, D-04103 Leipzig, Germany
- <sup>6</sup>Laboratory of Biodiversity and Evolutionary Genomics, Centre for Archaeological Sciences,
   Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Ch. Debériotstraat 32, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium
- <sup>7</sup>Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing
- 16 *100049, China*
- 17
- 18 \* = Corresponding author <u>Catriona.Pickard@ed.ac.uk</u>
- 19 Tel: +44131 6502372
- 20

#### 21 Abstract

- 22 The diet of the population interred at the Islamic necropolis of Can Fonoll, Ibiza, Spain, which
- 23 was in use between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, is reconstructed from the carbon ( $\delta^{13}$ C) and
- nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}$ N) stable isotope ratios of bone collagen from 112 individuals. The mean±sd(1 $\sigma$ )
- $\delta^{13}C$  (-19.0±1.3‰) and  $\delta^{15}N$  (10.3±0.8‰) values of the Can Fonoll population indicate a diet
- based largely on terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> resources. However, the wide range of both  $\delta^{13}$ C (-20.6‰ to -
- 27 8.6‰) and  $\delta^{15}N$  (7.0‰ to 12.1‰) values attested at Can Fonoll indicate significant variation
- in individual diet. The elevated  $\delta^{13}$ C values of a small proportion of the individuals buried at
- 29 Can Fonoll are consistent with the consumption of a large proportion of, or dependence on,  $C_4$
- resources, such as millet. Comparison of the  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of the Can Fonoll population
- 31 with those of other mediaeval populations from the Balearic Islands and mainland Spain
- 32 highlights a wide range of stable isotope values, which reflects not only significant differences
- in diet but also points to widespread mobility within the Mediterranean Basin.

### 34 Key Words: C4, Ibiza, Islamic, Millet, Stable Isotopes

#### **36 INTRODUCTION**

The Spanish island of Ibiza, part of the Balearic Islands in the Western Mediterranean has seen 37 an influx of peoples from the eastern and central Mediterranean (in particular North Africa) 38 since at least the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC (McMillan and Boone 1999; O'Connor 2003). In the 8<sup>th</sup> 39 century AD the Iberian Peninsula came under Moorish influence, which resulted in linguistic, 40 social, economic, technological, cultural and religious change (McMillan and Boone 1999). 41 There is evidence that Islamic influence in Ibiza started at least in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and 42 the island was under Islamic control certainly from the 10<sup>th</sup> century until 1235 with the 43 Christian conquest by the Crown of Aragon (Davies 2014; Gurrea Barricarte and Martín 44 Parrilla 2016). 45

Fuller et al. (2010) investigated the impact of cultural change on diet, one aspect of cultural 46 behaviour through which identity may be expressed. Diet was reconstructed through carbon 47  $(\delta^{13}C)$  and nitrogen  $(\delta^{15}N)$  stable isotope analysis of human bone collagen of archaeological 48 49 Ibizan populations. This study suggested that there was a significant shift in diet associated with Moorish expansion into Ibiza. The Islamic population from the early mediaeval necropolis 50 of Es Soto, in Ibiza town, which was in use from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, exhibited a 51 greater reliance on C<sub>4</sub> resources than earlier populations on Ibiza (Fuller et al. 2010; Nehlich 52 et al. 2012). However, Ibiza town was an important centre for trade and the diet of the Es Soto 53 population may not be representative of populations elsewhere on the island. 54

Here, we present the results of carbon ( $\delta^{13}$ C) and nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}$ N) stable isotope analyses of a 55 contemporaneous Islamic population from a necropolis located at Can Fonoll in the 56 southwestern region of Ibiza (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Those interred in the cemetery (magbara) 57 may have been involved in agricultural production on the island (Castro 2009) and likely 58 represent a more residentially stable community than that of Ibiza town. The Can Fonoll 59 assemblage represents one of the largest mediaeval Islamic populations from Ibiza to be studied 60 to date (Kyriakou et al. 2012). Comparison with the urban population at Es Soto (Fuller et al. 61 2010) and other mediaeval populations from the Iberian Peninsula offers a broader 62 understanding of dietary variability within the Balearic Islands and beyond. 63

64 Figure 1. Location of Can Fonoll, Ibiza, Spain.

Figure 2. Photograph of excavated graves at Can Fonoll necropolis (© Jonathan Castro
Orellana and Joan Roig). [about here]

68

#### 69 **RECONSTRUCTING DIET**

The Balearic Islands witnessed a population influx from mainland Al Andalus following the establishment of Islamic control in the early 10th century (Kirchner 2009a). Thirteenth-century records detailing land rents in rural areas of Ibiza indicate small groups of settlements and associated farmland, with names of Arabic-Berber derivation (Kirchner 2009b). Watermills, constructed to irrigate small allotments on valley floors, were also used to grind cereals into flour (Kirchner 2009b). While it is known that intense agriculture and irrigation took place, direct evidence for the diets of mediaeval Ibizans is limited.

By comparison, Islamic period agricultural practices, cultivars, and diets on mainland Spain 77 78 are relatively well attested. Agricultural intensification is evident: use of fertilizers, such as ash and straw, was widespread (Bolens 1978). Systems of irrigated terraces were constructed to 79 80 support exotic, introduced crops such as sugarcane and citrus fruits (Watson 1983; Puy and Balbo 2013). However, the primary importance of cereals is underscored by an abundance of 81 naked wheat and hulled barley in archaeobotanical assemblages, while oil-bearing plants and 82 nuts are also evident (Bolens 1978; Alonso Martinez 2005; Alonso et al. 2014). Historical 83 accounts of diet in medieval Spain support the prominence of cereals and other plant foods in 84 diet: wheat, sorghum and millet, fruits and olives were all described as important staples 85 (García-Sánchez 1996, 2002; Constable 2013). Pulses such as lentils and chickpeas, were 86 reported to have been widely consumed, particularly by those of lower status (García-Sánchez 87 2002). The meat of goat, sheep and chicken, as well as milk, cheese, butter and eggs were also 88 89 important components of the Islamic diet (Grewe 1981; García-Sánchez 2002; O'Connor 2003; Constable 2013). Textual evidence further indicates that in the mediaeval period Muslims 90 abstained from wine, shellfish, pork and lard, as well as the meats of other animals that were 91 not prepared according to Islamic law (Constable 2013). 92

However, historical records provide a limited overview of mediaeval diet, often describing
foods consumed by elites with little mention of the habits of individuals of lower status, or
alternatively, focussing on religious restrictions on foods and eating practices (Bolens 1978;

Grewe 1981; Constable 2013). Additionally, information on the relative importance of
foodstuffs is often contradictory (cf. O'Connor 2003; Constable 2013; Burns 2015).

#### 98 Stable Isotope Analysis

In contrast to historical sources,  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N stable isotope ratio analysis of human remains can determine population level dietary intake and highlight individual variations in diet (Katzenberg 2000; Lee-Thorp 2008; Reitsema 2013). Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios of bone collagen are reliable indicators of long-term (mainly) dietary protein intake in a protein adequate diet (e.g. van der Merwe and Vogel 1978; Sealy et al. 1987; Sealy 2001; Müldner and Richards 2007; Schoeninger 2010; Fuller et al. 2012a; Commendador et al. 2013; Quintelier et al. 2014).

Plants in different environments (terrestrial [i.e. C<sub>3</sub> vs C<sub>4</sub>], marine and freshwater) fix/acquire 106 carbon during photosynthesis in different ways. Plants utilised as dietary staples generally fix 107 carbon by one of two pathways, either the  $C_3$  or  $C_4$  pathway (DeNiro and Epstein, 1978; 108 Krueger and Sullivan, 1984; Ambrose and Norr, 1993). C<sub>3</sub> plants comprise most grasses and 109 110 plants native to temperate regions, including oats, barley, wheat, and also rice. C<sub>4</sub> plants include important cereal staples such as maize and millet. C<sub>3</sub> plants generally have more depleted <sup>13</sup>C 111 values than C<sub>4</sub> plants. For example, a typical consumer of foods drawn from the terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> 112 food web would have  $\delta^{13}$ C values between approximately -20% and -18%, while a consumer 113 entirely dependent on resources from the C<sub>4</sub> food web would be expected to have  $\delta^{13}$ C around 114 -7.5‰ (cf. van der Merwe and Vogel 1978; Tykot 2004). Marine plants also fix carbon by the 115 C<sub>3</sub> pathway. However, the  $\delta^{13}$ C values of marine plants are distinctive from those of terrestrial 116 C<sub>3</sub> plants because marine carbon isotope ratios are enriched relative to atmospheric carbon 117 isotope ratios (Tykot 2004). A typical consumer of predominantly marine resources might have 118 isotope values of  $\delta^{13}C = -12\%$ . Although this overlaps with the carbon isotope values of C<sub>4</sub> 119 consumers, the two dietary components can often be distinguished by  $\delta^{15}$ N analysis. 120

It is widely accepted that nitrogen stable isotopes are enriched with each trophic level by c. 3– 5‰ (Bocherens and Drucker 2003) and potentially by up to 6‰ (O'Connell et al. 2012; Iacumin et al. 2014). Human consumers of terrestrial resources will typically have  $\delta^{15}N$  values c. 6–10‰, but results can be variable due to differing environmental conditions and anthropogenic activities such as manuring (Tykot 2004; Lee-Thorp 2008; Fraser et al. 2011; Bogaard et al. 2013). Marine/freshwater food-chains are generally longer than terrestrial foodchains so consumers of aquatic resources tend to have higher  $\delta^{15}N$  values than consumers of terrestrial resources (although see Hedges and Reynard [2007] for discussion of uncertainties in the  $\delta^{15}$ N trophic shift). This  $\delta^{15}$ N difference between terrestrial and aquatic food-chains *generally* allows diets based on marine resources to be distinguished from those derived from the C<sub>4</sub> food web.

Thus, co-analysis of  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N isotope values can potentially distinguish between diets 132 based on terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> plant food web, freshwater and marine resources, and identify 133 the trophic level of the consumer (e.g. Chisholm et al. 1982; Schoeninger and DeNiro 1984; 134 Schwarcz and Schoeninger 2011). However, caution must be exercised in the interpretation of 135 136 stable isotope results. A range of non-dietary factors can affect an individual's stable isotope values, such as pregnancy and disease (Fuller et al. 2005; Olsen et al. 2014). Furthermore, 137 determining the relative contribution of plant vs animal protein in diet is complicated by 138 uncertainties in the human-diet  $\delta^{15}$ N trophic shift (Hedges and Reynard 2007). 139

#### 140 CAN FONOLL – ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The cemetery at Can Fonoll, near the area of Molí de Can Fonoll in the southwest of Ibiza, was 141 discovered during motorway construction (Castro 2009). Rescue excavations were undertaken 142 between October 2006 and February 2008. Remains of 154 individuals were recovered from 143 167 burials at Can Fonoll, a large Islamic necropolis (c. 1220 sq. m) or magbara at the site 144 (Castro 2009; Kyriakou et al. 2012). The burials all follow typical Islamic funerary tradition: 145 146 graves were oriented SW-NE, individuals laid on their right side and facing SE toward Mecca, and there was a lack of surviving grave goods and headstones (Castro 2009). The cemetery was 147 dated to c. 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD on the basis of the burial practices, and the well-established 148 historical evidence relating to the occupation of Ibiza by Islamic populations (Castro 2009). 149 The human remains generally displayed poor preservation, with a significant degree of surface 150 erosion and bones were highly fragmented (Kyriakou et al. 2012). 151

The human remains were analysed in 2010 by a team from the University of Edinburgh, UK (Kyriakou et al. 2012). Bioarchaeological data, including demographic information, were collected following the recommendations of Brickley and McKinley (2004) and Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994), and were the focus of a separate publication (Kyriakou et al. 2012). Of the 154 individuals, 112 were adults, 21 were juveniles and 21 had an unknown age at death. Amongst the adults, 23 were females or possibly female and 35 were males or possibly male (Kyriakou et al. 2012).

#### 160 MATERIALS AND METHOD

161

#### 162 Materials

Bone samples (ribs and long bones) for stable isotope analysis were obtained from 143 of the 154 individuals, but only 112 of these yielded well-preserved collagen – these 112 samples are the focus of the current paper. They comprise 85 adults, 13 juveniles and 14 of unknown age (see also Table S1). Amongst the juveniles, one (7.6%) was in the age range 1–5 years, two (15.3%) in the 5–10 year age range, eight (61.5%) between 10 and 15 years and two (15.3%) in the 15–18 year age range.

169

To investigate diet, human  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values need to be considered alongside the isotope values of potential foods. Ideally, comparisons should be made with animal and plant remains found in association with the human remains. However, no animal or plant remains were recovered from the Can Fonoll necropolis. Comparisons are therefore drawn from the nearby, contemporaneous site of Es Soto, located 4 km away from Can Fonoll, for which  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values have been published (Fuller et al. 2010; the average values of the animal remains sampled are presented in Table 1 and plotted in Figure 3).

177

Table 1. Mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of animal remains from Ibiza, taken from Fuller et al. (2010). [about here]

180 Figure 3. Mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values for the Can Fonoll humans. [about here]

181

#### 182 Method

Bone collagen was extracted at the Department of Human Evolution, Max Planck Institute for 183 Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig, Germany) following the procedure described in Richards 184 and Hedges (1999) with the additional step of ultrafiltration by Brown et al. (1988). Each bone 185 sample (~500 mg) was cleaned by air abrasion and placed in a 0.5 M HCl solution at 4 °C for 186 ~2 weeks, with acid changes every 2 days. Demineralized samples were gelatinized at 70 °C in 187 a pH=3 solution for 48 hours. After purification with a 5µm EZEE<sup>©</sup> filter, the solution was 188 concentrated by Amicon<sup>©</sup> ultrafilters (<30 kDa), and then was frozen and freeze dried for 2 189 190 days. Approximately 0.5 mg of extracted collagen was weighted for carbon and nitrogen

191 analysis, using a Flash EA 2112 coupled to a Delta XP mass spectrometer (Thermo-Finnigan, Bremen, Germany). The results are reported in 'per mil' (‰) relative to the standards VPDB 192 for  $\delta^{13}$ C and AIR for  $\delta^{15}$ N. The analytical precision is  $\pm 0.2\%$  for both  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N. Although 193 the collagen yields are low, ranging from 0.1% to 3.0% (cf. van Klinken 1999), ultrafiltration 194 isolation of well-preserved collagen is indicated by the atomic C:N ratio (Richards et al. 2008). 195 A total of 112 (i.e. 79%) of the 143 individuals produced collagen with acceptable atomic C:N 196 between 2.9–3.6 (DeNiro 1985), and five samples outside this range are omitted from the 197 198 discussion below (see Table S1).

#### **199 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### 200 Diet at Can Fonoll

Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope values for the Can Fonoll population are presented in Table S1 and plotted in Figure 3. The mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of the Can Fonoll population ( $\delta^{13}$ C = -19.0 $\pm$ 1.3‰;  $\delta^{15}$ N = 10.3 $\pm$ 0.8‰, n=112) are consistent with a diet based primarily on resources from the terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> food web.

205 The Can Fonoll human isotope values differ from the mediaeval Ibizan domestic herbivore values (mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}$ C = -19.9 $\pm$ 0.7‰;  $\delta^{15}$ N = 6.9 $\pm$ 2.1‰, n=18) published in Fuller et al. 206 (2010). The difference in  $\delta^{13}C$  is c. 1‰ and that in  $\delta^{15}N$  is 3.4‰. These values suggest that 207 cattle and caprines, and secondary products from these animals, were important components of 208 diet, but that other resources such as plant foods were dietary staples. Dental caries rates of the 209 210 Can Fonoll population (Kyriakou et al. 2012) supports the consumption of some carbohydrates; caries prevalence is similar to that of other mediaeval sites in the Iberian Peninsula (see 211 Lalueza-Fox and González-Martín 1999) and slightly lower than that of earlier populations in 212 Ibiza (see Márquez-Grant 2006). 213

Despite the island setting of the Can Fonoll cemetery, marine resources do not appear to have contributed significantly to the diet (suggested by the relatively low mean  $\delta^{15}$ N value).

This interpretation is offered cautiously as in the Mediterranean region, identifying the consumption of marine foods is non-trivial (e.g. Prowse et al. 2004; Keenleyside et al. 2006; Craig et al. 2009). The  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of modern fish caught in the Mediterranean Sea have been observed to vary widely and often have values similar to those of terrestrial foods (see Pinnegar and Polunin 2000, Garvie-Lok 2001; Polunin et al. 2001 and Badalamenti et al. 2002). For example, the mean  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of fish captured off the southeast coast of Ibiza were -17.8‰ and 11.3‰ respectively (Polunin et al. 2001). Furthermore, in individuals with relatively low protein diets<sub>a</sub> nutrient scrambling (Prowse et al. 2004; Craig et al. 2013) may result in carbon and nitrogen being drawn from different dietary constituents – carbon is assimilated from dietary carbohydrates and/or lipids in protein inadequate diets (Hedges 2004). These factors invalidate the notional linear correlation of  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N in establishing the consumption of marine resources (see Schoeninger et al. 1990).

Table S1. Demographic information and  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of the Can Fonoll population. [about here]

230

#### 231 Differences in individual diet

The  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of the Can Fonoll necropolis population exhibit wide ranges, which 232 hint at intra-population differences in dietary intake (cf. DeNiro and Epstein 1978; DeNiro and 233 Schoeninger 1983). Spanning approximately one trophic level, the range of  $\delta^{15}$ N values (from 234 7.0% to 12.1%) of the Can Fonoll population is large and is consistent with differences in 235 236 individual diets. Two suspected statistical outliers (SPSS boxplot), individuals T-12 and T-122, have relatively low  $\delta^{15}$ N values, 8.2‰ and 7.0‰, respectively, compared to the population 237 mean of 10.3‰. Both individuals are adult males. Their  $\delta^{13}$ C values, -19.2‰ and -20.0‰, 238 respectively are consistent with a diet based on C<sub>3</sub> resources. These values possibly suggest 239 240 that there were socio-economic or socio-religious restrictions to the consumption of animal products among the Can Fonoll population. Those individuals with lower  $\delta^{15}$ N values likely 241 consumed a greater proportion of plant foods than those with higher values. However, the 242 consumption of legumes, which fix atmospheric N<sub>2</sub> and therefore have low  $\delta^{15}$ N values (Szpak 243 et al. 2014), may mask animal protein intake. It is also important to note that non-dietary causes 244 of  $\delta^{15}$ N variability cannot be excluded (e.g. Reitsema 2013; Olsen et al. 2014). 245

The spread of  $\delta^{13}$ C values is exceptionally large ranging from -20.6% to -8.6%. Five of the individuals analysed are statistical outliers, with a further three individuals suspected statistical outliers. Four of these individuals (T1, T20, T121 and T122, see Table S1) have  $\delta^{13}$ C values that are typical of diets based on C<sub>3</sub> resources. The other four (T-2, T-14, T-99 and T-155, see Table S1) have distinctive  $\delta^{13}$ C values, higher than those generally observed for individuals subsisting exclusively on C<sub>3</sub> terrestrial resources. Three of these individuals are firmly identified as males and one, T-155, is tentatively identified as male. The  $\delta^{13}$ C values of T-2, T-14, T-99 and T-155 (-14.2‰, -14.9‰, -15.6‰ and -8.6‰ respectively) indicate that their diets were distinctive from the other individuals interred at Can Fonoll. Notably, the  $\delta^{15}$ N values of these individuals (10.3‰, 11.0‰, 10.8‰ and 10.6‰, respectively) are similar to the population mean (i.e.  $\delta^{15}$ N = 10.3‰). The parsimonious explanation for the variation in the  $\delta^{13}$ C values of these four individuals, with no associated variation in  $\delta^{15}$ N values, is the consumption of varying proportions of C<sub>4</sub> resources (cf. Müldner et al. 2011; and see Figure 3).

One explanation for these values potentially reflecting C4 resources is the consumption of 260 millet. Millet, indigenous to Africa and Asia, was an important C<sub>4</sub> crop cultivated in mediaeval 261 Europe. The reported  $\delta^{13}$ C values for modern millet plants range from -10% to -12%262 (McGovern et al. 2004; Pechenkina et al. 2005; An et al. 2015). Archaeobotanical remains 263 indicate the presence of broomcorn millet (Panicum miliaceum) in Europe from at least the 264 later part of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Lightfoot et al. 2013; Motuzaite-Matuzeviciute et al. 2013), 265 and consumption of millet is evident in the isotope values of later prehistoric and Roman 266 267 populations throughout Europe (Murray and Schoeninger 1988; Bonsall et al. 2004; Le Huray and Schutkowski 2005; Le Huray and Schutkowski 2005). However, it is generally thought 268 269 that millet was viewed as a poor quality cereal (e.g. Iacumin et al. 2014), not used in the kitchens of the elite, and often grown as animal fodder (Adamson 2004). 270

Sugarcane (Saccharum), was also cultivated in mediaeval Europe (Galloway 2005). Sugarcane 271 has a low crude protein content (Pate et al. 2002), and is therefore unlikely to have contributed 272 directly to human bone collagen  $\delta^{13}$ C in a protein adequate diet (cf. Hedges 2004). Elevated 273  $\delta^{13}$ C values may result indirectly from the consumption of domesticates fed on sugarcane crops 274 or stubble (Alexander et al. 2015). Animal collagen from the Islamic period of Ibiza, analysed 275 by Fuller et al. (2010), show  $\delta^{13}$ C values no higher than expected for a diet based on C<sub>3</sub> plants 276 in the Mediterranean region with  $\delta^{13}C < -18\%$ . Araus et al. (1997) demonstrated that 277 archaeological C<sub>3</sub> cereal grains from Middle Neolithic to Iron Age sites in northeastern and 278 southeastern Spain had  $\delta^{13}$ C values ranging from -24.5‰ to -20.3‰ (with average  $\delta^{13}$ C = -279 280 22.7%) – thus, there is no evidence for supplementation of domesticate diet in the Islamic period on Ibiza with C<sub>4</sub> crops (i.e. neither with sugarcane nor millet). 281

There are no published reports of individuals from European sites with  $\delta^{13}$ C values as high as the Can Fonoll individual T-155 with  $\delta^{13}$ C = -8.6‰ (cf. Lightfoot et al. 2013). Although it is possible that individual T-155 was local to Ibiza and consumed a distinctive diet for reasons 285 relating to health, social status or cultural preference, an alternative and more likely scenario is that individual T-155 spent much of his life elsewhere, in a region where C<sub>4</sub> resources were a 286 dietary staple. Although millet was used widely across Europe in the mediaeval period (e.g. 287 Rösch et al. 1992; Dembińska 1999), it does not appear to have been a significant component 288 289 of the human diet in many areas. One exception to this was central Europe: documentary sources indicate that millet was one of the most commonly consumed grains in Poland from 290 the early mediaeval period up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD (Dembińska 1999). It is also possible, and 291 more probable given the historical context of Ibiza, that individual T-155 (and arguably all four 292 of the individuals at Can Fonolls with atypical  $\delta^{13}$ C values) had migrated to Ibiza from northern 293 or sub-Saharan Africa (cf Márquez-Grant 2005) shortly before death. Determining how 294 recently before death these individuals migrated to Ibiza is complex for two reasons. First, the 295 lack of knowledge of provenance and consequently the baseline isotope values of foods 296 consumed prior to moving to Ibiza: second, the variation in bone collagen turnover rate, which 297 depends on developmental stage (e.g. Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013), sex (e.g. Garnero et al. 1996), 298 parturition (e.g. Naylor et al. 2000), skeletal element sampled (e.g. Manolagas and Jilka 1995), 299 as well as behaviour (e.g. Thorsen et al. 1997). 300

Few stable isotope studies of northern African groups subsisting largely on C<sub>4</sub> resources have 301 302 been undertaken - see Loftus et al. (2016) for a review. Analyses of historic farming populations from Kenya, known to have predominantly consumed a mix of C<sub>4</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> cereals 303 in varying proportions, had  $\delta^{13}$ C values ranging from -18.0% to -7.3%, while two individuals 304 from west Kenya, who subsisted exclusively on C<sub>4</sub> resources, had  $\delta^{13}$ C values of -6.7‰ and -305 6.3‰ (Ambrose and DeNiro 1986). The remains of many prehistoric agriculturalists from 306 Africa, inferred to have subsisted on C<sub>4</sub>-based food webs, have produced high  $\delta^{13}$ C values of 307 up to -4.5‰ (see table 2 in Ambrose and DeNiro 1986 and table 4 in Murphy 2011). The 308 differences in diet evident within the Can Fonoll population may reflect the status or the 309 occupations of these individuals, or more likely, indicates residential mobility, which was 310 commonplace in mediaeval Europe (O'Connor 2003). 311

#### 312 Age/Sex related differences in diet

The individual variations in diet are not correlated to age nor to sex. A large proportion of younger to middle age adults (18–35 years) were represented; no older adults (i.e. 45+ years) or infants (i.e. < 1 year) were identified amongst the remains (Kyriakou et al. 2012). The average isotope values of the various age categories represented at Can Fonoll were found to

be remarkably similar. Adults in the 18–25 years category (n=61) had mean±sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}C = -$ 317 19.0±1.5‰ and  $\delta^{15}N = 10.3\pm0.9\%$ ; while those aged 25–35 years (n=23) had mean±sd(1 $\sigma$ ) 318  $\delta^{13}C = -18.7 \pm 1.2\%$  and  $\delta^{15}N = 10.3 \pm 0.9\%$ . Adults aged 35–45 years (n=2) formed too small 319 a sub-set to provide meaningful comparison; however, their values were in keeping with the 320 321 younger age groups. Thirteen non-adults ( $\leq 18$  years) were sampled. The distribution of the dataset was determined to be non-normal (Shapiro-Wilk test, p = 0.000 and p = 0.001 for  $\delta^{13}C$ 322 and  $\delta^{15}$ N respectively) so the null hypothesis, that the adults vs non-adults had the same  $\delta^{13}$ C 323 and  $\delta^{15}$ N values was evaluated using the non-parametric Mann Whitney U-test. Average non-324 adult  $\delta^{13}C = -19.3 \pm 0.3\%$  and  $\delta^{15}N = 10.3 \pm 0.6\%$  values are not statistically different (Mann 325 Whitney U-test, p = 0.159 and p = 0.743 for  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N, respectively) from the values 326 obtained for the adult (18+ years) population at Can Fonoll. 327

328 The dataset of the males and females is not normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilk test, p=0.000,

p=0.032 for  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N, respectively). The mean±sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of the males ( $\delta^{13}$ C = -18.4±2.3‰;  $\delta^{15}$ N = 10.4±0.8‰, n=31) and females ( $\delta^{13}$ C = -19.1±0.4‰;  $\delta^{15}$ N = 10.4±0.8‰, n=20) at Can Fonoll are not statistically different (Mann Whitney U-test, p = 0.361 and p = 0.953 for  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N, respectively) indicating that the diets of males and females are broadly similar at the population level.

#### 334 Comparison to other mediaeval western Mediterranean populations

The data from Can Fonoll add to the growing evidence for heterogeneity in diet between 335 mediaeval populations in the western Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands. The Can 336 Fonoll population have lower mean  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values than the Islamic population from Es 337 Soto (Shapiro Wilk test indicates non-normally distributed data, p = 0.000 and p = 0.002 for 338  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values respectively; Mann-Whitney U test, p = 0.000 and p = 0.008 for  $\delta^{13}$ C and 339  $\delta^{15}$ N values, respectively; see Figure 4 and Table 2). Although possible, it is unlikely that 340 environmental factors account for the distinct  $\delta^{13}$ C values given the proximity and 341 contemporaneity of the two sites. This small but significant difference in dietary patterns likely 342 reflects the respective locations of the two sites. 343

Individuals interred at Es Soto, which is located in Ibiza town, an important urban centre of trade in the mediaeval period, potentially had greater access to imported foodstuffs, as well as marine resources, than their rural counterparts at Can Fonoll. Mean  $\delta^{13}$ C values of the farming community at Can Fonoll (as well as the  $\delta^{13}$ C values of the herbivores from Es Soto, all of which have  $\delta^{13}C > -18\%$ ) argues against the local cultivation of C<sub>4</sub> cereals. It is also possible that the difference between the two sites relates to the large number of recent migrants to Ibiza at Es Soto with 'remnant' isotope signatures. Nehlich et al. (2012) established that 18 of 20 individuals sampled had  $\delta^{34}S$  values outside the local range indicating that they were not native to Ibiza.

The  $\delta^{34}$ S analysis of the Can Fonoll population would help to determine whether the differences 353 in isotope signatures of the two populations might be due to differences in the diets of those 354 native to Ibiza or whether these differences reflect the non-local origin of some of those 355 356 individuals interred at Can Fonoll. A further consideration is temporal variation in dietary patterns. Although the cemeteries at Can Fonoll and Es Soto are roughly contemporaneous, 357 both sites were in use for several hundred years. In the absence of absolute dates for the 358 individuals sampled for stable isotope analysis, it is not possible to determine to what extent 359 the differences in isotope values between the two sites relates to chronological variations in 360 diet. 361

Table 2. Mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ ) bone collagen  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of human remains from Ibiza and mediaeval populations from the Mediterranean region.

Figure 4. Scatterplot of stable isotope values of key Ibizan and Valencian Spanish mediaevalsites discussed.

366 . [about here]

As at Can Fonoll, the wide spread of  $\delta^{13}$ C (from -19.4‰ to -13.1‰) values evident in the Es 367 Soto population suggested variation in individual diet (Fuller et al. 2010). Nehlich et al. (2012) 368 established, through the co-analysis of bone collagen  $\delta^{13}$ C,  $\delta^{15}$ N and  $\delta^{34}$ S values, that the Es 369 So population was not consuming marine foods. The mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{34}$ S value of this group 370 is 9.1±2.7‰ (n=20); consumers of marine resources generally have more elevated  $\delta^{34}$ S values 371 reflecting that of marine sulphate c. +21‰ (Rees et al. 1978; Richards et al. 2001). Thus, 372 variation of  $\delta^{13}$ C values in the Es Soto group likely reflects differential consumption of C<sub>4</sub> 373 foods (Fuller et al. 2010; Nehlich et al. 2012). Individual ES-T18-2 (with  $\delta^{13}C = -13.1\%$ ,  $\delta^{15}N$ 374 = 12.5‰ and  $\delta^{34}$ S = 10.2‰) was interpreted as having consumed a significant proportion of 375 C<sub>4</sub> resources (Fuller et al. 2010). In addition, this individual has a  $\delta^{34}$ S value that lies outside 376 the local range indicating that ES-T18-2 had migrated to Ibiza (Nehlich et al. 2012). The  $\delta^{13}$ C 377 and  $\delta^{15}N$  values of this individual are typical of the values of African groups subsisting 378

predominantly by pastoralism with  $C_4$  cereals as well as wild  $C_3$  plants (cf. Ambrose and DeNiro 1986). However, similar carbon and nitrogen isotope values are also evident in later mediaeval populations on mainland Spain at Gandía, Valencia (Alexander et al. 2015).

382 In general, the diet of early mediaeval Islamic Ibizan populations is dominated by terrestrial  $C_3$ resources. Mediaeval populations from the Basque region as well as in Aragon in northern 383 Spain also had diets of mainly C<sub>3</sub> foods (Mundee 2009; Lubritto et al. 2013; Quirós Castillo 384 2013). However, within this general pattern there is some variation, which has often been 385 linked to status. At Jaca in Aragon, a small number of individuals (4 of 27 sampled) with 386 atypical  $\delta^{13}$ C values likely consumed greater quantities of C<sub>4</sub> foods and may have been non-387 local (Mundee 2009). High status populations interred at Saint Tirso monastery, Zaballa, and 388 at Treviño Castle have mean  $\delta^{13}$ C values consistent with an exclusively C<sub>3</sub> diet. Mean  $\delta^{15}$ N 389 values similar to that of carnivores were interpreted as evidence for the importance of animal 390 resources to diet (Lubritto et al. 2013; Quirós Castillo 2013). Lower mean  $\delta^{15}N$  and a wider 391 range of  $\delta^{13}$ C values, particularly among the middle mediaeval inhabitants at Aistra, indicated 392 that plant foods and to some extent C<sub>4</sub> plant foods likely comprised a higher proportion of diet. 393 The consumption of C<sub>4</sub> cereals was attributed to the lower status of individuals at this rural site 394 (Quirós Castillo 2013). Slightly elevated mean  $\delta^{13}$ C at the Santa Maria church cemetery at 395 Zornoztegi suggests that C<sub>4</sub> resources were consumed, probably indirectly, reflecting the use 396 of C<sub>4</sub> grains as feed for domestic fowl (Quirós Castillo 2013). 397

Among the later mediaeval populations from Gandía and El Raval in Valencia, C4 resources 398 comprise a more substantial part of diet (cf. Salazar-García et al. 2014, Alexander et al. 2015). 399 400 While there are slight differences in the diets of Muslims and Christians at two later mediaeval necropoli at Gandía (i.e. Benipeixcar vs Colegiata de Santa Maria), the isotope values of both 401 groups reflect the importance of C<sub>4</sub> plants or C<sub>4</sub>-plant consumers to the diet (Alexander et al. 402 2015). Similarly, at El Raval, a late mediaeval necropolis with a largely Islamic population and 403 a number of moriscos (i.e. converts to Christianity), located less than 100 km to the south of 404 Gandía, a mixed terrestrial C<sub>3</sub>/C<sub>4</sub> diet is indicated (Salazar-García et al. 2014). Higher mean 405  $\delta^{15}$ N values at El Raval in comparison to those of the Gandía sites points to the greater 406 consumption of fish (Shapiro Wilk test indicated normality, p = 0.568, p = 0.0.649 and p =407 0.568 for Benepeixcar, Colegiata de Santa Maria and El Raval, respectively: Levene's unequal 408 variance, p = 0.042: Kruskal Wallis test demonstrated statistically significant differences in 409 mean  $\delta^{15}$ N values, p = 0.001). However, as Alexander and colleagues (2015) point out, wide 410

411 variation in the  $\delta^{15}N$  values of archaeological domesticates and fish from the region 412 complicates  $\delta^{15}N$  interpretation.

The emphasis on C<sub>4</sub> foods in Valencia reflects the ready adoption of new crops in Spain under Moorish influence (Galloway 2005). Cultivation of sugarcane, which was evident in southern Spain from at least the early 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, grew in economic importance from 1300-1500 AD. Valencia was one of the most northerly outposts of sugarcane cultivation in Europe, although the crop does not appear to have been cultivated on Ibiza (cf. Galloway 2005).

Elsewhere in the western Mediterranean region there is similar variation in stable isotope 418 signatures, and by inference, diet. At early to middle mediaeval sites in Fruili-Venezia, Guilia, 419 in northeastern Italy, considerable variation in diet is evident with C<sub>4</sub> cereals comprising from 420 0% up to 29% of dietary protein (Iacumin et al. 2014). The consumption of millets was 421 422 attributed by Iacumin et al. (2014) to the economic and social upheaval following the demise of the Roman Empire along with climatic deterioration resulting in reduced wheat production 423 424 and reduced access to higher quality cereals among lower status individuals. By contrast, at Trino Vercellese in northwestern Italy, a necropolis which was in use between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 425 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, diet was dominated by terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> resources with potentially a small 426 proportion of C<sub>4</sub> cereals. In the eastern Mediterranean there is little evidence in isotope 427 signatures for the use of C<sub>4</sub> resources in the Byzantine period: diets were dominated by C<sub>3</sub> 428 resources with varying proportions of marine foods constituting an important but secondary 429 430 source of protein (Bourbou et al. 2011).

The consumption of small quantities of fish is often cited as a possible explanation for the wide 431 spread of  $\delta^{15}$ N values among mediaeval populations (e.g. Mundee 2009; Reitsema and 432 Vercellotti 2012; Quirós Castillo 2013; Iacumin et al. 2014; Alexander et al. 2015). Although 433 faith-based differences in the consumption of marine resources might be anticipated there is 434 little evidence to support this view. Fish did not contribute significantly to population level diet 435 in the western Mediterranean despite the widely held view that fish would have been consumed 436 by Christians on fast days. This may relate to the high cost of fish and the limited impact of 437 meat abstinence on other than the highest status households (Dyer 1983; Adamson 2004). On 438 Ibiza, from Punic times and throughout the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, there is a little 439 to no input of marine resources evident in diet (e.g. Fuller et al. 2010; Salazar-García 2011): 440 this neglect of the sea foods continued into the medieval period. 441

442 Consumption of fish with scales is permissible under Islamic dietary law (Regenstein et al. 2003) and fish may have been important to the Islamic population at Tauste, Zaragoza, which 443 is located in the interior of north-east Spain on the banks of the River Arba. Adult  $\delta^{13}$ C values 444 range from -19.5% to -18.4% and  $\delta^{15}N$  values from 9.5% to 17.0% (Guede et al. 2015). 445 Guede et al. (2015) interpreted these values as indicative of a terrestrial  $C_3$  diet, explaining the 446 unusually elevated  $\delta^{15}$ N values as the result of aridity and/or salinity rather than the 447 consumption of marine resources owing to the inland location of the site. However, <sup>15</sup>N 448 enrichment is not evident in the contemporary population from the nearby site at Zaragoza 449 (Mundee 2009; Quirós Castillo 2013). An alternative interpretation for  $\delta^{13}$ C values in the 450 terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> range along with very elevated  $\delta^{15}$ N values is the consumption of freshwater fish 451 (e.g. Bonsall et al. 1997; Fuller et al. 2012b), and an indicator of high status in mediaeval Spain 452 (García-Sánchez 2002). 453

454 Previous studies have identified sex-based differences in isotope values in mediaeval 455 populations that indicate differential access to resources (e.g. Reitsema and Vercellotti 2012; 456 Quirós Castillo 2013). Quirós Castillo (2013) argued that food was used as one expression of 457 the inequality of men and women in mediaeval Spain. However, this discrimination is not 458 universally manifest and is not evident at Can Fonoll nor at Colegiata de Santa Maria 459 (Alexander et al. 2015).

Diets of later mediaeval groups at Gandía (Benipeixcar versus Colegiata de Santa Maria) are 460 distinctive and, potentially, reflect religious practices (Alexander et al. 2015). Religious 461 affiliation was communicated through differences in diet, although Constable (2013) argued 462 that prior to the later mediaeval period the foodways of Christian, Jews and Muslims in Spain 463 were largely shared. On a wider geographic scale (i.e. above the level of individual 464 communities) differences in diet in Spain and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean in the 465 mediaeval period appear to be largely related to regional socioeconomic and environmental 466 considerations. It could be argued that this supports Constable's (2013) assertion that in the 467 468 earlier mediaeval period foodways were shared across faiths. However, identification of faithbased differences in diet may be obscured by the relatively small number and restricted 469 470 geographic range of populations that have been analysed to date. Another confounding factor is the difficulty of identifying faith from burial practice (e.g. Rutgers 1992). Further research 471 472 into the dietary patterns of different faith groups are warranted both on mainland Spain and in particular on Ibiza (where Islamic populations have been the focus of published studies) to 473 474 investigate the extent and cause(s) of dietary variability in mediaeval populations.

#### 475 CONCLUSION

The data presented add to our understanding of variation in diet in mediaeval Spain. Stable 476 carbon and nitrogen isotope ratio analysis of the Islamic population interred at Can Fonoll on 477 the island of Ibiza indicates, for most individuals, a diet based on C<sub>3</sub> terrestrial resources, with 478 479 meat or dairy produce likely important, reflecting the agricultural economy of this community. The wide range of stable isotope values points to differences in individual diet: a small number 480 of those interred at Can Fonoll consumed a significant proportion of C<sub>4</sub> resources in addition 481 to  $C_3$  foods, while one individual has a carbon isotope value suggesting dependence on  $C_4$ 482 483 resources. These individuals likely migrated to Ibiza from areas with distinct resources, and one possible place of origin is Africa. Similarly, differences in individual diet at other sites on 484 Ibiza and on mainland Spain, for example at Es Soto and Jaca, may also attest to residential 485 mobility, although differential access to resources relating to sex, status and labour cannot be 486 487 entirely discounted.

Further exploration of diet in mediaeval populations is required to fully appreciate the regional variability of diet and to assess the effects of the religious, social and economic changes brought in the first instance by the Moorish conquest in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD to the complete control of Christians in Spain by the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

492

#### 493 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge the support of J.J. Hublin, and this research was funded by the Max Planck 494 Society and the Chinese Academy of Sciences International Visiting Scholar Fellowship 495 (2016VBC002), and the National Natural Science Foundation of China Research Fund for 496 International Young Scientists (41550110224). The authors would like to thank Jonathon 497 Orellana and Joan Roig for all their work on the excavation and documentation of the skeletons 498 499 and for offering the facilities for the anthropological study. EK is grateful to Xenia-Paula Kyriakou, Sarah Harris, Cara Samuels, Carrie Spring Pacelli and Dara Fleming-Farrell, for 500 recording and analyzing the skeletal remains. Special thanks to Helen Langstaff for creating 501 and managing the databases. We would also like to thank the archaeologists who directed the 502 503 excavation at Can Fonoll, as well as the Ibizan authorities for their support.

#### 505 **REFERENCES**

506 Adamson MW (2004) Food in Medieval Times. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press

Alexander MM, Gerrard CM, Gutiérrez A, Millard AR. (2015) Diet, society, and economy in
late medieval Spain: Stable isotope evidence from Muslims and Christians from Gandía,
Valencia. Am J Phys Anthropol 156:263–273. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22647

- 510 Alonso N, Antolín F, Kirchner H (2014) Novelties and legacies in crops of the Islamic period
- 511 in the northeast Iberian Peninsula: The archaeobotanical evidence in Madîna Balagî, Madîna
- 512 Lârida, and Madîna Turțûša. Quat Int 346: 149–161. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2014.04.026
- Alonso Martinez N (2005) Agriculture and food from the Roman to the Islamic Period in the
- 514 North-East of the Iberian peninsula: archaeobotanical studies in the city of Lleida (Catalonia,
- 515 Spain). Veget Hist Archaeobot 14: 341–361. doi:10.1007/s00334-005-0089-4
- Ambrose SH, DeNiro MJ (1986) Reconstruction of African human diet using bone collagen
  carbon and nitrogen isotope ratios. Nature 319: 321–324. doi:10.1038/319321a0
- 518 Ambrose SH, Norr L (1993) Experimental evidence for the relationship of the carbon isotope
- ratios of whole diet and dietary protein to those of bone collagen and carbonate. In: Lambert
- 520 JB, Grupe G, editors. Prehistoric Human Bone: Archaeology at the Molecular Level. Berlin:
- 521 Springer Verlag, pp. 1–37
- An C, Dong W, Li H, Zhang P, Zhao Y, Zhao X, Yu Sh. 2015. Variability of stable carbon isotope ratio in modern and archaeological millets: evidence from northern China. J Archaeol
- 524 Sci 53:316–322. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2014.11.001
- Araus JL, Febrero A, Buxo R, Camalich, MD, Martin D, Molina F, Rodriguez-Ariza MO,
  Romagosa I (1997) Changes in carbon isotope discrimination in grain cereals from different
  regions of the western Mediterranean Basin during the past seven millennia.
  Palaeoenvironmental evidence of a differential change in aridity during the late Holocene.
  Global Change Biology 3:107–118. doi:10.1046/j.1365-2486.1997.00056.x
- Badalamenti F, D'Anna G, Pinnegar J, Polunin N (2002) Size-related trophodynamic changes
  in three target fish species recovering from intensive trawling. Mar Biol 141:561–570.
  doi:10.1007/s00227-002-0844-3
- Bocherens H, Drucker D (2003) Trophic level isotopic enrichment of carbon and nitrogen in
  bone collagen: case studies from recent and ancient terrestrial ecosystems. Int J Osteoarchaeol
  13:46–53. doi:10.1002/oa.662
- 536 Bogaard A, Fraser R, Heaton THE, Wallace M, Vaiglova P, Charles M, Jones G, Evershed RP,
- 537 Styring AK, Andersen NH, Arbogast R-M, Bartosiewicz L, Gardeisen A, Kanstrup M, Maier
- 538 U, Marinova E, Ninov L, Schäfer M, Stephan E (2013) Crop manuring and intensive land
- 539 management by Europe's first farmers. Proc Natl Acad Sci USA 110:12589-12594.
- 540 doi:10.1073/pnas.1305918110

541 Bolens L (1978) La Révolution agricole andalouse du XIe siècle. Studia Islamica 47: 121–141.

Bonsall C, Cook GT, Hedges REM, Higham TFG, Pickard C, Radovanovic I (2004)
Radiocarbon and stable isotope evidence of dietary change from the Mesolithic to the middle
ages in the Iron Gates: new results from Lepenski Vir. Radiocarbon 46:293–300.
doi:10.2458/azu\_js\_rc.46.4269

Bonsall C, Lennon R, McSweeney K, Stewart C, Harkness D, Boroneanţ (1997) Mesolithic
and Early Neolithic in the Iron Gates: a palaeodietary perspective. J Eur Archaeol 5:50–92.
doi:10.1179/096576697800703575

- Bourbou C, Fuller BT, Garvie-Lok SJ, Richards MP (2011) Reconstructing the diets of Greek
  Byzantine populations (6th–15th centuries AD) using carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios.
  Am J Phys Anthropol 146:569–581. doi:10.1002/ajpa.21601
- 552 Brickley M, Mckinley JI, eds (2004) Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human 553 Remains. Institute of Field Archaeologists Paper 7. Southampton and Reading, British 554 Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology and Institute of Field 555 Archaeologists
- Brown TA, Nelson DE, Vogel JS, Southon JR (1988) Improved collagen extraction by
  modified Longin method. Radiocarbon 30:171–177. doi:10.2458/azu js rc.30.1096
- 558 Buikstra JE, Ubelaker DH, eds (1994) Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal 559 Remains. Fayetteville, Arkansas, Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series No. 44
- Burns RI (2015) Islam under the crusaders: colonial survival in the thirteenth-century kingdom
   of Valencia. Princeton, Princeton University Press
- Castro OJ (2009) La intervenció arqueològica al sector IV de la necropolis medieval islàmica
  de Can Fonoll, durant el seguiment arqueològic del nou accés a l'aeroport d'Evissa. Quaderns
  d'Arqueologia Ebusitana I:112–119
- Chisholm BS, Nelson E, Schwarcz HP (1982) Stable-Carbon Isotope Ratios as a Measure of
  Marine Versus Terrestrial Protein in Ancient Diets. Science 216:1131–1132.
  doi:10.1126/science.216.4550.1131
- 568 Commendador AS, Dudgeon JV, Finney BP, Fuller BT, Esh KS (2013) Stable isotope ( $\delta^{13}$ C 569 and  $\delta^{15}$ N) perspective on human diet on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) c.a. 1400-1900 AD. Am J 570 Phys Anthropol 152:173–185. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22339
- 571 Constable OR (2013) Food and Meaning: Christian understandings of Muslim food and food
- 572 ways in Spain, 1250-1550. Viator 44:199–236. doi:10.1484/J.VIATOR.1.103484
- 573 Craig OE, Biazzo M, O'Connell TC, Garnsey P, Martinez-Labarga C, Lelli R, Salvadei L,
- 574 Tartaglia G, Nava A, Renò L, Fiammenghi A, Rickards O, Bondioli L (2009) Stable Isotopic
- 575 Evidence for Diet at the Imperial Roman Coastal Site of Velia (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Centuries AD) in
- 576 Southern Italy. Am J Phys Anthropol 139: 572–583. doi: 10.1002/ajpa.21021

- 577 Craig OE, Bondioli L, Fattore L, Higham T, Hedges R (2013) Evaluating marine diets through
- radiocarbon dating and stable isotope analysis of victims of the AD79 eruption of Vesuvius.
- 579 Am J Phys Anthropol 152:345–352. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22352
- 580 Davies PR (2014) Ibiza and Formentera's Heritage: A Non-Clubber's Guide. Ibiza, Barbary
  581 Press
- 582 Dembińska M (1999) Food and Drink in Medieval Poland. Rediscovering a cuisine of the past.
- 583 (Translated by M. Thomas. Revised and adapted by William Woys Weaver). Philadelphia,
- 584 University of Pennsylvania Press
- 585 DeNiro MJ (1985) Postmortem preservation and alteration of *in vivo* bone collagen isotope 586 ratios in relation to palaeodietary reconstruction. Nature 317:806–809. doi:10.1038/317806a0
- DeNiro MJ, Epstein S (1978) Influence of diet on the distribution of carbon isotopes in animals.
  Geochim Cosmochim Ac 42:495–506. doi:10.1016/0016-7037(78)90199-0
- DeNiro MJ, Schoeninger MJ (1983) Stable carbon and nitrogen isotope ratios of bone collagen:
   variations within individuals, between sexes, and within populations raised on monotonous
   diets. J Archaeol Sci 10:199–203. doi:10.1016/0305-4403(83)90002-X
- 592 Dyer CM (1983) English diet in the later Middle Ages. In: Aston TH, Cross PR, Dyer C, Thirsk
  593 J (eds) Social relations and ideas: essays in honour of RH Hilton. Cambridge, Cambridge
  594 University Press, pp. 191–216
- Fraser R, Bogaard A, Heaton T, Charles M, Jones G, Christensen BT, Halstead P, Merbach I,
  Poulton PR, Sparkes D, Styring AK (2011) Manure and stable isotope ratios in cereals and
  pulses: towards a new archaeobotanical approach to the inference of land use and dietary
  practices. J Archaeol Sci 38:2790–2804. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2011.06.024
- 599 Fuller BT, Fuller JL, Sage NE, Harris DA, O'Connell TC, Hedges REM (2005) Nitrogen 600 balance and  $\delta^{15}$ N: why you're not what you eat during nutritional stress. Rapid Commun Mass 601 Sp 19:2497–2506. doi:10.1002/rcm.2090
- Fuller BT, Márquez-Grant N, Richards MP (2010) Investigation of Diachronic Dietary Patterns
  on the Islands of Ibiza and Formentera, Spain: Evidence from Carbon and Nitrogen Stable
  Isotope Ratio Analysis. Am J Phys Anthropol 143:512–522. doi:10.1002/ajpa.21334
- Fuller BT, De Cupere B, Marinova E, van Neer W, Waelkens M, Richards MP (2012a) Isotopic
  reconstruction of human diet and animal husbandry practices during the Classical-Hellenistic,
  Imperial and Byzantine Periods at Sagalassos, Turkey. Am J Phys Anthropol 149:157–171.
  doi:10.1002/ajpa.22100
- Fuller BT, Müldner G, Van Neer W, Ervynck A, Richards MP (2012b) Carbon and nitrogen
  stable isotope ratio analysis of freshwater, brackish and marine fish from Belgian
  archaeological sites (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium AD). J Anal Atom Spectrom 27:807–820.
  doi:10.1039/C2JA10366D

- Galloway JH (2005) The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its Origins to
   1914. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- 615 García-Sánchez E (1996) La alimentación popular urbana en al-Andalus. Arqueología
- 616 medieval 4:219–36
- García-Sánchez E (2002) Dietetic aspects of food in Al-Andalus. In: Waines D (ed) Patterns
  of Everyday Life. Hampshire, Ashgate, pp. 275–288
- 619 Garnero P, Sornay-Rendu E, Chapuy M-C, Delmas PD (1996) Increased bone turnover in late
- 620 postmenopausal women is a major determinant of osteoporosis. J Bone Miner Res 11:337–349.
- 621 doi:10.1002/jbmr.5650110307
- Garvie-Lok S (2001) Loaves and fishes: a stable isotope reconstruction of diet in Medieval
  Greece. PhD Dissertation, University of Calgary, Calgary
- 624 Grewe R (1981) Catalan Cuisine, in an Historical Perspective. In: Davidson A (ed.) National
- and Regional Styles of Cookery. Oxford Symposium 1981 Proceedings. Oxford, Oxford
- 626 University Press, pp. 170–178
- 627 Guede I, Ortega LA, Zuluaga MC, Alonso A, Muerlaga X, Pina M, Gutiérrez FJ (2015)  $\delta^{13}$ C,
- 628  $δ^{15}$ N y paleodieta en restos humanos de la necropolis islámica medieval de Tauste (Zaragoza).
- 629 Revista de la Sociedad Española de Mineralogía 20:69–70
- 630 Gurrea Barricarte R, Martín Parrilla Á (2016) Eivissa-Història-Època andalusina.
  631 L'Enciclopèdia d'Eivissa i Formentera. Consell d'Eivissa. www.eeif.es
- Hedges REM (2004) Isotopes and red herrings: comments on Milner et al. and Lidén et al.
  Antiquity 78:34–37. doi:10.1017/S0003598X00092905
- 634 Hedges REM, Clement JG, Thomas CD, O'Connell TC (2007) Collagen turnover in the adult
- 635 femoral mid-shaft: modeled from anthropogenic radiocarbon tracer measurements. Am J Phys
- 636 Anthropol 133:808–816. doi:10.1002/ajpa.20598
- Hedges REM, Reynard LM (2007) Nitrogen isotopes and the trophic level of humans in
  archaeology. J Archaeol Sci 34:1240–1251. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2006.10.015
- Iacumin P, Galli E, Cavalli F, Cecere L. 2014. C4-Consumers in Southern Europe: The Case
  of Friuli V.G. (NE-Italy) During Early and Central Middle Ages. Am J Phys Anthropol 154:
  561–574. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22553
- Katzenberg MA (2000) Stable isotope analysis: a tool for studying past diet, demography and
  life history. In: Katzenberg MA, Saunders SA (eds) Biological Anthropology of the Human
  Skeleton. New York, Wiley-Liss, pp. 305–328
- Keenleyside A, Schwarcz H, Panayotova K (2006) Stable isotopic evidence of diet in a Greek
  colonial population from the Black Sea. J Archaeol Sci 33:1205–1215.
- 647 doi:10.1016/j.jas.2005.12.008

- Kirchner H (2009a) Original design, tribal management and modifications in medieval
  hydraulic systems in the Balearic Islands (Spain). World Archaeol 41: 151-168.
  doi:10.1080/00438240802668222
- 651 Kirchner H (2009b) Watermills in the Balearic Islands during the Muslim period. In: Klápště
- 652 J, Sommer P (eds) Processing, Storage, Distribution of Food. Food in the Medieval Rural
- Environment. Ruralia VIII, 7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> September 2009, Lorca, Spain. Turnhout, Belgium, Brepols
- 654 Pub, pp. 45–55
- 655 Krueger HW, Sullivan CH (1984) Models for carbon isotope fractionation between diet and
- 656 bone. In: Turnlund JE, Johnson PE (eds) Stable Isotopes in Nutrition American Chemical
- 657 Society Symposium Series 258. Washington DC, American Chemical Society, pp. 205–222
- 658 Kyriakou XP, Márquez-Grant N, Langstaff H, Fleming-Farrell D, Samuels C, Harris S, Pacelli
- 659 CS, Migliaccio F, Castro J, Roig J, Kranioti EF (2012) The Human Remains from the
- 660 Mediaeval Islamic Cemetery of Can Fonoll, Ibiza, Spain. In: Mitchell P, Buckberry J (eds)
- 661 Proceedings of the 12th Annual Conference for BABAO. Oxford, BAR International series
- 662 2380, pp. 87–101
- Lalueza-Fox C, González Martín A (1999) Oral pathology in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic
  Islands from the Mesolithic to present times. Homo 49:260–272
- Le Huray JD, Schutkowski H (2005) Diet and social status during the La Tène period in Bohemia: Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis of bone collagen from Kutná Hora-Karlov and Radovesice. J Anthropol Archaeol 24:135–147. doi:10.1016/j.jaa.2004.09.002
- Lee-Thorp JA (2008) On isotopes and old bones. Archaeometry 50: 925–950.
  doi:10.1111/j.1475-4754.2008.00441.x
- Lightfoot E, Liu X, Jones MK (2013) Why move starchy cereals? A review of the isotopic
  evidence for prehistoric millet consumption across Eurasia. World Archaeol 45:574–623.
  doi:10.1080/00438243.2013.852070
- Loftus E, Roberts P, Lee-Thorp JA (2016) An isotopic generation: four decades of stable
  isotope analysis in African archaeology. Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa 51:88–
  114. doi:10.1080/0067270X.2016.1150083
- Lubritto C, Sirignano C, Ricci P, Passariello I, Quirós Castillo JA (2013) Radiocarbon 676 chronology and paleo-diet studies on the medieval site of Zaballa (Spain): preliminary insights 677 678 into the social archaeology of the site. Radiocarbon 55:1222-1232. 679 doi:10.2458/azu js rc.55.16365
- Manolagas SC, Jilka RL (1995) Bone marrow, cytokines and bone remodeling. N Engl J Med
  332:305–11. doi:10.1056/NEJM199502023320506
- Márquez-Grant N (2005) The Presence of African Individuals in Punic Populations from the
  Island of Ibiza (Spain): Contributions from Physical Anthropology. Mayurqa 30: 611–637

Márquez-Grant N (2006) A bioanthropological perspective of the Punic period in Ibiza (Spain)
as evidenced by human skeletal remains. Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford

McGovern PE, Zhang JH, Tang JG, Zhang ZQ, Hall GR, Moreau RA, Nunez A, Butrym ED, 686 Richards MP, Wang CS, Cheng GS, Zhao ZJ, Wang CS (2004) Fermented beverages of pre-687 101:17593-17598. proto-historic China. Р Natl Acad Sci USA 688 and doi:10.1073/pnas.0407921102 689

- McMillan PG, Boone LJ (1999) Population History and the Islamization of the Iberian
  Peninsula: Skeletal Evidence from the Lower Alentejo of Portugal. Curr Anthropol 40:719–
  726
- Motuzaite-Matuzeviciute G, Staff RA, Hunt HV, Liu X, Jones MK (2013) The early
  chronology of broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) in Europe. Antiquity 338:1073–1085.
  doi:10.1017/S0003598X00049875
- Müldner G, Chenery C, Eckhardt H (2011) The 'Headless Romans': multi-isotope
  investigations of an unusual burial ground from Roman Britain. J Archaeol Sci 38:280–290.
  doi:10.1016/j.jas.2010.09.003
- Müldner G, Richards MP (2007) Stable isotope evidence for 1500 years of human diet in the
  city of York, UK. Am J Phys Anthropol 133:682–697. doi:10.1002/ajpa.20561
- Mundee M (2009) An isotopic approach to diet in Medieval Spain. In Baker S, Allen M, Middle
   S, Poole K (eds) Food and Drink in Archaeology 2. Nottingham, Prospect Books, pp. 64–72
- Murphy K (2011) A Meal on the Hoof or Wealth in the Kraal? Stable Isotoptes at Kgaswe and
  Taukome in Eastern Botswana. Int J Osteoarchaeol 21:591–601. doi:10.1002/oa.1166
- Murray M, Schoeninger MJ (1988) Diet, Status, and Complex Social Structure in Iron Age
  Central Europe: Some Contributions of Bone Chemistry. In: Gibson DB, Geselowitz M (eds)
  Tribe and Polity in Late Prehistoric Europe. New York, Plenum, pp. 155–176
- Naylor KE, Iqbal P, Fledelius C, Fraser RB, Eastell R (2000) The effect of pregnancy on bone
  density and bone turnover. J Bone Miner Res 15:129–137. doi:10.1359/jbmr.2000.15.1.129
- 710 Nehlich O, Fuller BT, Márquez-Grant N, Richards MP (2012) Investigation of Diachronic
- 711 Dietary Patterns on the Islands of Ibiza and Formentera, Spain: Evidence from Sulfur Stable
- 712 Isotope Ratio Analysis. Am J Phys Anthropol 149:115–124. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22104
- O'Connell TC, Kneale CJ, Tasevska N, Kuhnle GGC (2012) The diet-body offset in human
  nitrogen isotopic values: A controlled dietary study. Am J Phys Anthropol 149:426–443.
  doi:10.1002/ajpa.22140
- 716 O'Connor IA (2003) A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xátiva. 1240-1327.
  717 Boston, Brill

- Olsen KC, White CD, Longstaffe FJ, von Heyking K, McGlynn G, Grupe G, Rühli FJ (2014) Intraskeletal isotopic compositions ( $\delta^{13}$ C,  $\delta^{15}$ N) of bone collagen: nonpathological and pathological variation. Am J Phys Anthropol 53:598–604. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22459
- 721 Pate FM, Alvarez J, Phillips JD, Eiland BR (2002) Sugar cane as a Cattle Feed: Production and
- 722 Utilization. Bulletin No. 844. Gainsville, Department of Animal Sciences, Institute of Food
- 723 and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida
- Pechenkina EA, Ambrose SH, Ma X, Benfer RA Jr (2005) Reconstructing northern Chinese
  Neolithic subsistence practices by isotopic analysis. J Archaeol Sci 32:1176–1189.
  doi:10.1016/j.jas.2005.02.015
- Pinnegar JK, and Polunin NVC (2000) Contributions of stable-isotope data to elucidating food
  webs of Mediterranean rocky littoral fishes. Oecologia 122:399–409.
  doi:10.1007/s004420050046
- 730 Polunin NVC, Morales-Nin B, Pawsey WE, Cartes JE, Pinnegar JK, Moranta J (2001) Feeding
- relationships in Mediterranean bathyal assemblages elucidated by stable nitrogen and carbon
- isotope data. Mar Ecol-Prog Ser 220:13–23. doi:10.3354/meps220013
- Puy A, Balbo AL (2013) The genesis of irrigated terraces in al-Andalus. A geoarchaeological
- perspective on intensive agriculture in semi-arid environments (Ricote, Murcia, Spain). J Arid
  Environ 89: 45–56. doi:10.1016/j.jaridenv.2012.10.008
- Prowse T, Schwarcz HP, Saunders S, Macchiarelli R, Bondioli L (2004) Isotopic paleodiet
  studies of skeletons from the Imperial Roman-age cemetery of Isola Sacra, Rome, Italy. J
  Archaeol Sci 31:259–272. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2003.08.008
- Quintelier K, Ervynck A, Müldner G, Van Neer W, Richards MP, Fuller BT (2014) Isotopic 739 Examination of Links Between Diet, Social Differentiation, and DISH at the Post-Medieval 740 Friary of 741 Carmelite Aalst, Belgium. Am J Phys Anthropol 153:203-213. 742 doi:10.1002/ajpa.22420
- Quirós Castillo JA (2013) Los comportamientos alimentarios del campesinado medieval en el
  País Vasco y su entorno (siglos VIII–XIV). Historia Agraria 59:13–41
- Rees CE, Jenkins WJ, Monster J (1978) The sulphur isotopic composition of ocean water
  sulphate. Geochim Cosmochim Ac 42:377–381. doi:10.1016/0016-7037(78)90268-5
- Reitsema LJ (2013) Beyond diet reconstruction: Stable isotope applications to human
  physiology, health, and nutrition. Am J Hum Biol 25:445–456. doi:10.1002/ajhb.22398
- Reitsema LJ, Vercellotti G (2013) Stable isotope evidence for sex- and status-based variations
- in diet and life history at medieval Trino Vercellese, Italy. Am J Phys Anthropol 148: 589-
- 751 600. doi:10.1002/ajpa.22085

Richards MP, Hedges REM (1999) Stable isotope evidence for similarities in the types of
marine foods used by late Mesolithic humans at sites along the Atlantic coast of Europe. J
Archaeol Sci 26:717–722. doi:10.1006/jasc.1998.0387

Richards MP, Fuller BT, Hedges REM (2001) Sulphur isotopic variation in ancient bone
collagen from Europe: implications for human palaeodiet, residence mobility, and modern
pollutant studies. Earth Planet Sci Lett 191:185–190. doi:10.1016/S0012-821X(01)00427-7

Richards MP, Taylor G, Steele T, McPherron SP, Soressi M, Jaubert J, Orschiedt J, Mallye JB,
Rendu W, Hublin JJ (2008) Isotopic dietary analysis of a Neanderthal and associated fauna
from the site of Jonzac (Charente-Maritime), France. J Hum Evol 55:179–185.
doi:10.1016/j.jhevol.2008.02.007

Rösch M, Jacomet S, Karg S (1992) The history of cereals in the region of the former Duchy
of Swabia (Herzogtum Schwaben) from the Roman to the Post-medieval period: results of
archaeobotanical research. Veg Hist Archaeobot 1:193–231. doi:10.1007/BF00189499

Rutgers LV (1992) Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction of Jews and Non-Jews in Late
 Antiquity. Am J Archaeol 96:101–108. doi:10.2307/505760.

Salazar-García DC (2011) Patrón de dieta en la población púnica de Can Marines (Ibiza) a
través del análisis de isótopos estables (C y N) en colágeno óseo. SAGVNTVM (P.L.A.V.)
43:95–102. doi:10.7203/SAGVNTVM.43.1213

Salazar-García DC, Richards MP, Nehlich O, Henry AG (2014) Dental calculus is not
equivalent to bone collagen for isotope analysis: a comparison between carbon and nitrogen
stable isotope analysis of bulk dental calculus, bone and dentine collagen from same
individuals from the Medieval site of El Raval (Alicante, Spain). J Archaeol Sci 47:70–77.
doi:10.1016/j.jas.2014.03.026

Schoeninger MJ (2010) Diet reconstruction and ecology using stable isotope ratios. In: Larsen
 CS (ed) A companion to biological anthropology. Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 445–464

Schoeninger MJ, DeNiro MJ (1984) Nitrogen and carbon isotopic composition of bone
collagen from marine and terrestrial animals. Geochim Cosmochim Ac 48:625–639.
doi:10.1016/0016-7037(84)90091-7

Schoeninger MJ, van der Merwe NJ, Moore K, Lee Thorp J, Larsen (1990) Decrease in diet
quality between the Prehistoric and the Contact periods. In: Larsen CS (ed.) The Archaeology
of Mission Santa Catalina De Guale: 2. New York, American Museum of Natural History, pp.
78–93

- Schwarcz HP, Schoeninger MJ (2011) Stable Isotopes of Carbon and Nitrogen as Tracers for
  Paleo-Diet Reconstruction. In: Baskaran M (ed) Handbook of Environmental Isotope
  Geochemistry. Berlin/Heidelberg, Springer-Verlag, pp. 725–742
- Sealy JC, van der Merwe NJ, Lee-Thorp JA, Lanham JL (1987) Nitrogen isotope ecology in
  southern Africa: Implications for environmental and dietary tracing. Geochim Cosmochim Ac

- 789 51:2707–2717. doi:10.1016/0016-7037(87)90151-7
- Sealy J (2001) Body tissue chemistry and paleodiet. In: Brothwell DR, Pollard AM (eds)
  Handbook of Archaeological Sciences. Chichester, Wiley, pp. 269–279

Szpak P, Longstaffe FJ, Millaire J-F, White CD (2014) Large variation in nitrogen isotopic
composition of a fertilized legume. J Archaeol Sci 45:72–79. doi: 10.1016/j.jas.2014.02.007

Tafuri MA, Craig OE, Canci A (2009) Stable Isotope Evidence for the Consumption of Millet
and Other Plants in Bronze Age Italy. Am J Phys Anthropol 139:146–153.
doi:10.1002/ajpa.20955

Thorsen K, Kristoffersson A, Hultdin J, Lorentzon R (1997) Effects of moderate endurance
exercise on calcium, parathyroid hormone and markers of bone metabolism in young women.
Calcif Tissue Int 60:16-20. doi:10.1007/s002239900179

Tsutaya T, Yoneda M (2013) Quantitative reconstruction of weaning ages in archaeological
human populations using bone collagen nitrogen isotope ratios and approximate Bayesian
computation. PLoS ONE 8(8): e72327. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0072327

- Tykot RH (2004) Stable isotopes and diet: You are what you eat. In: Martini M, Milazzo M,
- 804 Piacentini M (eds) Physics Methods in Archaeometry. Proceedings of the International School
- of Physics "Enrico Fermi" Course CLIV. Amsterdam, IOS Press, pp. 433–444
- van der Merwe NJ, Vogel JC (1978) <sup>13</sup>C content of human collagen as a measure of prehistoric
  diet in Woodland North America. Nature 276:815–816. doi:10.1038/276815a0
- van Klinken GJ (1999) Bone collagen quality indicator for palaeodietary and radiocarbon
  measurements. J Archaeol Sci 26:687–695. doi:10.1006/jasc.1998.0385
- 810 Watson AM (1983) Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops
- and Farming Techniques, 700-1100. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge,
   Cambridge University Press.
- 813



815 Figure 1. Location of Can Fonoll, Ibiza, Spain.

- 819 Figure 2. Photograph of excavated graves at Can Fonoll necropolis (© Jonathan Castro
- 820 Orellana and Joan Roig).







- Figure 4. Scatterplot of stable isotope values of key Ibizan and Valencian Spanish mediaeval
- sites discussed.



830	Table 1. Mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ ) $\delta^1$	${}^{3}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ values	of animal remains	from Ibiza,	taken from Fuller
-----	--	-------------------------------------	-------------------	-------------	-------------------

et al. (2010).

Species	δ <sup>13</sup> C (‰)	δ <sup>15</sup> N (‰)	n
Cat	-19.0±0.1	9.4±0.4	7
Bird	-19.0±0.6	8.0±0.4	5
Dog	-18.8±0.3	10.3±0.6	23
Cow	-20.3±0.1	8.1±0.3	4
Sheep/goat	-19.8±0.7	6.5±2.3	14
Pig	-19.7	5.1	1

- Table 2. Mean±sd(1 $\sigma$ ) bone collagen  $\delta^{13}$ C and  $\delta^{15}$ N values of human remains from Ibiza and
- mediaeval populations from the Mediterranean region.

Site	Period	Affiliation	δ <sup>13</sup> C (‰)	δ <sup>15</sup> N (‰)	n	Reference
Ca na Costa, Ibiza	c. 2100 BC	Chalcolithic	-18.9±0.2	12.7±1.7	8	Fuller et al. 2010
Ses Païsses de Cala d'Hort, Ibiza	5 <sup>th</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> C BC	Punic (rural)	-18.7±0.3	12.5±0.5	38	Fuller et al. 2010
Puig des Molins, Ibiza	5 <sup>th</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> C BC	Punic (urban)	-18.8±0.3	11.3±0.7	8	Fuller et al. 2010
S'Hort des Llimoners Ibiza	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Late Antiquity- Early Byzantine	-19.0±0.4	11.1±1.1	60	Fuller et al. 2010
Can Marines, Ibiza	5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> C BC	Punic	-18.5±0.3	11.5±0.4	27	Salazar- García 2011
Es Soto, Ibiza	10 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Islamic)	-18.1±1.3	10.9±1.0	21	Fuller et al. 2010
Can Fonoll, Ibiza	10 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Islamic)	-19.0±1.3	10.3±0.8	112	This study
El Raval, Valencia	14 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Islamic)	-16.4±0.6	12.1±0.3	35	Salazar- García et al. 2014
Gandia (Benipeixcar), Valencia	13 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Islamic)	-16.4±0.9	10.7±0.6	20	Alexander et al. 2015
Gandia (Colegiata de Santa Maria), Valencia	13 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Christian)	-17.2±1.0	10.2±0.8	24	Alexander et al. 2015
Tauste, Zaragoza*	8 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval (Islamic)	Range -19.9 to -16.9	Range 9.5 to 17.5	30	Guede et al. 2015
Trino Vercellese, Northern Italy	8 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Early-Middle Mediaeval (Christian)	-19.1±0.7	9.2±0.8	28	Reitsema & Vercellotti 2012
Mainizza, Northern Italy	10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Middle Mediaeval (Christian/pagan?)	-15.9±1.4	7.7±1.0	16	Iacumin et al. 2014
Fruili-Venezia Giulia, Northern Italy	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Early Mediaeval	-16.6±0.9	8.4±0.8	66	Iacumin et al. 2014
Saint Tirso, Zaballa, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Middle Mediaeval	-19.8±0.7**	9.0±0.8**	14	Lubritto et al. 2013
Treviño, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval	-19.6±0.7	9.6±1.2	15	Quirós Castillo 2013
Zornoztegi, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval	-18±1.1	8.3±0.6	7	Quirós Castillo 2013
Aistra, Spain	8 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> C AD	Mediaeval	-19.0±1.0	7.9±1.1	35	Quirós Castillo 2013

\*- full data set was not published by Guede et al. (2015).

\*\*- infants excluded. 

#### Collagen $d^{15}N$ Site sector and yield d<sup>13</sup>C Sample Atomic number (‰) tomb number Sex (%) (‰) (%)C (%)N C:N Age S-EVA-18759 Sector I T-1 25-35 0.2 -20.6 10.4 22.7 3.4 М 7.8 -14.2 8.8 3.3 S-EVA-18760 Sector I T-2 18-25 М 0.1 10.3 24.9 ? -19.7 5.1 3.4 Sector I T-4 ? 0.1 11.6 14.9 S-EVA-18762 ? 25-35 -19.3 10.5 3.3 S-EVA-18763 Sector I T-5 0.6 10.8 29.8 ? S-EVA-18764 Sector I T-6 ? 0.8 -19.5 11.4 23.9 8.3 3.4 S-EVA-18765 Sector I T-7 18-25 F? 0.3 -19.4 10.8 20.4 7.0 3.4 S-EVA-18766 Sector I T-9 25-35 Μ 0.1 -19.1 10.8 19.9 6.9 3.3 ? S-EVA-18767 Sector I T-10 25-35 0.6 -19.1 10.3 33.9 12.0 3.3 ? 0.7 -19.1 10.9 11.8 3.3 S-EVA-18768 Sector II T-40 18-25 33.1 ? -19.2 9.3 S-EVA-18769 Sector II T-41 18-25 0.3 11.0 26.5 3.3 S-EVA-18770 Sector II T-43 18-25 F 0.5 -19.7 9.8 19.1 3.4 6.6 0.7 -19.2 10.3 37.9 13.3 3.3 S-EVA-18771 Sector II T-44 18-25 M? S-EVA-18775 Sector II T-48 18-25 0.9 -19.1 11.4 28.0 9.8 3.3 М 25-35 ? 0.5 -18.5 10.8 12.6 3.3 S-EVA-18776 Sector II T-49 35.4 ? -19.6 11.0 3.3 S-EVA-18779 Sector II T-52 18-25 0.6 12.1 31.5 -19.1 0.2 11.3 28.2 9.8 3.4 S-EVA-18781 Sector II T-54 18-25 Μ Sector II T-55 ? 0.2 -19.3 10.0 6.9 3.4 S-EVA-18782 18-25 20.0 Sector II T-61 ? 10-15 0.2 -19.8 10.8 4.0 3.6 S-EVA-18786 12.5 M? 0.9 -19.4 11.0 25.2 9.4 3.3 S-EVA-18787 Sector II T-62 18-25 -19.3 ? F 0.2 10.6 15.0 3.6 S-EVA-18788 Sector II T-63 3.6 S-EVA-18790 Sector II T-65 18-25 ? 0.5 -19.7 10.3 18.5 6.3 3.4 S-EVA-18791 Sector II T-66 18-25 М 1.2 -19.5 10.6 18.2 6.5 3.3 S-EVA-18793 Sector II T-68 25-35 ? 0.2 -19.3 11.0 15.3 5.1 3.5 S-EVA-18794 Sector II T-69 18-25 М 2.3 -18.7 8.4 15.7 5.3 3.4 S-EVA-18796 Sector II T-71 18-25 F 0.1 -19.4 10.1 14.6 4.7 3.6 ? 2 0.6 -19.1 9.9 25.2 9.0 3.3 S-EVA-18797 Sector II T-72 ? S-EVA-18799 Sector II T-74 0.4 -18.7 11.0 27.6 10.0 3.2 18-25 25-35 Μ 1.8 10.5 10.2 3.2 S-EVA-18800 Sector II T-75 -18.8 28.1 S-EVA-18801 Sector II T-76 ? -18.8 10.2 13.0 3.2 25-35 0.6 35.5 S-EVA-18802 Sector II T-77 18-25 F 2.4 -18.9 11.2 48.9 19.2 3.0 ? S-EVA-18803 Sector II T-78 ? 0.4 -18.9 11.3 29.7 10.5 3.3 F -19.3 3.4 25-35 0.4 8.8 14.1 4.8 S-EVA-18804 Sector III T-11 1.5 -19.2 8.2 5.6 3.3 S-EVA-18805 Sector III T-12 25-35 Μ 16.6 ? S-EVA-18806 Sector III T-13 ? 2.0 -19.0 11.3 12.4 4.1 3.5 25-35 S-EVA-18807 Sector III T-14 Μ 0.3 -14.9 11.0 29.6 10.6 3.2 ? -19.3 S-EVA-18809 Sector III T-16 18-25 0.4 10.2 33.3 12.3 3.2 S-EVA-18810 Sector III T-17 18-25 М 0.3 -18.5 10.7 22.6 8.2 3.2 ? ? S-EVA-18812 Sector III T-19 0.2 -19.3 9.7 26.9 9.4 3.3 ? 9.2 S-EVA-18813 Sector III T-20 25-35 0.6 -18.3 31.3 11.5 3.2 S-EVA-18814 Sector III T-21 18-25 Μ 0.7 -19.3 10.9 31.9 12.0 3.1 0.3 -19.4 10.2 13.4 S-EVA-18816 Sector III T-24 18-25 Μ 36.3 3.2 ? 1.5 -19.4 S-EVA-18817 Sector III T-27 10-15 10.5 47.1 18.6 3.0

#### 839 Table S1: Supplementary Information

-19.2

1.8

9.2

12.8

4.4

3.4

?

25-35

S-EVA-18818

Sector III T-31

S-EVA-18819	Sector III T-33	18-25	?	0.7	-19.3	9.7	27.2	9.9	3.2
S-EVA-18820	Sector III T-35	25-35	?	1.5	-19.1	8.3	18.1	6.6	3.2
S-EVA-18821	Sector III T-36	18-25	М	1.1	-19.7	9.8	10.9	3.8	3.4
S-EVA-18823	Sector III T-38	?	М	0.3	-19.1	9.9	26.3	9.5	3.3
S-EVA-18826	Sector IV T-80	35-45	М	0.2	-19.2	10.3	12.6	4.8	3.1
S-EVA-18828	Sector IV T-84	18-25	?	1.4	-18.6	9.8	10.4	3.9	3.2
S-EVA-18829	Sector IV T-86	18-25	М	0.5	-19.5	9.1	14.7	5.5	3.1
S-EVA-18830	Sector IV T-87	?	?	0.3	-18.8	11.0	24.4	8.9	3.2
S-EVA-18831	Sector IV T-88	18-25	М	1.0	-19.5	9.8	27.3	9.9	3.2
S-EVA-18832	Sector IV T-89	18-25	М	1.4	-19.3	9.9	13.8	5.1	3.2
S-EVA-18833	Sector IV T-90	10-15	?	1.3	-19.2	9.9	33.1	12.0	3.2
S-EVA-18835	Sector IV T-92	18-25	?	1.0	-19.1	11.1	35.8	13.0	3.2
S-EVA-18836	Sector IV T-93	25-35	М	3.0	-19.0	10.3	35.9	13.2	3.2
S-EVA-18837	Sector IV T-94	18-25	?	0.8	-18.8	10.7	34.3	12.4	3.2
S-EVA-18838	Sector IV T-95	18-25	F	1.3	-19.5	9.8	11.8	4.2	3.3
S-EVA-18839	Sector IV T-96	18-25	М	0.5	-19.4	9.6	19.6	6.8	3.4
S-EVA-18841	Sector IV T-99	25-35	М	0.3	-15.6	10.8	23.8	8.8	3.2
S-EVA-18842	Sector IV T-101	25-35	?	1.1	-19.4	9.9	12.1	4.5	3.1
S-EVA-18843	Sector IV T-103	18-25	F	2.7	-19.4	10.3	26.5	9.8	3.2
S-EVA-18844	Sector IV T-105	?	?	0.9	-19.7	9.3	11.6	4.3	3.2
S-EVA-18846	Sector IV T-108	18-25	?	0.7	-18.8	9.6	32.1	11.4	3.3
S-EVA-18847	Sector IV T-109	18-25	М	0.6	-19.1	10.3	17.7	6.3	3.3
S-EVA-18848	Sector IV T-100	?	?	0.4	-19.5	9.5	14.1	4.9	3.3
S-EVA-18849	Sector IV T-110	10-15	?	1.1	-19.3	10.2	29.1	10.5	3.2
S-EVA-18850	Sector IV T-111	18-25	?	1.2	-19.3	10.1	12.9	4.6	3.3
S-EVA-18851	Sector IV T-113	18-25	F	0.8	-19.0	11.7	40.2	14.3	3.3
S-EVA-18852	Sector IV T-114	25-35	F	1.6	-19.1	11.0	42.2	15.7	3.1
S-EVA-18853	Sector IV T-115	18-25	?	0.2	-19.5	10.4	10.6	3.4	3.6
S-EVA-18854	Sector IV T-117	18-25	?	1.3	-19.3	9.7	18.3	6.6	3.3
S-EVA-18855	Sector IV T-118	18-25	?	0.2	-19.5	10.8	17.7	6.0	3.4
S-EVA-18856	Sector IV T-119	18-25	F	0.2	-19.7	8.6	7.9	2.8	3.3
S-EVA-18857	Sector IV T-120	18-25	?	2.1	-19.0	9.8	47.2	17.5	3.2
S-EVA-18858	Sector IV T-121	25-35	F	0.3	-17.9	10.4	31.0	11.2	3.2
S-EVA-18859	Sector IV T-122	18-25	?	0.2	-20.0	7.0	3.1	1.2	3.2
S-EVA-18860	Sector IV T-123	1-5	?	0.2	-19.2	9.7	28.3	9.8	3.4
S-EVA-18861	Sector IV T-124	18-25	?	1.4	-18.8	10.2	40.6	15.1	3.1
S-EVA-18862	Sector IV T-125	15-18	?	0.1	-19.6	10.3	23.7	8.0	3.5
S-EVA-18863	Sector IV T-126	25-35	М	0.6	-18.9	12.0	8.8	3.1	3.3
S-EVA-18864	Sector IV T-127	18-25	F	0.4	-19.1	10.5	30.6	10.5	3.4
S-EVA-18865	Sector IV T-128	15-18	F	1.1	-19.3	9.8	39.0	14.2	3.2
S-EVA-18866	Sector IV T-129	18-25	F	0.3	-19.1	10.8	32.7	11.3	3.4
S-EVA-18867	Sector IV T-130	18-25	F?	0.1	-19.1	12.0	11.7	4.1	3.3
S-EVA-18868	Sector IV T-131	5-10	?	0.3	-19.5	9.8	11.1	3.7	3.5
S-EVA-18869	Sector IV T-132	25-35	F	1.4	-19.3	10.9	38.2	13.5	3.3
S-EVA-18870	Sector IV T-134	18-25	М	1.1	-18.6	10.9	26.2	9.4	3.2
S-EVA-18872	Sector IV T-136	18-25	?	1.5	-19.8	8.7	3.0	1.2	3.0
S-EVA-18873	Sector IV T-137	18-25	?	0.2	-19.5	9.3	26.3	8.9	3.4
S-EVA-18875	Sector IV T-140	25-35	F	0.3	-18.5	10.3	28.9	10.1	3.4

S-EVA-18876	Sector IV T-141	18-25	F	0.5	-19.1	10.1	32.9	11.2	3.4
S-EVA-18877	Sector IV T-142	18-25	?	0.4	-19.0	10.8	28.6	9.9	3.4
S-EVA-18878	Sector IV T-143	?	?	0.3	-19.3	10.5	36.6	12.2	3.5
S-EVA-18879	Sector IV T-144	10-15	?	1.2	-19.0	9.9	40.5	14.1	3.4
S-EVA-18880	Sector IV T-145	18-25	F?	1.0	-18.9	10.3	36.0	12.9	3.3
S-EVA-18881	Sector IV T-146	10-15	?	0.2	-19.3	10.3	25.6	8.7	3.4
S-EVA-18882	Sector IV T-147	10-15	?	1.5	-18.5	11.7	38.6	13.6	3.3
S-EVA-18883	Sector IV T-148	18-25	?	1.5	-18.9	10.3	35.5	12.6	3.3
S-EVA-18884	Sector IV T-149	18-25	?	0.4	-19.0	10.9	37.0	12.6	3.4
S-EVA-18885	Sector IV T-150	25-35	М	0.2	-19.0	10.8	23.1	8.0	3.4
S-EVA-18886	Sector IV T-151	5-10	?	0.3	-19.1	11.2	33.2	11.8	3.3
S-EVA-18887	Sector IV T-152	18-25	?	0.8	-18.8	10.8	30.4	10.8	3.3
S-EVA-18888	Sector IV T-153	?	?	0.9	-19.2	10.9	23.6	8.4	3.3
S-EVA-18889	Sector IV T-154	18-25	М	0.3	-19.0	11.1	38.5	13.5	3.3
S-EVA-18890	Sector IV T-155	18-25	M?	0.7	-8.6	10.2	33.3	12.1	3.3
S-EVA-18893	Sector IV T-158	18-25	F	0.5	-19.1	10.8	32.7	12.0	3.3
S-EVA-18894	Sector IV T-159	35-45	М	0.4	-19.0	10.2	30.1	10.7	3.4
S-EVA-18895	Sector IV T-239	?	?	0.3	-19.5	9.0	14.7	5.2	3.4
S-EVA-18898	Sector IV T-164	18-25	?	0.4	-19.0	10.6	35.8	13.5	3.4
S-EVA-18899	Sector IV T-165	10-15	?	0.4	-19.5	10.4	28.2	10.4	3.4
S-EVA-18900	Sector IV T-166	18-25	?	0.3	-19.7	11.0	31.1	11.1	3.5
S-EVA-18785	Sector II T-60	18-25	?	1.3	-	-	5.9	1.7	4.0
S-EVA-18824	Sector IV T-78	?	?	0.3	-	-	2.7	0.9	3.7
S-EVA-18871	Sector IV T-135	18-25	?	0.4	-	-	3.9	1.2	3.8
S-EVA-18896	Sector IV T-160	18-25	M?	0.1	-	-	11.0	2.4	5.4
S-EVA-18897	Sector IV T-163	18-25	F	1.6	-	-	40.5	11.4	4.3
S-EVA-18761	Sector I T-3	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18772	Sector II T-45	25-35	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18773	Sector II T-46	15-18	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18774	Sector II T-47	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18777	Sector II T-50	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18778	Sector II T-51	18-25	M?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18780	Sector II T-53	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18783	Sector II T-57	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18784	Sector II T-59	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18785	Sector II T-60	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18789	Sector II T-64	25-35	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18792	Sector II T-67	18-25	F?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18795	Sector II T-70	10-15	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18798	Sector II T-73	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18808	Sector III T-15	25-35	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18811	Sector III T-18	18-25	M?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18815	Sector III T-22	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18822	Sector III T-37	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18825	Sector IV T-79	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18827	Sector IV T-81	25-35	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18834	Sector IV T-91	25-35	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18840	Sector IV T-98	18-25	F	-	-	-	-	-	-

S-EVA-18845	Sector IV T-107	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18874	Sector IV T-138	18-25	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18891	Sector IV T-156	18-25	F?	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-EVA-18892	Sector IV T-157	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-