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

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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 ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) and  
24 nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) stable isotope ratios of bone collagen from 112 individuals. The mean $\pm$ sd( $1\sigma$ )  
25  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ( $-19.0\pm 1.3\text{‰}$ ) and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ( $10.3\pm 0.8\text{‰}$ ) values of the Can Fonoll population indicate a diet  
26 based largely on terrestrial C<sub>3</sub> resources. However, the wide range of both  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  ( $-20.6\text{‰}$  to  $-$   
27  $8.6\text{‰}$ ) and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  ( $7.0\text{‰}$  to  $12.1\text{‰}$ ) values attested at Can Fonoll indicate significant variation  
28 in individual diet. The elevated  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  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<sub>4</sub>  
30 resources, such as millet. Comparison of the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  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  
33 in diet but also points to widespread mobility within the Mediterranean Basin.

34 **Key Words: C<sub>4</sub>, Ibiza, Islamic, Millet, Stable Isotopes**

35

36 **INTRODUCTION**

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

46 Fuller et al. (2010) investigated the impact of cultural change on diet, one aspect of cultural  
47 behaviour through which identity may be expressed. Diet was reconstructed through carbon  
48 ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) and nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) stable isotope analysis of human bone collagen of archaeological  
49 Ibizan populations. This study suggested that there was a significant shift in diet associated  
50 with Moorish expansion into Ibiza. The Islamic population from the early mediaeval necropolis  
51 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  
52 greater reliance on  $\text{C}_4$  resources than earlier populations on Ibiza (Fuller et al. 2010; Nehlich  
53 et al. 2012). However, Ibiza town was an important centre for trade and the diet of the Es Soto  
54 population may not be representative of populations elsewhere on the island.

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

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

65

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

68

## 69 **RECONSTRUCTING DIET**

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

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

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

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

## 98 **Stable Isotope Analysis**

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

106 Plants in different environments (terrestrial [i.e.  $\text{C}_3$  vs  $\text{C}_4$ ], marine and freshwater) fix/acquire  
107 carbon during photosynthesis in different ways. Plants utilised as dietary staples generally fix  
108 carbon by one of two pathways, either the  $\text{C}_3$  or  $\text{C}_4$  pathway (DeNiro and Epstein, 1978;  
109 Krueger and Sullivan, 1984; Ambrose and Norr, 1993).  $\text{C}_3$  plants comprise most grasses and  
110 plants native to temperate regions, including oats, barley, wheat, and also rice.  $\text{C}_4$  plants include  
111 important cereal staples such as maize and millet.  $\text{C}_3$  plants generally have more depleted  $^{13}\text{C}$   
112 values than  $\text{C}_4$  plants. For example, a typical consumer of foods drawn from the terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$   
113 food web would have  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values between approximately  $-20\text{‰}$  and  $-18\text{‰}$ , while a consumer  
114 entirely dependent on resources from the  $\text{C}_4$  food web would be expected to have  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  around  
115  $-7.5\text{‰}$  (cf. van der Merwe and Vogel 1978; Tykot 2004). Marine plants also fix carbon by the  
116  $\text{C}_3$  pathway. However, the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values of marine plants are distinctive from those of terrestrial  
117  $\text{C}_3$  plants because marine carbon isotope ratios are enriched relative to atmospheric carbon  
118 isotope ratios (Tykot 2004). A typical consumer of predominantly marine resources might have  
119 isotope values of  $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -12\text{‰}$ . Although this overlaps with the carbon isotope values of  $\text{C}_4$   
120 consumers, the two dietary components can often be distinguished by  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  analysis.

121 It is widely accepted that nitrogen stable isotopes are enriched with each trophic level by c. 3–  
122 5‰ (Bocherens and Drucker 2003) and potentially by up to 6‰ (O'Connell et al. 2012;  
123 Iacumin et al. 2014). Human consumers of terrestrial resources will typically have  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values  
124 c. 6–10‰, but results can be variable due to differing environmental conditions and  
125 anthropogenic activities such as manuring (Tykot 2004; Lee-Thorp 2008; Fraser et al. 2011;  
126 Bogaard et al. 2013). Marine/freshwater food-chains are generally longer than terrestrial food-  
127 chains so consumers of aquatic resources tend to have higher  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values than consumers of

128 terrestrial resources (although see Hedges and Reynard [2007] for discussion of uncertainties  
129 in the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  trophic shift). This  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  difference between terrestrial and aquatic food-chains  
130 *generally* allows diets based on marine resources to be distinguished from those derived from  
131 the  $\text{C}_4$  food web.

132 Thus, co-analysis of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  isotope values can potentially distinguish between diets  
133 based on terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$  and  $\text{C}_4$  plant food web, freshwater and marine resources, and identify  
134 the trophic level of the consumer (e.g. Chisholm et al. 1982; Schoeninger and DeNiro 1984;  
135 Schwarcz and Schoeninger 2011). However, caution must be exercised in the interpretation of  
136 stable isotope results. A range of non-dietary factors can affect an individual's stable isotope  
137 values, such as pregnancy and disease (Fuller et al. 2005; Olsen et al. 2014). Furthermore,  
138 determining the relative contribution of plant vs animal protein in diet is complicated by  
139 uncertainties in the human-diet  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  trophic shift (Hedges and Reynard 2007).

#### 140 **CAN FONOLL – ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND**

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

152 The human remains were analysed in 2010 by a team from the University of Edinburgh, UK  
153 (Kyriakou et al. 2012). Bioarchaeological data, including demographic information, were  
154 collected following the recommendations of Brickley and McKinley (2004) and Buikstra and  
155 Ubelaker (1994), and were the focus of a separate publication (Kyriakou et al. 2012). Of the  
156 154 individuals, 112 were adults, 21 were juveniles and 21 had an unknown age at death.  
157 Amongst the adults, 23 were females or possibly female and 35 were males or possibly male  
158 (Kyriakou et al. 2012).

159

## 160 MATERIALS AND METHOD

161

### 162 Materials

163 Bone samples (ribs and long bones) for stable isotope analysis were obtained from 143 of the  
164 154 individuals, but only 112 of these yielded well-preserved collagen – these 112 samples  
165 are the focus of the current paper. They comprise 85 adults, 13 juveniles and 14 of unknown  
166 age (see also Table S1). Amongst the juveniles, one (7.6%) was in the age range 1–5 years,  
167 two (15.3%) in the 5–10 year age range, eight (61.5%) between 10 and 15 years and two  
168 (15.3%) in the 15–18 year age range.

169

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

177

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

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

181

### 182 Method

183 Bone collagen was extracted at the Department of Human Evolution, Max Planck Institute for  
184 Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig, Germany) following the procedure described in Richards  
185 and Hedges (1999) with the additional step of ultrafiltration by Brown et al. (1988). Each bone  
186 sample (~500 mg) was cleaned by air abrasion and placed in a 0.5 M HCl solution at 4 °C for  
187 ~2 weeks, with acid changes every 2 days. Demineralized samples were gelatinized at 70 °C in  
188 a pH=3 solution for 48 hours. After purification with a 5 $\mu\text{m}$  EZEE<sup>®</sup> filter, the solution was  
189 concentrated by Amicon<sup>®</sup> ultrafilters (<30 kDa), and then was frozen and freeze dried for 2  
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,  
192 Bremen, Germany). The results are reported in ‘per mil’ (‰) relative to the standards VPDB  
193 for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and AIR for  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ . The analytical precision is  $\pm 0.2\text{‰}$  for both  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ . Although  
194 the collagen yields are low, ranging from 0.1% to 3.0% (cf. van Klinken 1999), ultrafiltration  
195 isolation of well-preserved collagen is indicated by the atomic C:N ratio (Richards et al. 2008).  
196 A total of 112 (i.e. 79%) of the 143 individuals produced collagen with acceptable atomic C:N  
197 between 2.9–3.6 (DeNiro 1985), and five samples outside this range are omitted from the  
198 discussion below (see Table S1).

## 199 **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### 200 **Diet at Can Fonoll**

201 Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope values for the Can Fonoll population are presented in Table  
202 S1 and plotted in Figure 3. The mean $\pm$ sd( $1\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of the Can Fonoll population  
203 ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -19.0\pm 1.3\text{‰}$ ;  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 10.3\pm 0.8\text{‰}$ ,  $n=112$ ) are consistent with a diet based primarily on  
204 resources from the terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$  food web.

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

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

216 This interpretation is offered cautiously as in the Mediterranean region, identifying the  
217 consumption of marine foods is non-trivial (e.g. Prowse et al. 2004; Keenleyside et al. 2006;  
218 Craig et al. 2009). The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of modern fish caught in the Mediterranean Sea  
219 have been observed to vary widely and often have values similar to those of terrestrial foods  
220 (see Pinnegar and Polunin 2000, Garvie-Lok 2001; Polunin et al. 2001 and Badalamenti et al.  
221 2002). For example, the mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of fish captured off the southeast coast of



222 Ibiza were -17.8‰ and 11.3‰ respectively (Polunin et al. 2001). Furthermore, in individuals  
223 with relatively low protein diets, nutrient scrambling (Prowse et al. 2004; Craig et al. 2013)  
224 may result in carbon and nitrogen being drawn from different dietary constituents – carbon is  
225 assimilated from dietary carbohydrates and/or lipids in protein inadequate diets (Hedges 2004).  
226 These factors invalidate the notional linear correlation of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  in establishing the  
227 consumption of marine resources (see Schoeninger et al. 1990).

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

230

### 231 **Differences in individual diet**

232 The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of the Can Fonoll necropolis population exhibit wide ranges, which  
233 hint at intra-population differences in dietary intake (cf. DeNiro and Epstein 1978; DeNiro and  
234 Schoeninger 1983). Spanning approximately one trophic level, the range of  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values (from  
235 7.0‰ to 12.1‰) of the Can Fonoll population is large and is consistent with differences in  
236 individual diets. Two suspected statistical outliers (SPSS boxplot), individuals T-12 and T-122,  
237 have relatively low  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values, 8.2‰ and 7.0‰, respectively, compared to the population  
238 mean of 10.3‰. Both individuals are adult males. Their  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, -19.2‰ and -20.0‰,  
239 respectively are consistent with a diet based on  $\text{C}_3$  resources. These values possibly suggest  
240 that there were socio-economic or socio-religious restrictions to the consumption of animal  
241 products among the Can Fonoll population. Those individuals with lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values likely  
242 consumed a greater proportion of plant foods than those with higher values. However, the  
243 consumption of legumes, which fix atmospheric  $\text{N}_2$  and therefore have low  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values (Szpak  
244 et al. 2014), may mask animal protein intake. It is also important to note that non-dietary causes  
245 of  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  variability cannot be excluded (e.g. Reitsema 2013; Olsen et al. 2014).

246 The spread of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values is exceptionally large ranging from -20.6‰ to -8.6‰. Five of the  
247 individuals analysed are statistical outliers, with a further three individuals suspected statistical  
248 outliers. Four of these individuals (T1, T20, T121 and T122, see Table S1) have  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values  
249 that are typical of diets based on  $\text{C}_3$  resources. The other four (T-2, T-14, T-99 and T-155, see  
250 Table S1) have distinctive  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, higher than those generally observed for individuals  
251 subsisting exclusively on  $\text{C}_3$  terrestrial resources. Three of these individuals are firmly  
252 identified as males and one, T-155, is tentatively identified as male.

253 The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values of T-2, T-14, T-99 and T-155 ( $-14.2\%$ ,  $-14.9\%$ ,  $-15.6\%$  and  $-8.6\%$   
254 respectively) indicate that their diets were distinctive from the other individuals interred at Can  
255 Fonoll. Notably, the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of these individuals ( $10.3\%$ ,  $11.0\%$ ,  $10.8\%$  and  $10.6\%$ ,  
256 respectively) are similar to the population mean (i.e.  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 10.3\%$ ). The parsimonious  
257 explanation for the variation in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values of these four individuals, with no associated  
258 variation in  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values, is the consumption of varying proportions of  $\text{C}_4$  resources (cf. Müldner  
259 et al. 2011; and see Figure 3).

260 One explanation for these values potentially reflecting  $\text{C}_4$  resources is the consumption of  
261 millet. Millet, indigenous to Africa and Asia, was an important  $\text{C}_4$  crop cultivated in mediaeval  
262 Europe. The reported  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values for modern millet plants range from  $-10\%$  to  $-12\%$   
263 (McGovern et al. 2004; Pechenkina et al. 2005; An et al. 2015). Archaeobotanical remains  
264 indicate the presence of broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) in Europe from at least the  
265 later part of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Lightfoot et al. 2013; Motuzaitė-Matuzevičiūtė et al. 2013),  
266 and consumption of millet is evident in the isotope values of later prehistoric and Roman  
267 populations throughout Europe (Murray and Schoeninger 1988; Bonsall et al. 2004; Le Huray  
268 and Schutkowski 2005; Le Huray and Schutkowski 2005). However, it is generally thought  
269 that millet was viewed as a poor quality cereal (e.g. Iacumin et al. 2014), not used in the  
270 kitchens of the elite, and often grown as animal fodder (Adamson 2004).

271 Sugarcane (*Saccharum*), was also cultivated in mediaeval Europe (Galloway 2005). Sugarcane  
272 has a low crude protein content (Pate et al. 2002), and is therefore unlikely to have contributed  
273 directly to human bone collagen  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  in a protein adequate diet (cf. Hedges 2004). Elevated  
274  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values may result indirectly from the consumption of domesticates fed on sugarcane crops  
275 or stubble (Alexander et al. 2015). Animal collagen from the Islamic period of Ibiza, analysed  
276 by Fuller et al. (2010), show  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values no higher than expected for a diet based on  $\text{C}_3$  plants  
277 in the Mediterranean region with  $\delta^{13}\text{C} < -18\%$ . Araus et al. (1997) demonstrated that  
278 archaeological  $\text{C}_3$  cereal grains from Middle Neolithic to Iron Age sites in northeastern and  
279 southeastern Spain had  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values ranging from  $-24.5\%$  to  $-20.3\%$  (with average  $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -$   
280  $22.7\%$ ) – thus, there is no evidence for supplementation of domesticate diet in the Islamic  
281 period on Ibiza with  $\text{C}_4$  crops (i.e. neither with sugarcane nor millet).

282 There are no published reports of individuals from European sites with  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values as high as  
283 the Can Fonoll individual T-155 with  $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -8.6\%$  (cf. Lightfoot et al. 2013). Although it is  
284 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  
286 that individual T-155 spent much of his life elsewhere, in a region where C<sub>4</sub> resources were a  
287 dietary staple. Although millet was used widely across Europe in the mediaeval period (e.g.  
288 Rösch et al. 1992; Dembińska 1999), it does not appear to have been a significant component  
289 of the human diet in many areas. One exception to this was central Europe: documentary  
290 sources indicate that millet was one of the most commonly consumed grains in Poland from  
291 the early mediaeval period up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD (Dembińska 1999). It is also possible, and  
292 more probable given the historical context of Ibiza, that individual T-155 (and arguably all four  
293 of the individuals at Can Fonolls with atypical  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values) had migrated to Ibiza from northern  
294 or sub-Saharan Africa (cf Márquez-Grant 2005) shortly before death. Determining how  
295 recently before death these individuals migrated to Ibiza is complex for two reasons. First, the  
296 lack of knowledge of provenance and consequently the baseline isotope values of foods  
297 consumed prior to moving to Ibiza: second, the variation in bone collagen turnover rate, which  
298 depends on developmental stage (e.g. Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013), sex (e.g. Garnero et al. 1996),  
299 parturition (e.g. Naylor et al. 2000), skeletal element sampled (e.g. Manolagas and Jilka 1995),  
300 as well as behaviour (e.g. Thorsen et al. 1997).

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

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

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

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

328 The dataset of the males and females is not normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilk test,  $p=0.000$ ,  
329  $p=0.032$  for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , respectively). The mean±sd(1σ)  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of the males  
330 ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -18.4 \pm 2.3\text{‰}$ ;  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 10.4 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$ , n=31) and females ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -19.1 \pm 0.4\text{‰}$ ;  $\delta^{15}\text{N} =$   
331  $10.4 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$ , n=20) at Can Fonoll are not statistically different (Mann Whitney U-test,  $p = 0.361$   
332 and  $p = 0.953$  for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , respectively) indicating that the diets of males and females  
333 are broadly similar at the population level.

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

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

344 Individuals interred at Es Soto, which is located in Ibiza town, an important urban centre of  
345 trade in the mediaeval period, potentially had greater access to imported foodstuffs, as well as  
346 marine resources, than their rural counterparts at Can Fonoll. Mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values of the farming  
347 community at Can Fonoll (as well as the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values of the herbivores from Es Soto, all of

348 which have  $\delta^{13}\text{C} > -18\text{‰}$ ) argues against the local cultivation of  $\text{C}_4$  cereals. It is also possible  
349 that the difference between the two sites relates to the large number of recent migrants to Ibiza  
350 at Es Soto with ‘remnant’ isotope signatures. Nehlich et al. (2012) established that 18 of 20  
351 individuals sampled had  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  values outside the local range indicating that they were not native  
352 to Ibiza.

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

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

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

366 . [about here]

367 As at Can Fonoll, the wide spread of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  (from  $-19.4\text{‰}$  to  $-13.1\text{‰}$ ) values evident in the Es  
368 Soto population suggested variation in individual diet (Fuller et al. 2010). Nehlich et al. (2012)  
369 established, through the co-analysis of bone collagen  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  and  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  values, that the Es  
370 Soto population was not consuming marine foods. The mean $\pm$ sd( $1\sigma$ )  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  value of this group  
371 is  $9.1\pm 2.7\text{‰}$  ( $n=20$ ); consumers of marine resources generally have more elevated  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  values  
372 reflecting that of marine sulphate c.  $+21\text{‰}$  (Rees et al. 1978; Richards et al. 2001). Thus,  
373 variation of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values in the Es Soto group likely reflects differential consumption of  $\text{C}_4$   
374 foods (Fuller et al. 2010; Nehlich et al. 2012). Individual ES-T18-2 (with  $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -13.1\text{‰}$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$   
375  $= 12.5\text{‰}$  and  $\delta^{34}\text{S} = 10.2\text{‰}$ ) was interpreted as having consumed a significant proportion of  
376  $\text{C}_4$  resources (Fuller et al. 2010). In addition, this individual has a  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  value that lies outside  
377 the local range indicating that ES-T18-2 had migrated to Ibiza (Nehlich et al. 2012). The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$   
378 and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of this individual are typical of the values of African groups subsisting

379 predominantly by pastoralism with C<sub>4</sub> cereals as well as wild C<sub>3</sub> plants (cf. Ambrose and  
380 DeNiro 1986). However, similar carbon and nitrogen isotope values are also evident in later  
381 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<sub>3</sub>  
383 resources. Mediaeval populations from the Basque region as well as in Aragon in northern  
384 Spain also had diets of mainly C<sub>3</sub> foods (Mundee 2009; Lubritto et al. 2013; Quirós Castillo  
385 2013). However, within this general pattern there is some variation, which has often been  
386 linked to status. At Jaca in Aragon, a small number of individuals (4 of 27 sampled) with  
387 atypical  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values likely consumed greater quantities of C<sub>4</sub> foods and may have been non-  
388 local (Mundee 2009). High status populations interred at Saint Tirso monastery, Zaballa, and  
389 at Treviño Castle have mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values consistent with an exclusively C<sub>3</sub> diet. Mean  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$   
390 values similar to that of carnivores were interpreted as evidence for the importance of animal  
391 resources to diet (Lubritto et al. 2013; Quirós Castillo 2013). Lower mean  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  and a wider  
392 range of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, particularly among the middle mediaeval inhabitants at Aistra, indicated  
393 that plant foods and to some extent C<sub>4</sub> plant foods likely comprised a higher proportion of diet.  
394 The consumption of C<sub>4</sub> cereals was attributed to the lower status of individuals at this rural site  
395 (Quirós Castillo 2013). Slightly elevated mean  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  at the Santa Maria church cemetery at  
396 Zornoztegi suggests that C<sub>4</sub> resources were consumed, probably indirectly, reflecting the use  
397 of C<sub>4</sub> grains as feed for domestic fowl (Quirós Castillo 2013).

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

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

413 The emphasis on  $\text{C}_4$  foods in Valencia reflects the ready adoption of new crops in Spain under  
414 Moorish influence (Galloway 2005). Cultivation of sugarcane, which was evident in southern  
415 Spain from at least the early 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, grew in economic importance from 1300-1500  
416 AD. Valencia was one of the most northerly outposts of sugarcane cultivation in Europe,  
417 although the crop does not appear to have been cultivated on Ibiza (cf. Galloway 2005).

418 Elsewhere in the western Mediterranean region there is similar variation in stable isotope  
419 signatures, and by inference, diet. At early to middle mediaeval sites in Friuli-Venezia, Giulia,  
420 in northeastern Italy, considerable variation in diet is evident with  $\text{C}_4$  cereals comprising from  
421 0% up to 29% of dietary protein (Iacumin et al. 2014). The consumption of millets was  
422 attributed by Iacumin et al. (2014) to the economic and social upheaval following the demise  
423 of the Roman Empire along with climatic deterioration resulting in reduced wheat production  
424 and reduced access to higher quality cereals among lower status individuals. By contrast, at  
425 Trino Vercellese in northwestern Italy, a necropolis which was in use between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the  
426 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, diet was dominated by terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$  resources with potentially a small  
427 proportion of  $\text{C}_4$  cereals. In the eastern Mediterranean there is little evidence in isotope  
428 signatures for the use of  $\text{C}_4$  resources in the Byzantine period: diets were dominated by  $\text{C}_3$   
429 resources with varying proportions of marine foods constituting an important but secondary  
430 source of protein (Bourbou et al. 2011).

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

442 Consumption of fish with scales is permissible under Islamic dietary law (Regenstein et al.  
443 2003) and fish may have been important to the Islamic population at Tauste, Zaragoza, which  
444 is located in the interior of north-east Spain on the banks of the River Arba. Adult  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values  
445 range from  $-19.5\text{‰}$  to  $-18.4\text{‰}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values from  $9.5\text{‰}$  to  $17.0\text{‰}$  (Guede et al. 2015).  
446 Guede et al. (2015) interpreted these values as indicative of a terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$  diet, explaining the  
447 unusually elevated  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values as the result of aridity and/or salinity rather than the  
448 consumption of marine resources owing to the inland location of the site. However,  $^{15}\text{N}$   
449 enrichment is not evident in the contemporary population from the nearby site at Zaragoza  
450 (Mundee 2009; Quirós Castillo 2013). An alternative interpretation for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values in the  
451 terrestrial  $\text{C}_3$  range along with very elevated  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values is the consumption of freshwater fish  
452 (e.g. Bonsall et al. 1997; Fuller et al. 2012b), and an indicator of high status in mediaeval Spain  
453 (García-Sánchez 2002).

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).

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



475 **CONCLUSION**

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

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

492

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504

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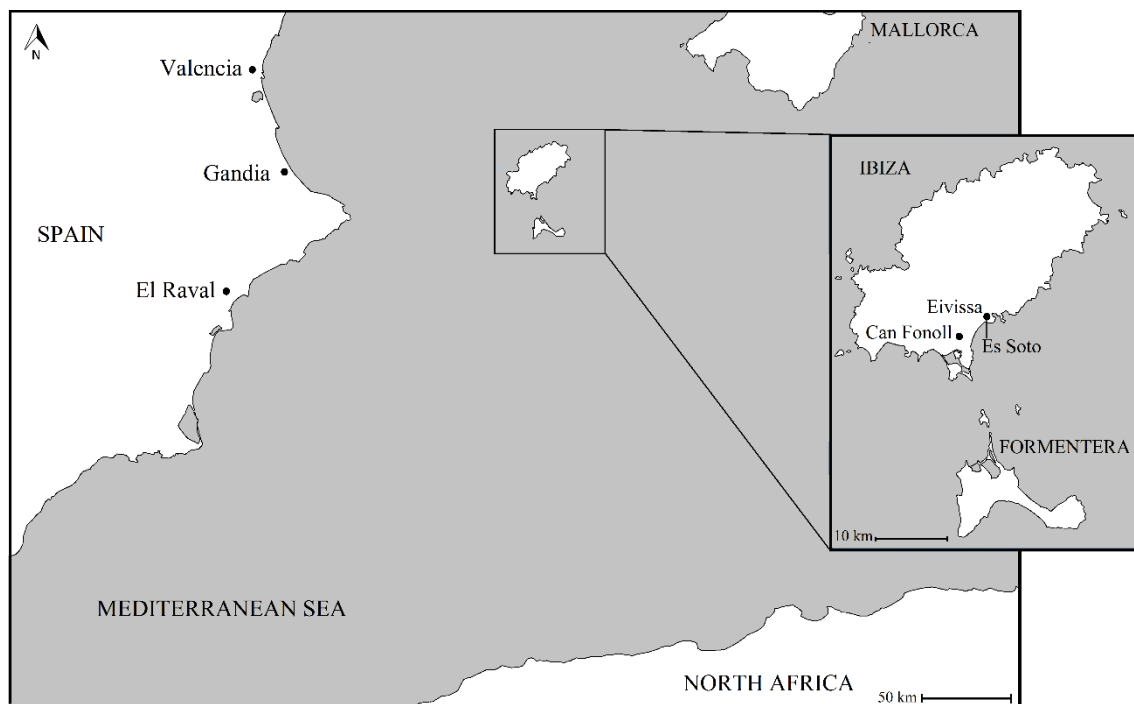
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815 Figure 1. Location of Can Fonoll, Ibiza, Spain.



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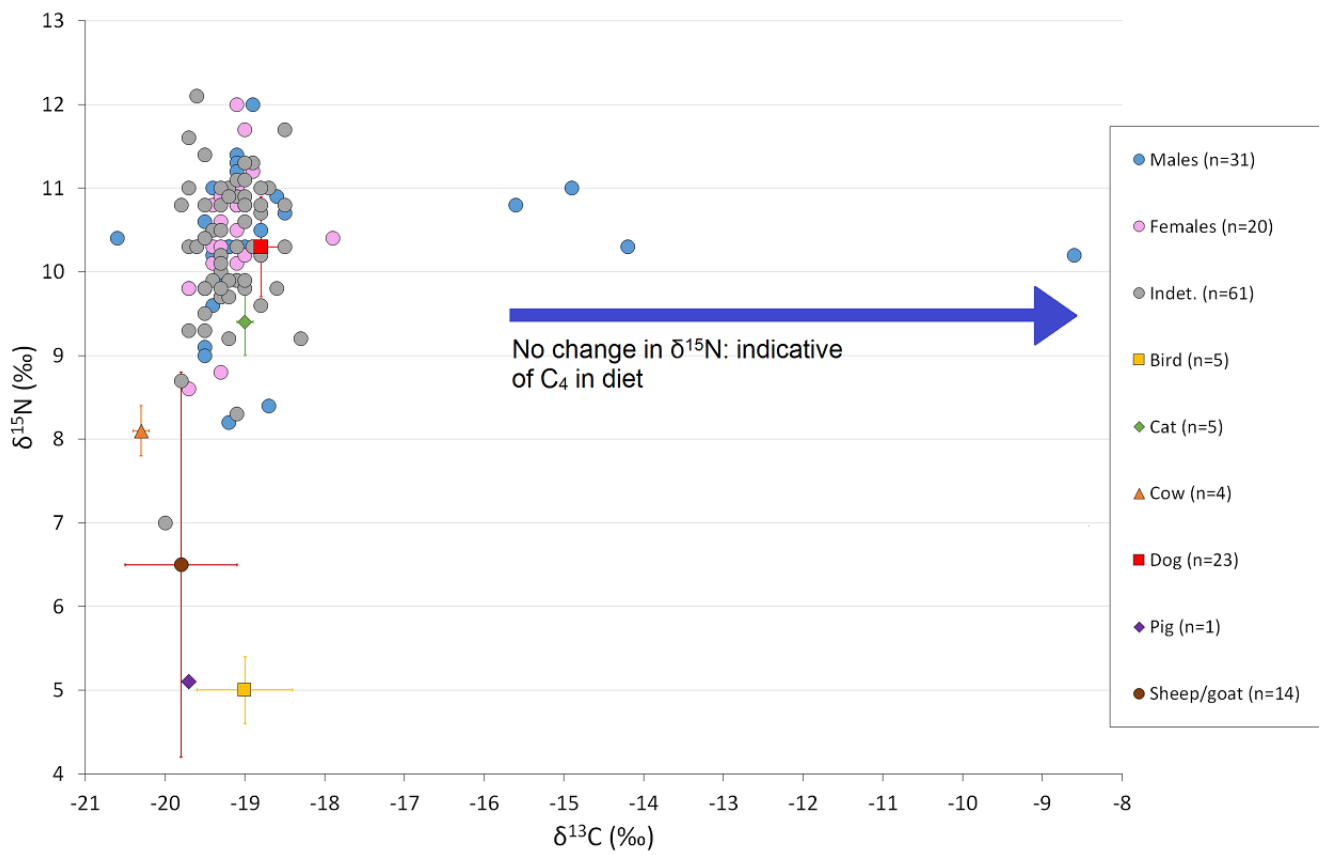
819 Figure 2. Photograph of excavated graves at Can Fonoll necropolis (© Jonathan Castro  
820 Orellana and Joan Roig).



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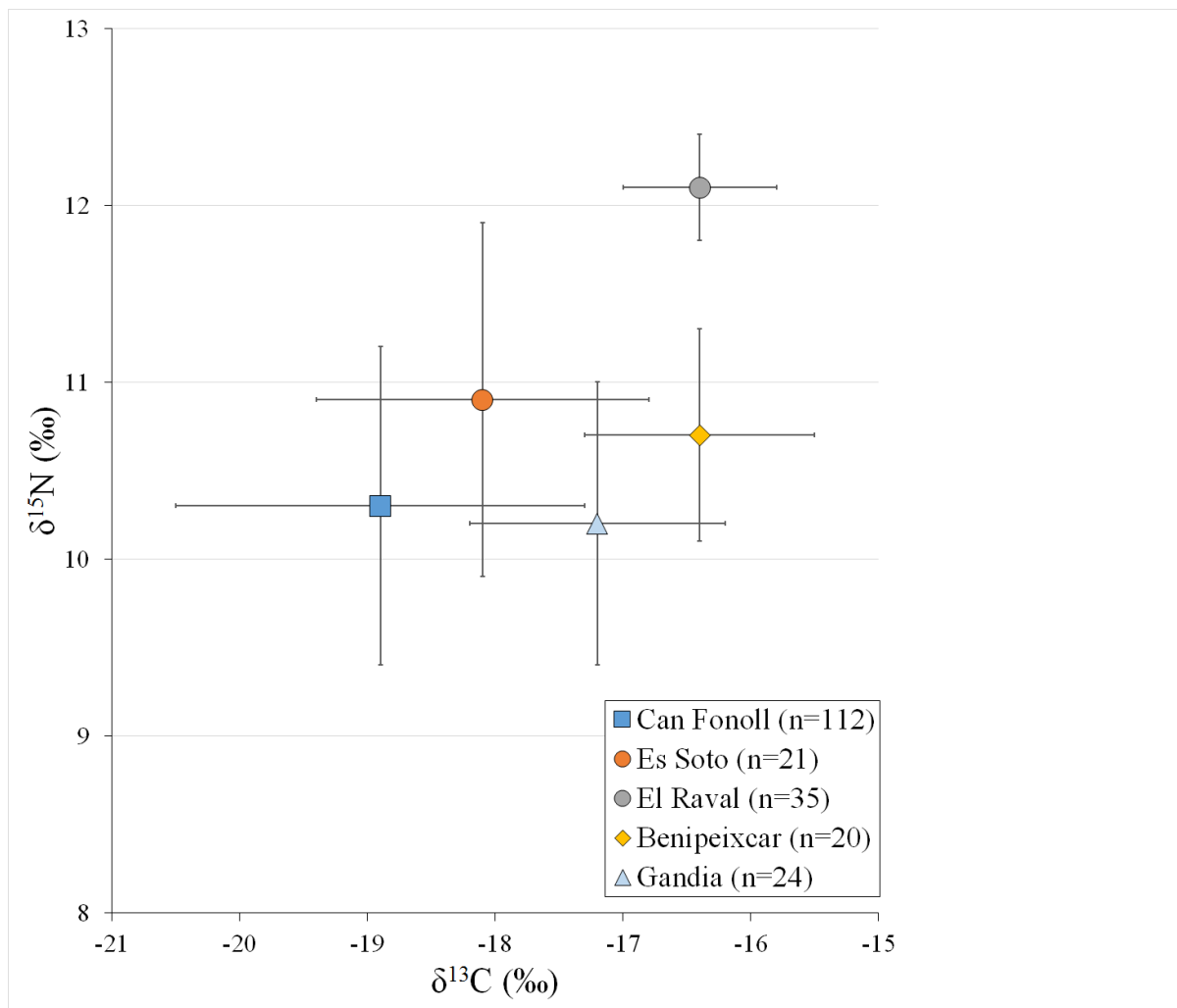
822

823 Figure 3. Scatterplot of mean $\pm$ sd(1 $\sigma$ )  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values for the Can Fonoll humans.



824

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



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829

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

Species	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	n
Cat	-19.0 $\pm$ 0.1	9.4 $\pm$ 0.4	7
Bird	-19.0 $\pm$ 0.6	8.0 $\pm$ 0.4	5
Dog	-18.8 $\pm$ 0.3	10.3 $\pm$ 0.6	23
Cow	-20.3 $\pm$ 0.1	8.1 $\pm$ 0.3	4
Sheep/goat	-19.8 $\pm$ 0.7	6.5 $\pm$ 2.3	14
Pig	-19.7	5.1	1

832

833 Table 2. Mean±sd(1σ) bone collagen δ<sup>13</sup>C and δ<sup>15</sup>N values of human remains from Ibiza and  
 834 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

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

836 \*\*- infants excluded.

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839 Table S1: Supplementary Information

Sample number	Site sector and tomb number	Age	Sex	Collagen yield (%)	d <sup>13</sup> C (‰)	d <sup>15</sup> N (‰)	(%)C	(%)N	Atomic C:N
S-EVA-18759	Sector I T-1	25-35	M	0.2	-20.6	10.4	22.7	7.8	3.4
S-EVA-18760	Sector I T-2	18-25	M	0.1	-14.2	10.3	24.9	8.8	3.3
S-EVA-18762	Sector I T-4	?	?	0.1	-19.7	11.6	14.9	5.1	3.4
S-EVA-18763	Sector I T-5	25-35	?	0.6	-19.3	10.8	29.8	10.5	3.3
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	M	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
S-EVA-18768	Sector II T-40	18-25	?	0.7	-19.1	10.9	33.1	11.8	3.3
S-EVA-18769	Sector II T-41	18-25	?	0.3	-19.2	11.0	26.5	9.3	3.3
S-EVA-18770	Sector II T-43	18-25	F	0.5	-19.7	9.8	19.1	6.6	3.4
S-EVA-18771	Sector II T-44	18-25	M?	0.7	-19.2	10.3	37.9	13.3	3.3
S-EVA-18775	Sector II T-48	18-25	M	0.9	-19.1	11.4	28.0	9.8	3.3
S-EVA-18776	Sector II T-49	25-35	?	0.5	-18.5	10.8	35.4	12.6	3.3
S-EVA-18779	Sector II T-52	18-25	?	0.6	-19.6	12.1	31.5	11.0	3.3
S-EVA-18781	Sector II T-54	18-25	M	0.2	-19.1	11.3	28.2	9.8	3.4
S-EVA-18782	Sector II T-55	18-25	?	0.2	-19.3	10.0	20.0	6.9	3.4
S-EVA-18786	Sector II T-61	10-15	?	0.2	-19.8	10.8	12.5	4.0	3.6
S-EVA-18787	Sector II T-62	18-25	M?	0.9	-19.4	11.0	25.2	9.4	3.3
S-EVA-18788	Sector II T-63	?	F	0.2	-19.3	10.6	15.0	3.6	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	M	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	M	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
S-EVA-18797	Sector II T-72	?	?	0.6	-19.1	9.9	25.2	9.0	3.3
S-EVA-18799	Sector II T-74	18-25	?	0.4	-18.7	11.0	27.6	10.0	3.2
S-EVA-18800	Sector II T-75	25-35	M	1.8	-18.8	10.5	28.1	10.2	3.2
S-EVA-18801	Sector II T-76	25-35	?	0.6	-18.8	10.2	35.5	13.0	3.2
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
S-EVA-18804	Sector III T-11	25-35	F	0.4	-19.3	8.8	14.1	4.8	3.4
S-EVA-18805	Sector III T-12	25-35	M	1.5	-19.2	8.2	16.6	5.6	3.3
S-EVA-18806	Sector III T-13	?	?	2.0	-19.0	11.3	12.4	4.1	3.5
S-EVA-18807	Sector III T-14	25-35	M	0.3	-14.9	11.0	29.6	10.6	3.2
S-EVA-18809	Sector III T-16	18-25	?	0.4	-19.3	10.2	33.3	12.3	3.2
S-EVA-18810	Sector III T-17	18-25	M	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
S-EVA-18813	Sector III T-20	25-35	?	0.6	-18.3	9.2	31.3	11.5	3.2
S-EVA-18814	Sector III T-21	18-25	M	0.7	-19.3	10.9	31.9	12.0	3.1
S-EVA-18816	Sector III T-24	18-25	M	0.3	-19.4	10.2	36.3	13.4	3.2
S-EVA-18817	Sector III T-27	10-15	?	1.5	-19.4	10.5	47.1	18.6	3.0
S-EVA-18818	Sector III T-31	25-35	?	1.8	-19.2	9.2	12.8	4.4	3.4

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	M	1.1	-19.7	9.8	10.9	3.8	3.4
S-EVA-18823	Sector III T-38	?	M	0.3	-19.1	9.9	26.3	9.5	3.3
S-EVA-18826	Sector IV T-80	35-45	M	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	M	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	M	1.0	-19.5	9.8	27.3	9.9	3.2
S-EVA-18832	Sector IV T-89	18-25	M	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	M	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	M	0.5	-19.4	9.6	19.6	6.8	3.4
S-EVA-18841	Sector IV T-99	25-35	M	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	M	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	M	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	M	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	M	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	M	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	M	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	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-

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