

backward push of the hand. Such anomalies have been associated with a specific craft, for example basket weaving.³⁵²

On both fibula of the skeleton in grave 9 further abnormalities could be observed, which are due to the sustained over-use during extended walking or jumping.

The bases of former joint connections are also good markers to find one-sided strain. The burial of grave 2 suggested an often kneeling body posture by the fronts of the shin bones. The skeleton from grave 1 also showed conspicuous features on the toe bones, which indicate a similar one-sided strain, but here with positioned toes, as would be found in frequent and short-term kneeling in an upright position. The same skeleton shows signs of frequent and exaggerated inward rotation of the lower arm during a uniform daily task on both ulnas.

Half of the individuals identified as adult suffered from trauma along the spine (skeletons 1, 2, 4, 9) as would appear as a result of a shift or rip in the intervertebral disc. These injuries were caused without a doubt by over-use or overload of the spinal column in the lumbar vertebrae by frequent and sustained carrying of too heavy loads.

5.3.6 Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis of human and faunal remains from the Cuatrovitas medieval period

Domingo C. Salazar-García

5.3.6.1 Introduction: Stable isotopes and dietary reconstructions

Dietary reconstructions during historical periods along the Mediterranean have traditionally been based on the interpretation of written texts, in contrast with alternative means of diet reconstruction based on material remains and analytical techniques used mostly for prehistoric times in the region.³⁵³ However, during the last decade biogeochemical analysis has been increasingly carried out on skeletal remains from individuals who lived in historical periods, especially during Antiquity³⁵⁴ and the Middle Ages.³⁵⁵ This type of analysis allows diet to be approached in a direct manner by studying directly the diet each of the individuals consumed, avoiding generalizations obtained from written sources when addressing individual life histories.

Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis of collagen from skeletal tissues such as bone and dentine has long been established as a reliable tool for inferring information about the diets of historic and prehistoric humans and animals.³⁵⁶ This technique is based on the underlying rationale that the isotopic composition of food is recorded in the body tissues

of a consumer³⁵⁷ after a predictable isotope fractionation.³⁵⁸ Well-preserved archaeological remains can retain the stable isotope ratios present during life, and although many types of human tissues are suitable for stable isotope analysis, archaeological studies typically focus on bones, dentine, and enamel. Bone and dentine are composed of both inorganic (ca. 75–80 % of dry weight, mostly hydroxyapatite) and organic (ca. 20–25 % of dry weight, mostly collagen) matter,³⁵⁹ while enamel is typically composed of more than 98 % inorganic hydroxyapatite. All of these components have specific stable isotope ratios that reflect their chemical origin and formation: the inorganic mineral derives from the end products of metabolism and reflects the carbon isotopic ratios of the whole diet, while the organic matter derives mainly from dietary amino acids (with possible modification, such as transamination) and reflects carbon and nitrogen isotope ratios linked primarily to protein consumption.³⁶⁰

Bulk collagen from bone or dentine is usually the preferred substrate for carbon and nitrogen stable isotope-based dietary reconstructions for three reasons: 1) its biochemistry is well known, 2) it is the major nitrogen source in skeletal remains, and 3) the atomic ratio of C to N obtained from a sample provides a robust quality indicator that can even reliably assess the isotopic integrity of material more than 100,000 years old.³⁶¹ However, there are a few considerations to bear in mind when interpreting collagen isotope ratios. Due to a slow but constant collagen turnover, results obtained from adult human bone collagen represent an averaged protein diet over many years prior to death, depending on the collagen turnover rate of the bone sampled.³⁶² By contrast, dentine collagen exhibits almost no turnover, and thus the isotopic values measured from dentine primarily reflect the protein sources consumed during the short interval in which the dentine of each tooth was formed, mainly during childhood,³⁶³ with the added uncertainty that the values could have been influenced by breastfeeding and weaning.³⁶⁴

Carbon stable isotope values of collagen are used to distinguish between the consumption of marine (¹³C enriched) or terrestrial (¹³C depleted) foods in the diet,³⁶⁵ although the interpretation of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values becomes more complicated if fish obtained from brackish water are included in the diet.³⁶⁶ $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ can also be used to estimate the relative dietary proportions of plants performing C₄ versus C₃ photosynthesis.³⁶⁷

352 Pecero Espín 2015, 114, with references to Kennedy 1989.

353 Salazar-García et al. 2018.

354 Salazar-García 2011.

355 Inskip et al. 2018.

356 Lee-Thorp 2008; Makarewicz – Sealy 2015.

357 De Niro 1985; DeNiro – Epstein 1978; De Niro – Epstein 1981.

358 Schoeller 1999.

359 Hare 1980.

360 Ambrose – Norr 1993.

361 De Niro 1985; van Klinken 1999; Britton et al. 2011.

362 Schwarcz – Schoeninger 1991; Hedges et al. 2007.

363 Beaumont et al. 2012.

364 Fuller et al. 2006; Eerkens et al. 2011.

365 Chisholm et al. 1982; Peterson – 1987; Schoeninger – De Niro 1984.

366 Eerkens et al. 2013; Salazar-García et al. 2014a.

367 van der Merwe – Vogel 1978; O’Leary 1981.

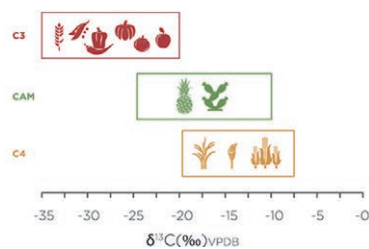


Fig. 204: $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values of different photosynthetic route plant types.

This is useful because all trees, shrubs and herbs, as well as temperate or shade-adapted grasses, are C_3 plants (^{13}C depleted), while C_4 plants (^{13}C enriched) include many important domesticated tropical grasses (e.g., maize, sorghum, millet, and sugar cane) (fig. 204). However, this technique is not useful to get information on specific plants consumed, for which the study of plant microremains trapped in dental calculus is best suited.³⁶⁸

Collagen nitrogen stable isotope ratios are typically used to estimate trophic level because they increase by approximately 3–5 ‰ with each step up an idealized food-chain,³⁶⁹ with some acknowledgement of inherent variation among these values.³⁷⁰ Although this can be further complicated by special cases in which plants have higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values than expected³⁷¹ or in cases of animal tissue enrichment due to urea-recycling under water stress,³⁷² $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values can still allow diets rich in plant proteins to be distinguished from those rich in animal proteins.³⁷³ Additionally, because aquatic food chains tend to contain more trophic levels than terrestrial ones, individuals consuming diets rich in marine or freshwater resources typically have higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ stable isotope values than individuals consuming predominantly terrestrial food products.³⁷⁴ Furthermore, when combined, nitrogen and carbon values can discriminate between the consumption of aquatic foods and C_4 terrestrial foods (fig. 205).

5.3.6.2 Materials and methods

Human ($n=6$) and faunal ($n=7$) remains were selected for carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis (table 1). Diphysis from long bones were selected when available for analysis both for humans and fauna. Human remains were taken from adult or subadult individuals, in order to avoid breastfeeding signatures that might have been present in infantile individuals. Both females and males are present in the human sample selection. Most of the faunal remains

368 Power et al. 2014; Salazar-García et al. 2013a.

369 De Niro – Epstein 1981; Minagawa – Wada 1984; Schoeninger et al. 1983.

370 Hedges – Reynard 2007; O’Connell et al. 2012.

371 Warinner et al. 2013.

372 Pearson 2007.

373 Bol – Pflieger 2002; Petzke et al. 2005; Fahy et al. 2013.

374 Schoeninger et al. 1983; Schoeninger – De Niro 1984.

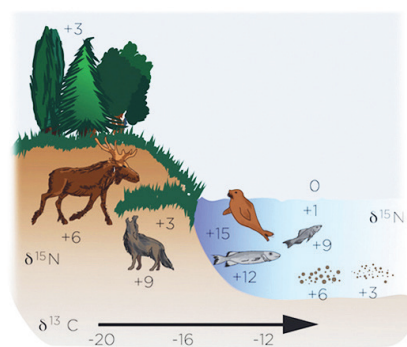


Fig. 205: $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of terrestrial and marine foodwebs.

were also taken from non-infantile specimens when possible. Faunal species samples include bovids, suids, ovis and equids.

Methods outlined in Salazar-García et al.³⁷⁵ were followed to extract collagen for C and N isotope ratio analysis at the Light Stable Isotope Facility of the University of Cape Town (UCT) in Cape Town, South Africa. Whole bone fragments weighing ca. 300 mg obtained from each of the specimens were demineralized in a 0.5M HCl solution at 5 °C. They were then rinsed three times with deionized water until the pH became neutral, and gelatinized over 48 hours at 70 °C before being filtered and ultrafiltered using 50–90 μm EZEE© filters and >30 kDa Amicon© ultrafilters respectively. Finally, the purified solutions were frozen and lyophilized before being weighed into tin capsules and loaded onto the mass spectrometers.

The carbon and nitrogen isotope ratios in collagen were measured in duplicate using a Delta XP continuous-flow isotope ratio mass spectrometer interfaced with an elemental analyser, Flash EA 2112.³⁷⁶ All samples were analysed in the UCT light stable isotope labs. Stable carbon isotope ratios were expressed relative to the VPDB scale (Vienna PeeDee Belemnite), and stable nitrogen isotope ratios were measured relative to the AIR scale (atmospheric N_2). All of them are expressed using the delta notation (δ) in parts per thousand (‰). Repeated analysis of internal and international standards determined an analytical error better than 0.1 ‰ (1σ) for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$.

5.3.6.3 Results and discussion

Samples from all the humans and faunal remains analysed yielded sufficient collagen in the >30 kDa fraction for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ analysis in duplicate. All of them met published collagen quality controls (i.e. % C > 35, % N > 10, C:N ratio between 2.9–3.6).³⁷⁷ All isotope ratio results from Cuatrovitas medieval period are present in table 2 and fig. 206.

375 Salazar-García et al. 2013b.

376 Thermo-Finnigan©, Bremen, Germany.

377 De Niro 1985; van Klinken 1999.

| S-UCT | Archaeological context | Cultural Period | Species | Bone | Sex | Age |
|-------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 20244 | PD1 Tumba 1 | Christian (Late MA) | Human | Left humerus | Female | 27–35 y |
| 20245 | PD2 Tumba 7 | Christian (Late MA) | Human | Left femur | Female? | Young adult |
| 20246 | PD3 Tumba 2 | Islamic (Early MA) | Human | Left humerus | Female | 30–35 y |
| 20247 | PD4 Tumba 9 | Christian (Late MA) | Human | Right peroneus | Male | 17–20 y |
| 20248 | PD5 Tumba 4 | Christian (Late MA) | Human | Right radius | Male | 25–30 y |
| 20249 | PD6 Tumba 8 | Christian (Late MA) | Human | Left humerus | Indet | 11–15 y |
| 20250 | E-CV-2 Corte 5 (8) | Islamic (Mid MA) | Bos taurus | Right radius | * | Juvenile–adult |
| 20251 | E-CV-3 Corte 15 (50) | Christian (Late MA) | Bos taurus | Left tibia | * | Juvenile–adult |
| 20252 | E-CV-3 Corte 15 (50) | Christian (Late MA) | Sus sp. | Right third metatarsal | * | Infantile–subadult |
| 20253 | E-CV-3 Corte 15 (50) | Christian (Late MA) | Equus cavallus | Right second meta-carpal | * | Juvenile–adult |
| 20254 | E-CV-4 Cata 21 (4) | Christian (Late MA) | Ovis aries | Left tibia | * | Adult |
| 20255 | E-CV-4 Cata 21 (9) | Christian (Late MA) | Bos taurus | Right radius | * | Juvenile–adult |
| 20256 | E-CV-4 Cata 21 (9) | Christian (Late MA) | Ovis aries | Right humerus | * | Infantile-juvenile |

Table 1: Info from the samples taken for CN isotope analysis (S-UCT code, archaeological context, cultural period, species, bone, sex and age)

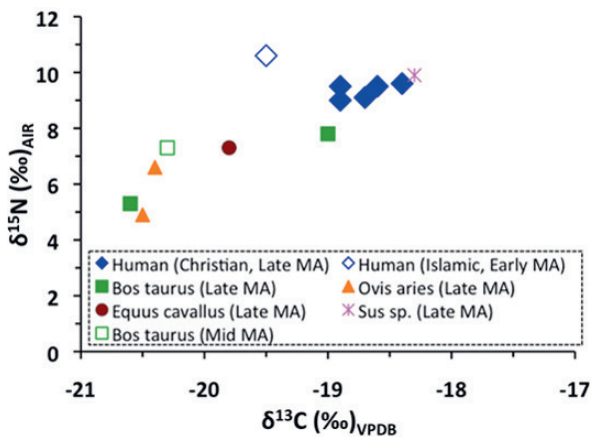


Fig. 206: $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of human and faunal remains from Cuatrovitas.

Analysing the carbon values, it can be seen that the herbivore $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ mean value of the Christian period is -20.1 ± 0.7 (1σ) ‰ and its minimum and maximum values are -20.6 and -19.0 ‰ respectively. These values are all compatible with what would be expected from typical C_3 terrestrial ecosystems. The $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ mean value of these herbivores is 6.4 ± 1.3 (1σ) ‰ and its minimum and maximum values are 4.9 and 7.8 ‰, defining the background for the herbivore trophic

level at the site for the Christian period. There is also one omnivore (*Sus sp.*) for this period, with $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of -18.3 ‰ and 9.9 ‰ respectively. Its values show a clear higher trophic level than that of the herbivores from the same period (3.5 ‰ increase on the herbivore mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$), and suggest perhaps an introduction of a different type of resource to that of the herbivores in the diet (almost 2.0 ‰ higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value than the herbivores). Regarding the fauna from the Islamic period, only one herbivore (*Bos taurus*) was available for analysis, showing $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of -20.3 ‰ and 7.3 ‰ respectively, which is also consistent with a C_3 terrestrial ecosystem and will be the background reference for when comparing the Islamic human to it. Unfortunately no more fauna from the Islamic period nor aquatic resources from any of the medieval stages could be analysed for this site.

Considering all humans ($n=5$) from the Christian period as a whole, we see that they have $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ mean values of -18.7 ± 0.2 (1σ) ‰ (min: -18.9 ‰, max: -18.4 ‰) and 9.3 ± 0.3 (1σ) ‰ (min: 9.0 ‰, max: 9.6 ‰) respectively. These mean values suggest that at the population level, diet during the Late Middle Ages was mainly based on terrestrial C_3 resources at Cuatrovitas. The humans are clearly placed at

| S-UCT | Species | Cultural Period | $\delta_{13}\text{C}$ | $\delta_{15}\text{N}$ | %C | %N | C:N |
|-------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------|------|-----|
| 20244 | Human | Christian (Late MA) | -18.9 | 9.5 | 41.9 | 15.1 | 3.2 |
| 20245 | Human | Christian (Late MA) | -18.4 | 9.6 | 41.9 | 15.3 | 3.2 |
| 20246 | Human | Islamic (Early MA) | -19.5 | 10.6 | 43.7 | 14.6 | 3.3 |
| 20247 | Human | Christian (Late MA) | -18.6 | 9.5 | 41.9 | 15.1 | 3.2 |
| 20248 | Human | Christian (Late MA) | -18.9 | 9.0 | 41.8 | 15.1 | 3.2 |
| 20249 | Human | Christian (Late MA) | -18.7 | 9.1 | 42.0 | 15.2 | 3.2 |
| 20250 | Bos taurus | Islamic (Mid MA) | -20.3 | 7.3 | 40.1 | 14.2 | 3.3 |
| 20251 | Bos taurus | Christian (Late MA) | -20.6 | 5.3 | 39.4 | 13.8 | 3.3 |
| 20252 | Sus sp. | Christian (Late MA) | -18.3 | 9.9 | 41.0 | 14.9 | 3.2 |
| 20253 | Equus cavallus | Christian (Late MA) | -19.8 | 7.3 | 41.1 | 15.0 | 3.2 |
| 20254 | Ovis aries | Christian (Late MA) | -20.4 | 6.6 | 40.9 | 14.9 | 3.2 |
| 20255 | Bos taurus | Christian (Late MA) | -19.0 | 7.8 | 39.8 | 14.4 | 3.2 |
| 20256 | Ovis aries | Christian (Late MA) | -20.5 | 4.9 | 42.0 | 15.0 | 3.3 |

Table 2. Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratio results from the samples analysed ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$, $\delta^{15}\text{N}$, %C, %N, C:N)

a trophic level higher than the herbivores (ca. 3‰ higher in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$), and with $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values similar to that of the omnivore. This suggests that an important part of their protein input in the diet came from animal resources and, together with having $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values compatible with C_3 resources, that the plant foods they consumed were probably C_3 crops. There is no clear isotopic evidence of marine or C_4 resource consumption in any of the individuals, regardless of age or sex. Of course, this doesn't mean that they didn't consume these types of foods at all, but that they didn't consume them on a regular enough basis to be clearly detectable in their bone collagen.

Something similar is observed during the earlier stages of the Middle Ages, under Islamic rule, although only one individual was analysed. This individual has $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of -19.5 and 10.6 ‰ respectively. The carbon isotope ratio values are compatible with a C_3 terrestrial resource exclusive diet, and the nitrogen isotope ratio values show the human to be situated on a higher trophic level from the bovid analysed (3.3 ‰ higher), although the bovid is from the Islamic period of the Mid Middle Ages and thus not strictly contemporary to the human. Comparing humans from the Christian period and the Islamic period, the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value for the Islamic period is 0.8 ‰ lower than the mean value from the Christian period. The $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values from the Islamic individual, even if 1.3 ‰ higher than that of the human average from the Christian period, show a similar difference with regard to the corresponding faunal background values from the Islamic period (Mid Middle Ages). These small variations between Christian and Islamic periods might be at some degree due to environmental, husbandry or land-use differences, but could as well mean that specific main C_3 dietary resources were different between cultural periods. We must anyway keep in mind that having only one human and one herbivore analysed for the Islamic period of the Middle Ages means that we don't really get a clear picture of the

population's diet or environmental background values, so interpretation should be taken with caution.

When comparing Cuatrovitas to other Middle Age isotopic studies from the south and southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, we can see some contrasts arising. While in the other southern Islamic population analysed in Écija there is also a diet consistent with C_3 plant consumption (with only a very minor contribution of C_4 plants),³⁷⁸ in several sites from eastern and southeastern Iberia there is clear isotopic evidence of consumption of resources other than terrestrial C_3 amongst Islamic populations. At the city of Balànsiya (Valencia), although terrestrial C_3 resources dominated the diet, an increase in consumption of C_4 plants (e.g. millet, sorghum) and/or marine resources is detected among individuals dating to the Islamic period.³⁷⁹ At the site of El Tossal de les Basses (Alicante), the Islamic individuals also present isotopic evidence for marine food consumption.³⁸⁰ Amongst the mudéjar (Islamic people living in Christian territory) population of El Raval (Creventill) the diet was quite homogeneous and consisted of both C_4 and C_3 terrestrial resources.³⁸¹ During Christian times and amongst Christian populations, however, most isotopic evidence in both the broader study region³⁸² and elsewhere in Western Europe³⁸³ points to a main C_3 terrestrial resource consumption

378 Inskip et al. 2018.

379 Alexandre et al. 2019.

380 Salazar-García et al. 2016.

381 Salazar-García et al. 2014b.

382 Alexandre et al. 2019.

383 Mion et al. 2019; Olsen et al. 2016.

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