LEAD AND STRONTIUM ISOTOPE COMPOSITIONS OF HUMAN DENTAL TISSUES AS AN INDICATOR OF ANCIENT EXPOSURE AND POPULATION DYNAMICS

The application of isotope source-tracing methods to identify migrants among British archaeological burials and a consideration of ante-mortem uptake, tissue stability and post-mortem diagenesis

Janet MONTGOMERY BSc

submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeological Sciences

University of Bradford

2002

Janet MONTGOMERY

LEAD AND STRONTIUM ISOTOPE COMPOSITIONS OF HUMAN DENTAL TISSUES AS AN INDICATOR OF ANCIENT EXPOSURE AND POPULATION DYNAMICS.

Keywords: Lead, strontium, isotopes, archaeological enamel, migration, exposure, diagenesis, TIMS, ICP-MS

Abstract: This thesis employs lead and strontium isotope analysis of teeth by TIMS to identify migrants amongst British archaeological cemetery populations since the Neolithic. The study evaluates the benefits of combining two independent isotope systems with the exposure information obtained from elemental concentrations of lead and strontium. It demonstrates that they provide complementary information about mobility but highlights how their efficacy fluctuates both spatially and temporally in the periods investigated. Strontium was useful in all periods but heavily biased towards maritime ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr (~0.7092) making it a poor discriminant between coastal habitats where lead was superior. Lead utility changes following the advent of large-scale mining and metallurgy, when anthropogenic ore lead severs the link between geographical origin and lead exposure. A cultural focussing of British enamel signatures ensues accompanied by a concomitant rise in lead burdens. British lead exposure during the last two millennia appears more indicative of status and the cultural sphere (e.g. rural/urban) than geographical origin. The results are assessed in the light of migration theory and traditional archaeological and osteological indicators.

Samples used are core enamel and co-genetic primary crown dentine, which neither model nor remodel in vivo and thus remain representative of a constrained period of childhood. Modern and archaeological teeth are investigated to assess isotope variability intra-enamel, intra-tissue, intra-antimere, intra-dentition, intra-sibling and between mother/child pairs. Recommendations for future tissue sampling and standardisation are made. The fundamentals of tooth biomineralisation are reviewed and clarified, chiefly that incremental enamel structures relate to initial *formation* not *mineralisation*; lead and strontium are principally incorporated during mineralisation. Macromorphological preservation proved no guide to biogenic strontium or lead isotope integrity. Mature, but not immature, enamel proved highly resistant to diagenesis whether well preserved or not. Dentine was highly susceptible to diagenesis irrespective of preservation state and is proposed as a proxy for the time averaged isotope signature of the soil. Moreover, it is argued that lead and strontium behave differently in teeth; uptake mechanisms are different and they respond independently to subsequent migration. Results suggest soil leaches were useful but complex and the most suitable leach reagent may be specific to the soil type and isotope system.

Two Norse Period immigrants (male and female) were identified at Cnip, Lewis; the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr signatures constrain their origin to Tertiary volcanics. In the North Atlantic these occur on Iceland, Faeroe Isles, and Antrim in Ireland but not Norway. No indubitable immigrants were identified at the Anglian cemetery at West Heslerton, Yorkshire but soil leaches and juveniles suggested a local ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr signature range. "Non-locals" included both sexes, weapon burials and unaccompanied burials, providing no evidence for an immigrant group composed solely of male warriors. All analysed burials with wristclasps and cruciform brooches were non-local, supporting Hines' (1984) hypothesis that wristclasps confirm the presence of Norwegian immigrants during this period.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIC		vii
LIST OF TA		ix
	ND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	X
PUBLICATI	ONS	xii
CHAPTER (DNE IDENTIFYING MIGRATION: THEORY AND METHOD	1
1.1	Introduction and aims	1
1.2	Migration or just simple mobility?	3
1.3	Indirect methods of identifying migrations	4
	1.3.1 Historical evidence	4
	1.3.2 Artefact, settlement and cemetery evidence	5
1.4	Direct methods of identifying migrants	8
	1.4.1 Non-metric traits	9
	1.4.2 Metric traits	12
	1.4.2.1 Craniometry	12
	1.4.2.2 Stature and robusticity	14
1.5	How useful are traditional methods?	15
1.6	Identifying migrants using skeletal isotope signatures: the hypothesis	16
1.7	Structure of the thesis	19
CHAPTER T	WO STRONTIUM AND LEAD IN THE BIOGEOSPHERE	22
2.1	Introduction	22
2.2	Strontium and lead in the geosphere	22
	2.2.1 Strontium geochemistry	22
	2.2.2 Lead geochemistry	27
2.3	Strontium and lead in the biosphere	33
	2.3.1 Strontium uptake in plants	35
	2.3.2 Lead uptake in plants	36
	2.3.3 Strontium metabolism and uptake in mammals	36
2.4	2.3.4 Lead metabolism and uptake in mammals	39
2.4	Biokinetics of strontium and lead in skeletal tissue Conclusions	41 44
2.5	Conclusions	44
CHAPTER 1	THREE HUMAN TEETH AS ANALYTICAL SAMPLES	46
3.1	Introduction	46
3.2	Dental notation system	48
3.3	Formation and eruption of dentitions	49
	3.3.1 The deciduous dentition	50
	3.3.2 The permanent dentition	51
3.4	Formation and maturation of enamel and dentine	53
	3.4.1 Formation versus maturation	54
	3.4.2 Mature enamel and dentine - description and composition	56
	3.4.3 Formation of enamel and dentine 3.4.3.1 Dentine formation	60 61
	3.4.3.2 Enamel biomineralisation	62
	3.4.4 Structure of mature enamel	66
	3.4.5 Timing of enamel maturation	68
3.5	Lead and strontium incorporation in enamel and dentine <i>in vivo</i>	70
5.5	3.5.1 Distribution of Sr in modern human teeth	71
	3.5.2 Distribution of Pb in modern human teeth	72
	3.5.3 Implications for Sr and Pb tooth analysis	74
36	Post-mortem behaviour of enamel and dentine	77

		3.6.1	Diagenetic changes in skeletal tissue	77
		3.6.2	Methods developed to identify diagenetic change	80
		3.6.3	Methods developed to address diagenetic change	82
			3.6.3.1 Pre-treatment procedures	83
			3.6.3.2 Soil analysis	87
	3.7	Conclu	isions	89
CHAI	PTER FO	OUR	STRONTIUM AND LEAD ISOTOPE SOURCE-TRACING STUDIES OF SKELETAL REMAINS	92
	4.1	Introdu		92
	4.2		ds of analysis	93
	4.3		ned Pb and Sr isotope studies	94
	4.4		ope studies	96
	4.5		ope studies	105
	4.6	Conclu		115
СНАІ	PTER FI	VE	SAMPLES AND METHODS	118
01111	5.1		samples used in this study	118
	0.1	5.1.1	Recording and assessment methods	118
			5.1.1.1 Sample recording	118
			5.1.1.2 Preservation	119
			5.1.1.3 Age and sex estimation	123
		5.1.2	Sample selection criteria	127
		5.1.3	Sample pre-treatment	129
		5.1.4	Samples analysed	129
	5.2	Soil sa	mples used in this study	129
	5.3		ical method: ID-TIMS	130
		5.3.1	Tooth sample preparation	131
			5.3.1.1 Dental tools	131
			5.3.1.2 Tooth dissection	132
			5.3.1.3 ID-TIMS laboratory preparation	135
		5.3.2	Soil sample preparation	135
		5.3.3	Instrumental analysis by TIMS	136
			5.3.3.1 Sr mass spectrometry	136
			5.3.3.2 Pb mass spectrometry	138
		5.3.4	Data handling	139
CHAPTER SIX		X	PILOT STUDIES: RESULTS AND METHODOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT	143
	6.1	Introdu		143
		6.1.1	The aims of the pilot studies	143
	6.2	Moder	n teeth	144
		6.2.1	Results from modern teeth	145
			6.2.1.1 Sr results	146
			6.2.1.2 Pb results	146
			6.2.1.3 Sr and Pb combined	147
		6.2.2	Discussion of results	147
			6.2.2.1 Subjects CM and AM	147
			6.2.2.2 Subject MN	149
			6.2.2.3 Subject BAB	150
			6.2.2.4 Combined observations	152
	6.3		eological pilot study I: Site I Late mediaeval burials from	154
			riars, Gloucester	154
		6.3.1	Introduction Site acalemy	154
		6.3.2	Site geology	157

	6.3.3	Samples	157
	6.3.4	Results for Blackfriars, Gloucester	158
		6.3.4.1 Sr results	158
		6.3.4.2 Pb results	158
		6.3.4.3 Pb and Sr combined	159
	6.3.5	Archaeological outcomes of the Blackfriars case study	160
6.4	Archa	eological pilot study II: Sites 4, 5 and 6 Late Roman burials	161
	from N	Mangotsfield, Winchester and Spitalfields	
	6.4.1	Introduction	161
		6.4.1.1 Mangotsfield, Bristol	161
		6.4.1.2 Eagle Hotel, Winchester	162
		6.4.1.3 Spitalfields, London	162
	6.4.2	Site geology	163
		6.4.2.1 Mangotsfield, Bristol	163
		6.4.2.2 Eagle Hotel, Winchester	164
		6.4.2.3 Spitalfields, London	164
	6.4.3	Samples	164
		6.4.3.1 Mangotsfield, Bristol	164
		6.4.3.2 Eagle Hotel, Winchester	164
		6.4.3.3 Spitalfields, London	165
	6.4.4	Results for Late-Roman burials	166
		6.4.4.1 Sr results	166
		6.4.4.2 Pb results	167
		6.4.4.3 Sr and Pb combined	168
	6.4.5	Outcomes of the Late-Roman studies	168
		6.4.5.1 Mangotsfield, Bristol	168
		6.4.5.2 Eagle Hotel, Winchester	169
		6.4.5.3 Spitalfields, London	169
6.5		eological pilot study III: Site 8 Neolithic burials from	171
		ton-up-Wimbourne	
		Introduction	171
		Site geology	172
	6.5.3	1	174
	6.5.4	1	174
		6.5.4.1 Sr results	174
		6.5.4.2 Pb results	175
		6.5.4.3 Sr and Pb combined	175
6.6	6.5.5	Outcomes of the Monkton study	176
6.6		ssion and methodological developments	177
	6.6.1	Diagenesis	177
		6.6.1.1 Inter-tissue comparisons6.6.1.2 The Pb coffin burials	177
		6.6.1.3 Soil leaches	180
	(()		182
	6.6.2	Implications for archaeological studies of migration and	183
		exposure	102
		6.6.2.1 Sr 6.6.2.2 Pb	183
			184
		6.6.2.3 Sr and Pb	185
6.7	Conclu	6.6.2.4 Inter- and intra-tooth variation	185 186
0.7	6.7.1	Conclusions drawn from modern teeth	186
	6.7.1	Conclusions drawn from archaeological teeth	180
	0.7.2		10/

CHAPTER S	SEVEN	IDENTIFYING ANCIENT MIGRATION CASE	213
7.1	т, 1	STUDIES I: ANGLIAN BURIALS AT WEST HESLE	
7.1	Introd		213
	7.1.1	5	213
	7.1.2	1	214
7.2		eological background, context and samples	217
	7.2.1	Site geology	220
	7.2.2	Settlement and subsistence evidence	221
	7.2.3		223
	7.2.4	1	227
	7.2.5	Grave goods	230
	7.2.6	Samples	234
7.3	Result		237
	7.3.1		237
	7.3.2	Pb results	238
	7.3.3	Pb and Sr results combined	238
7.4	Discus	ssion of results and data analysis	239
	7.4.1	Diagenesis	239
	7.4.2	Pb and Sr data	243
	7.4.3	Pb data analysis	246
	7.4.4	Sr data analysis	249
7.5	Discus	ssion of archaeological indicators of migration	255
	7.5.1		255
	7.5.2	Skeletal	256
	7.5.3	Burial practice	258
	7.5.4	Grave goods	259
	7.5.5	Provenancing – possible origins	261
7.6	Concl		263
CHAPTER F	EIGHT	IDENTIFYING ANCIENT MIGRATION	272
		CASE STUDIES II: IRON AGE AND NORSE	
		BURIALS ON THE ISLE OF LEWIS	
8.1	Introd		272
	8.1.1	Aims of the study	273
	8.1.2	Cnip and Galson in the wider archaeological context	276
8.2		eological background, context and samples	280
0.2	8.2.1	Iron Age long cist cemetery at Galson	280
	8.2.2	Norse cemetery at Cnip, Uig	280
	8.2.3	The geology of Lewis	281
	8.2.4	Settlement and subsistence evidence	285
	8.2.5	The skeletal remains	289
	0.2.0	8.2.5.1 Stature	289
		8.2.5.2 Pathology	290
		8.2.5.3 Familial traits and grouping	290
	8.2.6	Burial practices	294
	0.2.0	8.2.6.1 The Iron Age cemetery at Galson	294
		8.2.6.2 The Norse cemetery at Chip	299
	8.2.7	Grave goods	300
	8.2.7	Samples	300
8.3	Result	•	303 304
0.5	8.3.1	Sr results	304
	8.3.1 8.3.2	Pb results	304
	8.3.2 8.3.3	Pb and Sr combined	305 306
	8.3.3 8.3.4		300
	0.5.4	Diagenesis	507

8.4	308	
	8.4.1 Identifying the local signature	310
	8.4.2 Galson 93	311
	8.4.3 Cnip D and E	313
	8.4.4 Cnip A	316
8.5	Conclusions	317
CHAPTER N	NINE CONCLUSIONS	327
9.1	Introduction	327
9.2	Teeth	328
9.3	Diagenesis	330
9.4 Sample selection and preparation		333
9.5 Pb versus Sr		334
9.6	Utility of archaeological indicators	338
9.7	Soil analysis	339
9.8	Suggestions for future work	340
REFERENC	347	
PERSONAL	COMMUNICATIONS	382
APPENDIC	ES	
APPENDIX I	A I	
APPENDIX I	A II	
APPENDIX I	A III	
APPENDIX I	A IV	

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAP	TER ONE	
1.1	Simplified geology map of Northern Europe and the North Atlantic region	2
1.2	Illustration of cranial morphology	10
1.3	The movement of Pb and Sr through the biogeosphere	17
1.4	Simplified geology map of Great Britain and Ireland showing sample and	20
1.1	site locations	20
СНАР	TER TWO	
2.1	Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb versus ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb showing the relative fields for Pb ores	32
	from Scotland, Wales, England and Ireland	
	TER THREE	
3.1	Longitudinal tooth section with anatomical terms used in this study	47
3.2	Schematic diagram of enamel biomineralisation	63
3.3	Schematic diagram of initial enamel mineral spacing and growth, on existing dentine surface	65
3.4	Micrograph of fractured human deciduous molar enamel	67
-	TER FIVE	122
5.1	Time resolved analysis ²⁰⁸ Pb profiles across the enamel of two halves of a longitudinally sectioned tooth.	133
СПАВ	TER SIX	
СПАГ 6.1		156
	Plan of the excavated 20m trench at Blackfriars, Gloucester	156
6.2 6.3	Section and plan of the Neolithic site at Monkton-up-Wimbourne Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio versus Sr concentration for modern subjects	173
6.4	Plot of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb, ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for modern subjects	189 190
6.5	Plot of 207 Pb/ 206 Pb versus Pb concentration for modern subjects	190 191
6.6	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio versus ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratio for modern subjects	191
6.7	Plot of Sr versus Pb concentrations in enamel and dentine of modern subjects	192 193
6.8	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio v Sr concentration for Blackfriars samples	193 194
6.9	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio v Sr concentration for Late-Roman samples	194
6.10	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio v Sr concentration for Monkton samples	195
6.11	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio v Sr concentration for all archaeological pilot studies	190
6.12	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Blackfriars samples	197
6.13	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Late-Roman samples	198
6.14	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Monkton samples	200
6.15	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios of intra-tooth tissues for all archaeological pilot studies	200
6.16	Plots of ²⁰⁶ Ph/ ²⁰⁴ Ph ²⁰⁷ Ph/ ²⁰⁴ Ph and ²⁰⁸ Ph/ ²⁰⁴ Ph ratios for Blackfriars samples	201
6.17	Plots of 206 Pb/ 204 Pb 207 Pb/ 204 Pb and 208 Pb/ 204 Pb ratios for Late Roman samples	202
6.18	Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb, ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for Blackfriars samples Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb, ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for Late-Roman samples Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb, ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for Monkton samples	203
6.19	Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb, ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for all archaeological	204
0.17	pilot studies	205
6.20	Plot of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Blackfriars samples	206
6.21	Plot of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Late-Roman samples	207
6.22	Plot of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratios of intra-tooth tissues for Monkton samples	208
6.23	Plot of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratios of intra-tooth tissues for all archaeological	209
	pilot studies	
6.24	Plot of 207 Pb/ 206 Pb v Pb concentration for all archaeological pilot studies	210
6.25	Plot of 87 Sr/ 86 Sr ratio v 207 Pb/ 206 Pb ratio for all archaeological pilot studies	211
6.26	Plot of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb v ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb ratios for all archaeological pilot studies	212

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1	Map showing the distribution of Anglian cemeteries in northern and eastern Yorkshire	214
7.2	Plan of the West Heslerton settlement and cemetery sites	219
7.3	Plan of the West Heslerton Anglian and Neolithic / EBA burials in areas	220
1.5		220
7 4	2B and 2BA showing the location of individuals analysed in this study	001
7.4	Plan of the Anglian weapon burials in part of area 2B and 2BA	231
7.5	Histogram illustrating the relationship between the type of burial soil and	240
	enamel preservation at West Heslerton	
7.6	Preliminary statistical analysis of the ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb and ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios for	248
	West Heslerton enamel samples	
7.7	Box and whisker plots of the ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio data for West Heslerton enamel	251
	samples	
7.8	Plan showing the locations of "local" and "non-local" burials at West Heslerton	256
7.9	Plot of ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratio v Sr concentration for West Heslerton enamel samples	267
7.10		268
7.10	enamel samples	200
7.11	1 207 207	269
/.11	•	209
7 10	enamel samples	270
7.12		270
	enamel samples	
7.13	B Pb mixing diagram for West Heslerton enamel samples	271
CH	APTER EIGHT	
8.1	Map of Lewis & Harris showing simplified geology and machair locations	273
8.2	Map of the early historic Kingdoms of Scotland	275
8.3	Map of northern Europe showing sailing routes during the Viking period	277
8.4	Map of the British Isles showing the areas settled by Scandinavians	278
8.5	Site location map of the Iron Age cemetery at Galson	279
8.6	Map showing the location of Viking burials A-G on the Cnip headland	282
8.7	Plan of Bronze Age cist burial at Cnip	283
8.8	Combined plan of all reported burials at Galson	205
	Schematic section through the Galson cemetery	295 296
8.9	e ,	
8.10		297
~	the Galson raised beach	• • • •
8.11		301
8.12		320
8.13		321
8.14	Plots of ²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb v ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb and ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ Pb ratios for Galson and	322
	Cnip enamel and soil samples	
8.15	Plots of 206 Pb/ 204 Pb v 207 Pb/ 204 Pb and 208 Pb/ 204 Pb ratios for Galson and	323
	Cnip enamel samples	
8.16		324
8.17		325
8.18		326
0.10	and Sr and Pb concentrations	520
CII	A DTED NINE	
		.
9.1	87 Sr/ 86 Sr ratio v 207 Pb/ 206 Pb plot of combined case study data showing	344
	differential variability of enamel-Sr and Pb	
9.2	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb v ²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb plot of combined case study data showing cultural	345
	focussing of the enamel-Pb isotope ratios with increasing concentration	
0 2	207 $1/206$	210

9.3 ²⁰⁷Pb/²⁰⁶Pb v ²⁰⁸Pb/²⁰⁶Pb plot of combined case study data showing cultural 346 focussing of the enamel-Pb isotope ratios through time

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTEI	RTWO	
Table 2.1	Estimated range of Pb isotope ratios for anthropogenic English Pb	31
CHAPTER	THREE	
Table 3.1	Dental shorthand system used in the study	48
Table 3.2	Deciduous tooth formation timing	50
Table 3.3	Permanent tooth formation timing	52
Table 3.4	Composition of permanent enamel and dentine	59
СНАРТЕН	R FIVE	
Table 5.1	Enamel preservation classification	120
Table 5.2	Dentine preservation classification	121
Table 5.3	Attrition classification	122
Table 5.4	Stages of root formation and resorption	122
СНАРТЕН	R SEVEN	
Table 7.1	Notable burials which could not be analysed	235
Table 7.2	Statistical analysis of ²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb enamel ratios	247
Table 7.3	Anglian burials separated into Local and Non-local groups using ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr ratios	254
Table 7.4	Distribution of dated burials between local and non-local groups	255
Table 7.5	Distribution of grave goods in jewellery burials	260
СНАРТЕН	REIGHT	
Table 8.1	List of known burials from Galson Iron Age cemetery	290
Table 8.2	Summary of selected developmental and environmental traits observed amongst Lewisian adults	292
Table 8.3	Grave and burial attributes of Lewisian individuals	298
APPENDL	XI	AI
Al	Results table for archaeological human tooth samples	
A2	Results table for archaeological animal tooth samples	
A3	Results table for modern human tooth samples	
<i>A4</i>	Results table for soil and rock leaches	
APPENDL	X II	AII
A5	List of archaeological sites investigated	
A6	List of archaeological human tooth samples	
A7	List of archaeological animal tooth samples	
A8	List of modern human tooth samples	

A9 List of soil and rock samples

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in science was nurtured from an early age by my father, Harold Gordon Keighley, a mountaineer, potholer, pilot and practical scientist who filled our home with books, chemistry sets and microscopes and our holidays with museums, caves and mountains. What drew me to archaeology was the opportunity to study many subjects with time depth and there are surely very few modern disciplines where this remains possible. However, my concern has been that whilst never aspiring to become a polymath in the great tradition of da Vinci, Dürer, Darwin, and Dodgson, I was merely incapable of making up my mind and have inadvertently become a dabbler instead. Throughout, my worry was that I had missed something so fundamental it is left unsaid in the literature of an unfamiliar subject. If I have, it is certainly not the responsibility of the many colleagues from all those disciplines who gave me the benefit of their learning and guidance.

Firstly I thank the Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford for awarding me the NERC studentship (GT04/97/19SBA) and to NERC itself for giving me the opportunity to carry out doctoral research. I acknowledge the contribution of my supervisors: Dr. Paul Budd, particularly for initial encouragement, obtaining the NIGL measurement grants that enabled me to carry out the analysis of my chosen samples and for advice on aspects of archaeometallurgy and lead isotopes. Dr. Charlotte Roberts, University of Durham, inspired my initial undergraduate interest in human remains and gave me access to the Blackfriars teeth. From the beginning, her astute supervision ensured I never lost sight of the intended "end product" of a trained, independent researcher. Latterly, I thank Charlotte and Dr. Carl Heron for reading my drafts and offering invaluable advice and positive encouragement that greatly improved the final version. Also, I thank Dr. Christopher Knüsel for stepping in whilst Charlotte undertook a Nuffield Foundation research sabbatical and for imparting his extensive knowledge on the finer points of tooth anatomy and the biomechanics of skeletal tissue. He and Dr. Randy Donahue served as my PhD advisory committee at Bradford.

I am indebted to geochemists Drs. Barbara Barreiro and Jane Evans at the NERC Isotope Geosciences Laboratory for their painstaking guidance and endless patience during my laboratory training in the intricacies of strontium and lead isotope analysis and the preparation of my samples. They performed all the TIMS analyses in this thesis. To Jane Evans and geologist Dr. Rona McGill, NIGL, I also owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude for their great good sense and clarity of vision and for commenting on various chapters. Many other scientists at NIGL made me welcome and treated me with considerably more respect than I am sure my inexperience deserved. In particular, Carolyn Chenery, Steve Noble, and Pamela Kempton all gave their time to answer questions and demonstrate laboratory procedure. Dr. Richard Thomas, University of Western Sydney, Nepean, Australia, originally suggested using lead as a complementary system to strontium for this project and he and Jo Jaric were enthusiastic collaborators on many aspects of the work.

Dr. Randolph Haggerty, my undergraduate tutor, gave me my first strontium isotope off-prints (Price et al. 1994; Sealy et al. 1995) that ignited my interest in human migration studies. Thanks are due to Dr. Dave Lucy who taught me to thin-section and dissect teeth and Dr. David Whittaker and Lionel Rawle, Dental School, University of Wales College Medical School, Cardiff, for practical help and insights into oral biology. I am grateful for assistance given by Dr. Cathy Batt, Dr. Julie Bond, Anthea Boylston, Simon Blockley, Jean Brown, Dr. Mary Lewis, Jason Maher and Professor Mark Pollard, University of Bradford and Dr. Andrew Millard and Mark Trickett, University of Durham. In particular, I thank my "partners in crime" Dr. Nigel Melton and Dr. Ruth Young who submitted before me (as I knew they would) and gave me continual personal and professional support. Nigel also read drafts, making many suggestions that greatly improved the archaeology in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Many archaeologists, curators and osteologists gave me the opportunity and permission to carry out destructive analysis on teeth from burial sites under their control. Notably, I thank Tim Neighbour, CFA Archaeology, Edinburgh who directed excavations at Galson and together with Andrew Dunwell and Alastair Rees carried out the last excavations on the Norse cemetery at Cnip. Tim broached and organised

these Lewis case studies and provided me with pre-prints, references and site reports. Chapter Eight was greatly improved by his positive criticisms and helpful pointers. I would also like to acknowledge the help and permission to analyse the teeth from Lewis given by Dr. Alison Sheridan Assistant Keeper of Archaeology, National Museums of Scotland and Richard Langhorne, Museum nan Eilean, Stornoway. Mary McLeod, the Western Isles Archaeologist, Museum nan Eilean, and Mike Church identified and took the soil samples I requested from Galson and Cnip.

Christine Flaherty, University of Columbia, New York and UMIST, kindly gave me access to her aDNA results at West Heslerton and Monkton-up-Wimbourne and originally suggested the West Heslerton study to me to complement her doctoral research using aDNA at the site. Through her, Dominic Powlesland and Christine Haughton from the Landscape Research Centre, Yedingham kindly gave permission for my work to go ahead and provided encouragement, information and a much appreciated pre-print of the West Heslerton catalogue and synthesis. I am also grateful to Dominic for arranging for me to obtain soil samples from the estate and to Prof. Margaret Cox, School of Conservation Sciences, University of Bournemouth for discussions about the skeletal remains from this site. Archaeologist Martin Green allowed me to take a wide range of samples from his unique Neolithic excavation at Monkton-up-Wimbourne. Phil Greatorex at the Gloucester Archaeological Unit supplied me with unpublished reports and site plans as well as a set of wonderful slides of the Blackfriars excavation in Gloucester. Paul McCulloch, Winchester Museums Service, Historic Resources Centre gave permission for tooth samples to be taken from the Eagle Hotel site in Winchester and Andy Young, Avon Archaeological Unit those from the Roman limestone coffin at Mangotsfield, Bristol. Chris Thomas of MoLAS, then site supervisor (now Project Manager for the Spitalfields Market site), gave permission to sample the female buried in the Spitalfields Roman lead coffin as well as a sample of the coffin Pb and arrangements were kindly made by Bill White, the osteologist at MoLAS. Also thanks are due to Jackie McKinley, Wessex Archaeology and Gerry Barber, Rheumatology Unit, Bristol Hospital for providing details from their skeletal reports on Monkton-up-Wimbourne and Mangotsfield respectively.

I thank John Le-Pelley, Cosmadent Dental Laboratory Ltd., Halifax, who enthusiastically crafted a false tooth for a 5000-year-old lady, without charge, and subsequently produced several marvellous replicas, to replace the ones I destroyed, that nobody could distinguish from the real thing. Dr. Petra Krause, CETAC and Alan Cox, CAS, University of Sheffield gave me the benefit of their expertise in LA-ICP-MS and analysed many samples for me. Julian Richards, BBC, opened doors that may otherwise have remained shut and kindly gave permission for me to use his photographs in publications and presentations. Jane Brayne generously provided slides of her reconstruction illustrations and gave me permission to use them in a similar manner.

And finally, I am indebted to Professor Tony Fell, whose assistance went far beyond his official role as Deputy Director of the Graduate School. Also, to my mother, Jean Keighley, for years of baby-sitting and to my daughters, Constance and Abigail for providing me with samples, understanding and for not complaining - much. Many of their schoolfriends, in particular Melissa Nash, also willingly sacrificed their teeth for my project, as did Barbara Barreiro. Moreover, I am endlessly grateful to my youngest daughter, Sophia for being the best of babies and giving us, in truth, not a single disturbed night since she was born in July 2001. And finally to my husband, Peter, whose practical help in producing the final text and all the illustrations was invaluable, but more importantly for his unceasing care and support and an unwavering belief that I could do this. When I finished my undergraduate dissertation, I wrote *"Tomorrow we go fishing"*. Well girls, hang the fishing, I know a few good caves I haven't visited in years......

Janet Montgomery March 12th 2002

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

- Budd, P., J. Montgomery, A. Cox, P. Krause, B. Barreiro, & R.G. Thomas. 1998. The distribution of lead within ancient and modern human teeth: implications for long-term and historical exposure monitoring. *The Science of the Total Environment* 220: 121-136.
- Budd, P., B.L. Gulson, J. Montgomery, P. Rainbird, R.G. Thomas, & S.M.M. Young. 1999. The use of Pband Sr-isotopes for the study of Pacific Islander population dynamics, in J.-C. Galipaud and I. Lilley (ed.) *The Pacific from 5000 to 2000BP: colonisation and transformations*, pp. 301-311. Paris: Institut de Recherche pour le Développement.
- Montgomery, J., P. Budd, A. Cox, P. Krause, & R.G. Thomas. 1999. LA-ICP-MS evidence for the distribution of lead and strontium in Romano-British, medieval and modern human teeth: implications for life history and exposure reconstruction, in S.M.M. Young, A.M. Pollard, P. Budd, and R.A. Ixer (ed.) *Metals in Antiquity, BAR International Series 792*, pp. 258-261. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Montgomery, J., P. Budd, & J. Evans. 2000. Reconstructing the lifetime movements of ancient people: a Neolithic case study from southern England. *European Journal of Archaeology* **3**: 407-422.
- Budd, P., J. Montgomery, B. Barreiro, and R. G. Thomas. 2000. Differential diagenesis of strontium in archaeological human tissues. *Applied Geochemistry* **15**:687-694.
- Budd, P., J. Montgomery, J.E. Evans, & B. Barreiro. 2000. Human tooth enamel as a record of the comparative lead exposure of prehistoric and modern people. *The Science of the Total Environment* 263: 1-10.
- Budd, P., J. Montgomery, J. Evans, & C. Chenery. 2001. Combined Pb-, Sr- and O-isotope analysis of human dental tissue for the reconstruction of archaeological residential mobility, in J. G. Holland and S. D. Tanner (ed.) *Plasma source mass spectrometry: the New Millennium*. Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 311-326.
- Budd, P., C. Chenery, J. Montgomery, & J. Evans. In press. You are where you ate. Isotopic analysis in the reconstruction of prehistoric residency, in M. Parker Pearson (ed.) *Food and Identity*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Trickett, M.A., P. Budd, J. Montgomery, & J. Evans. In press. An assessment of solubility profiling as a decontamination procedure for the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr analysis of archaeological human skeletal tissue. *Applied Geochemistry*.
- Budd, P., C. Chenery, K. Morphet, & J. Montgomery. In review. Laser fluorination oxygen isotope analysis of human dental enamel as an indicator of infant weaning. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*.

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND ABSTRACTS (presenter in bold type)

- Barreiro, B., P. Budd, C. Chenery, and J. Montgomery. 1997. Combined Pb-, Sr- and O-isotope Compositions of Human Dental Tissues in Life History Reconstruction. Paper presented at the *Applied Isotope Geochemistry Conference, Lake Louise, Canada, September 1997.*
- Budd, P., J. Christensen, R. Haggerty, A. N. Halliday, J. Montgomery, and S. M. M. Young. 1997. The measurement of biogenic lead within archaeological mammalian dental enamel for life history reconstruction and pollution exposure monitoring. Paper and abstract. 213th ACS National Meeting, San Francisco April 13-17, 1997, p35-GEOC.
- Budd, P., B. L. Gulson, J. Montgomery, P. Rainbird, R. G. Thomas, and S. M. M. Young. 1997. The use of Pb- & Sr-isotopes for the study of Pacific Islander population dynamics. Paper and abstract presented at Australian Archaeometry: Retrospectives for the Millenium, Sydney, 1997, Abstract 72.
- **Montgomery, J.**, P. Budd, A. Cox, P. Krause, & R.G. Thomas. 1997. LA-ICP-MS evidence for the distribution of lead and strontium in Romano-British, medieval and modern human teeth: implications for life history and exposure reconstruction, Poster presented at *Metals in Antiquity International Symposium Harvard, Mass. September 10-13th 1997.*
- Montgomery, J., P. Budd, B.A. Barreiro, C. Chenery, C.A. Roberts, R.G. Thomas. 1998. Life history reconstruction through combined Pb-, Sr- and O-Isotope analysis of dental tissues. Poster

presented at the Paleopathology Association Annual Meeting. Salt Lake City, Utah. March 31st – April 1st 1998.

- **Montgomery, J.**, C.A. Roberts, P. Budd, B.A. Barreiro, C. Chenery. 1999. Life History Reconstruction Through Combined Pb-, Sr- and O-Isotope Analysis of Dental Tissues. Oral paper given at the *New Research in Archaeology and Archaeological Sciences Postgraduate Conference, University of Bradford, 17th-18th June 1999.*
- Budd, P., J. Montgomery, B.A. Barreiro, C. Chenery, and J.A. Evans. 1999. Combined Pb-, Sr- and O -isotope ratio measurement of ancient human teeth for the determination of ancient migration. Abstract and oral paper given at the European Association of Archaeologists 5th Annual Meeting, Bournemouth 14-19th September, 1999, p122.
- **Budd**, P., J. Montgomery and J.A. Evans 2000. Multiple isotope analysis for the reconstruction of ancient migration: a Neolithic travelogue from southern England. Paper given at Food, Identity and Culture in the Neolithic, University of Sheffield 4-5th February 2000.
- **Neighbour, T.** and **J. Montgomery,** J.A. Evans, P. Budd. 2000. You are what you eat: skeletal clues to the impact of the Norse on the Western Isles. Joint oral paper given at *Gall-Ghaidheil: The Western Isles in the Viking World, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis,* 3-7th April 2000.
- Montgomery, J., P. Budd, C. Chenery, J.A. Evans, D. Powlesland and C. Roberts. 2000. Invader or Invaded? The application of isotopic tracing techniques to identify immigrants in archaeological burials. Oral presentation given at *Current Approaches to Medieval Archaeology, Durham* University 15-16th April 2000.
- Montgomery, J., **J.A. Evans** and P. Budd. 2000. Sr and Pb Isotopes as a tool for tracking human historical and ancient migrations. Abstract. Oral paper given at *Geoscience 2000, University of Manchester* 17-20th April 2000, p69.
- **Budd**, P., J. Montgomery, J.A. Evans and C. Chenery. 2000. Combined Pb-, Sr- and O-isotope analysis of archaeological human dental enamel to determine immigration and place of origin. Oral paper given at the *British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology Conference, University of Bradford*, 1st 3rd September 2000.

SEMINARS AND INVITED LECTURES

- **Montgomery, J**. December 11th 1996. Extracting wisdom from teeth: an isotopic tool to investigate the ethnic interface. Postgraduate seminar, *Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford.*
- **Montgomery, J.** P. Budd, B.A. Barreiro, C. Chenery, A. Cox, P. Krause. November 30th 1998. Roman or Briton? Identifying migrants with isotopes. Departmental research seminar presented at the *Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford.*
- **Budd, P., J. Montgomery**, J.A. Evans October 29th 1998. Long in the tooth? Strontium isotopes in the reconstruction of ancient migration. Seminar, *Dept. of Biomolecular Sciences UMIST*.
- **Montgomery**, J. July 1st 1998. Humans what can you do with them? Seminar given at The Natural History of Ancient People Day School held in the *Department of Archaeological Sciences*, University of Bradford.
- Montgomery, J. P. Budd, J.A. Evans. March 17th 1999. Human mobility in the Neolithic: a study using Pb and Sr isotopes. Postgraduate seminar, *Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford.*
- **Montgomery, J.** 13th November 1999. Osteology Workshop presented to the *National Association for Gifted Children, Bradford.*
- **Montgomery, J.**, P. Budd, J.A. Evans, C. Chenery, D. Powlesland. 22nd March 2001. The use of combined Pb, Sr and O-isotope analysis to identify prehistoric migration: an Anglo-Saxon case study from West Heslerton, Yorkshire. Invited seminar given at the *Stable Isotopes in the Marine and Lacustrine Environment, NIGL, British Geological Survey, Keyworth.*
- **Evans, J.A.**, R. Bullman, P. Budd, J. Montgomery, C. Chenery. November 2001. You are what you eat: isotopes and migration studies. Research seminar given in the *Department of Archaeology and Geology, University of Leicester*.
- **Evans, J.A.**, R. Bullman, P. Budd, J. Montgomery, C. Chenery. September 2001. You are what you eat: isotopes and migration studies. Invited lecture presented to the *British Antarctic Survey*.
- **Evans, J.A.**, R. Bullman, P. Budd, J. Montgomery, C. Chenery. January 8th 2002. You are what you eat: isotopes and migration studies. Invited lecture presented to the *British Geological Survey, Keyworth*.