

1 **Title:** Germs on a journey: what pathogens can tell us about population movements and human
2 evolution

3 **Authors:** Charlotte J. Houldcroft^{1,2*}, Jean-Baptiste Ramond³, Riaan F. Rifkin³ and Simon J.
4 Underdown^{4,5}.

5 **Affiliations:**

- 6 1. Division of Biological Anthropology, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of
7 Cambridge, Pembroke Street, Cambridge, CB2 3QG, UK.
- 8 2. McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, UK.
- 9 3. Centre for Microbial Ecology and Genomics, Genomic Research Institute, Department of
10 Genetics, University of Pretoria, Hatfield, South Africa
- 11 4. Human Origins and Palaeoenvironmental Research Group (HOPE), Department of Anthropology
12 & Geography, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, UK
- 13 5. Leverhulme Centre for Human Evolutionary Studies, Henry Wellcome Building, Fitzwilliam
14 Street, Cambridge, UK.

15 *Corresponding author: ch504@cam.ac.uk

16 **ORCID:**

17 CJ Houldcroft orcid.org/0000-0002-1833-5285

18 JB Ramond orcid.org/0000-0003-4790-6232

19 RF Rifkind orcid.org/0000-0003-1791-3706

20 SJ Underdown orcid.org/0000-0001-6056-2353

21 **Biographies of authors:**

22 Charlotte J. Houldcroft is an unestablished lecturer in the Division of Biological Anthropology, University
23 of Cambridge, UK. She received her Ph.D. in molecular biology from the Wellcome Trust Sanger Institute,
24 UK. Her first postdoctoral position was at the Institute of Child Health, University College London, UK,
25 where she researched the role of genomic variation in pathology caused by the three biggest infectious
26 killers of paediatric transplant recipients: Epstein–Barr virus, cytomegalovirus and adenovirus. She also
27 has an interest in which infectious diseases afflicted ancient hominins.

28 Jean-Baptiste Ramond holds a PhD in microbiology and microbial ecology from the University of Rouen,
29 France. He focuses his research on desert soil microbial ecology and is now using this expertise to study
30 host and pathogen evolution using ancient DNA sequences retrieved from archeologically-relevant
31 South African soils.

32 Riaan F. Rifkin has a PhD in archaeology from the Evolutionary Studies Institute, University of the
33 Witwatersrand, and has employed diverse experimental and ethnographic research methods to explore
34 the role of symbolic material culture in promoting and maintaining complex social relations amongst
35 early modern southern African *Homo sapiens* societies. His current research focuses on the evolutionary
36 history of human diseases, based on the incidence of arthropod vectors and pathogen DNA in
37 prehistoric sub-Saharan African anthropogenic sediments.

38 Simon J. Underdown has a PhD in Biological Anthropology from the University of Cambridge and is
39 senior lecturer in Biological Anthropology at Oxford Brookes University. His research centres around
40 human evolution and especially the co-evolution of humans and disease and how aDNA can be used to
41 understand not just the human evolutionary process but also how it has helped to shape what being
42 human means.

43 **Abstract (195/200 words)**

44 The biology of human migration can be observed from our co-evolutionary relationship with infectious
45 diseases. While many pathogens are brief, unpleasant visitors to our bodies, others have the ability to
46 become life-long human passengers. The story of a pathogen's genetic code may therefore provide
47 insight into the history of its human host. The evolution and distribution of disease in Africa is of
48 particular interest, because of the deep history of human evolution in Africa, the presence of a variety of
49 non-human primates, and tropical reservoirs of emerging infectious diseases.

50 Here, we explore which pathogens leave traces in the archaeological record, and whether there are
51 realistic prospects that these pathogens can be recovered from sub-Saharan African archaeological
52 contexts. We then present three stories of germs on a journey. The first is the story of HIV's spread on
53 the back of colonialism and the railway networks over the last 150 years. The second involves the spread
54 of *Schistosoma mansoni*, a parasite which shares its history with the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the
55 origins of fresh-water fishing. Finally, we discuss the tantalising hints of hominin migration and
56 interaction found in the genome of human herpes simplex virus 2.

57 **Words:** 6408

58 **Introduction**

59 There is significant evidence that human populations currently suffer, and may have suffered for millions
60 of years, from infectious diseases shared with or closely related to the infectious diseases of wild
61 primates (Wolfe et al. 2007). These conclusions are drawn largely by studying the phylogenetic
62 relationships of extant pathogens, both those that are exclusively human pathogens, and those we
63 share with other primates. This has led researchers to conclude that many infectious diseases have been
64 co-evolving with humans and our ancestors for millennia (Houldcroft & Underdown 2016). Reviews by
65 (Wolfe et al. 2007; Trueba & Dunthorn 2012; Harkins & Stone 2015; Houldcroft & Underdown 2016)
66 highlight the gaps in our understanding of the origins of diseases, and especially their relationship with
67 human evolution, behaviour and migration in Africa. Besides being the cradle of behaviourally modern
68 *Homo sapiens* (Mourre et al. 2010; Henshilwood et al. 2011; Henshilwood et al. 2009; D’Errico et al.
69 2012) sub-Saharan Africa also brings together exceptionally rich biodiversity with pathogen abundance
70 (Just et al. 2014). Prehistoric sub-Saharan African populations who inhabited the region over the past
71 150 000 years are therefore believed to characterise the human ancient disease landscape.

72
73 The first modern human dispersals occurred within Africa during MIS 5 (Marine Isotope Stage 5) some
74 135 000 to 75 000 years ago (ka). The increasing aridity experienced during MIS 5 likely played a role in
75 the expansion of human populations in central and eastern Africa, ultimately triggering the dispersal of
76 humans out of Africa after c. 65 ka. The development of modernity in early human populations has been
77 linked to various phases of technological and behavioural innovation. While the triggers for these
78 sporadic pulses of technological innovation are not obvious, the incidence of innovations appears to be
79 linked to instances of abrupt climate change (Ziegler et al. 2013). When rainforests expanded during MIS
80 5, hunters of grassland species moved north and south, taking bifacial technology to North Africa (the
81 Aterian), and South Africa (the Still Bay) (Wadley 2007). Thus, and by the beginning of MIS 5, two
82 behaviourally fully modern human populations were isolated at the opposite ends of Africa (Rito et al.
83 2013). One thrived on the southern coastal plain in South Africa after 145 ka (Marean et al. 2007;
84 Wadley 2007; Henshilwood et al. 2009; Henshilwood et al. 2011) and the other prospered in the
85 Maghreb, North Africa after 140 ka (Osborne et al. 2008; Barton et al. 2009; Castaneda et al. 2009;
86 Garcea 2012). It is from these isolated populations that the earliest archaeological indications of ‘fully
87 modern’ and symbolic human behaviour derive. While the regional distributions of projectile point

88 styles may indicate the existence of complex social networks, the first cultural traditions emerge just
89 before 100 ka, as shown by the engraved ochres from Blombos Cave (Henshilwood et al. 2009), Klein
90 Kliphuis Rock Shelter (Mackay & Welz 2008), Pinnacle Point Cave 13B (Watts 2010) and Klasies River
91 Cave (D'Errico et al. 2012). From 92 ka to 72 ka, evidence for personal ornamentation, in the form of
92 perforated marine shell beads, appears for the first time during the Still Bay and the Aterian
93 (Bouzougar et al. 2007; Bar-Yosef Mayer et al. 2009; Zilhão et al. 2010).

94

95 While much is known about the evolution of human technological competence and symbolic capacity,
96 the influence that diseases had on the biological and social evolution of our species is an essential and
97 often overlooked aspect of our developmental history. Disease certainly appears to have played a
98 significant role in the evolution and geographic distribution of ancient behaviourally-modern Africans. In
99 fact, the scarcity of evidence for human occupation in the tropical regions of central and West Africa
100 (Webb Jr 2005) has been attributed to disease, specifically malaria (Spriggs 2008). Malaria infection
101 occurs when female mosquitoes inject saliva containing plasmodial sporozoites (parasites) into the host
102 during feeding (Tolle 2009). Of the roughly 250 *Plasmodium* species, *P. vivax*, *P. malariae*, *P. falciparum*
103 and *P. ovale* are highly anthropophilic (Ollomo et al. 2009). *P. falciparum* is closely related to *P.*
104 *reichenowi* and possibly originated from parasites specific to chimpanzees (Rich et al. 2009) and
105 bonobos (Krief et al. 2010) some 3 million years ago (mya), although, data from faecal sampling suggests
106 that gorillas were the likely host species for *P. falciparum*, before a cross-species transmission event to
107 humans or our ancestors (Liu et al. 2010). *P. malariae* diverged from a parasite of chimps, or both chimps
108 and hominins, around 3.5 mya (Rutledge et al. 2017). The presence of malaria in sub-Saharan Africa
109 therefore predates the emergence of anatomically modern humans 200 ka (White et al. 2003;
110 McDougall et al. 2005), and mitochondrial mtDNA analyses confirm that early forms of *P. falciparum*
111 were present by at least 100 ka (Silva et al. 2011). The parasite subsequently spread from Africa to the
112 Near East and Asia between 90 ka and 80 ka, and to Europe after 40 ka (Tanabe et al. 2010). These ages
113 are consistent with current hypotheses concerning the spread of *Homo sapiens* (Armitage et al. 2011).
114 *Plasmodium vivax*, which today is principally a pathogen of Asia and Latin America, evolved in
115 chimpanzees or gorillas in central Africa. *P. vivax* then radiated across the world, most likely as the result
116 of human migration (Liu et al. 2010).

117

118 For humans, the avoidance of ecological niches conducive to mosquitoes presents an obvious means to
119 prevent the risk of malaria infection, and also other mosquito-borne diseases such as dengue fever,

120 West Nile virus, Chikungunya and yellow fever. In Namibia and Botswana, Singer (Singer 1960) observed
121 that San hunter-gatherers who lived more than 25 km from water sources were not susceptible to
122 mosquito-borne diseases. Besides ambient temperature and precipitation (Tonnang et al. 2010),
123 proximity to water plays an important role in the prevalence of malaria. Singer (1960) therefore
124 suggested that Kalahari San migratory routes were deliberately structured to avoid waterlogged areas
125 during summer. There is no conclusive evidence for the incidence of the HbS, b-thalassemia or G6PD
126 traits amongst the Kalahari San (Jenkins et al. 1968; Tishkoff et al. 2001; Kwiatkowski et al. 2005),
127 suggesting that malaria did not exert selective pressure on these groups. Similarly, prehistoric humans
128 may simply have circumvented areas prone to seasonal malaria transmission (including the tropical
129 region of Central Africa), and in this regard the absence of the HbS sickle-cell, b-thalassemia and the
130 G6PD traits amongst the Kalahari San is significant. In addition, whereas the Duffy negative blood group
131 locus is widespread amongst sub-Saharan populations, both the FY*A and FY*B antigens are rare
132 amongst the San of the Kalahari Desert (Howes et al. 2011). This seems confirm the notion that
133 ecological niche avoidance restricted the susceptibility of humans to mosquito-borne diseases (Singer
134 1960; Dugassa et al. 2009; Wadley 2012).

135

136 **The relevance of ancient African diseases for modern human society**

137

138 Resembling our co-evolutionary history with malaria parasites, gaining information about the incidence
139 of disease in prehistoric Africa is important as tropical pathogens and parasites had, and still exert, a
140 significant impact on the evolution of our species. Our rise to being the predominant species on earth is
141 the result of complex interactions between biological and cultural processes, and during the initial
142 stages of our cognitive, technological and cultural evolutionary history, all these processes occurred in
143 sub-Saharan Africa. Current epidemiologic transition models tend to associate the emergence of most
144 human diseases with changes in living conditions associated with agricultural innovation and higher
145 population densities during the Neolithic Period, c. 12 ka (Omran 1971). As a result, the search for the
146 origins of diseases has focussed primarily on domestic animals and environments outside Africa. But,
147 many of these tropical infections are likely to have played a role in the human evolutionary process for
148 much lengthier periods of time (Barrett et al. 1998).

149

150 Of the approximately 2100 species of microorganisms that interact directly with humans (Wardeh et al.
151 2015), 1415 species are known to be pathogenic, including 217 viruses and prions, 538 bacteria, 307

152 fungi, 66 protozoa and 287 helminths (Taylor et al. 2001; Woolhouse & Gowtage-Sequeria 2005).
153 Approximately 65% of these are zoonotic (Lloyd-Smith et al. 2009) and 177 (8.4%) cause emerging
154 infectious diseases (Dutour 2013). Of these, at least 20 have certain to probable African origin, including
155 hepatitis B, measles, cholera, dengue fever, *P. falciparum* malaria and leishmaniasis, plague and
156 smallpox (Wolfe et al. 2007; Houldcroft & Underdown 2016). The potential impact of disease on
157 prehistoric humans is illustrated by the fact that ~60% of modern hunter-gatherers succumb to disease
158 before reaching reproductive age (c. 15 years) (Gurven & Kaplan 2007).

159 But how are we affected by disease today? And what can we learn from the study of ancient human
160 disease pathogens? The current global disease burden is dominated by both ancestral (Wolfe et al.
161 2007; Houldcroft & Underdown 2016) and novel emerging or infectious diseases (Langwig et al. 2015;
162 Plummer et al. 2016). Pathogens result in nearly 11 million human deaths per annum and are
163 responsible for 51% of years of life lost globally (Dunn et al. 2010). Research concerning ancient
164 pathogens can contribute significantly to our understanding of infectious disease evolution in a number
165 of ways. These include improving our understanding of when (and how) virulence evolves in pathogens,
166 when certain pathogens (or parasites) became human pathogens and even whom to prioritise during
167 vaccination campaigns. Studying ancient pathogen DNA (apDNA) is therefore not just of interest to
168 archaeologists, but is also of relevance to public health researchers and molecular biologists.

169 Because our temporal frame of reference is restricted, and since changes in disease aetiology (including
170 virulence and communicability) frequently occur over longer time periods (Achtman 2016), we do not
171 fully comprehend the processes implicated in disease evolution and emergence. Comparative genomics
172 can be used to reconstruct short-term evolutionary histories of pathogen clades whose diversity
173 converges towards a 'most recent common ancestor' (MRCA) that existed decades or even millennia ago
174 (Der Sarkissian et al. 2015). Genetic changes can be observed in the genomes of bacteria, viruses and
175 parasites and occur through single nucleotide mutations, insertions or deletions or genomic
176 rearrangements. Since mutations play an important role in pathogen evolution and virulence,
177 information derived from apDNA sequences have incredible epidemiological potential. Prehistoric
178 pathogen research can therefore contribute to our understanding of infectious disease evolution by
179 providing chronologically-secure (dated) sequence data to integrate into phylogenetic reconstructions.
180 For a number of reasons, studies of extant pathogen genomes and estimations of the age of a pathogen
181 based on genetic data represent only minimal estimates of the age of a taxon (Achtman 2016). But by

182 anchoring pathogen emergence dates and mutation rates, apDNA research can provide crucial
183 calibration points to estimate the timing of divergence events (DeWitte et al. 2016).

184 For example, the sequencing of the 1918-1919 Spanish influenza (H1N1) virus genome yielded new
185 insight into virus biology and pathogenesis (Taubenberger et al. 2012). It is believed that H1N1 emerged
186 in 1893 and that, by 1918, the virus had already accumulated ~375 mutations, at a rate of approximately
187 15 mutations per year! One of these involved the acquisition of mutations derived from the H5N1 avian
188 virus, and the result was the 1918 Spanish influenza pandemic. Subsequent human-to-human
189 transmission barriers were crossed by the novel zoonotic influenza virus, finally triggering the 1918
190 pandemic. This illustrates the devastating consequences of influenza virus cross-species transmission
191 (Reperant et al. 2012). The ensuing pandemic viruses of 1957, 1968, and 2009 all descended from the
192 original 1918 virus. The reconstruction of the 1918 virus facilitated the rapid assessment of the potential
193 virulence of the 2009 H1N1 pandemic virus (Medina et al. 2010). The 1918 Spanish influenza virus-
194 specific B cell clones could still be recovered from elderly survivors 90 years after their exposure to the
195 virus but before their exposure to the 2009 pandemic virus (Taubenberger et al. 2012). This realisation
196 provided a scientific rationale for targeting the initial 2009 H1N1 pandemic vaccine to those who needed
197 it most, namely younger persons who had not been exposed to the cross-protective 1918 virus or to its
198 seasonally prevalent descendants. Thus, early in the 2009 pandemic, limited vaccine supplies that might
199 have been misdirected to the traditional (elderly) risk group was administered to younger persons, who
200 benefitted most.

201 Studying the evolution of infectious diseases, through modern and apDNA, has implications for chronic
202 disease too. There are a number of cancers that are partly or wholly attributable to oncogenic viruses
203 and bacteria (e.g. Kaposi's sarcoma herpesvirus (KSHV) and *Helicobacter pylori*), and in sub-Saharan
204 Africa, up to 33% of all cancers are attributable to infections (Plummer et al. 2016). The long-term
205 tracing of genetic adaptations and rates of evolutionary change are therefore highly informative in
206 understanding how a pathogen becomes virulent or transmissible, providing insights into how we can
207 effectively manage future epidemics (Boire et al. 2014; Andam et al. 2016). In addition to a long list of
208 known vectors and pathogens responsible for epidemic and pandemic influenza, cholera, Ebola, plague,
209 Rift Valley fever, Yellow fever, babesiosis and tuberculosis, the influence of increasingly warmer global
210 temperatures on the re-emergence and prevalence of novel bacterial and viral pathogens is cause for
211 great concern (Wu et al. 2016). This realisation validates the potential of information derived from
212 palaeopathogenic research on sub-Saharan African archaeological contexts.

213 **Ancient African pathogens: Is DNA recovery possible?**

214 There are numerous reasons to study infectious diseases in human prehistory, but this relies on
215 evidence of the disease persisting in the archaeological record. The likelihood of detecting ancient
216 diseases poses significant complications as most diseases are invisible in the archaeological record.
217 Individuals who succumb to death shortly after disease onset will not display skeletal indications of
218 infection, while those that did survive long after the onset of symptoms might, in some instances, have
219 developed skeletal indications of disease (Brothwell 2012). Even those that do affect human skeletal
220 morphology (e.g. *Yersinia pestis*, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*, *M. leprae*, *Treponema pallidum*, *Brucella*
221 *melitensis*, *Plasmodium falciparum*, *Trypanosoma cruzi*) are often misdiagnosed. Taphonomic alterations
222 also mimic disease conditions that can induce interpretation errors (pseudo-pathologies), even for
223 experienced palaeo-pathologists (Dutour 2008). Thus, and on account of this ‘osteological paradox’
224 (Wood et al. 1992), disease incidence is often unnoticed or misinterpreted, and this can lead to
225 unverified statements that some diseases were either rare or non-existent in prehistory. Unless
226 detected with innovative archaeometric techniques such as X-ray synchrotron micro-tomography (Odes
227 et al. 2016; Randolph-Quinney et al. 2016) or molecular (DNA) analyses, evidence of ancient disease
228 incidence is basically imperceptible.

229 The application of state-of-the-art molecular analytical techniques to archaeological remains has
230 transformed hominin evolutionary research. Examples of developments in the field of ancient DNA
231 (aDNA) includes the recovery of aDNA from equid remains dated to ~700 ka (Orlando et al. 2013), the
232 sequencing of the oldest hominin nuclear DNA from Sima de los Huesos (Spain) dated to 430 ka (Meyer
233 et al. 2016) and the oldest-known *H. sapiens* genome which was extracted from a human femur
234 recovered from the banks of the Irtysh River in Siberia, dated to 45 ka (Fu et al. 2014). These techniques
235 have also been applied to the emerging field of apDNA and have contributed significantly to our
236 understanding of historical epidemiological etiology (Schuenemann 2013; Devault et al. 2014; Bos et al.
237 2015; Harkins & Stone 2015; Rasmussen et al. 2015)

238 The detection of pro-viral sequences (human T-cell lymphotropic virus type I (HTLV-I)) integrated in the
239 genomes of a 1500 year-old Andean mummy (Li et al. 1999), and sequences from the human
240 endogenous retrovirus K (HERV-K) in Neanderthal and Denisovan genomes exemplifies the utility of
241 molecular analytical techniques (Agoni et al. 2012). Ultimately, such ‘markers’ can be used to study the
242 migration and co-evolution of (prehistoric) humans and their pathogens. For example, Agoni and
243 colleagues (2012) detected that one HERV-K provirus sequence was shared by Neanderthals and

244 Denisovans, providing confirmation that they shared a common ancestor (Reich et al. 2010). Other
245 relevant examples include the reconstruction of the bacterial genome responsible for the Black Death in
246 the Middle Ages (*Y. pestis*) (Bos et al. 2011) and the near-complete genome of the medieval leprosy
247 agent *Mycobacterium leprae* (Schuenemann 2013). These studies, however, rely on the destructive
248 sampling of preserved human skin (Li et al. 1999) , dental pulp (Bos et al. 2011) or bone (Agoni et al.
249 2012) for aDNA extraction and sequencing. Because ancient human remains are rare and therefore
250 valuable, it is necessary to consider the analyses of alternative sources of human aDNA and apDNA. In
251 this regard, ancient human (and animal) coprolites and also anthropogenic sediments (soils derived from
252 caves and rock-shelters inhabited by prehistoric humans) present an unexplored and potentially highly
253 viable alternative.

254 Extracting aDNA from ancient sediments is dependent on various post-depositional processes.
255 Specifically, extremely cold and highly arid conditions are most suited to the preservation of aDNA. In
256 fact, all the oldest known examples of sedimentary aDNA have been recovered from permafrost
257 environments (Thomsen & Willerslev 2015). The discovery and re-animation of two 30,000-year-old
258 viruses (*Pithovirus sibericum* and *Mollivirus sibericum*) from Siberian permafrost (Legendre et al. 2015)
259 not only highlights the preservative capacity of frozen environments, but also illustrates the imaginable
260 severity of the impact that an increasingly warmer world might have on pathogen prevalence. Similarly,
261 the study by Bellemain and colleagues (Bellemain et al. 2013) on the palaeodiversity of fungi in arctic
262 permafrost has detected multiple sequences related to known plant and insect pathogens.

263 This obviously does not sound encouraging for African aDNA studies, particularly when attempting to
264 track down ancient apDNA and correlate these instances with human evolutionary processes. Ancient
265 biomolecules have however been recovered from warm tropical environments. Currently, the oldest
266 known palaeo-protein sequences are dated to 3.8 mya and originate from ostrich eggshell fragments
267 excavated in Tanzania (Demarchi et al. 2016). In addition, the genome of a 4,500 man has recently been
268 sequenced from a cave in Ethiopia (Llorente et al. 2015). Similarly, the sequencing of tropical aDNA from
269 ~1000 year-old extinct tortoise shells has led to the near-complete reconstruction of ancient tortoise
270 mitochondrial genomes (Kehlmaier et al. 2017). This specific study provides proof that, under specific
271 micro-environmental conditions (e.g., anoxic deposits and under relatively stable temperatures) can
272 preserve aDNA for long periods in tropical environments. This is promising for African aDNA research as
273 the caves where our ancestors lived also present conditions suitable for aDNA conservation. For
274 example, the preservation of organic (non-fossilised) human remains comprising the oldest modern

275 human burial (dated to >70 ka) from Border Cave (d’Errico & Backwell 2016), and the preservation of
276 40,000 year-old antelope (*Damaliscus niro*) horn (Thackeray & Brink 2004) at Wonderwerk Cave in South
277 Africa, suggest that sheltered and extremely arid sedimentary conditions could contribute to the
278 preservation of aDNA in ancient African archaeological contexts.

279 Many bacterial, fungal and parasitic pathogens have been isolated from archaeological contexts
280 (Mitchell 2013); some examples are summarised in Table 1. But while the DNA of bacteria and fungi and
281 the remains of parasitic eggs are likely to be detected in ancient African cave sediments, viral DNA is not
282 as likely to be preserved. Unlike the double-stranded DNA structures of bacteria, viral genetic
283 information is encoded in a variety of structures, including double- or single-stranded DNA or RNA
284 genomes. Viral aDNA is more likely to preserve than viral aRNA because DNA degrades more slowly over
285 time than RNA, except when integrated in their host’s genome (Li et al., 1999; Agoni et al., 2012) as for
286 example HHV-6 (Arbuckle et al. 2010). Double-stranded viral DNA can furthermore be sequenced along
287 with host aDNA in a single reaction, without additional reverse transcription or steps such as
288 preparation of a single-stranded library (Houldcroft et al. 2017). Ancient single-stranded or RNA genome
289 viruses in archaeological samples may occur when preservation conditions are exceptional (Guy 2014),
290 for example in caves which have a cool and constant temperature, or where soft tissue has been
291 preserved, such as the stomach contents of the Tyrolean Iceman (Maixner et al. 2016). While the
292 hepatitis B virus, which causes hepatocellular carcinoma, has been recovered from human mummified
293 remains, and may be much older than previously estimated (Littlejohn et al. 2016), the likelihood of
294 recovering ancient viral RNA is largely predicted as there is currently little data to support this theory.
295 Scientists have however speculated that hepatitis C virus, despite its single-stranded RNA genome, may
296 preserve in archaeological remains as it has been detected in the tooth pulp of living humans with HCV,
297 and HCV RNA may therefore be preserved in teeth after death (Siravenha et al. 2016).

298 **Extracting aDNA and apDNA from African contexts**

299 In Africa, the extraction of aDNA from archaeological samples has proven challenging, largely because of
300 an extreme shortage of appropriate aDNA extraction facilities. Internationally, there are more than 65
301 laboratories dedicated specifically to aDNA research ([https://palaeogenomics.wordpress.com/ancient-
302 dna-labs/](https://palaeogenomics.wordpress.com/ancient-dna-labs/)). Yet, excluding Antarctica, Africa is the only continent on which only a single aDNA laboratory
303 (at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo) exists. Extracting and sequencing aDNA necessitates access to highly
304 specialised research facilities and involves strict analytical protocols and complex bioinformatic tools
305 (Willerslev & Cooper 2005; Der Sarkissian et al. 2015; Llamas et al. 2017). This is largely a result of the

306 fact that, owing to post-mortem decay, aDNA molecules are typically short (less than 100 base-pairs in
307 length), physically damaged (with specific fragmentation and base modification patterns) (Willerslev &
308 Cooper 2005) and, most problematically, that ancient samples are susceptible to contamination by
309 modern DNA derived from environmental sources such as modern sedimentary aDNA, airborne bacterial
310 and fungal spores, microorganisms derived from the human scientists handling the samples and also
311 contaminated sampling equipment and laboratory spaces (Hofreiter et al. 2001; Willerslev & Cooper
312 2005; Llamas et al. 2017).

313 **Box: Why are aDNA laboratories so special?**

314 *Before entering any aDNA-dedicated facility, stringent sampling protocols must be followed to avoid the*
315 *contamination of the ancient samples with modern DNA or nucleases (Willerslev & Cooper 2005). The*
316 *former contaminant would out-compete aDNA molecules during the sequencing reaction and the latter*
317 *would either digest or destroy aDNA molecules. Appropriate sampling procedures are detailed in (Llamas*
318 *et al. 2017). Briefly, researchers performing aDNA sampling activities should wear full body DNA-free*
319 *protective gear including face-masks, gloves, biologically-impervious body-suits and shoe-covers. All the*
320 *tools used to collect each individual sample should be treated with specific chemicals that degrade*
321 *exogenous DNA on their surfaces, such as the use of a 3% bleach-solution or commercial products such*
322 *as DNA-Away. Importantly, no modern DNA should ever be allowed to enter the aDNA laboratory. This*
323 *implies that aDNA specific laboratories must a) be physically isolated from any laboratories working with*
324 *modern DNA, b) be cleaned and decontaminated after each analytical session and treated with UV-lights*
325 *and c) that access must be restricted only to researchers that have been trained in aDNA analyses and*
326 *workflow protocols (Llamas et al. 2017). Willerslev and Cooper (Willerslev & Cooper 2005) also provide*
327 *aDNA laboratory operational protocols to follow to evaluate the validity of any aDNA-based research*
328 *results.*

329 Given the fact that southern and also eastern Africa forms the focus of human evolutionary research,
330 one would expect the continent to play a key role in the discovery and analyses of aDNA and apDNA.
331 This is even more emphasised by the fact the first ever aDNA sequences studied in the early 1980s
332 originated from the Quagga (*Equus quagga*), an extinct southern African zebra subspecies (Higuchi et al.
333 1984). While the current shortage of aDNA facilities in Africa leads to international collaboration, it still
334 necessitates the acquisition of substantial funding which limits the usage and development of local
335 expertise. While collaborations undoubtedly increase the quality of research, the lack of aDNA facility in
336 southern Africa impedes the development of local research expertise and knowledge in a highly active

337 and innovative scientific field that produces high impact and sometimes revolutionary research (Reich et
338 al. 2010; Prüfer et al. 2014; Llorente et al. 2015). Until archaeologists and scientists manage to resolve
339 the problems concerning access to local African aDNA facilities, fragmented aDNA and poor aDNA
340 preservation, understanding African pathogen evolution will depend on studying extant pathogen
341 genomes and using phylogenetics to work backwards in time.

342 **Pathogens and migration**

343 Pathogens (e.g. *Helicobacter pylori* and *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*) and also conspecific human
344 parasites (e.g. human lice) have been used to track human population movements and have provided
345 invaluable information regarding human migrations out of sub-Saharan Africa (Moodley et al. 2012;
346 Comas et al. 2013) and into the New World in particular (Raoult et al. 2008). But exactly which species
347 were brought from Africa to the rest of the world after *H. sapiens* left the continent at c. 100 ka, and
348 again at c. 65 ka, remains unclear. While many of the major modern human diseases that originated in
349 Africa (Wolfe et al. 2007; Houldcroft & Underdown 2016) exerted a profound influence on human
350 evolutionary history, most are still implicated in the deaths of millions of people annually.

351 Importantly, different pathogens tell stories on different timescales. Large bacterial and parasitic
352 genomes can tell very old stories as these tend to contain substantial amounts of molecular and
353 genomic information, and many might have deep coalescent times. Smaller viral genomes, especially
354 viruses which mutate rapidly (e.g. RNA viruses), 'turn over' their viral genomes so fast that ancient
355 variation has all been lost or replaced before we can observe it (Biek et al. 2015). Such instances
356 however present an opportunity to study more recent pathogen population histories on shorter
357 present-day time scales.

358 **Three stories of migration and disease from Africa**

359 1. HIV, colonialism and male migration

360 The zoonotic origins of HIV have been reviewed thoroughly elsewhere (Hemelaar 2012). What is of
361 interest is the story of changing human behaviour and migration patterns that allowed HIV to spread
362 and become a global pandemic. Pandemic HIV is caused by viruses from group M, which jumped from
363 wild chimpanzees in Cameroon to humans some 150 years ago, although primate (especially the great
364 apes, i.e. gorillas, chimpanzees and bonobos) to human transmission of SIVs must have been occurring
365 for hundreds and possibly thousands of years before this. This likely resulted in infections which were

366 poorly adapted to their new human host and therefore unable to spread efficiently between humans. In
367 Cameroon the virus did eventually adapt to spread from human-to-human, and then began to be
368 transmitted southwards across Africa, beginning its journey along the route of the Sangha river to
369 Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The transmission of HIV along this route was
370 likely driven by German colonialism in Cameroon which promoted increased movement of goods such as
371 rubber (and also HIV-positive individuals) into the DRC by river. This period of colonial rule is a plausible
372 explanation for the dating and location of the most recent common ancestor (MRCA) of HIV group M
373 strains derived from Kinshasa in around 1920 (Faria et al. 2014).

374 Kinshasa became the epicentre for the HIV pandemic and, within 20 years, HIV had spread to Brazzaville,
375 Lubumbashi and Mbuji-Mayi. Increasing population mobility due to urbanisation and new transportation
376 methods, such as railways, further facilitated the spread of HIV. In fact, historical data on population
377 movements by rail and river supports data derived from modelling the spread of HIV genetically. HIV
378 reached cities receiving high volumes of rail and river migration from Kinshasa earlier (by an estimated
379 15-20 years) than cities which received lower volumes of river traffic from Kinshasa. A disease which had
380 once been transmitted only sporadically, first from primates to bush-meat hunters in tropical Africa, has
381 now become a fully human-adapted disease free to infect residents in densely populated areas with
382 increasing mobility, allowing it to spread across Africa (Faria et al. 2014).

383 International mobility was instrumental in the development of HIV from an epidemic to a pandemic.
384 Human migration was at the heart of the early global spread of HIV, and this is reflected in the genetic
385 structure of HIV strains collected from current and historic HIV cases. Professionals from Haiti who
386 travelled back and forth to post-colonial Congo carried a specific lineage of HIV group M (subtype B)
387 with them; subtype B HIV was detectable in Haiti by 1964. From Haiti, subtype B was able to spread to
388 the USA (Faria et al. 2014) around 1970, 10 years before the first US cases were recognised (Worobey et
389 al. 2016). While many aspects of human behaviour are also integral to the spread of HIV (such as bush-
390 meat hunting, sex work, and unsafe medical practices that led to extensive needle reuse), migration
391 over smaller and larger geographic distances, facilitated by mass transportation and trade, enabled HIV
392 group M to spread widely and rapidly.

393

394 2. New ecological niches: flukes, fishing and farming in the African Pleistocene

395 *S mansoni* is a trematode blood fluke found across sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and parts of South
396 America, infecting 250 million people worldwide and killing a small proportion of infected individuals
397 every year by causing chronic inflammation of the spleen and/or liver. *S mansoni* requires an
398 intermediate freshwater snail host to complete its life cycle, which means that populations who engage
399 in behaviour which leads them to spend periods of time wading in fresh water are at risk of infection.
400 There are a number of different behaviours which bring humans in to contact with *S mansoni*, including
401 wading through irrigated fields (Hibbs et al. 2011), which lead to human *S mansoni* infections in ancient
402 Nubia, and also fishing at the edge of fresh water lakes and rivers (Crellen et al. 2016), a food
403 exploitation technique which dates to between 74-111KYA (Yellen et al. 1995; Brooks et al. 1995) for
404 freshwater resources and even earlier for marine resources (152–176KYA) (Marean et al. 2007).

405 The origins of *S mansoni* as a human infection are intimately tied up with human migration and changing
406 human behaviour. *S mansoni's* closest relative is *S rodhaini*, a rodent trematode, and it is likely that the
407 last common ancestor of these two species was a rodent parasite. This ancestor was able to switch hosts
408 and infect humans following changing human behaviour, leading to the speciation of the trematode
409 ancestor into *mansoni* and *rodhaini* around 125kya. The most genetically diverse isolates of *S mansoni*
410 come from lakes Victoria and Albert in Uganda, suggesting that it was in east Africa – where some of the
411 earliest anatomically modern human remains are found (McDougall et al. 2005) – that *S mansoni* was
412 able to switch hosts, likely after humans began to exploit fresh water lakes and rivers through fishing
413 and dwelling on the edges of lakes to hunt the fauna who came there to drink

414 The spread of farming in Africa led to movements of people and the spread of technology, and this in
415 turn helped to spread *S mansoni* across sub-Saharan Africa. Isolates of *S mansoni* from east and west
416 Africa were a single population (likely endemic in east Africa, where the original host-switch in AMH
417 occurred) until 7KYA. This could reflect a movement of infected people as part of the expansion of
418 farming and pastoralism (Marshall & Hildebrand 2002), and the population expansions around 6KYA of
419 the Yoruba and Luhya (Crellen et al. 2016).

420 Genetic data also charts the path of *S mansoni* from Africa to its other foci. The genetic diversity of *S*
421 *mansoni* in the Caribbean reflects spread of this parasite during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. *S mansoni*
422 found in Guadeloupe diverged from *S mansoni* from Senegal and Cameroon between ~1100-1750CE.
423 This coincides with the beginning of the French colonial slave trade to the French Caribbean, from 1669-
424 1864. The mass enslavement, forced migration and then forced labour in the French Caribbean of at

425 least 20,000 West Africans therefore seems the most plausible explanation for the spread of *S mansoni*
426 to the Caribbean (Crellen et al. 2016).

427

428 3. Chimpanzees, hominins and herpes

429 Herpes simplex virus 2 (HSV2) is a sexually transmitted human DNA virus that causes genital lesions and,
430 rarely, encephalitis (Tang et al. 2003) and is associated with increased risk of HIV acquisition (Freeman et
431 al. 2006). After primary infection, the virus adopts a life cycle of latency punctuated by periods of lytic
432 replication when new hosts can be infected through genital contact. The virus is related to the human
433 oral pathogen herpes simplex 1 (HSV1). Both are alphaherpesviruses, which are found in many primates
434 (Wertheim et al. 2014).

435 HSV2 was originally thought to have co-speciated with humans when our lineage diverged from
436 chimpanzees and bonobos, but recent comparisons of the HSV1, HSV2 and chHV1 genomes suggests
437 that HSV2 is in fact more closely related to chimpanzee herpesvirus than human herpesvirus (Wertheim
438 et al. 2014). A similar pattern can be seen between genetically distinct clades of *Pediculus humanus* (the
439 human head and body louse), with clade divergence times which pre-date the emergence of the *Homo*
440 *sapiens* in Africa and unusual geographic distributions (Reed et al. 2004). Taken together, these data are
441 highly suggestive of close bodily interaction between hominin species (Ashfaq et al. 2015).

442 The analysis of human and chimp simplex viruses found that HSV2 diverged from ChHV1 between 1.4
443 and 3 MYA, and an intermediate hominin is inferred to have served as a host for proto-HSV2 before it
444 introgressed into the ancestors of modern humans. Humans are susceptible to infection by primate
445 simplex viruses from bite injuries, suggesting that hunting of chimpanzees by hominins could have been
446 one transmission route. However, it is unclear how recently HSV2 introgressed into the modern human
447 population (and whether that transmission was sexual or the result of bite injuries during hunting), but
448 given HSV2's global distribution, it seems likely that this virus infected the human lineage before the
449 migration of AMH out of Africa. There is evidence of interbreeding and genetic introgression between
450 anatomically modern humans and unknown hominins in Africa around 35kya (Hammer et al. 2011;
451 Hsieh et al. 2016), too late to be the HSV2-transmitting hominin; but together, these different lines of
452 evidence illustrate that interbreeding between different groups of hominins, not all known from fossils,
453 was occurring across the globe in the Pleistocene. It also predicts certain patterns of migration, as

454 different hominins interacted as climate conditions changed, changing resource distribution and
455 generating the potential for inter-species conflict.

456 Unfortunately, ancient DNA evidence will not resolve the identity of the hominin(s) who transmitted
457 proto-HSV2 to the ancestors of modern humans. There is an 'event horizon' for ancient DNA
458 preservation, predicted by factors such as the age of the fossil, the heat and humidity it is exposed to,
459 and the potential for degradation by microbes (Allentoft et al. 2012). This means that recovering
460 authentic aDNA or apDNA from an African fossil more than 1 million years old is highly unlikely.

461 The issue is further complicated by the high human-to-virus DNA ratios experienced when trying to
462 sequence herpesviruses from living humans, meaning only a tiny proportion of the total DNA within a
463 sample would come from HSV2 (Houldcroft et al. 2017) if samples from archaeological specimens were
464 available; explicit enrichment of HSV2 DNA by PCR or target capture would be required (Houldcroft &
465 Breuer 2015; Depledge et al. 2011; Ebert et al. 2013).

466 However, this is not the end of the story: the examples of HIV and *S mansoni* demonstrate the power of
467 genomic analysis to reveal aspects of human and pathogen co-evolution. Computational modelling is
468 increasingly being applied within archaeology to reconstruct past events (eg (Crema et al. 2016; Bortolini
469 et al. 2016)), uniting many data sources. For example, modelling has been used to predict the
470 movement of anatomically modern humans out of Africa based on climate data and patterns of extant
471 human genetic diversity, without relying on fossil or other archaeological data (Eriksson et al. 2012).
472 Computational modelling and knowledge of areas of Africa with particular importance for the
473 understanding of human evolution would allow for more HSV2 genomes to be collected from humans
474 and ChHV in an evolutionarily informed manner and the potential transmission route reconstructed
475 (Underdown et al. 2017). This would allow researchers to focus on areas of Africa where particularly
476 ancient HSV2 lineages are predicted to be found; sequencing of a bonobo herpes simplex genome would
477 also aid in reconstructions of the history of ChHV1 and HSV2.

478 **Conclusions**

479 It is evident that ancient biomolecular research can contribute to existing genome databases which may
480 have public health benefits by providing tools for developing therapeutics, particularly if virulent forms
481 of ancient diseases re-emerge. This is important as history has taught us that disease is by far the most
482 effective eradicator of our species. Past pandemics are much more than just ancient history. They are
483 important drivers of human genetic diversity and natural selection (Pittman et al. 2016). At the time of

484 writing this Review, a report entitled 'Killer bird flu has spread across Europe - are humans next?'
485 appeared in New Scientist ([https://www.newscientist.com/article/2113725-killer-bird-flu-has-spread-](https://www.newscientist.com/article/2113725-killer-bird-flu-has-spread-across-europe-are-humans-next/)
486 [across-europe-are-humans-next/](https://www.newscientist.com/article/2113725-killer-bird-flu-has-spread-across-europe-are-humans-next/)). While rather sensationalist, the H5N8 virus, lurking in domestic and
487 wild avian populations since 2014, has rapidly spread along avian migration routes into India, the Middle
488 East and Europe and it certainly does hold the potential to develop into a global influenza pandemic. The
489 potentially severe economic and social repercussions of disease epidemics are further demonstrated by
490 both historical (e.g. plaque, smallpox, influenza etc.) and current (i.e. Zika, Ebola, SARS etc.) examples.
491 But the biological origin of a many prehistoric, historical and even contemporary pathogens remains
492 mysterious. The emphasis should therefore also be on the development of sub-Saharan capabilities to
493 detect, predict, prevent and control potential infectious disease epidemics rather than waiting for
494 known diseases to threaten global human health. This is particularly important given the current global
495 interconnectedness, which can put people at risk of diseases that emerge in distant locales.

496 The recent retrieval of the first ancient African genome from Mota Cave in Ethiopia (Llorente et al. 2015)
497 dated to c. 4,500 years suggests that the prospect of retrieving both human and aDNA from sub-
498 Saharan African contexts is becoming progressively more promising. Temperate and Arctic regions have
499 yielded more aDNA sequences than tropical regions, partially because conditions are more favourable to
500 the preservation of aDNA, but also because they have been researched more intensively (Slatkin &
501 Racimo 2016). Because of the paucity of aDNA sequences from Africa, any novel pathogen genomes will
502 provide novel revelations concerning human-pathogen co-evolutionary processes. As this review has
503 shown, evidence from even modern African pathogen genomes can shine a light on changes in human
504 behaviour and migration. The unique combination of an unrivalled archaeological record and a thriving
505 and highly skilled academic community places southern African archaeologists, geneticists and medical
506 scientists in a prime position to explore past pathogenic influences and to contribute to the
507 improvement of human quality of life and longevity.

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513

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875 **Table 1**

876

Pathogen	Modern nucleic acids	Ancient nucleic acids	Fossils
RNA viruses	Primate lentiviruses HTLV (Compton et al. 2013); HCV, tooth pulp (Siravenha et al. 2016)	Plant pathogens (Barley Stripe Mosaic Virus) [Smith, Clapham, 2014] and tomato mosaic tobamovirus RNA in ancient glacial ice. Polar Biol [Castello et al, 1999]	
DNA viruses	Papillomaviruses, herpesviruses, adenoviruses, polyomaviruses [Houldcroft, 2017]	Coprolite {Appelt}, Smallpox (variola virus), permafrost (Biagini et al., 2012)	
Bacteria	Coalescent analysis of modern genetic diversity, trematode blood flukes (Crellen et al. 2016)	MTB, <i>Y. pestis</i> (Bos et al. 2011; Rasmussen et al. 2015); oral microbiome (Adler et al. 2013); cholera from 1849 preserved intestine {Devault, 2014}; syphilis (<i>T. pallidum</i>) [Montiel, 2012]	
Parasites	Body and hair lice (Boutellis et al. 2014)	Helminth egg aDNA [Loreille 2001]; malaria aDNA from blood slides [Gelabert, 2016] and Roman-era teeth [Marciniak, 2016]	Eggs (Mitchell 2013)