

Dental modifications in a skeletal sample of enslaved Africans found at Lagos (Portugal)

Journal:	<i>International Journal of Osteoarchaeology</i>
Manuscript ID:	OA-14-0149.R1
Wiley - Manuscript type:	Research Article
Date Submitted by the Author:	n/a
Complete List of Authors:	Wasterlain, Sofia; University of Coimbra, Department of Life Sciences Neves, Maria João; iDryas-GAPlab, Grupo Dryas Octopetala Ferreira, Maria Teresa; University of Coimbra, Department of Life Sciences;
Keywords:	Dental modifications, Slavery, Africa, Portugal, 15th-17th centuries

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Review

1
2 **Dental modifications in a skeletal sample of enslaved Africans found at Lagos (Portugal)**
3
4

5
6 **Sofia N. Wasterlain^{a,*}, Maria João Neves^b, Maria Teresa Ferreira^c**
7
8

9
10 ^a Centro de Investigação em Antropologia e Saúde, Department of Life Sciences, University of
11
12 Coimbra, Portugal, sofiawas@antrop.uc.pt
13

14 ^b iDryas-GAPlab, Grupo Dryas Octopetala/Centro de Investigação em Antropologia e Saúde,
15
16 Portugal, mjoao.neves@dryas.pt
17

18 ^c Forensic Sciences Centre, Department of Life Sciences, University of Coimbra, Portugal,
19
20 mtsferreira@yahoo.com
21
22

23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30 **Running title:** Dental modifications in slaves from Portugal
31

32 **Key words:** Dental modifications, Slavery, Africa, Portugal, 15th-17th centuries.
33
34
35
36
37
38

39 *Correspondence to:

40
41 Sofia N. Wasterlain

42
43 Departamento de Ciências da Vida, Calçada Martim de Freitas, 3000-456 Coimbra, Portugal

44
45 Telephone: +351 239854105 Fax: +351 239854129

46
47 E-mail address: sofiawas@antrop.uc.pt
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Abstract

1
2
3
4 An archaeological intervention in Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal) allowed the excavation
5
6 of a deposit of waste dating from 15th-17th centuries. Among discarded objects, an important
7
8 amount of human skeletal remains was exhumed (N=158 individuals). The archaeological and
9
10 historical context, as well as the morphometric analysis of the skulls led us to attribute them an
11
12 African origin. While historical sources document the trade of slaves by the Portuguese since the
13
14 15th century, so far no slave cemetery was excavated in Portugal. The study of their lives and deaths
15
16 has been accomplished by historical documents. Therefore, this sample provides a unique
17
18 opportunity to learn more about captive individuals who were brought to Portugal in the modern
19
20 period. The present work focuses in the intentional dental modifications presented by several of
21
22 these individuals. A total of 113 subjects have teeth that can be evaluated for the presence of
23
24 intentional modifications. Of these, 55.8% individuals present dental modifications on their anterior
25
26 dentition, 42.9% exhibiting modifications on both upper and lower teeth. The incisors were the
27
28 most frequently modified teeth, followed by the canines. Both men and women as adults and sub-
29
30 adults have dental intentional modifications. In most individuals dental modifications involved the
31
32 removal of the mesial and distal angles, which is comparable to sub-Saharan African practices.
33
34 However, we cannot infer a more specific origin for these slaves only based on dental
35
36 modification's type and pattern because several ethnic groups modify teeth in the same way.
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 **Key words:** Dental modifications, Slavery, Africa, Portugal, 15th-17th centuries.
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1. Introduction

In 2009, an archaeological excavation of an area projected for the construction of an underground car park in Valle da Gafaria, Lagos, Portugal (Figure 1) revealed several human occupations. More specifically, two places of burial were identified at this site, outside the city walls: one related to a leprosarium (Ferreira et al., 2013), and another associated with a deposit of urban waste, dating from the 15th-17th centuries. This paper will focus only on the deposit of urban disposal, with an area of about 4000 m² and a stratigraphic thickness exceeding 6 meters (Figure 2).

A geoarchaeological approach was applied in order to recover and interpret the archaeostratigraphic complexity of the site (Neves et al., 2011). This careful approach proved to be particularly important, especially since severe damage occurred in the archaeological record before the fieldwork, causing great loss of skeletal remains and archaeological structures and levels. Unfortunately, in some cases, these damages have hindered our interpretation ability. The complete area of the deposit of urban waste is now unrecoverable.

The archaeological context of the findings reported here, namely the fact that human bodies were mixed with urban waste in a large pit, disrespecting the canonical burial traditions (Figure 3), the presence of African items (necklaces and ornaments in bone) associated with the skeletons (Figures 4 and 5), but also the morphometric analysis of the skulls (Coelho, 2012; Navega et al., 2014), and the presence of intentionally modified teeth (Figure 6) led us to think we are in the presence of African slaves (Neves et al., 2011).

A first AMS C14 date obtained for one of the earliest individuals buried in the deposit of waste resulted in 450 +/- 40 BP, Cal AD 1420-1480, Cal BP 540-470, Beta – 276508. This dating is consistent with the first historical accounts of caravels arriving at Lagos with enslaved Africans (Tinhorão, 1997; Henriques, 2009).

Several of the individuals exhumed from Valle da Gafaria present intentional dental modifications. Dental modification is a preferred term here in relation to dental mutilation because, as already mentioned by other researchers (Mower, 1999; Barnes, 2010; Cook et al., 2012), the

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
latter is inaccurate and ethnocentric. Africans have altered their anterior teeth through filing, drilling
with inlays, staining, and ablation (Barnes, 2010). Filing corresponds to the filing away or chipping
of specific teeth to create a pattern, such as the pointing of the ends of the teeth, or cutting out
portions of the tooth so that it appears to be missing a piece. Teeth may also be drilled with inlays
such as precious metals or gemstones. Staining of the teeth and/or surrounding soft tissues is
another way in which human dentition can be modified. Finally, ablation, also known as dental
evulsion, is the intentional removal of specific teeth (Inoue et al., 1995; Barnes, 2010).

17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
Strongly related to culture (Milner and Larsen, 1991) this practice can translate some aspects
of the enslaved Africans who were brought to Portugal in the modern period. Therefore, the aim of
the present work is to describe the intentional dental modifications presented by several individuals
exhumed from Valle da Gafaria, elucidate the variation with respect to this practice, and try to make
inferences about the ethnic and geographical origin of the Lagos's slaves.

33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 **2. Material and Methods**

In all, 158 individuals were exhumed from the deposit of urban waste in Valle da Gafaria
(Lagos, Portugal). The skeletons were recovered in various states of preservation and completeness
(Table S1). Unfortunately, some skeletons were partially destroyed by bulldozer action before the
arrival of the archaeology team. Since the present work focuses in the intentional dental
modifications presented by several individuals, only the skulls that had teeth that could be evaluated
were considered in this study (N=113), constituting therefore the sample henceforth referred and
described.

The adults' age-at-death estimate was made from the epiphyseal fusion of femoral head
(Ferembach et al., 1980), the third molar eruption (Ozle et al., 2007), the spheno-occipital
synchondrosis fusion (Shirley and Jantz, 2011) and the morphologic changes in the pubic symphysis
and auricular surface of the *ilium* (Lovejoy et al., 1985; Brooks and Suchey, 1990). The sub-adults'
age-at-death estimate was done following Scheuer and Black recommendations (2000). For sexual

1 diagnosis the metric and morphological analysis of the skull and hip bone (Uytterschaut, 1986;
2
3 Ferembach et al., 1980; Buikstra e Ubelaker, 1994; Bruzek, 2002; Murail et al., 2005) was
4
5 performed. The results for both sexual diagnosis and age-at-death estimation were then compared to
6
7 those obtained by Furtado (2012). Adults ancestry was assessed through non metrical traits, more
8
9 specifically the cranial morphological traits (Coelho, 2012) recommended by Rhine (1990), and the
10
11 morphology of articular facets of the calcaneus (Bunning and Barnet, 1965).
12
13
14

15 Initially, teeth were examined for presence, post-mortem absence, ante-mortem loss, partial
16
17 eruption (when crypt communicating with crest of alveolar process, or tooth not yet worn),
18
19 anomalous eruption (when the tooth has not reached its normal position in the tooth row), or no
20
21 eruption (as a result of young age, impaction or agenesis) (Hillson, 2001). The assessment of which
22
23 teeth had been lost before death and which after death was done by considering the condition of the
24
25 socket margins. The absence of a tooth prior to death may be caused by a variety of factors, namely
26
27 impaction, agenesis, pathological or accidental loss or intentional removal (ablation).
28
29

30 Differentiating between these causes requires a meticulous evaluation of the surrounding alveolar
31
32 bone and teeth. The amount of space remaining and the presence or absence of distinct traces of
33
34 approximal wear on remaining adjacent teeth were recorded in order to infer if a tooth had been
35
36 present, allowing a differentiation between ante-mortem tooth loss and agenesis or impaction
37
38 (Milner and Larsen, 1991). On the other hand, deliberate tooth removal is difficult to demonstrate
39
40 undoubtedly with archaeological remains (Milner and Larsen, 1991). Following other researchers
41
42 (Merbs, 1968; Mower, 1999, Domett et al., 2011), intentional ablation was considered only when
43
44 there was no evidence of disease in the surrounding alveolar bone or teeth, symmetry or near
45
46 symmetry of tooth loss was apparent, and the pattern of loss was repeated among individuals within
47
48 the sample.
49
50
51

52 Differentiating between deliberate tooth modification and that caused by a wide variety of
53
54 extra-masticatory functions (e.g. using teeth as tools or 'third hand', cultural habits such as pipe
55
56 smoking, use of labrets or toothpicks, etc.) or accidents also involves careful observation of the
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

pattern and location of modifications, the symmetry of teeth affected and the general frequency in a population (Blakely and Beck, 1984; Domett et al., 2013). In passive or unintentional dental modifications, teeth usually display asymmetrical wear patterns, whereas intentional modifications are frequently symmetrical. Moreover, task-related activities tend to affect the occlusal or approximal surfaces of teeth, whereas intentional modifications are usually performed on crown edges or labial surfaces (Blakely and Beck, 1984; Domett et al., 2013). All teeth were examined under standardized lighting conditions by careful visual inspection, by the three authors at the same time, for the presence of intentional dental modifications. When present, these were categorized according to the number of removed incisal angles, their position, tooth type and affected jaw. Each tooth was also scored according to Almeida's tooth modification types (Almeida, 1953, 1957). Two new patterns (no. 3 and 5) were identified in the present sample and were added to this scoring scheme (Figure 7).

A second observation of the whole sample was performed by two authors (SW, MTF).

Chi-square test was used to determine the level of significance of the association between dental modification and tooth types or jaws. The significance level was set at a probability $P \leq 0.05$.

3. Results

Individuals' biological profile

The biological profile of the individuals exhumed from Valle da Gafaria urban waste deposit can be observed in Table S1. The sample is made of 107 adults and 49 sub-adults. In two cases, the poor state of preservation and the incompleteness of the skeletons made it impossible to infer if they were adults or sub-adults. Among adults, 56 are females (52.3%), 24 are males (22.4%), and 27 are individuals of unknown sex (25.2%). The ancestry could only be evaluated in 63 adult subjects. For all of them, African ancestry was confirmed (Coelho, 2012; Navega et al., 2014). As already mentioned above, for the purpose of this study are described only individuals who had teeth that could be evaluated for the presence or absence of dental modifications ($N = 113$). From these, 36

1 were sub-adults and 76 were adults (49 females, 18 males, and 9 individuals of unknown sex). In 26
2
3 adults and 5 sub-adults, the high degree of fragmentation impaired the age-at-death estimation.
4
5
6
7

8 *Dental modifications on a per individual basis*

9

10 Of the 113 analyzed individuals, 63 (55.8%) presented dental modifications on their anterior
11 dentition, from which 14 are sub-adults (22.2%) and 49 are adults (77.8%). The form and location
12 (crown edges) of the modifications and the symmetrical nature of many cases revealed that these
13 teeth were intentionally filed and were not related to task-related wear. The youngest individual
14 with modified teeth (Individual no.30) was 3 years old (\pm 12 months). From this age onwards,
15 dental modifications were present in several pre- and post-puberty individuals. For the same ages,
16 there are many sub-adult individuals without any signs of this practice. Both women (30; 61.2%)
17 and men (12; 66.7%) presented intentional dental modifications. Twenty seven individuals (42.9%)
18 exhibited modifications on both upper and lower teeth.
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

30 Twenty three (46.9%) adult individuals presented removal of both mesial and distal incisal
31 angles in all modified teeth, eight (34.8%) of which on both jaws. Twelve (24.5%) individuals
32 showed removal of only one incisal edge and 14 (28.6%) individuals exhibited teeth with one
33 incisal angle removed and teeth with two angles removed.
34
35
36
37
38

39 Regarding sub-adults, only three (21.4%) individuals presented removal of both mesial and
40 distal incisal angles in all modified teeth, one of them on both jaws. Six (42.9%) individuals showed
41 removal of only one incisal edge and five (35.7%) individuals exhibited teeth with one incisal angle
42 removed and teeth with two angles removed.
43
44
45
46
47
48
49

50 *Dental modifications on a per tooth basis*

51

52 Adults

53
54

55 If only adults are considered, 1489 tooth positions and 1368 fully erupted teeth were
56 examined. Of the observable sockets, 49 teeth were lost post-mortem (3.3%) and 55 (3.7%) were
57
58
59
60

1
2 lost before death. Partial eruption was observed in five teeth (only third molars) whereas anomalous
3 eruption was found in four teeth (again, third molars only). Complete failure to erupt (as a result of
4 young age, impaction or agenesis) was registered in eight tooth positions (mainly third molars, but
5 also lateral incisors and second premolars). There was no ablation of teeth.
6
7
8
9

10 Since only anterior teeth were culturally modified these will be the ones considered
11 hereinafter. Overall, 506 anterior teeth were present and fully erupted, from which 209 (41.3%)
12 were modified. Upper teeth were more affected (57.9%) than lower (24.8%) (Chi-square = 57.281,
13 $df = 1$, $P < 0.00$). Cultural modification was performed mainly in incisors (central incisors: 67.1%;
14 lateral incisors: 47.4%) and, on a smaller percentage, canines (13.4%) (Chi-square = 101.902, $df =$
15 2, $P < 0.00$). Upper incisors, both central (93.6%) and lateral (69.4%), were the most affected teeth.
16
17 Only seven individuals presented modified lower canines.
18
19
20
21
22
23
24

25 Most teeth (152; 72.7%) presented removal of both mesial and distal incisal angles. Thirty-
26 eight teeth (18.2%) had only the mesial edge removed, and 19 (9.1%) showed only the distal angle
27 modified. Removal of both angles was most common in upper lateral incisors (Table 1). Lower
28 lateral incisors were the only teeth where removal of distal angle alone was never observed.
29
30 Removal of both angles was not observed in lower canines.
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

40 Sub-adults

41 Regarding sub-adults, 495 tooth positions were examined, from which three teeth were lost
42 post-mortem (0.6%) and one ante-mortem (0.2%). Partial eruption was observed in 29 teeth
43 (including central and lateral incisors, canines, first premolars, and second and third molars)
44 whereas anomalous eruption was found in two teeth (third molars only). Complete failure to erupt
45 (as a result of young age, impaction or agenesis) was registered in 140 tooth positions (every tooth
46 class). There was no ablation of teeth. In all, it has been possible to analyze 320 fully erupted teeth
47 from which 140 were anterior. From these, 38 were deciduous and 102 were permanent.
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1 Dental modification was observed in 58 anterior teeth, 37 deciduous and 21 permanent.
2
3
4 When both deciduous and permanent teeth are combined together, upper teeth were slightly more
5
6 affected (47.8%) than lower ones (35.6%), but this difference is not significant (Chi-square = 2.124
7
8 $df = 1, P = 0.145$). Regarding deciduous teeth, most canines (95.8%) and all incisors (100%) were
9
10 modified. When only permanent teeth are analyzed, canines were more affected (25.9%) than
11
12 incisors (18.7%). However, this difference was caused by lower incisors which were never found to
13
14 be modified. In fact, upper central incisor was the most affected tooth (57.9%), followed by the
15
16 lower canine (38.5%).
17

18
19
20 Removal of the mesial edge alone was never observed in the deciduous teeth. Twenty
21
22 deciduous teeth (54.1%) had only the distal edge removed and 17 (45.9%) showed both angles
23
24 modified. Removal of both angles was most common in deciduous canines (Table 2). Lower
25
26 deciduous incisors and upper deciduous central incisors had only the distal edge removed.
27

28
29 Regarding permanent teeth, all upper lateral incisors and upper canines presented removal of
30
31 both mesial and distal incisal angles (Table 2). In opposition, the lower canines had only the distal
32
33 edge removed. Upper central incisors showed modification of the mesial edge (54.5%), of the distal
34
35 edge (9.1%), and of both edges (36.4%).
36
37
38

39 *Patterns of dental modification*

40
41
42 In the Lagos's sample there is no evidence of drilling with inlays, staining, or ablation. All
43
44 alterations are consistent with filing. Figure 7 shows examples of how dental modifications
45
46 appeared as an end-product in the Lagos' sample. It is worthwhile to notice that two new patterns of
47
48 dental modification (no. 3 and 5) were identified in the present sample.
49
50

51 Adults

52
53
54
55 In adults, the most common pattern was no. 2, seen in 20 individuals (40.8%). In some cases
56
57 (N = 15), this pattern was observed only in the upper teeth, and in other cases (N = 5) it was seen in
58
59

1 both jaws. The pattern no. 1 was identified in eight adult individuals (16.3%), six of which only in
2 the upper dentition, and two in both jaws. The pattern no. 3 (pointed teeth) was identified in five
3 adult individuals (10.2%), four of which only in the upper teeth and one in both jaws. The pattern
4 no. 5 was observed in three adult individuals (6.1%), always in the upper teeth. There was no
5 specific pattern that was exclusive of a particular sex. In one individual (2.0%) the upper teeth were
6 modified according to pattern no 2. and the lower teeth following pattern no. 3. The opposite (i.e.
7 upper teeth with pattern no. 3 and lower teeth with pattern no. 2) was observed in three adults
8 (6.1%). Two adult individuals (4.1%) presented their upper teeth modified according to pattern no.
9 2 and their lower teeth following pattern no. 5. One adult individual (2.0%) showed upper teeth
10 modified according to pattern no. 3 and lower teeth following pattern no. 5. The combination of
11 pattern no. 4 in the upper teeth with pattern no. 5 in the lower was observed in only one adult
12 (2.0%). In fact, this was the only time pattern no. 4 was observed in an adult individual. In five
13 individuals (10.2%), it was not possible to establish any pattern, because each of the modified teeth
14 presented a distinct alteration.

15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33 In ten adult jaws, it was not possible to assess the symmetry of the dental modifications
34 because the antimeres teeth were not present or they were damaged post-mortem. When this
35 parameter was evaluated, symmetrical patterns were found for the majority of both upper dentitions
36 (84.6%; 33/39) and lower (68.4%; 13/19).

37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 Sub-adults

45
46 In sub-adults, the most common pattern was no. 5, seen in four individuals (28.6%). In two
47 cases, this pattern was observed only in the lower teeth, and in the other two cases it was seen in
48 both jaws. The pattern no. 3 (pointed teeth) was identified in two sub-adults (14.3%), always in the
49 upper dentition. Patterns no. 1 and 2 were only observed in one individual each. Two sub-adult
50 individuals (14.3%) presented their upper teeth modified according to pattern no. 2 and their lower
51 teeth following pattern no. 5. One individual (7.1%) showed upper teeth modified according to
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1 pattern no. 1 and lower teeth following pattern no. 5. The combination of pattern no. 4 in the upper
2 teeth with pattern no. 5 in the lower was observed in only one sub-adult (7.1%). This was the only
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

pattern no. 1 and lower teeth following pattern no. 5. The combination of pattern no. 4 in the upper teeth with pattern no. 5 in the lower was observed in only one sub-adult (7.1%). This was the only time pattern no. 4 was observed in a sub-adult individual. In two individuals (14.3%), it was not possible to establish any pattern, because each of the modified teeth presented a distinct alteration. The distinct patterns of dental modifications could not be related to any specific age of the sub-adults.

As observed in adults, the sub-adults also exhibit mostly symmetrical patterns, both in the maxilla (80.0%; 8/10) and in the mandible (77.8%; 7/9). The symmetry of the dental modifications could not be assessed (because the antimeres teeth were not present or were damaged post-mortem) in only three jaws.

4. Discussion

Historical sources document the capture and trade of slaves by the Portuguese since the 15th century (Henriques, 2009; Fonseca, 2010; Caldeira, 2013). Until the end of this century, Lagos (the origin of the present archaeological series) was the harbor where slaves arrived from Africa and from which were redistributed to the Kingdom of Portugal, the Mediterranean Sea, and Northern Europe. While this trade has expanded over time, so far no slave cemetery was excavated in Portugal. The study of their lives and deaths has been documented primarily by historical sources documenting the high rates of mortality related to the difficult living conditions, and dispose of their bodies. Because at this time period slaves had no social status (especially the newcomers to the kingdom), after death, their bodies were dropped anywhere without having a proper burial. The attacks by stray dogs were inevitable and this began to bother the population. At some point, the disposal of the slaves' corpses in places that would not disturb the citizens was ordered by a royal decree issued in 1515 by the king of Portugal Manuel I (1495-1521), saying: «Make a well as deep as possible, at the most convenient and less inconvenient place, to which throw the bodies» (Castilho, 1893). This kind of bodies' disposal was quite evident in the Lagos site. Not only were

1
2 the individuals mixed with urban waste in positions that disrespected the canonical traditions, but
3
4 also in some cases the position of their arms and legs suggested that they were tied, both front and
5
6 back.
7

8
9 The Lagos sample provides a unique opportunity to learn more about captive individuals
10
11 who were brought to Portugal in modern period. In fact, it is the first time an African slaves'
12
13 osteological sample is reported in the Old World. Even globally there are few known cemeteries of
14
15 slaves that have been excavated and studied, all of them located in the New World and with later
16
17 chronologies, as the cemetery of Pretos Novos in Brazil (Pereira, 2008; Cook et al., 2012), the slave
18
19 burial population in Barbados (Corruccini et al., 1982; Handler et al., 1982), the black slave
20
21 cemetery from Montserrat, West Indies (Mann et al., 1987), the cemetery of the "Waterloo"
22
23 plantation in Suriname (Khudabux, 1991), the cemetery in Campeche in Mexico (Tiesler, 2006),
24
25 and the African Burial Ground in the city of New York (Blakey, 2001). It is worthwhile to note that
26
27 in some of these examples the slave status interpretation is not consensual. There is considerable
28
29 discussion on how researchers can identify slavery in the archaeological record. Even when human
30
31 skeletal remains are present, this task is usually difficult if not impossible. Too often, the
32
33 archaeological data *per se*, without the support of historical records, do not reflect the slave status.
34
35 On the other hand, historical documents also have limitations, being frequently fragmentary and
36
37 biased (for further discussion, see Handler and Lange, 2006; Okumura, 2011). The Lagos's
38
39 individuals contrast with these cases in the sense that they were not properly inhumed in a
40
41 cemetery, but discarded with garbage. In the present case, the archaeological evidences strongly
42
43 suggest that these individuals were enslaved. Historical records support that.
44
45
46
47

48
49 Regarding intentional dental modifications, although there are archaeological and
50
51 ethnohistorical evidences for such practice amongst African slaves in the New World during the
52
53 colonial era, namely in the individuals recovered from the Barbados and Brazil cemeteries
54
55 (Handler, 1994; Handler et al., 1982; Liryo et al., 2001), so far there is no archaeological evidence
56
57 for such practice in Portugal during this time period.
58
59
60

1
2 Intentional dental modification among historical and pre-historical African populations is
3 well-attested (Almeida, 1953; Santos, 1962; Dias and Dias, 1964; Pindborg, 1969; Redinha, 1974;
4 Inoue et al., 1995; Finucane et al., 2008; Reichart et al., 2008, among others). It is usually done to
5 certain types of teeth, mainly the anterior ones, sometimes by a specific sex, and there is age
6 specificity regarding the time at which is carried out (Jones, 1992). Among various cultural groups,
7 it may signify a rite of passage, group identity, the mourning of a loved one, or be a means of
8 enhancing beauty (Milner and Larsen, 1991; Finucane et al., 2008; Barnes, 2010). While the
9 intention behind this cultural practice is difficult to discern from archaeological evidence alone, the
10 form and location of dental modifications vary geographically and with ethnicity (Mower, 1999;
11 Finucane et al., 2008), which can give clues into the individuals who presented them. As Milner and
12 Larsen (1991: 357) already emphasized 'These aspects of the dentition reflect a diverse array of
13 cultural practices, so they are of special significance in the reconstruction and broader
14 understanding of past human behavior'.

15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
The most relevant observed features of the present sample are that only anterior teeth had
been modified, being upper teeth more affected than lower. In most individuals dental modifications
involved the removal of the mesial and distal angles of the teeth, which is comparable to practices
observed in sub-Saharan Africa. Skulls from the early 20th century Cameroon show filing of their
anterior upper teeth, resulting in pointed teeth (Reichart et al., 2008). The same kind of alteration
has also been documented among several ethnic groups from Mali, Nigeria, the Central African
Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe
(Almeida, 1953; Santos, 1962; Dias and Dias, 1964; Gould et al., 1984; Jones, 1992; Fabian and
Mumghamba, 2007; Finucane et al., 2008). Extraction seems to have been less frequent in the
Central and Western Africa although it may have been more common in other regions, namely the
south of Africa (Handler, 1994). In the present sample, no evidences of ablation were found.

The obtained results are in general accordance with the historical sources. In fact, the slave
trade by the Portuguese in the West African coast was based on an existing trafficking network.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

These slaves were captured in the inland areas of sub-Saharan Africa being probably of different ethnicities, bought by the Portuguese in the West African coast (mainly from the current Mauritania to the Gulf of Guinea), shipped in several locations and brought to the Lagos harbor (Fonseca, 2010; Caldeira, 2013). Recently, random short autosomal sequence reads from some Lagos individuals, using them to call SNP identities and estimate ancestral affinities with modern reference data were obtained (Martiniano et al., 2014). African affinity signals were identified and further refined toward modern West African or Bantu genotyped samples, as expected from the above mentioned historical sources.

However, at this moment, we cannot infer a more specific origin for these slaves only based on the type and pattern of dental modifications because several ethnic groups modify their teeth in the same way. According to Van Reenen (1978) a certain type of modification was originally characteristic of a certain tribe. However, with time a simplification of old styles and/or adaptation to types of dental modification of neighboring tribes occurred mainly due to the moving away of a group from a particular area. Furthermore, as already explained above, it is highly probable that the Lagos slaves are from different African regions and ethnicities. Consideration of sex- or age-based differences could give clues about these individuals' ethnic identities or about the motivation behind such adornment. Sex-linked dental modification has been associated with rites of passage and childbearing among some groups in Central and West Africa (Goose, 1963; Pinborg, 1969). In some regions, dental modification also served as a marker of group affiliation, indicating one's membership in a tribe, clan or lineage (Jones, 1992). However, in the present sample there was no specific pattern that was exclusive of a particular sex or age-group, turning it difficult to infer a specific origin for these slaves or the motivation/function behind this cultural practice. This lack of pattern regarding dental modifications was also noted by Almeida (1953). In an ethnographic revision made among ten groups from Angola, this author did not found a specific pattern, exclusive of a particular sex or age-group. The only pattern noted was that the incisors were the only modified teeth. Besides, very rarely were the lower incisors the only teeth modified. In fact,

1 based on oral reports, Almeida (1953: 3636) states that the dental modifications affecting
2 exclusively the lower incisors were mainly due to the escape of the 'patient' during the procedure.
3
4 Among one ethnic group of Mozambique, although Dias and Dias (1964) have reported that
5
6 intentional dental modifications were made by boys during their rite of passage, they also mention
7
8 that girls and women were advised to do so. Therefore, a specific pattern by sex or age was not
9
10 observed. Unfortunately, in several studies, ethnographic and archaeological (e.g., Paúl and
11
12 Fragoso, 1938; Santos, 1962; Reichart et al., 2008), information on possible relations between the
13
14 types of modification, age, and sex are frequently missing. In other instances, the nature of the
15
16 available osteological material constrains any consideration of sex- or age-based differences
17
18 (Finucane et al., 2008).
19
20
21
22
23

24 In order to achieve more information about the ethnicity of the Lagos's slaves, ancient DNA
25
26 studies and isotopic analyses should be performed in the future. Furthermore, to clarify if Lagos
27
28 sample includes recently arrived slaves strontium isotope ratios should be also investigated.
29
30
31
32

33 **5. Conclusion**

34
35 The Lagos's sample provides the first opportunity to learn more about captive individuals
36
37 who were brought to Portugal in the 15th-17th centuries. Not only are there few cemeteries of
38
39 enslaved people in the world, as well as until now Lagos is the only sample to be discovered and
40
41 studied in the Old World. Despite the impossibility to infer a specific origin for these slaves or the
42
43 motivation/function behind this cultural practice, the detailed study of intentional dental
44
45 modifications of the individuals who make up this sample is extremely important for a better
46
47 understanding of dental practices among African people from the 15th-17th centuries, and more
48
49 specifically in enslaved groups. Hence, we believe this study enriches the scanty
50
51 osteoarchaeological documentation of both slavery and intentional dental modifications, and it can
52
53 contribute to reduce the discrepancy between historical and biological evidences of cultural
54
55 practices.
56
57
58
59
60

Acknowledgments

The fieldwork was funded by *FuturLagos, S.A.* This research was carried out with financial support from *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*. The authors thank *Centro de Investigação em Antropologia e Saúde, Dryas Arqueologia Lda., Styx, estudos de Antropologia Lda.*, Ana Eduarda Sereijo, Alexandra Costa, Catarina Coelho, and Ana Rufino. The authors also acknowledge the anonymous reviewers whose valuable comments and suggestions allowed us to improve the manuscript. The authors state that they do not have any conflict of interest to declare.

Supporting Information

Supporting tables: Table S1.

Table S1. Biological profile of the individuals exhumed from the deposit of urban waste in Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal).

References

- Almeida R. 1953. Mutilações dentárias nos Negros da Lunda. *Anais do Instituto de Medicina Tropical* **10**: 3602-3639.
- Almeida R. 1957. *Mutilações dentárias nos Negros da Lunda. Subsídios para o Estudo da Antropologia na Lunda*. Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang), Publicações Culturais, nº 33.
- Barnes DM. 2010. *Dental Modification: An Anthropological Perspective*. University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Project. http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/1345
- Blakely RL, Beck L. 1984. Tooth-tool use versus dental mutilation: a case study from the prehistoric Southeast. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* **9**: 269-277.
- Blakey ML. 1998. The New York African Burial Ground Project: an examination of enslaved lives, a construction of ancestral ties. *Transforming Anthropology* **7**: 53–58

- 1
2 Brooks S, Suchey JM. 1990. Skeletal age determination based on the os pubis: A comparison of the
3
4 Acsádi-Nemeskéri and Suchey-Brooks methods. *Journal of Human Evolution* **5**: 227-238.
5
6 Bruzek J. 2002. A method for visual determination of sex, using the human hip bone. *American*
7
8 *Journal of Physical Anthropology* **117**: 157-168.
9
10 Buikstra J, Ubelaker D. 1994. *Standards for data collection from human skeletal remains*. Arkansas
11
12 Archaeological Survey Research Series; 44. Arkansas Archeological Survey: Fayetteville,
13
14 AR.
15
16
17 Bunning PSC, Barnett CH. 1965. A comparison of adult and foetal talocalcaneal articulations.
18
19 *Journal of Anatomy* **99**: 71-76.
20
21 Caldeira AM. 2013. *Escravos e traficantes no Império Português: o comércio negreiro português*
22
23 *no Atlântico durante os séculos XV a XIX*. A Esfera dos Livros: Lisboa.
24
25
26 Castilho J. 1893. *A Ribeira de Lisboa: descrição histórica da margem do Tejo desde a Madre-de-*
27
28 *Deus até Santos-o-Velho*. Imprensa Nacional: Lisboa.
29
30
31 Coelho C. 2012. *Uma identidade perdida no mar e reencontrada nos ossos: avaliação das*
32
33 *afinidades populacionais de uma amostra de escravos dos séculos XV-XVI*. Masters
34
35 Dissertation on Human Evolution and Biology. University of Coimbra: Coimbra.
36
37
38 Cook DC, Bastos MQR, Lopes C, Mendonça de Souza S, Santos RV. 2012. Pretos Novos:
39
40 Evidence for African oral hygiene practices in Brazil, 1769-1830. *International Journal of*
41
42 *Osteoarchaeology*. DOI: 10.1002/ao.2278
43
44
45 Corruccini RS, Handler JS, Mutaw RJ, Lange FW. 1982. Osteology of a slave burial population
46
47 from Barbados, West Indies. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **59**: 443-459.
48
49 DOI: 10.1002/ajpa.1330590414
50
51
52 Dias J, Dias M. 1964. *Os Macondes de Moçambique*. Junta de Investigações do Ultramar: Lisboa.
53
54
55 Domett KM, Newton J, O'Reilly DJW, Tayles N, Shewan L, Beavan N. 2013. Cultural
56
57 modification of the dentition in prehistoric Cambodia. *International Journal of*
58
59 *Osteoarchaeology* **23**: 274-286.
60

- 1
2 Fabian FM, Mumghamba EGS. 2007. Tooth and lip mutilation practices and associated tooth loss
3 and oral mucosal lesions in the Makonde people of Southeast Tanzania. *East African*
4 *Medical Journal* **84**: 183-187.
5
6
7
8 Ferembach D, Schwidetzky I, Stloukal M. 1980. Recommendations for age and sex diagnosis of
9 skeletons. *Journal of Human Evolution* **9**: 517-550.
10
11
12 Ferreira MT, Neves MJ, Wasterlain SN. 2013. Lagos leprosarium (Portugal): evidences of disease.
13 *Journal of Archaeological Science* **40**: 2298-2307.
14
15
16
17 Finucane BC, Manning K, Touré M. 2008. Prehistoric dental modification in West Africa – Early
18 evidence from Karkarichinkat Nord, Mali. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **18**:
19 632-640.
20
21
22
23
24 Fonseca J. 2010. *Escravos e Senhores na Lisboa quinhentista*. Edições Colibri: Lisboa.
25
26 Furtado M. 2012. *A diagnose sexual de escravos africanos: estimativa sexual a partir de os coxae*
27 *da coleção osteológica negróide de PAVd'09 (Valle da Gafaria, Lagos)*. Masters
28 Dissertation on Human Evolution and Biology. University of Coimbra: Coimbra.
29
30
31
32
33 Goose DH. 1963. Tooth-mutilation in West Africans. *Man* **63**: 91-93.
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
- Handler JS. 1994. Determining African birth from skeletal remains: a note on tooth mutilation.
Historical Archaeology **28**: 113-119.
- Handler JS, Lange FW. 2006. On interpreting slave status from archaeological remains. *African*
Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter **9** (2), article 11. Available at:
<http://scholarworks.umass.edu/adan/vol9/iss2/11>
- Handler JS, Corruccini RS, Mutaw RJ. 1982. Tooth mutilation in the Caribbean: Evidence from a
slave burial population in Barbados. *Journal of Human Evolution* **11**: 297-313. DOI:
10.1016/S0047-2484(82)80021-3
- Henriques IC. 2009. *A Herança Africana em Portugal*. CTT, Correios de Portugal: Lisboa.

- 1 Hillson S. 2001. Recording dental caries in archaeological human remains. *International Journal of*
2
3
4 *Osteoarchaeology* **11**: 249-289.
- 5
6 Inoue N, Sakashita R, Inoue M, Kamegai T, Ohashi K, Katsivo M. 1995. Ritual ablation of front
7
8 teeth in modern and recent Kenyans. *Anthropological Science* **103**: 263-277.
- 9
10
11 Jones A. 1992. Tooth mutilation in Angola. *British Dental Journal* **173**: 177-179.
- 12
13 Khudabux MR. 1991. *Effects of life conditions on the health of a negro slave community in*
14
15 *Suriname: with reference to similar aspects in local pre-Columbian Amerindians.*
16
17 Gravenhage, Pasmans Offsetdrukkerij. PhD Thesis, University of Leiden; 144.
- 18
19 Líryo A, Rodrigues Carvalho C, Mendonça de Souza S, Carvalho DM. 2001. Modificações
20
21 dentárias na primeira catedral do Brasil, Salvador, Bahia. *Antropologia Portuguesa* **18**: 119-
22
23 141.
- 24
25
26 Lovejoy C, Meindl R, Pryzbeck T, Mensforth R. 1985. Chronological metamorphosis of the
27
28 auricular surface of the ilium: a new method for the determination of adult skeletal age at
29
30 death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **68**: 15-28.
- 31
32
33 Mann RW, Meadows L, Bass WM, Watters DR. 1987. Description of skeletal remains from a Black
34
35 slave cemetery from Montserrat, West Indies. *Annals of Carnegie Museum* **56**: 319-336.
- 36
37
38 Martiniano R, Coelho C, Ferreira MT, Neves MJ, Pinhasi R, Bradley DG. 2014. Genetic Evidence
39
40 of African Slavery at the Beginning of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. *Scientific Reports* **4**,
41
42 5994. DOI: 10.1038/srep05994
- 43
44 Merbs CF. 1968. Anterior tooth loss in Arctic populations. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*
45
46 **24**: 20-32.
- 47
48 Milner GR, Larsen CS. 1991. Teeth as Artifacts of Human Behavior: Intentional Mutilation and
49
50 Accidental modification. In *Advances in Dental Anthropology*, Kelley MA, Larsen CS (ed.).
51
52 Wiley-Liss: New York; 357-378.
- 53
54
55 Mower JP. 1999. Deliberate ante-mortem dental modification and its implications in archaeology,
56
57 ethnography and anthropology. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* **10**: 37-53.
- 58
59
60

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
- Murail P, Bruzek J, Houët F, Cunha E. 2005. DSP: a tool for probabilistic sex diagnosis using worldwide variability in hip-bone measurements. *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* **17**: 167-176.
- Navega D, Coelho C, Vicente R, Ferreira MT, Wasterlain S, Cunha E. 2014. *AncesTrees*: ancestry estimation with randomized decision trees. *International Journal of Legal Medicine*. DOI: 10.1007/s00414-014-1050-9
- Neves MJ, Almeida M, Ferreira MT. 2011. História de um arrabalde durante os séculos XV e XVI: “o poço dos negros” em Lagos (Algarve, Portugal) e o seu contributo para o estudo dos escravos africanos em Portugal. In *A Herança do Infante*, Matos AT, Costa JP (eds.). Câmara Municipal de Lagos: Lagos; 29-46.
- Okumura M. 2011. The end of slavery: Disease patterns and cultural behaviours of African Americans in Suriname. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **21**: 631-642.
- Olivier G, Aaron C, Fully G, Tissier G. 1978. New estimations of stature and cranial capacity in modern man. *Journal of Human Evolution* **7**: 512-518.
- Olze A, Van Niekerk P, Schulz R, Schmelting A. 2007. Studies of the chronological course of wisdom tooth eruption in a black African population. *Journal of Forensic Sciences* **52**: 1161-1163.
- Paúl A, Fragoso A. 1938. Anomalias e mutilações dentárias nos Bantos de Angola e Moçambique. *Folia Anatomica Universitatis Conimbrigensis* **XIII (13)**: 1-31.
- Pereira JC. 2008. Uma Reprodução Simbólica do Universo Social: o sepultamento de escravos no cemitério dos Pretos Novos, no Rio de Janeiro dos séculos XVII a XIX. *Sankofa: Revista de História da África e de Estudos da Diáspora Africana* **1**: 20-45.
- Pindborg JJ. 1969. Dental mutilation and associated abnormalities in Uganda. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **31**: 383-389.
- Redinha J. 1974. *Etnias e culturas de Angola*. Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola: Luanda.

- 1
2 Reichart P, Creutz U, Scheifele C. 2008. Dental mutilations and associated alveolar bone pathology
3
4 in African skulls of the anthropological skull collection, Charite, Berlin. *Journal of Oral*
5
6 *Pathology & Medicine* **37**: 50-55.
7
- 8 Rhine S. 1990. Non-metric skull racing. In *Skeletal attribution of race: methods for forensic*
9
10 *Anthropology*, Gill GW, Rhine S (eds.). Maxwell Museum of Anthropology: New Mexico;
11
12 9-20.
13
- 14 Romero J. 1970. Dental mutilation, trephination and cranial deformation. In *Handbook of Middle*
15
16 *American Indians, vol. 9*, Wauchope R (ed.). University of Texas Press: Austin; 50-67.
17
- 18 Santos JN. 1962. Mutilações dentárias em pretos de Moçambique. *Garcia de Orta* **10**: 263-282.
19
- 20 Scheuer L, Black S. 2000. *Developmental juvenil osteology*. Academic Press: London.
21
- 22 Shirley NR, Jantz RL. 2011. Spheno-occipital synchondrosis fusion in modern Americans. *Journal*
23
24 *of Forensic Sciences* **56**: 580-585.
25
- 26 Tiesler V. 2006. Excavated teeth confirm African slavery in Colonial Campeche. *Anthropology*
27
28 *News April*: 18.
29
- 30 Tinhorão JR. 1997. *Os Negros em Portugal: uma presença silenciosa*, 2nd ed. Editorial Caminho:
31
32 Lisboa.
33
- 34 Uytterschaut HT. 1986. Sexual dimorphism in human skulls a comparison of sexual dimorphism in
35
36 different populations. *Journal of Human Evolution* **1**: 243-250.
37
- 38 Van Reenen JF. 1978. Tooth mutilation amongst the peoples of Kavango and Bush-manland, South
39
40 West Africa (Namibia). *The Journal of the Dental Association of South Africa* **33**: 205-218.
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Table 1. Tooth angles removed by tooth type in the adult individuals exhumed from the deposit of urban waste in Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal).

Tooth type	Tooth angles removed						Total N
	Mesial		Distal		Both		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Upper central incisor	17	23.3	3	4.1	53	72.6	73
Upper lateral incisor	5	8.5	4	6.8	50	84.7	59
Upper canine	5	35.7	1	7.1	8	57.1	14
Lower central incisor	5	17.2	3	10.3	21	72.4	29
Lower lateral incisor	4	16.7	0	0	20	83.3	24
Lower canine	2	20.0	8	80.0	0	0	10
Total	38	18.2	19	9.1	152	72.7	209

Table 2. Tooth angles removed by tooth type in the sub-adult individuals exhumed from the deposit of urban waste in Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal).

Tooth type	Tooth angles removed						Total N
	Mesial		Distal		Both		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
<i>Deciduous teeth</i>							
Upper central incisor	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Upper lateral incisor	0	0	3	60.0	2	40.0	5
Upper canine	0	0	1	10.0	9	90.0	10
Lower central incisor	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Lower lateral incisor	0	0	7	100	0	0	7
Lower canine	0	0	7	53.8	6	46.2	13
<i>Permanent teeth</i>							
Upper central incisor	6	54.5	1	9.1	4	36.4	11
Upper lateral incisor	0	0	0	0	3	100	3
Upper canine	0	0	0	0	2	100	2
Lower central incisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower lateral incisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower canine	0	0	5	100	0	0	5
Total	6	10.3	26	44.8	26	44.8	58



46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure 1. a) Location of the Valle da Gafaria site in Lagos. b) Location of Lagos in Portugal.
164x263mm (200 x 200 DPI)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



Figure 2. View of one of the individuals buried in the deposit of urban waste of the Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal). In the stratigraphic column that appears behind the individual can be seen the successive layers of garbage dumps.
914x1371mm (72 x 72 DPI)



Figure 3. View of the large pit of the deposit of urban waste of the Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal). Note the fact that human bodies disrespect the canonical burial traditions.
1108x745mm (72 x 72 DPI)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



Figure 4. Fragment of an African bone carving representing a woman, associated with the individual no.136 from the deposit of urban waste of the Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal).
423x1105mm (72 x 72 DPI)



Figure 5. Individual no. 166 from the deposit of urban waste of the Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal) where it is possible to visualize beads around the neck.
1371x914mm (72 x 72 DPI)

Review

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



5 cm.

Figure 6. Skull (anterior view) of the individual no.81 from the deposit of urban waste of the Valle da Gafaria (Lagos, Portugal), with all upper incisors intentionally modified.
135x169mm (300 x 300 DPI)

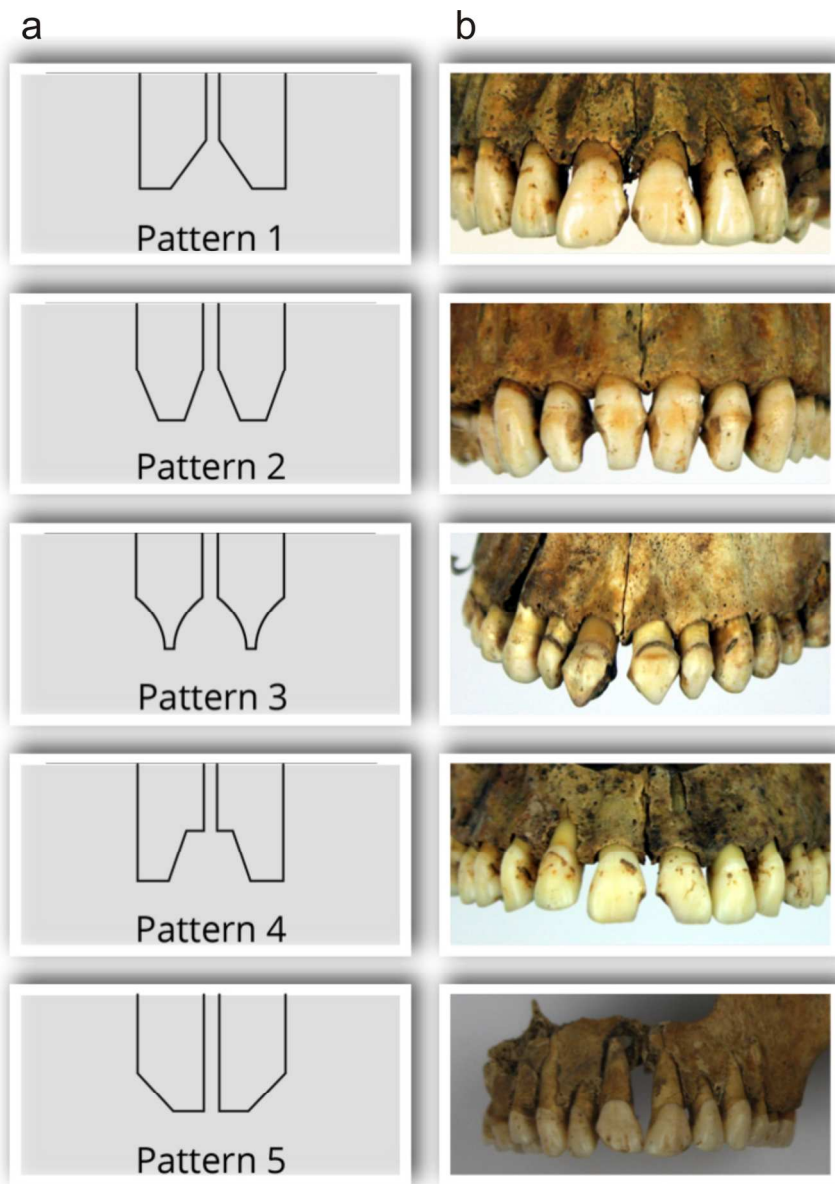


Figure 7. a) Classification of dental modifications adapted from Almeida (1953, 1957). b) Examples of how dental modifications appeared as an end-product in the Lagos' sample. Two new patterns of dental modification (no. 3 and 5) were identified in the present sample.
188x256mm (200 x 200 DPI)