



Map II: West Africa in the Era of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, showing the eight principal regions of activity and ports of embarkation, based on David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 1999). Map drawn by Rebecca Wrenn.



O Chafariz d'El-Rei, 16th century. Artist unknown. Coleccao Berardo, Lisboa.



Corner of Rua do Poço dos Negros and Travessia do Judeu in the contemporary Lisbon neighborhood of Santa Catarina. Rua do Poco dos Negros translates as “Street of the Blacks’ Pit,” indicating the old slave burial pit that existed there in the sixteenth century. In 1515, Portuguese King Dom Manuel I ordered the opening of the burial ground to combat the health hazards caused by rotting African corpses abandoned in various places across the city. The cross street is “Jewish Crossing,” yet another remnant of the neighborhood’s cosmopolitan, marginal, and laboring past.

NIGRITÆ EXHAUSTIS VENIS METALLICIS II
 conficiendo saccharo operam dare debent.



Nigritarum ergo opera vsi sunt Hispani initio in scrutandis venis metallicis: verum postquam illae fuerunt exhaustae, horum ministerio vti coeperunt ad molas trusatiles quae sacchariferas cannas comminuunt, ad saccharum coquendum & cogendum: in quo ministerio etiamnum hodie magna ex parte occupantur. Nam cum ea Insula humida sit & calida, minimo negotio sacchariferae cannae siue arundines succrescunt; ex quibus contusis, deinde in lebetes coniectis, & decoctis, postremum rite repurgatis & in saccharum concretis, magnum quantum facere solent. Utuntur praeterea istorum Nigritarum opera in pascendis armentis, & reliquis rebus administrandis quae necessariae sunt ad suos vsus.

Title, "Nigritae exhaustis venis metallicis conficiendo saccharo operam dare debent . . . II." ("The veins of gold ore having been exhausted, the Blacks had to work in sugar"). The woodcut depicts human-powered sugar mill and various phases of sugar manufacture at a very early period. Note, cauldron in left-hand corner for boiling the sugar, and the pots into which the unrefined sugar was placed. This is one of the earliest known illustrations of sugar making in the New World, and is the fanciful depiction of the De Bry brothers, the Flemish engravers (who never visited the New World), based on a brief passage in Benzoni (and, perhaps, other voyagers): "When the natives of this island (Española) began to be extirpated, the Spaniards provided themselves with blacks (Mori) from Guinea . . . and they have brought great numbers thence. When there were mines, they made them work at the gold and silver [Benzoni, fig. 1]; but since those came to an end they have increased the sugar-works [Benzoni, fig. 2, above], and in these and in tending the flocks they are chiefly occupied, besides serving their masters in all else" (See History of the New World by Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan. Shewing his travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556 Now first translated, and edited by Rear-Admiral W.H. Smyth [London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1857; original published in Venice, 1565]. p. 93). For this illustration in color, with the accompanying description in German, see Gereon Sievernich (ed.), America de Bry, 1590-1634: Amerika oder die Neue Welt (Berlin, 1990), p. 189.



Titled, "How the Negro slaves work and look for gold in the mines of the region called Veragua [Panama]," this illustration shows a Spaniard and four Blacks (one or two may be women). *Histoire naturelle des Indes: the Drake manuscript* in the Pierpont Morgan Library [a full color facsimile edition with English translations]; preface by Charles E. Pierce; forward by Patrick O'Brian; introduction by Verlyn Klinkenborg; translations by Ruth S. Kraemer (New York, 1996), folio 100, translation, p. 267.



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C. Ferrao and J. P. Soares, eds., *Dutch Brazil, The "Thierbuch" and "Autobiography" of Zacharias Wagener*; D.H. Treece and R. Trewinnard, English translators (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Index, 1997), vol. 2, p. 193, plate 105. Of this illustration, Wagener/Wagner writes "When the slaves have carried out their arduous duties for weeks on end, they are allowed to celebrate one Sunday as they please; in large numbers in certain places and with all manner of leaps, drums, and flutes, they dance from morning to night, all in a disorganized way, with men and women, young and old; meanwhile, the others drink a strong spirit made with sugar, which they call 'garapa'; they spend all day like that in a continuous dance . . ." (vol. 2, p. 194). Wagener was a German mercenary for the Dutch West India Company; in 1634, at the age of about 20, he went to northeastern Brazil and stayed there for 7 years. James Sweet identifies this scene as depicting a "calundu," a divination ceremony that involved spirit possession, and notes that "several of the Africans appear to have already been possessed by ancestral spirits. In particular . . . the man with the crest of feathers on his head and the woman at the center of the painting. The feathers indicated possession by a powerful ancestral figure, perhaps a former chief or king. Also . . . the man on the far left, imbibing what may be the ceremonial drink alua from a clay jar" (*Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African Portuguese World, 1441-1770* [University of North Carolina Press, 2003], pp. 144, 150).