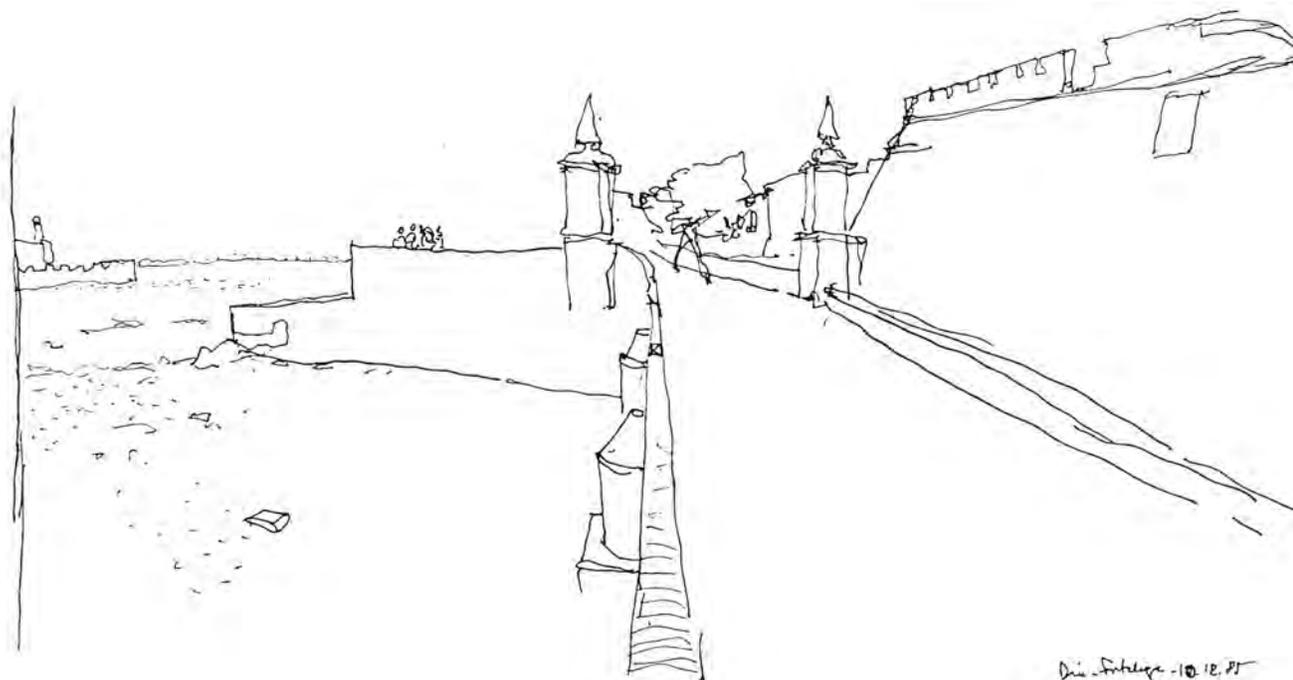


frase a man

a fim de  
de novo RTP

Estudo a fazer  
de novo RTP

Lafite



Nuno Miguel da Silveira Campos Pereira Grancho

## DIU, A SOCIAL ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN HISTORY

Tese de Doutoramento em Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa, ramo de Arquitetura e Urbanismo,  
orientada pelo Professor Doutor Paulo Varela Gomes, co-orientada pelo Professor Arquiteto Rahul Mehrotra  
entregue ao Instituto de Investigação Interdisciplinar da Universidade de Coimbra.

Março 2016



UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA



Nuno Grancho

# DIU

*a Social Architectural  
and Urban History*

*A thesis submitted to the University of Coimbra*

*In fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)*

*in*

*Heritages of Portuguese Influence, Architecture and Urbanism*

Paulo Varela Gomes, University of Coimbra, tutor

Rahul Mehrotra, Harvard University, co-tutor



Coimbra, 31st March 2016



**Cover:**

“Diu. Fortaleza. 10/12/1985”.

Author: Professor architect Fernando Távora

With the support:





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*for*

*Nuno Grancho, who 'took' me to Diu for the first time.  
20 January 1939 to 24 May 1967*

*and*

*Paulo Varela Gomes, who 'took' me to Diu for the second time.  
who is my true friend.  
who infused me with the vital demands that shaped  
my life*



“Dying Is More Difficult Than It Seems”

Paulo Varela Gomes, 2015

“Morre jovem o que os Deuses amam”

Fernando Pessoa

“Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur”

Titus Maccius Plautus, *Bachides* (IV, 7, 18)



### **Acknowledgments and personal notes: “when our wings are cut, can we still fly?”**

In fact, I could say, I was my first time in Diu before I was born.

My fascination and engagement with Diu have endured for much more than a decade and a half... I owe it to my father and to Paulo Varela Gomes. Both epitomize the memory, the appeal and the complexity of India, a place and a frontier real and intangible. Without them, this work would never be accomplished.

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I will be around...no longer the same.



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- In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" /  
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## Glossary of terms

<b><i>Azadari</i></b>	Muharram mourning rituals.
<b><i>Banyan</i></b>	hindu and jain mercantile caste.
<b><i>Brahmasthanana</i></b>	There are ten directions and every direction has its own presiding diety. The central area of the plot is called the brahmasthanana it belongs to Lord Brahma. Normally one third of the width may form the part of Brahmasthanana. A square building will have a square Brahmasthanana. In a rectangular building, the shape of the Brahmasthanana would be an elongated star type in both the axes.
<b><i>Bhora</i></b>	Bhora, also known as Bhoi, claim to be one of the fifty sub-castes of the Bhoi distributed throughout India. Enthoven has divided the Bhoi into five territorial groups, viz. Maratha, Khandesh, Karnataka, Kanarha and Gujarati. The community believes that the term 'Bhoi' has been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Bhumi' and that their traditional occupation was to carry <i>palki</i> (palanquin).
<b><i>Burrun</i></b>	caste.
<b><i>Caravanserai, serai or sarai</i></b>	inn, usually with a large courtyard, for the overnight accommodation of caravans and travellers in the desert regions of Asia or North Africa.
<b><i>Chowk</i></b>	square. Central courtyard in a Gujarat urban house
<b><i>Dargah</i></b>	muslim saint's tomb
<b><i>Darbarqadh</i></b>	fort where the <i>thakur</i> lives.
<b><i>Delo</i></b>	gateway.
<b><i>Dhakma</i></b>	zoroastrian tower of silence built to consign the bodies of the deceased to be devoured by vultures and carrion crows or desiccated by the sun, as part of the zoroastrian practice of excarnation of the dead.
<b><i>Dhimmi</i></b>	legally protected minority status granted to the banyans for which they paid a poll tax.
<b><i>Divankhanu</i></b>	reception room for distinct and wealthy men. It symbolized the status and wealth of the inhabitant of the house, for example a rich merchant. Apart from the interior decor, the divankhanu front overlooking the street below was provided with fenestration, thus giving both the elevation of the house and its interiors a more complex space and a sociability place to assemble and watch. It was used for a more private session and that gradually began to be decorated.
<b><i>Gallis</i></b>	street.
<b><i>Gujarat</i></b>	Northern most region on the western seaboard of India, is broadly composed of three sub-regions distinct from each other: the mainland, the peninsula of Saurashtra and the north-western region of Kutch. Diu is located in the most southern tip of Gujarat.
<b><i>ghullam-i khass</i></b>	royal slave from the sultans of Gujarat.
<b><i>Haveli</i></b>	traditional townhouse or mansion with courtyard.

<i>Hundi</i>	bill of exchange.
<i>Imambara</i>	space where <i>matam</i> occurs.
<i>Julus</i>	Muharram procession.
<i>Jumma</i>	congregational prayer that Muslims hold every Friday, just after noon instead of the Zuhr prayer. Muslims pray ordinarily five times each day according to the sun's sky path.
<i>Kacheri</i>	building closely linked with the residential part of the dwelling, yet related with profession and administration.
<i>Kammalar</i>	communities of carpenters, blacksmiths, bronze smiths, goldsmiths and stonemasons from Tamil Nadu and Kerala, Panchalar in Karnataka and Panchanamuvaru in Andhra Pradesh. Sometimes are described as an Indian caste
<i>Khadki</i>	closely-formed self-contained neighbourhood of dwellings; forward-facing room running the full width of the plot of urban house. Probably served as a more formal 'entrance' beyond which a stranger should not cross.
<i>Khoja</i>	Community of Muslim traders from Diu. The meaning of the word 'khoja' in Sindhi or 'kwajah' is 'traders. They perceive their origin from the hindu trader castes of Sindh who were converted to the Ismailia Sia sect by Muhammad Sadra-ud-din.
<i>Kolis</i>	caste of fisherman.
<i>Koliwada</i>	fishermen's neighbourhood.
<i>Madrassa</i>	muslim school.
<i>Mala</i>	loft at the rear of an haveli.
<i>Mahajan, Mazania, Corpo de Mazanes</i>	social organization (guild-like) that replicated in Diu similar social units that were present in cities of Gujarat. For some, the <i>mahajan</i> membership was restricted to groups, while for others, <i>mahajan</i> were business organizations whose main purpose lay in securing the commercial interests of a group of traders.
<i>Mazane</i>	representative of a collectivity and member of what was organized as a <i>mazania</i> .
<i>Majales-e Ara</i>	re-telling of the Karbala story by muslim leaders in the community, or (mourning assemblies which are also referred to as <i>majlis</i> ).
<i>Matam</i>	Muharram recitations from orators to embrace the sorrows and sacrifice of those who died, inciting tears of grief as well as self-flagellation and additional reminders of mourning.
<i>Mazania</i>	guild hall.
<i>Mohalla</i>	residential sector of a city, neighbourhood. Also <i>Pura</i> .
<i>Nagarseth</i>	collective representative of the banyans to the civil authority of Diu.
<i>Otlo</i>	front verandah, balcony or gallery of the urban house
<i>Ordo</i>	room, room of urban house.
<i>Osari</i>	rear veranda.
<i>Panch</i>	artisans guild-like organization from the same caste or from different castes but from the same <i>varna</i> , hindu or jain. This council not only managed social affairs of the members but also governed their

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	commercial relations. They also managed funds which were used to assist the community.
<i>Paniaru</i>	water storage room.
<i>Parsal</i>	central room of urban house.
<i>Parsi</i>	descendants of Iranian zoroastrians who migrated to and settled in India in order to preserve their zoroastrian religion, i.e., 'Persians', inhabitants of the Iranian province of Persis, today Fars.
<i>Parsiwada</i>	zoroastrian neighbourhood.
<i>Patel</i>	headman of <i>panch</i> . This post was usually hereditary.
<i>Pol</i>	group of <i>khadkis</i> which communicated through lanes, all of which finally joined up in a larger road and it was here that a gateway stood enclosing the group of separate enclaves.
<i>Puja</i>	prayer ritual performed by Hindus to host, honour and worship one or more deities, or to spiritually celebrate an event. Also extra room in haveli.
<i>Pura</i>	city, urban settlement, residential sector of a city, fortified city
<i>Rasodu</i>	kitchen.
<i>Raveshi</i>	inner/rear veranda.
<i>Sarrafi</i>	moneychanger.
<i>Sahukar</i>	moneylender.
<i>Samast Vanik</i>	hindu <i>mahajan</i> which involved families who belonged to a wider range of occupational groups.
<i>Saurashtra</i>	region of western India, located on the Arabian Sea coast of Gujarat and consists of 11 districts. Diu is its most southern tip.
<i>Sagri</i>	zoroastrian prayer hall with a longitudinal design and barrel vaulted-structure
<i>Seth</i>	head of a <i>Mazania</i> (occasionally hereditary).
<i>Sipars</i>	large shield-shaped objects held aloft on long sticks utilized in the Muharram procession ( <i>julus</i> ).
<i>Suq</i>	market.
<i>Thakur</i>	local chieftain.
<i>Ta'ziyeh</i> (also <i>tazia</i> )	replicas of the tombs of Hasan and Hussein.
<i>Varna</i>	Each of the four Hindu castes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra.
<i>Verandah</i>	built space around buildings with open sides and roof above.
<i>Vastupurusa-mandala</i>	Plan of all architectural of the hindus. The site-plan, the ground-plan, the horizontal and vertical sections are regulated by its norm.
<i>Vitusistras</i>	Indian architectural treatises.
<i>Zarih</i>	precious and permanent <i>ta'ziyeh</i>

*Zoroastrianism*

religion associated with the teachings and revelation of the Iranian prophet Zarathustra, or Zoroaster as referred to by the ancient Greeks. The religious message dates from the second millennium B.C.E.

## Abstract

What is the colonial city in India like? What is Diu, in European spatial colonial culture in general, and in Portuguese spatial colonial culture in particular? How has the apparatus of urban space, architectural form, and representation worked in ways unseen by its contingent actors, and how has this apparatus biased Diu and the Portuguese colonial empire?

The dissertation is an original contribution that opens a global episteme and explores the process of knowledge production, the construction of identity and the creation of political meaning in and about the European colonial city in South Asia by reconnoitring the conditions of colonialism that produced in Diu the Portuguese colonial city as a modern 'artefact.'

The question of 'identity' resides at the core of the study, understood as description, narration, as well as representation of the European colonial city in India, weaving together history and theory of architecture and urbanism and history of thought and culture, in what seeks to be a contribution to the study of imperialism, colonialism, modernity and of the Portuguese and/or catholic colonial city in India.

The chapters highlight the complex relationship between the Portuguese sovereignty and statecraft and its colonial project in Diu, and re-examine spatial culture and social practice in the city from the early sixteenth (1514) until the mid-twentieth century (1961), through the lens of history and theory of architecture and urbanism. Overall, the dissertation describes a scenario of a continuing layered sovereignty throughout this period in an imperial and continental 'border' place, in which transnational connections informed the apparatus of architectural and urban form, space, and representation in ways that were underway, from the vantage-point of an urban polity that was never entirely colonized. Taking as the object of analysis, the architecture and the overall colonial city, but extending this to the reading of related public and domestic spaces, the dissertation demonstrates the complex nature of overlap between spatial and functional categories in the colonial context. We argue that there never was a place like Diu in the history of the European colonial presence in India, in the history of European colonial identity in India, and foremost, in the history of the European colonial city in India. There, the (cultural) concepts of 'ambivalence' and 'hybridity' were made pioneers and shapers of architectural and urban identity of the European empires in the East, in contrast to the standard position resulting from the merging of cultures. Diu is an entire repository of a global history of colonial material culture in India. As outcomes of the concepts, were built in Diu the 'touchstones' of Portuguese colonial architecture in the East, instances of European Renaissance military architecture, and of European catholic architecture.

The vantage point that we have sought to bring to light, renders apparent some of the multiple faces of the study of the city in the colonial world. Firstly, questioned the historicization of a historiographical axiom completely accepted, assumed, reproduced and unquestioned by the historiography that, directly or indirectly did (and does) the study of the colonial cities, and finally, acted as point of departure in a disjuncture (i.e. paradigm shift from one episteme to another) of the study of the European colonial city in India, that takes urban history and urban theory seriously beyond 'the West.' It shows that architectural and urban conceptions clearly became increasingly deterministic and normative, and also how, in practice, these ideas continued to be tempered by forces that resisted homogeneity and singular authoritarian encoding of space. To this end, we try to challenge core assumptions which have framed architectural and urban history of colonial spatial cultures for decades and contribute to broader theoretical agendas which highlight how making sense of urban life does not have to depend on the 'Western' academy. We respond to interdisciplinary concerns over the global disparities of knowledge and recognition of the need to appreciate the exceptionality of Diu in the context of the European colonial city in India.

In this way and within this frame, arises a dissertation where time is discussed with the necessary rhythm to the reading of the transformation on a place until the conformation of a colonial spatial identity. Diu anticipated (but did not help to predict) by almost two centuries, that the European colonial spatial cultures in India were far more complex than the mere transfer of an 'European city' and the simple binary frameworks centred on categories (black-town/white-town, European/native, religious/secular, colonizer/colonized, dominant/dependant, traditional/modern). The dissertation shows that social and spatial divisions in Diu were not nearly so clear cut as previous studies have postulated. Instead, there were charged interconnections between spaces, the 'Portuguese' and the 'Gujarati' where effectively the Portuguese and/or Catholic city in India establishes a relation with the circumstances of time until the end of the Portuguese empire in India: the colonial city.

Keywords: *Diu; India; Portugal; Architecture; City; Colonial; Empire*



## Resumo

O que é a cidade colonial na Índia? O que é Diu, no contexto da cultura espacial colonial europeia em geral, e da cultura espacial colonial Portuguesa em particular? Como é que as leituras e sínteses do desenho urbano, da arquitectura, e da representação funcionaram para os seus atores contingentes, e como é que estas se ‘traduziram’ em Diu e no império colonial português?

A dissertação é uma contribuição original que abre uma episteme global e explora o processo de produção do conhecimento, a construção de identidade e a criação de significado político sobre a cidade colonial europeia na Ásia do sul, reconhecendo as condições de colonialismo que produziram em Diu a cidade colonial portuguesa como um ‘artefacto’ moderno.

A questão de ‘identidade’ é o cerne do estudo, entendida como descrição, narração, bem como representação da cidade colonial europeia na Índia, interligando a história e a teoria e da arquitectura e do urbanismo com a história da cultura e do pensamento, no que procura ser uma contribuição para o estudo do imperialismo, do colonialismo, da modernidade e da cidade colonial de origem Portuguesa e/ou católica na Índia.

Também destaca a complexidade da relação entre a soberania e a governação portuguesas e o projeto colonial Português em Diu, e estuda a cultura espacial e a prática social na cidade desde o início do século XVI (1514) até meados do século XX (1961), através do olhar informado na história e na teoria da arquitectura e do urbanismo. Especificamente, descreve um cenário de soberania estratificada que persistiu num ‘lugar de fronteira’ imperial e continental ao longo do período referido, onde conexões transnacionais informaram, a partir do ponto de vista de uma política urbana nunca inteiramente colonizada, projetos arquitetónicos e urbanos em andamento.

Tomando a análise da arquitectura e da cidade colonial como cerne da dissertação, mas estendendo esta à leitura de espaços domésticos e públicos relacionados, o estudo demonstra a natureza complexa da sobreposição entre categorias espaciais e funcionais no contexto colonial.

Alegamos que nunca houve um lugar como Diu quer na história da presença colonial europeia na Índia, quer na história da identidade colonial europeia na Índia, e por fim, na história da cidade colonial europeia na Índia. Ali, os conceitos (culturais) de ‘ambivalência’ e de ‘hibridismo’ iniciaram e informaram as identidades arquitetónica e urbana dos impérios europeus no Oriente, em contraste com o aceite como fusão de culturas. Diu é repositório duma história global da cultura material colonial Portuguesa e/ou católica na Índia. Como produtos destes conceitos, foram construídas em Diu as duas ‘pedras de toque’ da arquitectura colonial Portuguesa no Oriente, na arquitectura militar da Renascença europeia e na arquitectura religiosa Portuguesa e/ou católica.

A questão que trouxemos à luz com a dissertação, tornou aparentes alguns aspetos do estudo da cidade colonial. Primeiro, questionou a historicização de um axioma historiográfico inteiramente ‘naturalizado,’ assumido, reproduzido e inquestionado pela historiografia que, direta ou indiretamente fez (e faz) o estudo das cidades coloniais, e depois, agiu como ponto de partida para uma reescrita da cidade colonial Europeia na Índia que transporta a história e a teoria urbanas para além do ‘Ocidente.’ Mostrou que os conceitos sobre arquitectura e sobre cidade se tornaram claramente cada vez mais deterministas e normativos, e também como, na prática, estes continuaram a ser ponderados por académicos que resistiram à homogeneidade e codificação autoritária singular do espaço. Para este fim, tentámos desafiar pressupostos fundamentais que enquadraram a história da arquitectura e do urbanismo coloniais e contribuir para agendas teóricas mais amplas que destacam como o fazer sentido da vida na cidade colonial, não necessita estar dependente da academia ‘ocidental.’ Respondemos às preocupações interdisciplinares sobre as disparidades globais do conhecimento e ao reconhecimento da necessidade de apreciar a exceção de Diu dentro do contexto da cidade colonial Europeia na Índia.

Desta forma e neste contexto surgiu um trabalho, onde o tempo decorreu sobre um lugar com o compasso necessário à leitura da sua mudança até à constituição de uma identidade espacial colonial. Diu antecipou (mas não permitiu prever) por quase dois séculos, que os espaços coloniais dos europeus na Índia eram bem mais complexos do que o resultado da mera transferência de uma cidade europeia revelada por simples binários centrados em categorias (negro/branco, europeu/indígena, religioso/secular, colonizador/colonizado, dominante/dependente e tradicional/moderno). A dissertação mostra que as divisões sociais e espaciais em Diu não foram tão claras quanto alguns estudos têm postulado. Ao invés, aconteceram interconexões contaminadas entre espaços, o ‘Português’ e o ‘Gujarati’ onde efetivamente a arquitectura de origem Portuguesa e/ou católica na Índia se relacionou com as circunstâncias do tempo até ao dealbar do império português na Índia: a cidade colonial.





# INTRODUCTION

“It is [the translator's] infidelity,  
his happy and creative infidelity  
that must matter to us.”<sup>1</sup>

“Chercher l'Autre dans ses clichés, dessins ou images animés,  
c'est trouver un discours occidental paradigmatique et  
comprendre le regard que Nous portons [...]”<sup>2</sup>

**C**OLONIALISM<sup>3</sup> IN ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN HISTORY is, to predate the psychoanalyst and post-structuralist Jacques Lacan, a “structuring absence.”<sup>4</sup> The notion is a suggestive, even beguiling one, which is also open to misuse. It does not mean things which are simply not in the text, or which ought

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<sup>1</sup> Borges, Jorge Luis. 2000. “The Translators of the Thousand and One Nights.” In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). *The Translation Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Blanchard, Pascal (dir). 1995. *L'autre et nous - "scènes et types", anthropologues et historiens devant les représentations des populations colonisées, des ethnies, des tribus et des races depuis les conquêtes coloniales*. Association Connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique contemporaine, le GDR Océan Indien et l'UPR 221, CNRS (org.). Paris: Syros.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis of colonialism has concentrated on the dialogue and interdependence between the rise and ascendancy of colonialism and the ‘construction’ of the colonial world, or the representation of communities under colonialism. Colonialism and the history of conquest has come to be viewed as essential in shaping the European concept of its own identity, fostering views of nationality and culture that are distinguished and dichotomized from colonial cultures and peoples. Identity for colonial peoples, in turn, has been interpreted as largely being shaped and derived from the social and political shifts under the new conditions of colonialism. See *inter alia*: Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books; Inden, Ronald. 2000. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Dirks, Nicholas B. *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Schaub, Jean-Frédéric. 2008. “La catégorie ‘études coloniales’ est-elle indispensable?” In *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* Special Issue Empires 3. 625-646.

<sup>4</sup> The concepts regarding absence/presence in *Lacanian psychoanalytic theory*, refers to the way that which is absent in the denotative level of a sign structures its overall meaning. Lacan took concepts from Freud, his ideas about how the psyche was structured, theses about projection, sublimation, repression etc., to suggest that it is through language that we manage all these moves. So just as for Freud, dreams may work through symbols or signs, where what is not manifest or evident is sometimes more important than what is evident or on the surface, so also language may be structured around what is repressed or what is absent. Since every sign contains not merely affirmative connotative meaning (this is what this sign is) but also negative connotative meaning (this is what this sign is not), both

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to be in the text. A structuring absence refers to an issue, or even to a set of facts or an argument, that cannot be ignored, but which is deliberately skirted around or otherwise avoided, thus creating the biggest gap on knowledge, fatally, revealing misshaping the whole assembled with such craft. Urban history's epistemological domination is coeval with modern colonialism and capitalism, and while the latter is a support, the former remains marginal to history. In its peripheral, 'invisible' role, it allows capitalist growth to make sense and empowers the raising of capitalism as the figure of today's urbanism: colonialism is referred to, shows up at the edges and gaps of argument, but is rarely addressed as an obvious critical. Assumed its role in determining the world economy, colonial urbanism has been noticeably ignored as a subject of study.<sup>5</sup> A summary look at some of the most important works on today's urban culture would bear this out. Colonial architecture and urbanism were founded on imaginative acts involving both travel and translation<sup>6</sup> - moving out from one's own space to encounter cultural worlds located elsewhere (if only around the corner or even online). This movement always entails bracketing one's own beliefs and practices and engaging those of others: opening oneself to new conceptions and ways of being in the world. It is often poised on the margins, trying to mediate between here and there, self and other, familiar and strange, known and unknown. The philosopher, historian of ideas, and social theorist Michel Foucault, henceforth Foucault, has reminded us that a whole history of spaces is still to be written.<sup>7</sup>

Critical theory and post-colonial theory tend to assume one homogenous 'colonial'. However, we found that on the ground, within the history of spaces, there were no clear cut definitions of what might constitute a 'colonial architecture' or 'colonial urbanism' and under what circumstances. Part of the problem, is the concept of the 'colonial' itself as it is popularly used. It is all embracing, used to describe a very wide range of historical experiences, power relationships and modes of encounter over space and time. This homogenisation has obscured as much as it has revealed. Related to this position, it has been argued that the colonial cannot be contained within the one term to the extent that understanding will be "obstructed if we assume that the word [colonial] relates to any meaningful category or totality," "colonial cultures are not simply ideologies that mask, mystify or rationalize [...] oppression; they are [...] expressive and constitutive of colonial relationships."<sup>8</sup> Thus, to quote anthropologist and art historian Christopher Pinney, "colonialism refuses historiographical compartmentalization: it rapidly unfolds into the history of the modern world: modernity and globalization are intimately entangled with colonialism."<sup>9</sup> However, in many ways the 'colonial' (and its archival traces) has many of the physiognomies of what the anthropologist Alfred Gell has described as "the distributed object." That is, it is an object which has, at one level, a clear coherence, yet is comprised of "many spatially separated parts with different micro-histories."<sup>10</sup> Colonialism, with its entanglement of political social and economic practices, ideologies, relationships,

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constitute the ideological meaning of the sign. It is an approach that combines linguistics with psychoanalysis. Miller, Jacques-Alain. 1998. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book XI. The four fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company. 29; Evans, Dylan. 1996. *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*. London & New York. Routledge. 25.

<sup>5</sup> "Considering its impact in contemporary urban, political, economic social, and cultural life, the historical experience of colonialism and imperialism is greatly under-researched." King, Anthony D. 1990. *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London: Routledge. 2.

<sup>6</sup> We borrow here and further in the dissertation the notion of 'translation' from Walter Benjamin. His essay 'The 'Task of the Translator' is one of its most celebrated and, indeed, influential essays. It was written as the introduction to his own translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens* into German. It has become a point of reference in translation studies. Benjamin, Walter. 1969. "The Task of the Translator. An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens*." In Arendt, Hannah (ed.). *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. New York: Random House. 69-82.

<sup>7</sup> It is, of course, from Foucault that we have taken both the title and the inspiration for the dissertation. In this sense, *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*, represents the part of a threefold engagement with the philosophy and history of spatiality of the colonial city in India. The first part dealt with the hermeneutic ontology of spatiality and was laid in *Diu: a ilha, a muralha, a fortaleza e as cidades* (2001). The second part focused on the politics of urban life in a colonial city undergoing rapid transformation in *Bombaim, a explosão urbana. Análise de assentamentos e vias* (2009). This third part marks the fuller consideration of the space-power and power-knowledge of colonial spatial practices signalled in the final chapter of *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ix, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Pinney, Christopher 2008. "Colonialism and Culture." In Bennett, Tony and Frow, John (ed.). *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*. London: Sage Publications. 382.

<sup>10</sup> Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 221-223.

collections and archives, might be seen as such an object. This historiographical concern promotes therefore the question underlined in the ‘Abstract’ of the dissertation of ‘what is a colonial urbanism’ and ‘what is colonial architecture.’ Throughout the dissertation we found it increasingly useful to think about architecture and city and ‘the colonial past’ rather than ‘colonial city’ and ‘colonial architecture,’ precisely because of the awkwardness of definition. Is the colonial an architecture that was made under the conditions of colonial relations? Is it one that serves the purpose of colonial agendas?

Twenty years ago, the historian Peter Hardy described the refraction of northern Indian culture as offering “an account of how two people from different worlds of experience were struggling to find a mutually intelligible language.” Hardy began his remarks with a quotation from Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking Glass*,<sup>11</sup> which skilfully summarizes the relationship between agency, power, and the construction of meaning in inter-subjective dialogue: “When I use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, “it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.” “The question is,” said Alice, “whether you can make words mean so many different things.” “The question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “which is to be master - that’s all.”<sup>12</sup> The account of the meeting of Humpty Dumpty and Alice is an account of how two people from different worlds of experience were struggling to find a mutual language to express their awareness of a sudden and novel encounter. The quality that Hardy evokes was exemplified by João de Barros (1496-1570),<sup>13</sup> henceforth Barros, whose substantial work

<sup>11</sup> Carroll, Lewis. 1999. *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*. New York: Dover Thrift Editions. 57.

<sup>12</sup> Hardy, Peter. 1978. “The Duty of the Sultan (in the Sultanate Period) to Further the Material Welfare of His Subjects.” In Wendy O’Doniger Flaherty, J. Duncan and M. Derrett, (eds.). *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. 147-48.

<sup>13</sup> Portuguese humanist and historian of the Portuguese presence in the East, who covered historical events since the voyage to India by Vasco da Gama in 1497, up to the Ottoman and first siege of Diu in 1538. Friend, eulogist and spokesman of king João III [Saraiva, António José. 1950-1962. *História da Cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Jornal do Fôro. Vol. III. 277-335] and advocate of the king’s imperial ideology. His most important written work was *Da Ásia*, the most ambitious systematization of the memory of the achievements of the Portuguese in India, becoming, therefore, a reference encyclopedia for all fields of knowledge from architecture to anthropology. The second volume of *Da Ásia* is its most important as it deals with founding years of the Portuguese Empire, from 1505 to 1515. The third part of the Fourth *Década*, printed after Barros’ death (1615), contains information about Nuno da Cunha (1487-1539), seventh governor of Portuguese India from 1529 to 1538. [About Barros life and work, see *inter alia*: “Vida de João de Barros” included in Faria, Manuel Severim de (c. 1583-1655). (1624). 1999. *Discursos vários políticos*. Vieira, Maria Leonor Soares Albergaria (intro.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press.; Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Vol. IX; Baião, António. 1917. “Documentos inéditos sobre João de Barros, sobre o escritor seu homónimo contemporâneo, sobre a família do historiador e sobre os continuadores das suas ‘Décadas’.” In *Bulletin of the Sciences Academy of Lisbon*. vol. XL. 202-355.; Andrade, António Alberto Banha de. 1980. *João de Barros. Historiador do Pensamento. Humanista Português de Quinhentos*. col. Subsídios para a História Portuguesa, 17. Lisbon: Portuguese Academy of History; Boxer, Charles R. 1981. *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*. Xavier Centre of Historical Research Series, 1. New Delhi: Concept Publishing; Coelho, António Borges. 1992. *Tudo é Mercadoria: sobre o Percurso e a Obra de João de Barros*. Lisbon: Caminho; 1997. *João de Barros: Vida e Obra*. Lisbon: Working group from the Ministry of Education for the Commemoration of Portuguese Discoveries; Buescu, Ana Isabel. 1996. “João de Barros: Humanismo, mercância e celebração imperial.” In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.), *João de Barros e o Cosmopolitismo do Renascimento. Oceanos 27*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 10-26; Earle, T. F. 1996. “A linguagem pictórica de João de Barros nas *Décadas da Ásia*.” In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.), *João de Barros e o Cosmopolitismo do Renascimento. Oceanos 27*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 68-74; Ramalho, A. da Costa. “João de Barros, Humanista.” In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.), *João de Barros e o Cosmopolitismo do Renascimento. Oceanos 27*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 84-91. Unlike coetaneous historians, Barros never left Portugal. A ‘sedentary’ historian [Lapa, Manuel Rodrigues. 1972. “Prefácio”, *Historiadores Quinhentistas*, Lisbon: Seara Nova. XV], Barros had held the positions of treasurer of what was then known as *Casa da Índia* (India House) in Lisbon between 1525 and 1529, and Deputy Director between 1533 and 1567. He had access to the records and reports pertaining to the Orient. These sources included reports, royal instructions, messages to and by the viceroys in India, original judicial summons and verdicts. Moreover, he succeeded in collecting books, maps and manuscripts from all parts of Asia as they reached Lisbon during his tenure. Barros was raised and educated in the court residences, a place of exchange in late medieval and early modern Europe, and probably read Classical books. He also knew Christian authors of the East like Marco Polo, the chronicles of the sultans of Gujarat, Hormuz, Kilwa and Vijayanagar, and refers to *Lorigh* or *Tarigh*, a summary from the kings of Persia, “which we have in Persian language” [Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. I, chap. I]. Finally, he makes use of a Chinese cosmography book in his *Geography* “which was brought to us from there and interpreted by a local.” [Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IX, chap. I, II and III. Also decade I, bk. III, chap. III e XII; decade I, bk. VIII, chap. VI, decade II, bk. II, chap. II; bk. IV, chap. IV; bk. V, chap. I; bk. VIII, chap. I; bk. X, chap. VII; decade III, bk. I, chap. I; Faria, Manuel Severim de, ca. 1583-1655 (1624). 1999. *Discursos vários políticos*; Vieira, Maria and Albergaria, Leonor Soares, (intro.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. fls. 39-41 v.

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on Indian culture and religion is among the earliest and most remarkable testimonies to the encounter between premodern Portuguese and India. Although Barros stated intention in writing was to enable an intercultural dialogue, the *Da Ásia* text oscillated between the assertion and the disavowal of alterity. On the one hand, the Portuguese, the protagonists of the text were compared to heroes from Classical Greece. On the other, the cultural codes governing the conduct of Indians were presented as the inverse of those with which his readers were familiar. This was not the whole story, however. Neither the assertion of difference nor the struggle to control or determine meaning precluded intercultural dialogue, indeed, they were often central to it. For example, Diogo de Couto (1542-1616),<sup>14</sup> henceforth Couto, in a plea for enhanced contacts between Portugal and the East, acknowledges differences in lives, habits and religion.<sup>15</sup> However, the text in which this sentiment is inscribed is itself a testimony to the construction of meaning across boundaries.

History, memory and space all partake in the paradoxes and ambiguities of colonialism in which Diu is ‘almost’ subjugated and controlled, ‘but not quite.’<sup>16</sup> We will examine narratives, each of which produce a portion of the colonial discursive construction of Diu, its histories, its urban form, and ultimately its colonialization. All narratives were deeply implanted in the social world and attempted to frame a set of answers to the shifting urban milieu of Diu. The narratives discussed in the dissertation cover quite a few centuries of Indian and Portuguese history. Shifts in its influential connotation and consequences over time, connections to the architecture and the city, and the politicized marking subsidize the ambiguous, miscellaneous role of Diu’s histories. The reverberations of the historical occurrences transformed seemingly similar and singular events into one which continued to affect colonial discourse well into the twenty first century. While all these artifacts may be read textually, we also wish to point out the spatial dimensions that may not be fathomed by their reading.<sup>17</sup>

Topographical displacement and the cultural obstacles arising from urban culture are seen as defining physiognomies of modernity, a condition in which “people and things are increasingly out of place.”<sup>18</sup> By contrast, the material accessible in this dissertation, recommends that things and people have been mixed up for a very long time, and are hardly ever compatible with the boundaries enforced on them by historians and anthropologists. Rejecting any notion of a prelapsarian time when people knew their place, the dissertation emphasizes the remarkable impermanence of modern subjects and objects, and considers the nature and effects of this mobility on the identity of the colonial city. Diu was one of the most spectacular Portuguese showcases of imperial architectural and urban presence in India. It was commissioned in 1534 to facilitate the transfer of the sovereignty of the territory from Gujarat to the Portuguese empire. It embodied the rationality of imperialism in its aesthetics

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<sup>14</sup> Portuguese historian of the court who, following his appointment by the Spanish king Philip II, completed the unfinished record undertaken by Barros Couto travelled to India in 1559 and remained there for over fifty years. In the first ten years of his presence in India, he served as a soldier, and as record keeper in Goa. He made extensive use of the records in his custody when he was asked to complete the work of Barros in *Da Ásia*. However, the work, which came out in the same style and same divisions, was attributed to him, and consequently, there is one title and two authors. Couto also inserted information from Portuguese employees and soldiers stationed in India, as well as from some of the Ottomans who remained in the islamic state of Gujarat in western India after the abortive campaign mounted by Hadim Suleiman Pasha to gain control of Diu in 1538. Couto’s work covers the period from 1526 to 1600.

<sup>15</sup> Couto, Diogo de (1542-1616). *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. I, chap. VII, 44-45.

<sup>16</sup> We borrow this formulation from Homi K. Bhabha’s. He embodies the notion that there are major contradictions and gaps within the colonial project felt by both colonized and colonizer which set up major slippages within colonial discourse. See: Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. “Of Mimicry and Man,” in *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge. 85-92.

<sup>17</sup> The colonial era fiction in India in which the city forms are an important topos for events has thus far received little scholarly attention, and my analysis in this chapter is, of course, tangential to that task. See *inter alia*: Glover, William J. 2007. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 185-201; Oldenburg, Veena Talwar. 1984. *The making of Colonial Lucknow. 1856-1877*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 3-21; Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2008. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge. 136-178. Chattopadhyay used a similar strategy by analysing three devices of Bengali literature from three different moments of Calcutta’s colonial history. For the use of literary images of cities as data, see also: Daechsel, Markus. 2006. *The Politics of Self-Expression*. Royal Asiatic Society Books: Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt. London & New York: Routledge; Fox, Richard G. 1970. *Urban India: Society, Space and Image*. Durham: Duke University Program. This book has three relevant articles: Zelliott, Eleanor. “Literary Images of the Modern Indian City.”; Apte, Mahadeo L. “Reflections of Urban Life in Marathi Literature.”; and Ramanujan, A. K. “Toward and Anthology of City Images.”

<sup>18</sup> Clifford, James. 1988. *The predicament of Culture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 6.

(refined, functional classicism), science (a healthy, ordered landscape) and politics (an authoritarian, hierarchical society). As a node within a global, imperial network of sights, Diu also represented the Portuguese vision for an empire of legitimacy and permanency until the 18 December 1961.

The material reality of these utopic visions, however, did not prove acquiescent with the Portuguese imperial will. At the level of administration, bureaucracy and governance, Diu's colonial landscape was as much dominated by the older city to the southward of the governmental headquarters. As against the neo-classical monumentalism of the governor's palace, and the sterile, geometric spaces of the *Torres Novas* Road, Diu was depicted as an organic space of tradition and community. Urban life here was conducted in congested and winding streets between communities defined by historic location and social standing. Temporal flows were dictated by calls to prayer and a thriving annual schedule of hindu, jain, muslim, zoroastrian and catholic rituals. Bereft of extensive modern sanitation and infrastructure, Diu was a haptic and sensory place of smells, sights and cultural contact that bewildered and beguiled Portuguese and Gujaratis alike. This, at least, is the popular conception of the colonial geography of Diu.

This was embodied in the iconic dividing line between the two cities depicted in an eighteenth century map of Diu. This dissertation explores the extent to which these two cities were, in fact, governed as one and impacted upon each other in myriad ways. All knowledge requires classification, and so, in an effort to analyse the 'situation' of Diu, we must strike a balance between overly reductive simplicity and unintelligible complexity. We do not attempt to merely deconstruct or reject any pre-existing categories, but rather, demonstrate the complexities that should accompany their use. We do this through a detailed demonstration of how these dimensions intersect with and deepen one another beyond the two-dimensional portrayals that have characterized most preceding studies.

Deprived of occasioning a territorialized concept of identity, the necessity to negotiate between the local and the translocal, the lived experience of the quotidian and the religious ideal, an 'imagined' community with a global reach, has been since inception a feature of the Portuguese presence in Diu.<sup>19</sup> This 'double movement' was especially evident, since Diu was the first 'contact zone'<sup>20</sup> between Europe and India and a 'border place' between the hindu and muslim polities of South Asia.<sup>21</sup> Shaped by colonial and post-colonial displacements, global capital, and technological innovation, the scale and patterns of the city were notably altered from those that marked premodern societies, in which populations were smaller and mobility was generally associated with specific people. The idea of mobility was, however, intrinsic to the history and prescriptions of European empires in the East.

Straddling places with different topographies and entangled histories,<sup>22</sup> the dissertation that follows argues the need for a reconfiguration of premodern cultural geography, moving beyond the linear borders of the modern

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<sup>19</sup> Bennisson, Amira K. 2002. "Muslim Universalism and Western Globalization." In Hopkins, A.G. (ed.), *Globalization in World History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 73-98; Eaton, Richard M. 2003. *India's Islamic Tradition, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 3, 9, 42-43; Euben, Roxanne L. 2005. *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 37.

<sup>20</sup> "Social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today." Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London & New York: Routledge. 4.

<sup>21</sup> 'South Asia' refers to the countries of today's India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

<sup>22</sup> Entangled History is a historical perspective and a concept in historiography. Taking a trans-cultural perspective as the main point of departure Entangled History centers on the interconnectedness of societies. The basic assumption is that neither nations, nor empires, nor civilizations can be the exclusive and exhaustive units and categories of historiography. As entities they themselves were formed through a process of interaction and global circulation in which they related to each other. Conceptually, Entangled History owes much to two interrelated discussions within the historical discipline: The "Spatial Turn" in history and the fundamental epistemological challenges of post-colonial studies as well as their critique of the political, economic, social and cultural order of the colonial and post-colonial world. As a concept that examines historic power structures and their constitution in space, Entangled History participates in a

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nations and the static taxonomies of modern scholarship. Therefore, it is in accordance with calls for the writing of architectural and urban histories that displace 'civilisation-history' and its vertical dimensions on narratives of rise and fall with complementary models stressing a horizontal emphasis of mobility.<sup>23</sup> The Asian historian David Ludden, puts as such it in a text that called for a change from the inertia of 'civilisational' histories, with their limits, bounds, and closures, to a more lively accent on networks of encounter and exchange. For him, the idea of civilisation necessarily and deliberately "indices a reading back of 'present-national-sentiments' into a timeless past [...] prevents history from working against cultural hegemonies in the present by stultifying our analysis of mobility, context, agency, contingency and change."<sup>24</sup> Analyses of the interlocking and straddling economic zones and trade networks that emerged since the sixteenth century in the Portuguese empire (what is now often referred to as the sixteenth-century world-system)<sup>25</sup> have demonstrated the productive potential of these sorts of approaches.<sup>26</sup> However, this burgeoning of interest in modern global networks fostered by the Portuguese has to some extent obscured the existence of much earlier but no less complex circuits of exchange in the preceding centuries linking the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Central and South Asia (which however do not form the chronological focus of this dissertation).

The place to be studied is now encompassed within an area of influence that includes the modern Indian states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, allowing for the inclusion of sites from the river Indus in southern Sindh, now in Pakistan. The rough contours Diu's territorial focus was delineated by the Kathiawar peninsula of Gujarat, which abuts the western Indian Ocean. The notion assumes a unity of identity and purpose among the Arab amirs of Mocha in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their Arabized Persian contemporaries in Afghanistan and the Mughals who expanded their domains as far east as the Indus Valley up to the banks of the Sabarmati river. For the sake of suitability, we will make anachronistic use of these terms, as geographic rather than only just political descriptors.

The chapters that follow explore the architectural and urban spatial cultures mechanisms through which specific classes of built artefacts and urban spaces constructed and mediated cultural boundaries, and the ways in which meaning and value were translated and transfigured through people and things. Ranging across dynastic, geographic, regional, and temporal categories, the emphasis is made on architectural and urban stories of reception, circulation, and translation rather than on strictly social or political history. Histories of this kind

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critical re-assessment of modernity, together with adjacent and often overlapping perspectives like Transfer History, Transnational History, Atlantic History, Borderland History, Histoire Croisée, World History and the History of Capitalism.

Under these pretexts, historians of all world regions have discussed the circulation, exchange and flow of knowledge, ideas, institutions and practices. Sanjay Subrahmanyam used the term "connected history" to point out the interconnectedness between India and Europe in the Early Modern Period (Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1997. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 31/3, Special Issue: The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400-1800. 735-762.

<sup>23</sup> For South Asia, see Ludden, David. 1994. "History Outside Civilisation and the Mobility of South Asia." In *South Asia* 17/1: 6-7. On the tendency to conflate culture, civilization, religion and territory, see Eaton, Richard M. 2003. *India's Islamic Tradition, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 11. On these general trends see Bentley, Jerry H. 1996. "Cross-cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History." In *American Historical Review* 101/3:749-770, and Manning, Patrick. 1996. "The Problem of Interactions in World History." In *American Historical Review* 101/3: 771-782.

<sup>24</sup> Ludden, David. 1994. "History Outside Civilisation and the Mobility of South Asia." In *South Asia* 17/1: 3, 6. For similar assertions see, Gommans, Jos. 1998. "The Silent Frontier of South Asia, c. A.D. 1100-1800." In *Journal of World History* 9/1: 1-23.

<sup>25</sup> There is a growing corpus of work in World-system studies that is being increasingly applied to urban and other issues. The World-system theory, developed by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, is an approach to world history and social change that suggests there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited. Just as we cannot understand an individual's behaviour without reference to their surroundings, experiences, and culture, a nation's economic system cannot be understood without reference to the world system of which they are a part. Its first major articulation, and the classic example of this approach, is associated with Immanuel Wallerstein, who in 1974 published what is regarded as a seminal paper, *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*. In 1974, Wallerstein published *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. 1974. New York & London: Academic Press.

<sup>26</sup> Abu-Lughod, Janet L. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press  
Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1997. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 31/3, Special Issue: The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400-1800.

invariably risk de-historicizing and unifying the very protean occurrences that they seek to highlight. The historian Patrick Manning indicates the benchmarks of analysis that will minimize or obviate its impact, and that have enlightened our approach: consideration of a range of interaction and specificity regarding the agents and criteria of Portuguese/Gujarati contact across architectural and urban spatial cultures and practices (texts, maps, paintings, architecture, urban space, religion, rituals, etc.); awareness of shifts - continuities and discontinuities - in the nature of cross-cultural interaction through time.<sup>27</sup>

The chronological scope of the dissertation stretches from the acquiescence for the establishment in Diu of a Portuguese factory during the early sixteenth century, until the annexation of Diu in the second half of the twentieth century: therefore, the complete Portuguese colonial presence in Diu. Despite its focus on the *longue durée*, much of this dissertation is concerned with periods of cultural shift and historical displacement, moments when the rise of powerful regional rules or the eastward expansion of ambitious rulers reconfigured the political landscape, providing increased opportunities for transregional mobility. Acting in concert across more than five centuries, these distinctive subjects - differentiated not only by culture and ethnicity but also by intra-religious sectarian affiliations - effected the expansion of Portuguese colonial power in India.<sup>28</sup> Conversely, the denizens of premodern Diu have been figured as the noble citizens of 'hindu India' valiantly resisting the muslim onslaught: the military conquests undertaken by the sultans of Delhi from their heartlands in central India, usually seen as the definitive 'muslim' conquest of India, with later expansion and mopping-up operations, which emerged after the collapse of the Ghurid sultanate in 1206.<sup>29</sup> Despite the dearth of dedicated studies, the times covered by the dissertation have taken a stage in colonial and nationalist constructions of a past that has been cast as a perpetual opposition between Portuguese catholics and their Gujarati counterparts (hindu, muslim, jains and zoroastrians), a Manichaean dyad that has structured and constrained the history of the city for almost half a millennium. Within the master narratives of Diu historiography, we propose that the period from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries constituted a time of great creativity and rejuvenation in the building practices of Diu. There were manifold developments taking place in the realm of architecture. Among them, the forms that were the morphemes of the local style of building were undergoing stylistic changes, as is prone to occur with the usage or any means of expression over time. But not less noteworthy were the profound changes occurring along a second, concomitant trajectory, namely that of the reception of European architectural and iconographic forms by the various communities of people claiming western India as their home. The two strands were in many ways intertwined, and these interconnections will be elucidated and explored.

In the scholarship about Portuguese presence in India, the period and the subject are somehow enigmatic and obscure. This gap reproduces not only the paucity of materials that might be used since the fifteenth century to craft the architectural and urban history of Diu, or the difficulties entailed in the fact that such a project would cut across national and disciplinary boundaries that have traditionally set the limits of scholarship, but also a more insistent focus on the South Asian historiography. Long seen as the epitome of Portuguese colonial material culture production, 'Indo-Portuguese' architecture has been consistently celebrated for its synthetic aesthetic qualities, in contrast to the more 'hybrid' and less immediately appealing remains from other origins, periods and

<sup>27</sup> Manning, Patrick. 1996. "The Problem of Interactions in World History." In *American Historical Review* 101/3: 780-81.

<sup>28</sup> About Portuguese overseas expansion in the East, see, *inter alia*: Boxer, Charles R. 1969. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. London: Hutchinson and Co.; Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1998. *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*. Oxford & Malden: Wiley-Blackwell. 1st edition Published 1993 by Longman Publishing Group; Newitt, Malyn. 2005. *A history of Portuguese Overseas expansion, 1400-1668*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>29</sup> Ali, M. Athar. 1990. "Encounter and Efflorescence: Genesis of the Medieval Civilization." In *Social Scientist* 18/1-2: 13-28; Veer, Peter van der. 1994. *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Berkeley: UCLA Press. 152; Gottschalk, Peter. 2000. *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 17; Inden, Ronald. 2000. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 8-17.

places. Consequently, there has been a tendency when dealing with the period between 1500 and 1960<sup>30</sup> in Diu either to ignore Diu and address Goa, the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, or see it as an undifferentiated monolith within which fragmentary monuments (and even fewer objects) subsist at random. The disadvantages of this bifurcation are methodological as well as material. First, treating the complex from two nonintersecting perspectives is dissonant with the physical remains themselves, as indeed these are one and the same regardless of intellectual constructs that place them in different categories. Second, the strict historiographical separation of Portuguese and Indic architectural and urban histories can prevent us from discerning the physical and historical connections between buildings housing different practices, and the architectural innovations ensuing from the application of established forms of building to new social functions. Similar to most teleologies, these settings work with a collapse of all possible identities into a sole monolithic identification, producing as singular, standing, and constant what was often multiple, changeable, and highly questioned.<sup>31</sup> In an effort to deconstruct these monoliths, the dissertation traces dynamic patterns of engagement between catholics, hindus, muslims, jains and zoroastrians over time, emphasizing relations rather than essences, to borrow an evocative quest from the anthropologist James Clifford, henceforth Clifford, for “routes rather than roots.”<sup>32</sup> Focusing on practices of circulation, displacement, and translation, it aims to demonstrate the contingent and unstable nature of the colonial city of Diu identity in India. The subtitle of the dissertation should therefore be framed within quotation marks, not only to suggest that sectarian categories of identity are inadequate to the task of representing the phenomena that form our dissertation subject, but to call into question the inherent stability of these very identities. Our approach is close in spirit to that of Clifford, who questions the dichotomy between “absorption by the other or resistance to the other”, which structures many accounts of culture contact, posing a question that is central to our own undertaking: “Yet what if identity is conceived not as [a] boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interaction must then be more complex, less linear and teleological.”<sup>33</sup>

If to some extent urban history has made a mistake in the path of the nineteenth century social Darwinists,<sup>34</sup> to some scope they have also erred in the opposite direction. Parallel to the anthropologists, who battled for the credit of the reliability of holistic cultural systems, have been architects, historians and scholars of urban history. But even these have get it wrong in two conflicting ways: first, they have shown a tendency to focus on biographical portrayals of cities and to emphasize their unparalleled qualities; but then they have also fallen into the easy trap of formulating an ideal generic type which often turns out to have been abstracted chiefly from their one case. This has certainly been the tendency epistemic assumption of the so-called ‘Portuguese city’ that was born in the last decades of the last century.<sup>35</sup> Ideal-type descriptions abound, each distorted by the loose tendency

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<sup>30</sup> 1514 until 18 December 1961, Establishment of Diu factory and annexation dates.

<sup>31</sup> Hindu norms rather than local Indian rulers but were ‘defeated,’ in the period taken, not by the Portuguese rulers but by colonialism itself. Gottschalk, Peter. 2000. *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identities in Narratives from Village India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 17, 108-9; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2005. “Beyond Incommensurability: Understanding Inter-Imperial Dynamics,” Department of Sociology, UCLA, Theory and research in Comparative Social Analysis. Paper 32. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/9vs8x4sk>. (Accessed 23/02/2016)

<sup>32</sup> Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Clifford, James. 1988. *The predicament of Culture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 344.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Social Darwinism’ is used to refer to various ways of thinking and theories that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and tried to apply the evolutionary concept of natural selection to human society. Today we associate the term with a quasi-biological defense of the late nineteenth century social order – emergent industrial capitalism and a limited role in the economy – which invokes natural selection and the survival of the fittest to explain, and often justify, that social order.

<sup>35</sup> Rossa, Walter. 1995. “A cidade portuguesa.” In Pereira, Paulo (dir.). *História da Arte Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. vol. III. 233-323. [Re-published later in 2002. *A urbe e o traço: uma década de estudos sobre o urbanismo português*. Coimbra: Almedina. 274-308]; O urbanismo regulado e as primeiras cidades coloniais portuguesas. *A urbe e o traço: uma década de estudos sobre o urbanismo português*. Coimbra: Almedina. 274-308.

to specialize on one city, the cities of a given territory or sub-region, or cities at a given point in history, to generalize findings to a mythological beast called the 'Portuguese city.' And, as happened to the anthropologists who took the isolated case study as sacrosanct, there was a natural tendency to focus more on the persistency of forms than upon the changes. From this time, the literature abounds with debates of the 'Portuguese city' not only generalized to large geographic regions (as if important influences were not at work differentially over the extensive expansion of the Portuguese empire) but also generalized over time (as if somehow change and development were urban phenomena whose appearance on the scene coincided with the advent of western urban forms). Diu became the 'ugly duckling' of this frame and was assumed to have had only minimal development over time. Therefore, what is also being proposed here is a procedure for outlining the operation of shared variables within precise parameters set by an area of culture and a level of technological competence, before jumping ahead to taxonomies and theories of comparative urbanism which throw into the all cities at all times from all around to see which traits and isolated characteristics appear congruent or divergent.

In fact, despite the conventional rhetoric that they employ, texts and cartography are more sensitive to ethnic, historical, and regional differences among them than is modern historiography, generally preferring ethnic or regional appellations (Portuguese and Gujaratis) to religious categories (catholics, hindus, jains, muslims and zoroastrians).<sup>36</sup> Earlier terms range from those based on caste status and ritual impurity (the ubiquitous foreigner) to ethnic labels. Though reductive, the jargon of alterity was not undifferentiated; on the contrary, it was sensitive to shifts in military and political authority. Even the written sources - in which the most fundamental statements of alterity are carved - provide irregular glimpses of human agents who seem curiously invulnerable to the absolute boundaries between catholic, hindu and muslim identities and polities that are axiomatic to modern frontier historiography. Among those that we will encounter in chapters 1 and 2. As this suggests, even the armies through which 'catholic' or 'muslim' triumphs were attained were every so often assorted congeries of diverse ethnicities and faiths. War is not, therefore, always inimical to the promotion of cosmopolitan identities. On the contrary, it can unite men of different ethnicities and faiths (often against their coreligionists) and engender new arrangements of urban settlement pattern as traced by the early cartography of Diu. It follows that to stress the historical importance of transregional circulation and transcultural communication is to reject neither the existence nor the perception and representation of cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious difference.

Research has in fact highlighted the importance for Diu's identity of border contacts, an aide memoire that somewhat difference may in fact be central to identity production of the Portuguese colonial city.<sup>37</sup> The historical formation and transformation of identity through such encounters also underlines that difference was not a constant<sup>38</sup> but was somewhat dynamic in its emphasis, variable in its meaning and contingent in its expression.

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See also: Fernandes, José Manuel. 1987. "O Lugar da Cidade Portuguesa." In *Povos e Culturas*. Lisbon: Centre for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture of the Catholic University of Lisbon. 2: 79-112; 2006. *Arquitetura Portuguesa – Uma Síntese*. Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. 133-215.

<sup>36</sup> The iconographic document is catalogued as *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* and can be found today in Oporto Public and Municipal Library, under the reference C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35). Frederico Guilherme de Sousa Holstein (1737-1790), governor of *Estado da Índia* (1779-1786), commissioned the cartography. The authorship of the map is shared between João Gabriel Dechermont (drawing) and João António Sarmento (survey), eighteenth century Portuguese military engineers.

<sup>37</sup> Talbot, Cynthia. 1995. "Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-colonial India." In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37/4: 694, 701. Inden, Ronald. 2000. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2; Gilmartin, David, and Lawrence, Bruce B. (eds.). 2000. "Introduction." In *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identity in Islamicate South Asia*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 4. Pollock, Sheldon. 2004. "The transformation of Culture-Power in Indo-Europe, 1000-1300" In *Medieval Encounters*, 10/1-3: 275. See also Grabar, Oleg. 1986. "Patterns and Ways of Cultural Exchange." In Goss, Vladimir P. and Bornstein, Christine Verzar (eds.). *The Meeting of two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades, 444-45*. Hall, Stuart; Campbell, Sarah; Tawadros, Gilane and Maharaj, Sarat. 2001. "Modernity and Difference: A Conversation." In *Annotations: Modernity and Difference* 6. London: Institute of International Visual Arts (INIVA), UK. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Except perhaps in the rarefied world of normative rhetoric.

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The entangled histories (see footnote 22) of contact, conquest, and cosmopolitanism undermine, conversely, any proposition that such encounters along a shifting frontier between European and Indian sources led to the embrace or emergence of a medieval ‘multiculturalism.’ With its statement of epitomized (and frequently singular) identities, the concept of multiculturalism fails to do justice to the intricate and fluid notions of identity that characterize the merchants, architects, artisans, and political elites who form the subjects and which are pointed out throughout the dissertation.

We will thoughtfully demonstrate how there existed several arenas of social activity (architecture, religion, society, politics) that are analytically distinguishable, though intrinsically inseparable. In other words, while arguing against the collapse of these arenas one onto the other, we demonstrate how they, instead, intersect one another. Because individuals and groups negotiated these various arenas with identities generated in this context, they necessarily had multiple identities that transcend ‘Portuguese’ and ‘Gujarati.’ These multiple identities evidenced the necessary interactions and mutual reliance among a diverse array of social actors - merchants, rulers, workmen, and architects - who contributed to their societies through a variety of social categories. Diu’s architectural and urban spatial cultures evidences the unique social fabric they wove in the process of ‘imagining their communities.’<sup>39</sup>

Equally, however attractive they may be, idealising models such as the one of *Convivencia*<sup>40</sup> have a tendency to flatten the contours in what were evidently complex, dynamic, and often rapidly changing landscapes, casting premodern societies as the inverse of our own anticosmopolitan dystopias.<sup>41</sup> We shall also examine the ways in which these conditioned and were conditioned in their turn by diplomatic, martial, mercantile and cultural exchange in the city. Here, we want to emphasize the violence imposed on the past by our own attempts to purify and stratify it in reproduction, while foregrounding the acts of communication and cooperation that accompanied the movement of premodern subjects and objects, and the transformations that they wrought in their turn.

Of course, at one level to highlight the abundant if scattered evidence for the sorts of unrestrained practices and social mobility that undermine the absolutism of ‘Portuguese’ and ‘Gujarati’ as oppositional classifications only confines us within the polarized and politicized discourses of modern historiography. As literary historian and comparatist Sheldon Pollock, henceforth Pollock, reminds, “there exist no cultural agents who are not always-already transcultured” and consequently, “the cultural materials being transferred are already hybrid themselves, like the transmitter the receiver culture too is something always in process and not a thing with an essence. ‘Transculturation,’ accordingly, turns out to be a misnomer, since it is the real and permanent condition of all cultural life.”<sup>42</sup> Indeed, this is true of the *longue durée*, and goes a long way toward elucidating why aspects of modern culture that seem remarkable to a modern observer often went unremarked by premodern observers, to whom they may not have been obvious in the same way.

Nevertheless, while conceding the risk of reifying dynamic and heterogeneous architectural and urban systems, one needs to consider not just process but event. In particular, one needs to be cognizant of the way in which sudden shifts in established socio-political orders in the Portuguese empire in India produced new patterns of

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<sup>39</sup> We borrow this term from Anderson, Benedict. 2012. *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexões sobre a origem e a expansão do Nacionalismo*. Curto, Diogo Ramada; Domingos, Nuno and Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira (introd.). Lisbon: Edições 70.; 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London & New York: Verso.

<sup>40</sup> Cohabitation, a term that has emerged to describe the coexistence between christians, jews, and muslims in Medieval Spain. For a period of almost four centuries, when Medieval Spain was ruled by the Moors, the believers in judaism, christianity, and islam lived together in peace and harmony. La *Convivencia* refers to this coexistence. For over 400 years, knowledge and mysticism thrived in the Spanish towns of Toledo, Cordoba, and Granada as students and teachers in all three disciplines helped one another to learn, translate, and understand ancient teachings. See also chapter 6.

<sup>41</sup> On the history and limitations of ‘convivencia,’ see: Glick, Thomas F. 1992. “Convivencia: An Introductory Note,” In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, Thomas F. Glick, Vivian B. Mann, and Jerillyn D. Dodds, (eds.). New York: Jewish Museum. 1-9.

<sup>42</sup> Pollock, Sheldon. 1996. “The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300-1300: Transculturation, Vernacularization, and the Question of Ideology.” In Houben, Jan E. M. (ed.). *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, Leiden: Brill. 197-247.

circulation and contact or the preconditions for established patterns of encounter and exchange to undergo radical transformations of the architectural and spatial cultures. As Clifford outlines, dealing with issues of travel and translation in an era of globalization and transnationalism: “contact approaches presuppose not sociocultural wholes subsequently brought into relationship, but rather systems already constituted relationally, entering new situations through historical processes of displacement.”<sup>43</sup>

To highlight the heterogeneous nature of architectural and urban spatial cultures and practices is, moreover, to say little about their prospective commensurability. While premodern Diu was (like its modern counterpart) marked by the pervasive presence of Portuguese and Gujarati architectures, reflecting a long history of engagement between different social, ethnic and religious groups within the city, the existence of such architectures does not erase the significant differences between Portuguese and Gujarati and the consequent need for translation to mediate between them in specific historical situations, as stated by the comparatist Vinay Dharwadker: “mongrelization of languages occurs because their ‘interiors’ and ‘exteriors’ are separated by porous, elastic membranes and not by rigid walls; [but] despite such a permeability of boundaries, each language heuristically retains its ‘identity’ in relation to other languages.”<sup>44</sup> The metaphor of permeability or porosity employed here can be used in the analysis of architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu.<sup>45</sup> Its physical and deterministic nuances occlude, however, questions of agency that are essential to understanding the negotiations that shaped these architectural and urban spatial cultures materially and ontologically.

We are aware of the paradox inherent in adopting linguistic models for a dissertation that champions the value of architecture and urbanism. We are also aware that, in doing so, we are to some extent ‘swimming against the tide,’ but linguistic precedes in change all other humanities, as well as social sciences and arts, and therefore, architecture and urbanism. The dominance of a linguistic model in the social sciences has sustained recent criticism, as in the example of art historian and theorist David Summers, who has argued that whereas language is conventional, works of art “are embodied under certain conditions, and these are only secondarily conventional.” Summers argues that when it comes to architecture and city, “what parallels ‘grammar and syntax’ is the construction of real and virtual space consequent to patterns of human use.”<sup>46</sup> That is, unlike the words and sentences of conventional languages, architecture and city as a created ‘artefact’ have concrete material presence and real spatial relations. Curiously, however, since it is embedded in what is in effect a critique of the inadequacy of models to account for architecture and city is firmly rooted in a Euro-American milieu. It ignores, for example,

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<sup>43</sup> Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Dharwadker, Vinay. 1999. “A. K. Ramanujan’s Theory and Practice of Translation.” In Bassnett, Susan and Trivedi, Harish (ed.). *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge. 114-140, especially 129.

<sup>45</sup> Wagoner, Philip. 1999. “Fortuitous Convergences and Essential Ambiguities: Transcultural Political Elites in the Medieval Deccan.” In *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 3/3, 241-264. Especially 260.

<sup>46</sup> Summers, David. 1991. “Conditions and Conventions: On the Disanalogy of Art and Language.” In Kemal, Salim and Gaskell, Ivan (eds.). *The Language of Art History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 1994. “On the Histories of Artifacts.” In *Art Bulletin* 76/4: 590-92. 2003. *Real Spaces: World Art and the Rise of Western Modernism*. New York: Phaidon 15-61. On the inadequacies of the linguistic model to account for the visual see also McCracken, Grant. 1988. “Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture.” In *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 57-70 and 65-67; Crossley, Paul, and Clarke, Georgia. 2000. “Introduction.” In Crossley, Paul, and Clarke, Georgia (ed.). *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000- c. 1650*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 3; Pinney, Christopher. 2006. “Four Types of Visual Culture.” In Chris Tilley et al., *The Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage Publications .132-34. For opposing views on the utility of translation as a metaphor for understanding the built environment see Rykwert, Joseph. 1998. “Translation and/or Representation.” In *Res* 34:65-70, and Freedberg, David. 1998. “The Limits of Translation.” In *Res* 34:71-74.

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conceptions of the effect and meaning of architecture as substantive rather than representational, imbued with the ability to alter physical substance and thus produce radical spatial effects.<sup>47</sup>

Similar problems with hybridity ('biological metaphor' profusely agitated by post-colonial jargon when addressing Diu) that usually emerges from the analysis of Diu architectural and urban spatial cultures, and frequently used to explain its anomalous aggregation of apparently detached architectural and urban realities.<sup>48</sup> We don't intend to romanticize hybridity (itself a problematic model), to avoid its pitfalls, or to replace a dystopian narrative with a more upbeat utopian alternative. Rather, our aim is to explore and historicize the dialectic between alterity and identity, continuity and change, confrontation and co-option that shaped architectural and urban encounter in Diu. Metaphors of hybridity presume (if not produce) 'pure' original or parent cultures, betraying their roots in nineteenth-century scientific discourses on race, within which culture was a sign or symptom and cultural mixing and generally frowned on as an uneasy, unnatural, and unstable state of affairs.<sup>49</sup> The other archetype of hybridity is no less redolent of an essential purity to which the syncretic acts as foil, although its genealogy is closely tied to questions of religious practice, shifting the emphasis more decisively from race to culture.<sup>50</sup> In addition, we have to recognize the inevitable privileging of hybridity in product (a perceptible index) rather than statement or process, which is less immediately accessible.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, as we shall see in the dissertation, there may be specific circumstances in which hybridity is a useful category of analysis, but they raise queries about artistic style and premodern visual cognition.

With their ability to move through and beyond the limits of political dominion or physical topography, the Portuguese empire and its agents who effected contact and transmission, exemplify the mobility of routes and networks in contrast to the fixities of roots and territories.<sup>52</sup> The French philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist Bruno Latour, henceforth Latour, elucidates the description of the criss-crossings that took place between and beyond: "to shuttle back and forth, we rely on the notion of translation, or network. More supple than the notion of system, more historical than the notion of structure, more empirical than the notion of complexity, the idea of network is the Ariadne's thread of these interwoven stories [and] would allow us to pass with continuity from the local to the global, from the human to the nonhuman. It is the thread of networks of practices and instruments, of documents and translations." As this suggests, for Latour, networks are closely related to practices of translation and hybridization and opposed to strategies of disaggregation or purification that correspond to "the modern critical stance,"<sup>53</sup> as he calls it. Attention in translation as a cultural challenge has reproduced a turn in the social sciences since the end of the last century, which has stretched the scope of

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<sup>47</sup> Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge. The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 4, 18, 29, 53. For a relevant discussion on Eurocentrism in universal histories, see Rampley. Mathew. 2005. "Art History and Cultural Difference: Alfred Gell's Anthropology of Art." In *Art History* 28/4: 528-29.

<sup>48</sup> Grancho, Nuno. 2005. "Hibridismo na Índia: Diu, cidade guzerate e 'cidade' católica." In *Jornal dos Arquitectos*, 220/221, Lisbon: Portuguese Architects Association. 34-40.

<sup>49</sup> Stepan, Nancy. 1985. "Biological Degeneration: Races and Proper Places." In Chamberlain, J. Edward and Gilman, Sander L. (eds.). *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*. New York: Columbia University Press. 97-120; Young, Robert J. C. 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London & New York: Routledge. 6-9; Coombes, Annie E. and Brah, Avtar. 2000. "Introduction: The Conundrum of 'Mixing'." In *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 1-16, especially 10-11; Stewart, Tony K. and Ernst, Carl W. 2001. "Syncretism." In Claus, Peter J. and Mills, Margaret (eds.), *South Asian Folclore: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge. 586-588.

<sup>50</sup> Stewart, Charles and Shaw, Rosalind (eds.). 1994. *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London & New York. Especially: Veer, Peter van der. 1994. "Syncretism, Multiculturalism and the Discourse of Tolerance." In Stewart, Charles and Shaw, Rosalind (eds.). *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London & New York. 196-211.

<sup>51</sup> Dean, Carolyn and Leibsohn, Dana. 2003. "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America." In *Colonial Latin American Review* 12/1: 11-12, 17; Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 106; Gruzinski, Serge. 2002. *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*. Dusenberre, Deke (trans.). New York: Routledge. 31; Summers, David. "On the Histories of Artifacts." In *Art Bulletin* 76/4: 590-592.

<sup>52</sup> About these concepts in the Portuguese empire in the East, see, *interalia*: Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1998. *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel.

<sup>53</sup> Latour, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 3, 11 and 121.

translation from linguistics to architecture and urbanism, embracing translation as both an explanatory metaphor and an active practice through which the circulation, mediation, reception, and transformation of architectural and urban forms and practices take effect. While acknowledging that translation is an activity that occurs not only between but within architectural and urban spatial cultures - “a mediation between two already constituting worlds” – post-colonial theorists have, for example, pursued the goal of theorizing the limits and nature of cultural translation and the way in which it facilitates the emergence of new hybrid spatial cultures.<sup>54</sup>

The post-colonial theorist, Homi K. Bhabha, henceforth Bhabha,<sup>55</sup> writes in his work on post-colonial diasporas of a ‘third space’ emerging from the interface between hegemonic and subordinate or marginalized cultural forms, the dialectical tensions between alterity and assimilation. This is an arena within which difference is negotiated, through the appropriation, the translation, and the re-historicization of cultural signs and their associated meanings, a process that contributes to the emergence of new hybrid identities.<sup>56</sup> The intercultural concept of Bhabha (emblemized in his neologism of the ‘third space,’ which alters amid place and process) has been criticized for its fall of social practices to textual demonstrations<sup>57</sup> or nominalism: “contact between cultures always brings us back to the [...] transfer of makers, objects or images.”<sup>58</sup>

The architect and historian John Dixon Hunt sees the hermeneutical or interpretive strategies associated with such transfers as a series of translations, comprising the work of the architectural and urban historian: “[...] The study of objects, like discourse, would then focus on a series of translations. And the questions would concern, first, how speakers [...] encode their messages, with certain goals, within given linguistic and other cultural contexts [...] and, second, how hearers decode [...] within different schemas, in fresh contexts that involve both pragmatic and intellectual control. In both encoding and decoding there is an act of translation [...]”<sup>59</sup> The historian Richard Eaton discusses the “translation” of Islam into India, a process that necessitated “a broader conception” than word-for-word rendering of texts.<sup>60</sup> Extending the idea to material culture, Pollock has noted that South Asian monuments of premodern India “demonstrate a sustained and largely successful effort at intercultural translation.”<sup>61</sup> Working in the Deccan region of south-central India, the historian Philip B. Wagoner has adumbrated the dynamics of these processes, demonstrating the operation of a ‘cultural hermeneutic’ not confined to the realm of language and text, but which also pervaded material, performative, and visual aspects of cultural production, and the various other ‘languages’ employed.<sup>62</sup> These theoretical lines have developed in

<sup>54</sup> Manning, Patrick. 1996. “The Problem of Interactions in World History.” In *American Historical Review* 101/3: 771-782, especially 779. Hall, Stuart and Maharaj, Sarat. 2001. “Modernity and Difference: A conversation.” *Modernity and Difference, IV Annotations* 6: 37.

<sup>55</sup> One of the most important figures in contemporary post-colonial studies. Bhabha developed a number of the field's neologisms and key concepts, such as hybridity, mimicry, difference, and ambivalence. Such terms describe ways in which colonised peoples have resisted the power of the coloniser, according to Bhabha's theory.

<sup>56</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 37; 1996. “Culture’s In-Between.” In Hall, Stuart and Gay, Paul du (eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage. 54-58. Hall, Stuart and Maharaj, Sarat. 2001. “Modernity and Difference: A conversation.” In *Modernity and Difference, IV Annotations* 6: 42-43.

<sup>57</sup> For these critiques see Parry, Benita. 1994. “Signs of Our Times: Discussion of Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture*.” In *Third Text* 28-29:8-12; Philips, Lawrence. 1998. “Lost in Space: Siting (Citing) the In-Between of Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture*.” In *Scrutiny* 2-3/1, 16-25. Ahmad, Aijaz. 1991. “Between Orientalism and Historicism: Anthropological Knowledge of India.” In *Studies in History* 7:135-163, especially 136. criticizes a “shift from the political economy of production to the cultural complexes of representation” in Bhabha’s work, although one wonders whether these are in fact as distinct as Ahmad seems to suggest.

<sup>58</sup> Hay, Jonathan. 1999. “Toward a Theory of the Intercultural.” In *Res* 35: 5-9. See also Latour, Bruno. 2000. “The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things.” In P. M. Graves-Brown, (ed.). *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 20; Mignolo, Walter D. and Schiwy, Freya. 2003. “Double Translation: Transculturation and the Colonial Difference.” In Maranhão, Tulio and Streck, Bernard (eds.). *Translation and Ethnography. The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 10-11.

<sup>59</sup> Hunt, John Dixon. 1993. “The Sign of the Object.” In Lubar, Steven, and Kingery, W. David (eds.). In *History of Things: Essays on Material Culture*. Washington, D. C. & London: Smithsonian Institution Press. 297

<sup>60</sup> Eaton, Richard M. 2003. *India’s Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 3

<sup>61</sup> Pollock, Sheldon. 1993. “Rāmāyana and Political Imagination in India.” In *Journal of Asian Studies* 52/2: 285.

<sup>62</sup> Wagoner, Philip. 1999. “Fortuitous Convergences and Essential Ambiguities: Transcultural Political Elites in the Medieval Deccan.” In *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 3/3.

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relation to modern colonial and post-colonial architectural and urban spatial cultures, with the result that architectural and urban historians have been reluctant to rise and unlock their consequences. Nevertheless, architectural and urban history studies of India's colonial spatial cultures have not been immune to the "translation turn" that underlies their development.<sup>63</sup>

Adopting such a framework, the dissertation draws attention to the relationship between strategies of translation associated with the circulation of ideas and people and processes of transculturation that produce hybrid architectural and urban outcomes. Coined by the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, whose work has consequences due to its insistence on the centrality of objects and the practices associated with them, the term 'transculturation' denotes a complex process of transformation unfolding through extended contact between cultures. Although Ortiz saw this as a process with only one direction that entailed an initial loss (a 'deculturation' that makes the path for 'neoculturation'), transculturation has gained currency as a term that emphasizes the multidirectional nature of exchange.<sup>64</sup> This self-motivated aspect of translation confounds any attempt to draw hard-and-fast boundaries between architecture, urbanism, history, anthropology, etc. The point is eloquently demonstrated in the dissertation by the eighteenth-century cartography of Diu that will be detailed later. A rather conventional inscription of difference is subverted by the content and context of the 1783-1790 map of Diu itself, exemplifying the ability of translation to bridge the gap between them, to domesticate the foreign. Appreciating this depends, however, on a willingness to engage both media simultaneously, to read between and beyond the image.<sup>65</sup>

This notion of transculturation acknowledges that colonial architecture and colonial city are always already hybrid and in process, so that translation is a dynamic activity that takes place both 'between' and 'within' architectural and urban codes, forms, and practices. If, therefore, "routes rather than roots"<sup>66</sup> and networks not territories are two fundamental themes of this dissertation, a third, related concern might be characterized as architecture not text.

The architectural and urban spatial cultures studied are deliberately expansive terms that includes texts (chapters 1 and 2), manuscripts, paintings (chapters 1 and 5), maps, monuments (chapter 2), buildings, and the more abstract but no less revealing realm of onomastics, and ritual practice (chapter 6). While acknowledging in chapters 1 and 2 the value of texts as historical documents, by placing an equal emphasis on architectural and urban spatial cultures we seek to challenge the centrality of texts for the writing of Diu's histories. In the narrative there is a loose progression from objects to architecture and to the colonial city (and the way back), in chronology and scale. Casting this net broadly, we aim to highlight the ability of architecture and built environment to provide fresh insights and novel perspectives when treated as potentially complementary (rather than supplementary) sources of historical information. Most previous approaches to Diu have relied almost entirely on inscriptions and

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<sup>63</sup> Grancho, Nuno. 2003. "Diu: uma tentativa de cidade." *Oriente* 6. Orient Foundation: 86-101; 2005. "Hibridismo na Índia: Diu, cidade guzerate e 'cidade' católica." In *Jornal dos Arquitectos*, 220/21. Portuguese Architects Association: 34-40.

<sup>64</sup> Like the medieval French *trastornée*, with its connotations of a simultaneous movement across and within, this notion of transculturation acknowledges that cultural formations are always already hybrid and in process, so that translation is a dynamic activity that takes place both between and within cultural codes, forms, and practices. Glick, Thomas F. and Pi-Sunyer, Oriol. 1969.

"Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History." In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11/2. 136-154; Lionnet, Françoise. 1989. "Introduction: The Politics and Aesthetics of *Metissage*." In Lionnet, Françoise (ed.). *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, Self-Portraiture*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press. 15-17; Pratt, Mary-Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London & New York: Routledge; Ortiz, Fernando. 1995. *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*. Harriet de Onis, (transl.). Durham: Duke University Press. 102-3; Dallmayr, Fred. 1996. *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-cultural Encounter*. Albany: SUNY Press. 14-18. See also, Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2005. "Beyond Incommensurability: Understanding Inter-Imperial Dynamics," Department of Sociology, UCLA, Theory and research in Comparative Social Analysis. Paper 32. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/9vs8x4sk>. 20-21 (Accessed 23/02/2016).

<sup>65</sup> Wagoner, Philip. 1996. "'Sultan among Hindu King's': Dress, Titles and the Islamicisation of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara." In *Journal of Asian Studies* 55/4: 875.

<sup>66</sup> "routes rather than roots." Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 3.

texts for their narrative reconstructions of the past.<sup>67</sup> Over the past decades, increasingly sophisticated modes of analysing such documents have been developed, which mitigate the dangers of taking the oppositional categories and rhetorical claims that proliferate within them at face value. Nevertheless, the dominance of a textual paradigm has obscured the semiotic potential of materials and materiality even as they relate to textual sources.<sup>68</sup>

This abstraction of semantic content from the material means that its articulation and reproduction illustrates the role traditionally ascribed to artefacts in the writing of Diu's histories: that of props or supplements, wheeled onstage in a supporting role to bolster textualized mediations of the past. Some of the objects that we will discuss here (paintings, textiles, cartography, monuments and buildings), would no doubt gain admittance to the classification of *objets d'art*, while others which mediate more quotidian interactions would undoubtedly not. However, this is less from any imagined aesthetic inadequacy than from the (perhaps conservative) assumption that these are generally ends rather than means. The ability of the architectural and urban artifacts' to function in this way is related to their possession of a physical relationship (ranging from full body contact to a passing glance) with the dweller and citizen. Utilizing the transvalued apparel (often as part of a ceremonial re-clothing), the recipient not only came to act on the Portuguese imperial authority but functioned as a notional extension of his body, part of what a modern anthropologist would call his 'personhood.'<sup>69</sup>

This acknowledgement brings us back to Latour's delineation of modernity as a perpetual struggle between practices of translation, that create hybrids and strategies of purification designed to articulate and enforce the ontological difference between humans and nonhumans that has been naturalized in many post-Enlightenment societies. By drawing attention to the mutual imbrications of conscious human subjects and inert architecture and city,<sup>70</sup> a subsidiary aim of this dissertation is to explore the constitutive relationships between human subjects, architecture and city, and political formations, and the ways in which these relationships were implicated in processes of transculturation, a change unfolding through extended contact between cultures and notions of hybridity that can presuppose (if not produce) 'pure' original or parental architecture and city(ies).<sup>71</sup>

The study of these phenomena has been frustrated by institutionalized sectarian taxonomies. European scholarship about Gujarat has focused primarily on architecture, from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> This is true in the case of monumental architecture. In colonial time histories of South Asia, where medieval texts were lacking, medieval monuments were often figured as metaphorical books. See chapter 1 and *inter alia*: Deswarte, Sylvie. 1992. *Ideias e imagens em Portugal na época dos descobrimentos: Francisco de Holanda e a teoria da arte*, Chicó, Maria Alice (trans.). Lisbon: Difel; Biedermann, Zoltan. 2003. "Nos primórdios da antropologia moderna: a Ásia de João de Barros", *Anais de História de Além-Mar*. Lisbon: Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM). 4: 29 - 61.

<sup>68</sup> For example, the modern texts that have been central to modern histories of Diu are rarely read from the monuments on which they were placed but, instead, from modern printed compendia that reduce their communicative potential to semantic content, ignoring haptic and optic dimensions of inscription: the media in which they were carved, their scale and placement, and their precise relationship to the architectural forms on which they were inscribed.

<sup>69</sup> Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 104

<sup>70</sup> "As socially and culturally salient entities, objects change in defiance of their material stability. The category to which a thing belongs, the emotion and judgment it prompts, and narrative it recalls, are all historically refigured." Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press. 129). See also, for instance, Appadurai, Arjun. 1988. *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>71</sup> Glick, Thomas F. and Pi-Sunyer, Oriol. 1969. "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History." In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11/2. 140. Lionnet, Françoise. 1989. "Introduction. The Politics and Aesthetics of Métissage." In *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, Self-Portraiture*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press. 15-17; Ortiz, Fernando. 1995. *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*. Onis, Harriet de (transl.). Durham: Duke University Press. 102-3; Dallmayr, Fred. 1996. *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-cultural Encounter*. Albany: SUNY Press. 14-18.

<sup>72</sup> Patel, Alka. 2004. *Building communities in Gujarat: architecture and society during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries*. Leiden & Boston: E. J. Brill; Patel, Alka and Leonard, Karen, (eds). 2012. *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*. Leiden & Boston: E. J. Brill; Lambourn, Elizabeth. 2008, "India from Aden – Khutba and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth-Century India," in Hall, Kenneth R. (ed.). *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1000-1800*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 55-97; 2001. "A collection of Merits...': Architectural influences in the Friday Mosque and Kazaruni Tomb Complex at Cambay, Gujarat." *South Asian Studies* 17, 117-49; Shokoohy, Mehrdad and Shokoohy, Natalie H. 2007. "The Town of Diu, its Churches, Monasteries and Other Historic Features." In *South Asian Studies*, 23:1, 141-188; 2000. "The Karao Jāmi' Mosque of Diu in the Light of the History of the Island." *South Asian Studies*, 16:1, 55-72; 2003. "The Portuguese Fort of Diu." *South Asian Studies*, 19:1, 169-203.

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Essentialist categories of 'European,' 'hindu' and 'muslim' identity have been projected by this scholarship onto architecture and urban spatial cultures, so that in the representation of the past, Portuguese/Gujarati modes of architectural and urban spatial cultures are necessarily opposed to their counterparts.<sup>73</sup> The last decades have in fact seen efforts to associate drawn and material evidence in order to develop paradigms for understanding the connections and influences between western and non-western architecture and urban spatial cultures that emerged from Portuguese presence in South Asia.<sup>74</sup> These have demonstrated that the existence of commonalities and homologies between the architecture and urban spatial cultures of elites was often central to the operation of a 'cultural hermeneutic,' in which architecture and urbanism was deeply implicated, and which this hermeneutic implicated in its turn.<sup>75</sup> Despite a debt to these ground-breaking studies, this dissertation is pioneering in dealing with the critical formative period of Portuguese colonial presence in Diu and the communal Portuguese/Gujarat architecture and urban spatial cultures. The western Indian context of this formation, to consider in all its manifestations of architecture and urban spatial cultures and its social and anthropological effects, and to take a transregional approach to premodern transcultural encounters in Gujarat between Europe and India are considered.

Situating thick coetaneous analyses of an extensive collection of architecture and urban spatial cultures, encounters, and practices within a thin diachronic matrix that ranges over four centuries, the debate that follows can make no claims to be comprehensive. We deftly highlight the paradoxical Gujarati claims to a vision of the city of Diu pitted against imperial claims. We assert that the key problem of Diu's architectural and urban literature is the uncritical acceptance of Portuguese sources and the re-circulation of the rulers' ideas about the Indian landscape. There was an admirable historiographical description of the Portuguese 'landscape' based on early modern texts and drawn depictions from 1538, 1635, 1783-1790, 1833 until the late 1950's. A distinction was made between official/colonial urban discourses and the indigenous urban discourse. The rich intertextualities were extremely useful in presenting a varied image of the constructed discourse on Diu. In this sense, the fragmentary nature of the material evidence is both a blessing and a blasphemy, restraining the accessible data but also provoking the approach to the past to which the fixities of 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati' identities are fundamental.

The division of chapters in the dissertation, seven in all, is as follows: 'The city at the beginning. Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu,' 'The city as a battlefield. The siege of Diu and the colonial city (safety, home, space, and place),' 'The city must make money. Mediators, merchants and ship-owners,' 'The city has a thousand faces. Negotiated spaces and Heterogeneous city,' 'The city must be orderly. Diu and the Epilogue of the Portuguese empire,' 'The city must pray. Ritual, performance and display,' and 'The city and the other cities. Diu and some European colonial cities,' tries to make reading interesting, innovative, effortless and invigorating.

The first chapter 'The city at the beginning. Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu,' works with sixteenth century Portuguese texts and images to read the colonial takeover and the early colonial presence in Diu during these years. This is verified by relating to political and imperial discourses after the cession of Diu, by describing how urbanity was shaped by the earliest architectural events and finally by categorizing architecture in a Portuguese

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<sup>73</sup> As the historian Barbara Metcalf noted, should a member of the transcultural elites that moved between courts of India visit a city, he would find buildings displayed in different places, divided on the basis of a sectarian taxonomy that parses and stratifies the complex products of heterogeneous architecture and urban spatial culture milieus. Metcalf, Barbara D. 1995. "Presidential Address: Too Little, Too Much; Reflection on Muslims in the History of India." *Journal of Asian Studies* 54: 959.

<sup>74</sup> Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)].

<sup>75</sup> Wagoner, Philip. 1996. "Sultan among Hindu King's: Dress, Titles and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara." *Journal of Asian Studies* 55/4: 875; 1999. "Fortuitous Convergences and Essential Ambiguities: Transcultural Political Elites in the Medieval Deccan." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 3/3, 241-264. Rubiés, Joan-Pau. 2000. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 30, 33.

imperial context. When combing through historical cartography and texts to look for manifestations of urbanity within Portuguese colonialism, one customarily flounders when trying to map its appearance with the pre-given historical markers of territorial discourse. João de Castro, Gaspar Correa and João de Barros, and their paradigmatic accounts give extant evidence of Diu in the early modern age and especially give a pioneering anthropological point of view about the colonial city of Diu.

The second chapter, 'The city as a battlefield. The siege of Diu and the colonial city (safety, home, space, and place),' focuses on the sometimes chaotic landscape of sixteenth-century Indian history. The 1538 siege of Diu serves as an exceptional place to begin a narrative tracing the transition into Portuguese sovereignty of the Indian subcontinent. Since the event itself took place, the ramifications of this siege - both mythological and actual - have influenced the writing of late-sixteenth century until early-nineteenth century Indian histories. This marker of 'beginning' is - like all markers of beginnings - somewhat arbitrary, as Portuguese and other European colonizers traded and lived in India for a few years prior to this siege. Thus, the sea-change in Portuguese presence in India serves as a good place to begin a narrative of the changes in urban space and architectural monumentality in colonial Portuguese India from the early-sixteenth into the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter 3, 'The city must make money. Mediators, merchants and ship-owners,' deals with the architectural patronage throughout the city of Diu of merchant-banker groups belonging to diverse religious backgrounds and coming from northern India. The analysis reveals how the architectural record sheds light on aspects of socio-cultural and religious interactions among communities, aspects that could not be gleaned from other sources. The chapter shows how the early modern period structured Diu around networks based on connections with emporia, producing regions and mobile merchants operating across vast spaces. We explore the particularities that structured the chains of relation connecting Diu to Mozambique and East Central Africa between the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Although the place of Diu in western Indian Ocean commercial systems through to the nineteenth century has been regarded correctly as central, that of East Africa (broadly understood) has tended to be marginalised in general accounts of the history of the Ocean. Prominent in the analysis is a consideration of the role played by *Banyans* (hindu and jain merchant communities resident primarily in western India with inter- and intra-regional commercial, social and cultural ties in the Indian Ocean) operating from Diu in mediating the links between African consumers and Indian producers. This was a function they were able to perform effectively because of their embeddedness in local, regional and international networks in Africa and India underpinned by the circulation of financial and social capital. Diu was a poor and unproductive area which had to rely for its textile supplies on mainland western Gujarat. Its position at the southern tip of the peninsula of Kathiawar, close to Gujarati production centres, meant Diu was potentially well-placed to take advantage of this vast hinterland for its textile supplies.

Chapter 4, 'The city has a thousand faces. Negotiated spaces and Heterogeneous city,' focuses on the domestic historical architecture of Diu. While colonial architecture falls within the time span of this study, it has been left out because the intention was to study only indigenous vernacular architecture. This includes a variety of forms which had become fully traditional: muslim, Parsi and Koli besides the *haveli*. The great majority of wooden houses in Diu are found in the urban centre, within the older, historical fortified precinct, thus forming easily identifiable areas. One aspect of vernacular architecture is that although it is extensive, there are in fact only a few major variants of design which are repeated throughout Diu. The objective was to identify a typical dwelling and its setting. In addition, a search was also made to locate outstanding specimens of the type identified. An exception was completed with the Parsi buildings of Diu.

Chapter 5, 'The city must be orderly. Diu and the Epilogue of the Portuguese empire,' presents the intricacies of the mid-nineteenth century cartographic and depicted exposé on the changing fabric of Diu. It analyses the

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repeated attempts of Portuguese colonialism to impose its writ on the colonial city, seeking to regularize and rationalize space in strikingly Eurocentric ways. On paper, colonial urban plans often appear fully formed, the ultimate realization of promises to modernize the city, but in practice they were marked again and again by incoherence, incapacity, and incompleteness. Debates about colonial power have ranged widely, yet on at least one point there is a surprising degree of concurrence: most scholars seem to agree that at some level colonialism worked - it altered the cultural terrain, introduced new conditions, impacted consciousness, or provoked resistance. Yet the historical ethnography of urban interventions in Diu reveals a quite different portrait of the colonial state and its policies, one deeply marked by contradiction, confusion, even chaos. In tracing the tale of the incessant making and remaking of the modern in Diu, we show how colonial disorder and dysfunction has laid the foundation for erasures of historical memory, and we seek to transform how we think about the relationship between Western rationality, colonial power, and urban modernity. This vision of making the *Torres Novas* Road wide and straight and clean, of clearing out huts and putting natives where they 'ought to be,' would drive colonial urban planning deep into the next century indeed, until 1961, the end of Portuguese colonial presence in Diu itself.

Chapter 6, 'The city must pray. Ritual, performance and display,' examines the intersection of religion and the built environment in Diu. This urban landscape was created both materially as well as discursively by indigenous hindu and muslim elites, as a physical manifestation of a revivalist religious agenda. Inspired and shaped largely by the opportunities and limitations of colonial rule, the construction of its sacred landscape turned Diu into a place of revived ritual life. The focus is made on a catholic religious procession, on the display of hindu shrines and on the muslim Muharram ritual. Religious processions are particular displays of religion that lay claim to public space. Moving together gives a shared experience of celebrating, physical space becomes a means to express and display religious and cultural identity. Processions are staged public events and, as such, they have both participants and onlookers. Nevertheless, many processions do not create the contract of social difference. On the contrary, as many of the chapters in this book demonstrate, in Diu's religious ritual, prestige and honour are often on show, they create or exhibit boundaries, and they frequently function to display one community to another. Many of the chapters emphasize and confirm social structures and their competitive aspect. Religious rituals are signals of social change, preservers of the past and markers of architectural and urban cultures.

The last chapter, 'The city and the other cities. Diu and some European colonial cities,' focuses on a comparison between Diu and some other European colonial cities in India. Rather than plotting an entire history of European colonial India, Daman, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Pondicherry are the examples that will be used to explore, contrast and compare the interactions between these cities and between them and Diu. The chapter continues to negotiate the difficulties of the term 'colonial city' by examining Diu in the context of other (larger and more prominent) European colonial cities in India. In terms of residential accommodation, policing and infrastructural improvement, these places were intimately intertwined with the production of the colonial city in colonial discourse on two levels: architecture and urban space, and the imaging of that space. While being very different projects, these landscapes of interconnection shared similar political rationalities of practice that must be explored. Likewise, each landscape presents evidence of a colonial government that sought security and profit for itself over the welfare and development of the Indian population, and thus demands some sort of critical commentary. Diu was not just colonial, and ordered around precedence. It was also modern and organised around conceptions of zoning. While offering some useful conceptual tools, such interpretations risk applying conventions diachronically.

It will be clear by now that our own conceptual framework is a bricolage of ideas drawn not only from scholarship on other frontier regions but also from a myriad of disparate disciplines, including architecture, urbanism, history, anthropology, art history, post-colonial studies, and linguistics. Despite our championing of architecture and

urban spatial cultures and its value as a historical document, implicit in our use of contemporary theoretical work is a rejection of any notion of a “return to the object”<sup>76</sup> as if it were pre-existent or self-subsisting. A subsidiary aim of the dissertation is, therefore, to contribute to a negotiation of the (often-marked) boundaries between empirically driven and theoretically informed scholarship on modernity, while forging a dialogue between those interested in the relationships between precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial history and historiography.<sup>77</sup>

This engagement with theories of the present in a study of the past will inevitably attract criticism for privileging etic categories of explanation (those drawn from exogenous frameworks of analysis and understanding) over emic (those that would have been recognized by the actors in a given situation): in short, for anachronism. Like the idolatry discussed in chapter 6, anachronism is a vice located in the eye of the beholder. It is closely related to the critique of politically informed practices of history writing as “interventionist.”

The charge of interventionism, like that of anachronism, blurs the historicity of architecture and urban spatial cultures, the fact that all narrative (re)constructions of the past and the methodologies that they employ are historically constituted and thus engage a past that is at once distant and “dialectically continuous with the present,” as the anthropologist Nicholas B. Dirks, henceforth Dirks, puts it.<sup>78</sup> This constriction generally precludes any need to analyse the content of such pasts, while effectively supporting also as ‘history of architecture and urban spatial cultures’ the preexisting or hegemonic narratives that they challenge. As an organizing trope of this dissertation, translation has the advantage of acknowledging this, recognizing that the task of the architect is an open-ended process of negotiating the unstable relationship between present and past.<sup>79</sup> In its appropriation of approaches and concepts from a range of fields and their deployment in contexts far from those in which they may have emerged, and for which they may have been intended, our own approach enacts the phenomenon that is its subject, acknowledging that the translator is always present in and implicated by the translation.

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<sup>76</sup>In the wake of Brown’s call for a return to the object, studies have emerged in fields as diverse as architecture, anthropology, epistemology, phenomenology, political theory and psychoanalysis. In addition to single authored texts, edited publications like *Things that talk* (2004), *The Secret Life of Things* (2007), and *The Object Reader* (2009) look to make sense of objects with the same level of complexity that has been applied to human subjects. Brown, Bill. 2001. “Thing Theory”. In *Critical Inquiry*, 28/1, Things. 1-22.

<sup>77</sup>Inden, Ronald. 2000. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Among the scholars whose work attempts to straddle this divide, one might mention Daud Ali, Sheldon Pollock and Phillip Wagoner.

<sup>78</sup>Dirks, Nicholas B. 1996. “Is Vice-versa? Historical Anthropologies and Anthropological Histories.” In T. McDonald, (ed.). *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*. New York: Routledge. 31-34; 1996. “Reading Culture: Anthropology and the Textualization of India.” In Daniel, E. Valentine and Peck, Jeffrey M. (eds.). *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 277. See also Clifford, James. 1988. *The predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography. Literature and Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 94; Patterson, Lee. 1990. “On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies.” In *Speculum* 65/1: 90; Grondin, Jean. 1994. *Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics*. Weinsheimer, Joel (trans.). New Haven & London: Yale University Press. 111. Both criticisms tend to conflate a notion of History as a series of events that have occurred in the past and the representation of those events in the present: Certeau, Michel de. 1988. *The Writing of History*. Conley, Tom (trans.). New York: Columbia University Press. 21; Skinner, Quentin. 2002. *Visions of Politics*. Vol. 1. *Regarding Method*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. esp. 8-26. For India, see: Kumar, Sunil. 2007. *The Emergence of Delhi Sultanate 1192-1286*. New Delhi: Permanent Black. 45.

<sup>79</sup>Evans, Ruth. 1994. “Translating Past Cultures?” In Ellis, Roger and Evans, Ruth (eds.). *The Medieval Translator*, 4:20-45. Binghamton: State of University of New York. 36; Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 176.



# LITERATURE REVIEW

**F**OR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, DIU WAS ALMOST ABSENT from architecture and urbanism in an historical context. Just a few footnotes during the last century were included addressing the battle (1509) and the two sieges (1538 and 1546) of Diu. This happened mainly because the knowledge produced was made from stories of exchange, mobility, production and consumer demand as subjects. Yet, despite deepening historiographical involvement, the knowledge was almost never redirected to material culture. By emphasizing the importance of architecture and urbanism in structuring what should be known from European colonial cities from the inception of the Portuguese presence in India, this dissertation urges a broader rethinking more of the place of Diu in sustaining a role in European urban presence in India from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and as a marginal actor in the post-colonial<sup>1</sup> realm.

Often underpinned by history of architecture and urbanism scholarship, Diu was understood to be a rigorous and properly disinterested inquiry into the histories, geographies, cultures, art practices, religions and institutions of the *Estado da Índia*. It was scholarship that involved often-conflicting motivations, where romantic and rationalistic world views portrayed Diu as an object of everything from exotic curiosity to scientific inquiry. This neglect of Diu could have happened because Diu remained always too far from the other imperial territories of the Northern

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<sup>1</sup>It explores the history and key debates of postcolonialism, discussing its importance as an historical condition and as a means of changing the way we think about the world. Young, Robert J. C. 2003. *Postcolonialism: A very short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Province<sup>2</sup> and of the *Estado da Índia*. From the seventeenth century onwards, colonial policies gradually re-constituted Diu as a separate and marginal space. It became economically and cultural peripheral, initially to the Portuguese colonial empire and subsequently to India and Diu's captains were autonomous from the rest of the *Estado da Índia*.

However, and simultaneously, Diu also fragmented into many borderlands, fraught by contesting narratives and counter-narratives, and the tension over appropriations manifested itself in local architecture and urbanism. There could be several ways of writing the history of this city, of its representation as a 'frontier', its induced fragmentation under colonialism and of its appropriation, erasure and re-inscription into the grand narratives of the post-colonial histories of several nations as new spaces. These narratives, are hardly ever unequivocal and in Diu too, they were reclaimed by locals for appropriating and circumventing the process of colonial production of space.

From vernacular to monumental architecture, from urban space to colonial city, numerous examples of legacies of colonial practices are found throughout Diu and here are taken steps towards introducing their ideological underpinnings, theorizing and narrating them into a certain intellectual space. The 'Literature Review' discusses the theoretical foundation of the thesis in respect to existing post-colonial literature in general, and then with respect to specific work done in the sphere of colonial architecture and urban form in European colonial cities, in Portuguese colonial cities and particularly in Diu. It successively looks at a few different theoretical frameworks or models that have taken a stance on spatial production and its relation to social and power structures. Based on this examination, the ensuing section attempts to set up a heuristic conceptual framework as an instrument to understand the spatial culture of Diu.

### **Literature review of writings on space and power relations, spatial production and its relation to social and power structures**

In establishing a theoretical outline to recognize the relations between spatial production and social and power structures in the context of colonial city, the philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, henceforth Lefebvre, was one of the essential foundations for the thesis, since he combined a concern for social creations of spatial ideology with the importance of urban life. In 1972, the *Institut de recherches at the Unité pédagogique no. 8* and the *Groupe de sociologie urbaine Paris 10* organized a colloquium at Port Grimaud, under the topic of architecture and the social sciences with the ambitious aim "to constitute architectural space as an object of study."<sup>3</sup> Even though sociology was included in the title of the colloquium, during the discussion, when the architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri<sup>4</sup> mentioned the argument of workers struggle as the engine of capitalism, Lefebvre's answer was

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<sup>2</sup> The *Northern Province* was the first area of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* with territorial significance. For several decades, Portuguese sovereignty in the Orient was limited to coastal possession, cities or forts, or some islands. From 1534 to 1739, the Northern Province had four urban settlements, Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul. Beyond these, the territory was dotted with a network of defensive positions, especially forts. These were the country residencies of the Portuguese land and village owners.

About Portuguese territorial presence and political history of the Northern Province of *Estado da Índia*, see Rossa, Walter. 2010. "Enquadramento I: Província do Norte e Norte da Índia." In Mattoso, José (dir.), Rossa, Walter (scientific coord.). *Património de Origem Portuguesa no Mundo: arquitectura e urbanismo - Ásia e Oceania*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 65-82; Teixeira, André. 2010. *Baçaim e o seu território: política e economia (1534-1665)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 20-61; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2006. "Província do Norte." In Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires. "O Império Oriental (1660-1820)," Vol. V, T. 2. In Serrão, Joel, Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (org.). *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa. 207-264. Ames, Glenn J. 2008. "The Province of the North: Continuity and Change in an Age of Decline and Rebirth, ca. 1571-1680." In Brockey, Mathew Liam. *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate. 129-148. About Portuguese political and military history and fortification in the Northern Province of *Estado da Índia*, see: Mendiratta, Sidh. 2012. *Dispositivos do sistema defensivo da província do norte do estado da Índia, 1521-1739*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Coimbra: University of Coimbra.

<sup>3</sup> Sturge-Moore, Léonie (ed.). 1972. *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel, 22-26 juin 1972, Port Grimaud: Compte rendu des communications et des interventions*. Paris: Centre de recherche sur l'habitat, Paris. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Tafuri (1935 - 1994), besides being one of the most important architectural historians of the twentieth century was also an architect, historian, theoretician, critic and academic noted for his pointed critiques of the partisan "operative criticism" of previous critics and

ironic: “You put everything into your system.” “Not mine, that of capitalism,” replied Tafuri.<sup>5</sup> The argument between them concerned not whether architecture is to be put on trial but instead how far it should go, what it should aim at and at kind of critique it should be? In that same colloquium, Lefebvre asked, “What is architecture? Is there something specifically architectural? Is it an art, a technique, a science?” And answered, “I argue that architecture is a social practice.”<sup>6</sup> This arises from this general concern about the dominant tendency to see architecture as primarily a physical, form-based entity.

Contrastingly, this thesis is predicated on the premise that architecture is also, and fundamentally, a social and political product.<sup>7</sup> It is based on the conviction that there is a need to get involved with practices (in this case, of politics of representation, of building operations, of social and individual negotiations, of patterns of production and inhabitation and of religious ritual) which exist beyond the mere architecture and the cities to understand social space and its changing aspects. Equally, in a dialectical way, the study also uses the architecture and the city to throw light on methods and practices that inform such dynamics of space. The thesis thus intends to read the physicality of space through the practice of space, and is, in that sense, aligned closely to a thought which lies at the intersection of spatial, social and cultural studies.<sup>8</sup>

The analysis of architecture in this perspective starts with recognizing the practice of an architect as “a producer of space, but never the only one” who “operates within a specific space.”<sup>9</sup> This practice is defined by its outside constraints imposed by others involved in the production of space (urbanists, planners, and especially the ‘users’) and its internal competencies and limitations set by concepts, representation, ideologies and abstractions.<sup>10</sup> Architecture thus becomes a sum of the aims, instruments, and regulations assigned to it; its field of possibilities is delineated by its dependencies and synergies with other disciplines, practices, and institutions. For Lefebvre, a phenomenological approach to understanding spatial production is inappropriate. Indeed, he criticises phenomenology as having a limited focus, constrained within the nearness of the ‘lived’ experience (of urban life). Lefebvre makes a resilient instance for space being at once a social product and a means of social control, an approach evidently aligned to Marxist thought.<sup>11</sup> However, Lefebvre does not deductes the value of bodily

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architectural historians like Siegfried Giedion and Bruno Zevi and for challenging the idea that the Renaissance was a “golden age” as it had been characterised in the work of Heinrich Wölfflin and Rudolf Wittkower.

<sup>5</sup> Tafuri, Manfredo. 1972. “Architecture et semiologie.” In Sturge-Moore, Léonie (ed.). *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel 22–26 juin, 1972, Port Grimaud: Compte rendu des communications et des interventions- 7–13*. Paris: Centre de recherche sur l’habitat, Paris. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1972. “L’espace spécifique de l’architecture.” In *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel, 22–26 juin 1972, Port Grimaud*, ed. Léonie Sturge-Moore, 60–69. Paris: Centre de recherche sur l’habitat, Paris. 62.

<sup>7</sup> “...buildings are not primarily art, technical or investment objects, but social objects”. Markus, Thomas A. 1993. *Buildings and Power, Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London & New York: Routledge. xix.

<sup>8</sup> See *inter alia*: Lefebvre discussing how space is produced through the overlap of abstract scientific, social and physical or material spaces. Soja emphasizing the importance of space in political and cultural phenomena. Harvey discussing the intersection of the conceptual framework of Marxist socio-economic theory with spatial and geographical theory. Massey addressing connections between urban space and socio-economic parameters. Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Nicholson-Smith, Donald. Oxford: Blackwell. (originally published as 1974. *La production de l’espace*. Paris: Anthropos); Soja, Edward. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso; 1996; *Thirdspace: Journey to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers; Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage; Harvey, David. 2009. *Social Justice and the City*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.

<sup>9</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1972. “L’espace spécifique de l’architecture.” In *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel, 22–26 juin 1972, Port Grimaud*, ed. Léonie Sturge-Moore, 60–69. Paris: Centre de recherche sur l’habitat, Paris. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1972. “L’espace spécifique de l’architecture.” In *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel, 22–26 juin 1972, Port Grimaud*, ed. Léonie Sturge-Moore, 60–69. Paris: Centre de recherche sur l’habitat, Paris. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 2008. *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 1: *Introduction*. Moore, John (trans.) 1991. New York: Verso. 49. (Originally published as *Critique de la vie quotidienne, vol. 1: Introduction*. Paris: Grasset, 1947).

The other volumes are: 2002. *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 2: *Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*. Moore, John (trans.). London: Verso. (Originally published as *Critique de la vie quotidienne, vol. 2: Fondements d’une sociologie de la quotidienneté* (Paris: L’Arche, 1961)); and 2005. *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 3: *From Modernity to Modernism: Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life*. Moore, John (trans.). London: Verso. (Originally published as *Critique de la vie quotidienne, vol. 3: De la modernité au modernisme: Pour une métaphilosophie du quotidien* (Paris: l’Arche, 1981)).

experience. With lessons from philosopher and sociologist Karl Marx, the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and the literary theorist and philosopher Roland Barthes, he rather requests an understanding of the ‘lived’ and the ‘everyday.’ Hence, Lefebvre’s view of spatial production is an engagement with spaces that arise out of the conflicts between space for profit and space for play, between the coinciding playing out of space as a social product or means of control, and space as pleasure or bodily experience. Lefebvre further adjusts his wide classifications of space as a ‘social ideology’ and as ‘lived experience’ into what he names of ‘Practiced’, ‘Conceived’ and ‘Lived’ Space.<sup>12</sup> The first is “the material and functional reproduction of a society, incorporating competence in everyday spatial routines” the second involves “the intellectualising of space through codified languages of planning schemes and design discourse;” while the last, is “the sensual world of everyday life [...] which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate.”<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, we argue that Lefebvre’s theoretical categories open up several possibilities for Diu. His theorizing of space as a whole produced by multiple social practices open new prospects for the compulsory transdisciplinary research on colonial space, which still awaits its development. If Lefebvre’s theory allows a linking of the efforts of various disciplines focused on specific practices of production of space, it is because the understanding of space as a concrete abstraction shifts the discussion from an ontology of space to an epistemology of the urban. One related discussion would be the answer to how Diu’s colonial landscape accommodated negotiations by different social groups, of practiced, and conceived dimensions of spaces, which proposes an important original construing and interpretation of those spaces. In our analysis, the categories of ‘practiced’, ‘conceived’ and ‘lived’ space also offer a particularly suitable fit to the idea of architectural and urban cycles: the conceptual space of architecture and urbanism *prior* to material existence, the process of production of architecture and city, and finally the physical use of space and its perceptual re-construction after it comes into material existence.<sup>14</sup> Another discussion relevant for the reading of Diu’s colonial spaces that Lefebvre engages is the notion of ‘appropriation.’<sup>15</sup> He suggests that people often try or tend to appropriate spaces for play within spaces for profit. In this context, he calls for the ‘right to the city’ in two critical terms: access and play plus appropriation.<sup>16</sup> Using the notion of ‘rights’ to spaces<sup>17</sup> as an indicator of the social potential of spaces is instrumental in the understanding of colonial,

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<sup>12</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Nicholson-Smith, Donald. Oxford: Blackwell. (originally published as 1974. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos). 38-46.

<sup>13</sup> Lefebvre, as cited in Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 46.

<sup>14</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Nicholson-Smith, Donald. Oxford: Blackwell. (originally published as 1974. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos). 12. This position was particularly visible in the discussion after Lefebvre’s talk “L’urbanisme aujourd’hui” in 1967, in which he urged the distinction of architecture (as the microsociological level of dwelling) from urbanism (as the macrosociological level of the urban society). This was opposed by the architect Jean Balladur, who claimed that this division is “an expression of the contradictions of our society” (see Lefebvre, Henri. 1967. “L’urbanisme aujourd’hui: Mythes et réalités: Débat entre Henri Lefebvre, Jean Balladur et Michel Ecochard.” Special issue of *Les Cahiers du Centre d’études socialistes* 72–73. 19 and 225). Lefebvre responded that he wanted not to separate architecture from urbanism but to stress that they are two levels that are necessarily related. See also Lefebvre, Henri. 1981. “Espace architectural, espace urbain.” In *Architectures en France: Modernité, postmodernité*, 40–46. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou. 44.

<sup>15</sup> “For an individual, for a group, to inhabit is to appropriate something. Not in the sense of possessing it, but as making it an oeuvre, making it one’s own, marking it, modeling it, shaping it. [...] To inhabit is to appropriate space, in the midst of constraints, that is to say, to be in a conflict—often acute—between the constraining powers and the forces of appropriation.”

Lefebvre, Henri. 1967. “L’urbanisme aujourd’hui: Mythes et réalités: Débat entre Henri Lefebvre, Jean Balladur et Michel Ecochard.” Special issue of *Les Cahiers du Centre d’études socialistes* 72–73. With the consumption of space and the practice of its ‘appropriation’ becoming two paradigms for theorizing the production of urban space today, this reading of Lefebvre’s work allows an understanding of the emergence of these paradigms and their theoretical and political consequences.

<sup>16</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1996. *The Right to the City*, Kofman, Eleonore and Lebas, Elizabeth, (trans.). Oxford: Blackwell. 384-385.

Parts of the book were published in *AMC: Architecture mouvement continuité*, special issue on May 68 and supplement to issue 167 of the *Bulletin de la Société des architectes* (1968): 3–7. Lefebvre’s book was extensively discussed in the architectural press after its publication; see, Emmerich, review of Henri Lefebvre’s, 1968. *Le droit à la ville, L’architecture d’aujourd’hui* 144. xxxvi–vii; and the discussion of French architecture of the 1960s in 1986. “La droit à la ville” In *AMC: Architecture mouvement continuité* 11 58–59.

<sup>17</sup> Lefebvre shaped concepts that set orientation points for architecture and urbanism today, such as the everyday, difference, scale, production of space, and the right to the city. The doubts underlying these questions cannot simply be rejected as misuses or misreadings of Lefebvre’s theory; neither can they be explained away by a hermeneutics of his texts, an endeavour impossible to accomplish without

since this was antinomic and divided. Secondly, the extension of the idea of ‘rights’ from mere access to spaces to the idea of their potential for play and appropriation gives us a much more developed and nuanced idea of the exercise of power through spaces.

Ordinary questions arising in terms of this study would be: which social group had how much and what type of rights over spaces in Diu spatial landscape? And to what extent, and in what way, even when denied direct access, did colonists as well as their subjects use the tools of appropriation and play to lay some sort of a claim on buildings or spaces in the colonial context? The basic categories of ‘profit’ and ‘play’ in the context of this thesis may be interpreted more flexibly - for instance, in terms of the formal instruments of spatial control on one hand and the mechanisms of their appropriation, modification or subversion on the Other. Also, Lefebvre’s notion of spaces arising out of the contestation between the space for profit and space for play seems to allude to a domain that is neither of the two in pure terms, but an ‘in-between’ condition. This seems to also be somewhat resonant with the geographer and urbanist Edward Soja’s, henceforth Soja, conception of ‘thirdspace’ – i.e. those kinds of spaces that are simultaneously real and imagined.<sup>18</sup> This is particularly interesting in the context of this study, since one of its strands looks at how the Diu’s imagined space was pursued – by both Gujarati and Portuguese inhabitants – in terms of physical and material content.

Another important related body of theory in this context, was that propounded by the historian Michel de Certeau, henceforth Certeau, who emphasised that meanings of spaces are continuously constructed and re-constructed on an ongoing basis, through action in everyday life by the user.<sup>19</sup> The essence of Certeau’s view of the mediation of power in space lay in the emphasis on the user, usage, the power of perception and the power of resistance. While de Certeau’s thesis on *The Practice of Everyday Life* has been praised for offering new ways to deal with the spatiality of urban life, we will argue that this limited spatial imaginary enhances a conception of spatial connections and disconnections as deduced rationally from the givens and thus may be problematic regarding de Certeau’s influence on critically engaged site-specific art practices. However, there is a tendency here to place de Certeau’s theories within a set of binary oppositions, which may enhance a view on the arts as solely an effect of or reaction to urban space, and thus occlude art’s potential for critical exploration. These binary oppositions are reflected in the contrast de Certeau makes between strategies and tactics. A strategy is here defined as relating to an already-constructed, static, given place/structure, whereas tactics are the practices of daily life which engage with and manipulate this structure. This conception may immediately be seen as introducing a dichotomy between power and resistance, and structure and agency, which divides the space of the city in two: the city structure vs. the street.<sup>20</sup> In this regard, we will re-visit de Certeau’s theories in order to point to the importance of re-thinking them in order to inform contemporary and critically engaged site-specific art practice in a fruitful way. Building upon this, our study looks at how intended use and meanings of spaces in colonial Diu were modified, altered or subverted and new meanings constructed by users through different spatial practices.

Finally, the architect and building scientist Thomas A. Markus and the architectural critic Kim Dovey, have both made specific connections between concepts of power and architectural design.<sup>21</sup> Markus discusses how buildings

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accounting for their polemical character, written against the normalization of critical concepts. Stanek, Lukasz. 2011. *Henri Lefebvre on space: architecture, urban research, and the production of theory*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>18</sup> Soja, Edward. 2000. *Postmetropolis*. Oxford: Blackwell; 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso; 1990. “The Socio-Spatial Dialectic.” In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70/2: 207–25; and especially, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>19</sup> Certeau, Michel De. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Rendall, Steven (trans.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>20</sup> Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.

<sup>21</sup> Markus, Thomas A. 1993. *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London & New York:

Routledge. 3-28, and entire book; Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 9 -15, 17-24.

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encode power through spatial arrangement for a number of building types such as hospitals, schools, or prisons. Dovey discusses the different forms that power can take (e.g. through force, coercion, seduction, or authority) and how architectural tools can be used to exercise each of these. Dovey also introduces the notion of 'frame-up' whereby certain deterministic mechanisms can be indirectly built into spaces without them being explicit and which may be mis-read by users as empowering. In some ways, this seems to find resonance with Lefebvre's notion of 'illusion of liberation/freedom' from control. It also seems to relate to Dovey's own analysis of 'hidden power' in which the subject is virtually unaware of the control exercised on him/her by mechanisms of power in space.<sup>22</sup>

### **Premise in relation to post-colonial discourse**

The circumstance or condition of colonialism provided clues to much of our present-day identity in various spheres of cultural existence, because it involved contact, influence and interface to produce other paradigms of cultural practices and cultural artefacts (architecture and cities of course being some of them). It also generated specific constructions of systems of knowledge and structures of power in colonial societies<sup>23</sup> which were, in turn, simultaneously embodied in and shaped through their material and spatial (architectural and urban) setting. Remarkably, even though work has been done within some disciplines on colonialism and culture, research within architecture and urbanism is still limited (in general, but also specifically in Portuguese colonial historiography). This gap is of some concern, since the production of contemporary architecture in post-colonial India is acutely embedded in colonial legacies. Moreover, this is not merely an issue relevant to post-colonial societies, since architectural production in today's globalised times also finds matches in previous colonial patterns.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, colonial architecture and urbanism is perhaps one of the best examples through which one realizes the limits of architects in sustaining critical building practice within a hegemonic setting.

The domain of urbanism, along with arenas directly or indirectly related to it, is an especially appropriate ground to investigate these issues, given that in the colonial context the city was clearly one of the key instruments through which the culture enjoying formal authority attempted to establish mechanisms of control and power. The apparatus of Portuguese colonial governance was actively harnessed in attempts to manage, reshape and indeed 'reform' Indian society and religion in Portuguese colonial spaces. However, while the overall power equations may have been biased in favour of the Portuguese, the process was hardly just racial and instead, it involved many negotiations. Related spaces in the domestic and public domain provided the physical ground on which these operations and power structures of societal functioning were encoded and institutionalised. On the other hand, the architecture and spaces produced were also used often by different groups of people as tools to subvert apparently obvious power equations. The dissertation thus attempts to decode some of these connexions in order to interpret them.

Colonial cities in India were singular in nature, even though, very often, the image of cities has been imprinted in public opinions through singular and iconic buildings, building-complexes, imperial spaces and though the

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<sup>22</sup> Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 71-86.

<sup>23</sup> Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books; 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus; and Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge. The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

<sup>24</sup> See *inter alia*: King, Anthony D. 2004. *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge; Ballantyne, Tony. 2002. "Empire, Knowledge and Culture: From Proto-Globalization to Modern Globalization" in Hopkins, A. G. (ed.) *Globalization in World History*. London: Pimlico. 115-140; Sassen, Saskia. 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Chakravorty, Sanjoy. 2000. 'From Colonial City to Globalizing City: The Far from Complete Transformation of Calcutta' in Marcuse, P. and van Kempen, R. (eds) *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell. 56-77; Axford, Barrie. 2000. "The Idea of Global Culture." In Beynon, J. and Dunkerly, D. (eds). *Globalization: The Reader*. London: Athlone Press. 105-7; Jacobs, Jane M. 1996. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London: Routledge; Kosambi, Mera. 1990. "The Colonial City in its Global Niche." In *Economic and Political Weekly*. 22: 2275-81; Hall, Stuart. 1997. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity." In King, Anthony D. (ed.). *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 19-40.

plethora of considerations on them.<sup>25</sup> Some of the examples of such landmark architectures or urban spaces include, the citadel of Diu, the viceroy's palace of Goa, the governor's House of Calcutta, or the landscaped spaces of New Delhi, which find frequent mention in demonstrating the nature and expression of colonial authority. Although such discourse has played a very crucial role in understanding the effectiveness of architecture and city as representational devices and as consolidated instruments of power, it often tends to dissuade attention away from the more nuanced, intermingled functioning and manifestations of power. In reality, colonial governance took shape and operated not only through these iconic spaces, i.e., the symbolic top of the administrative pyramid, but also through a complex network of functions and spaces which constituted the overall colonial governmental apparatus. This means that while the symbolic architecture located in colonial cities, projected the imagery of colonial power and control, they were backed up in operational terms by a conglomerate of functions and spaces such as the governor's houses, courthouses, treasuries, factories, jails or military cantonments all of which were spread over a much larger geographical area. The representation of colonial power was thus sustained by the practice of power through these apparatus, and these aspects were closely interspersed. The conceptualisation for these architectures and urban spaces and to this study comes from post-colonial writings that are founded on Foucault's notion of power. Not only does Foucault's analysis articulate the innate nexus between space, power and knowledge,<sup>26</sup> it also defines their very nature.

Foucault's argument that power is "never monopolised by one centre," does not "function in the form of a chain," and it "is deployed and exercised through a net-like organisation" is important here.<sup>27</sup> Foucault proposes an action-theoretic model of relations as the basis of power. Power, according to him, is relational, an outcome of relations of strategic conflict among social actors. He rejects the positivist approaches that depict power as a form of property, that is in its attributes immutable, unrelenting and resolute. Instead, he situates it within a more dynamic context, as the wavering and unstable product of conflict between the subjects. Power, he argues, is not a property, but a strategy, and "its effects of domination are attributed not to 'appropriations,' but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functioning." It is "exercised rather than possessed," and that "one should decipher in it a network of relations constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess."<sup>28</sup> In his model of strategic action, power does not emanate from a single source, but is spread across the entire social body. It is capillary in nature, in the sense that it is not exercised from a single, identifiable source,

<sup>25</sup> See, *inter alia*: Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.); and Nair, J. 2005. *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 4–8. On Indian cities as a subject of historical analysis, see Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890–1920*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 2–8. In addition to those discussed and categorized below, earlier works that consider different aspects of modern South Asian urban history include books like Gillion, K. L. 1968. *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Gupta, Narayani. 1981. *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803–1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*. Delhi: Oxford India; and Dossal, Mariam. 1991. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845–1875*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, and edited volumes such as Grewal, J. S. and Banga, Indu, (ed.). 1981. *Studies in Urban History*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University; Spodek, H. and Srinivisan, D. M. (eds.). 1993. *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; Davies, Philip. 1985. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India*. London: J. Murray; Vale, Lawrence J. 1992. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Yale: Yale University Press; Irving, Robert Grant. 1982. *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Hopkins, Andrew and Stamp, Gavin, (eds.). 2002. *Lutyens abroad: the work of Sir Edwin Lutyens outside the British Isles*. London: British School at Rome.

<sup>26</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 1988. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77*. Gordon, Colin (ed.). New York: Pantheon. For an account of Foucault's deliberations on geographies and power from a wide range of perspectives framed around his discussions with the French geography journal *Herodote* in the mid-1970s, see: Crampton, Jeremy W and Elden, Stuart. 2012. *Space, Power and Knowledge: Foucault and Geography*. Aldershot: Burlington VT, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.; Foucault, Michel, (1926-1984). 2008. *Seguridad, territorio, población: Curso del Collège de France (1977-1978)*, Senellart, Michel (ed.), Ewald, François and Fontana, Alessandro, (dir.) Madrid: Akal.

<sup>27</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 2001. *Power*, vol. 3, Rabinow, Paul, Feher, Michael (eds.). New York: New Press. 98; 1980.

*Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings: 1972-1977*. Gordon, Colin, (ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.

<sup>28</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 1991. *Discipline and Punish*, Sheridan, Alan, (trans.). New York: Random House. 26–27.

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but has its genesis in the routine and inconspicuous forms of strategic action among competing social actors. Foucault refers to this as the “physics of power,”<sup>29</sup> or as a “multiplicity of force relations.”<sup>30</sup> He situates power within the context of a provisional and fickle outcome of conflicts among competing subjects. In his own words:

... there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations [...] One must suppose rather that the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups, and institutions, are the basis for a wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole.<sup>31</sup>

Foucault’s considered attitude towards power underlines the role of human agency in power relations. His work stresses the need to study power as situated within a field of social conflict.

This study draws upon his work in suggesting the power relations in Diu as based on the intersubjectivity of human agency. One effort of this study is to situate power itself within the context of a political and symbolic contestation between the power-holders and the subordinate social groups and to disclose the involvement of the subjects of power in the political system. On one hand, Foucault’s idea of power as operating at the most micro-level of social relations and on the other hand, Foucault’s idea of power being a device, rather than emanating from a centre, provides the ground to shift attention to the interactions and networks that in Diu between and within Portuguese and Gujarati. Following on this, we will look at the relationship between the design of spaces and the negotiations between the agencies and people that went into the making and functioning of those spaces. Fundamental to the research is thus a conception of colonial power structure and its spaces as a network of interconnected agencies and domains – not as singular power-centres or buildings. This has also been the driving force behind the emphasis on non-monumental architecture and on a larger network of spaces corresponding to middle-lower administrative hierarchies.

In the last decades, a few significant architectural writers challenged the established spatial colonial historiographical standpoint - addressing English urban colonial presence in India – such as the architectural historian Swati Chattopadhyay, henceforth Chattopadhyay:

... Far from being able to predict future British control, the uncertainty of British enterprise [of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries] was evident to British authorities, the same authorities whose deeds would be constructed into a story of uninterrupted success ... Not only were the complex choices and decisions made by the British and Indians simplified into a British winning strategy, the ... contribution ... of the native population during the entire duration of colonial rule is effectively subdued as part of the city’s [Calcutta, in this case] history.<sup>32</sup>

Also, the architectural critic Jyoti Hosagrahar in her work on urban domestic spaces in Delhi between 1847 and 1910, expresses a similar viewpoint:<sup>33</sup>

...Most histories of architecture and urbanism continue to assume ‘traditional’ and ‘modern,’ the ‘West’ and the ‘non-West,’ as irreconcilably separate and opposing categories...

Delhi presents an example of syncretism between customary ways of building and inhabiting, imposed social and spatial forms emerging from Europe’s modernity, and the cultural chaos of modernity and colonialism.

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<sup>29</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 1991. *Discipline and Punish*, Sheridan, Alan, (trans.). New York: Random House. 26.

<sup>30</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 1990. *The History of Sexuality, vol. I - An Introduction*, Hurley, R., (trans.). New York: Random House. 92.

<sup>31</sup> Foucault, Michel (1926-1984). 1990. *The History of Sexuality, vol. I - An Introduction*, Hurley, R., (trans.). New York: Random House. 94.

<sup>32</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge. 9.

<sup>33</sup> The work by the ‘Subaltern Studies Group’ led by Ranajit Guha had the result, within the field of urban history, of Chattopadhyay’s and Hosagrahar’s efforts on Calcutta and Delhi, respectively. The group stated the need to recover the Other, less heard, voices in the writing of colonial history and to shift attention from mainstream political history-writing to the domain of social history, local and micro-histories including those of peasant and lower-caste groups, labour, and women. See Guha, Ranajit (ed.). 1997. *A Subaltern Studies Reader 1986-1995*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

...The grand design of imperial New Delhi [...] has dominated architectural histories of modern Delhi, denying to indigenous inhabitants an active role in the production of modernist built form.<sup>34</sup>

However, until the late 1990s, the overriding tendency in the Portuguese colonial architectural and urban historiography – as in other European prevalent historiographies - was to cast it primarily as a grand imperial narrative, i.e. of how heroic Portuguese efforts constructed the colonised cities, towns, buildings, monuments.<sup>35</sup>

... Everything from the Portuguese policies of organization and urbanisation in Hindustan seems to suggest that [...] they attempted to establish a colonial regime in India, rather than reinforce the trading system that had originally tried to create a substitute for the pre-existing one.<sup>36</sup>

Within such a change in the conceptual and critical basis of colonial architectural and urban historiography, it becomes clear that the image of colonial power in India<sup>37</sup> as being necessarily consolidated, dominant, singularly authoritative systematic, and refined, itself needs questioning. There was a process of amendments and changes that categorised the colonial administration that evolved into that of imperial governance, and which involved numerous trials, negotiations and errors. Such alterations were generally tentative, and proposed eventually a more nuanced premise to build on for this study. Evolutions of architecture and city thus came up in response to such changes and in response to the demands posed by the administrative structure and by the various local forces acting on it.

Colonial 'machinery' in Diu did not exist in isolation either. In other words, Portuguese governance did not only operate through explicit mechanisms and spaces. Its running was intricately linked to and acutely reliant on a range of other spaces within the city, far beyond the formal colonial boundaries. Although the cluster of administrative buildings together with religious buildings and military architecture, did constitute the core apparatus of colonial architecture in Diu, it was in effect buffered by an intricate subordinate apparatus that consisted of educational, cultural, leisure, entertainment, and various other civic and domestic spaces. As well as

<sup>34</sup> Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism*. London: Routledge. 6-9; 2001. "Mansions to margins: Modernity and the domestic landscapes of historic Delhi 1847-1910." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60/1: 2.

<sup>35</sup> Teixeira, Manuel C. 1990. "Portuguese traditional settlements, a result of cultural miscigenation." In *Traditional dwellings and settlements review*. IASTE 2. Berkeley: IASTE. 23-24; Araújo, Renata and Carita, Hélder (org.), *Colectânea de Estudos: Universo Urbanístico Português 1415-1822*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); Araújo, Renata; Carita, Hélder and Rossa, Walter. 2001. *International Colloquium Universo Urbanístico Português 1415-1822*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*, Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP).

<sup>36</sup> Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*, Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP), 28.

<sup>37</sup> On colonial governance in India, see *inter alia*: Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1998. "A Estrutura Política e Administrativa do Estado no Século XVI." In *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel. 207-243; Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*, Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 14-15; Almeida, Pedro Tavares de. 2006. "Ruling the empire: the Portuguese colonial office (1820s-1926)." In *Revista de História das Ideias*, Coimbra: Coimbra University Press; Russell-Wood, A. J. R. 1998. *The Portuguese empire, 1415-1808: a world on the move*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1993. *The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700: a Political and Economic History*. London: Longman; Banerjee, D.N. 1943. *Early Administration System of the East India Company in Bengal*. London: Longman; Misra, B. B. 1959. *The Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, and 1970. *The Administrative History of India (1834-1947)*. Bombay: Oxford University Press; AlSayyad, Nezar (ed.). 1992. *Forms of dominance: on the architecture and urbanism of the colonial enterprise*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury; Glover, William J. 2008. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.

Still other analyses have focused upon the colonies as 'laboratories of modernity,' where architects, missionaries, doctors and urban planners could carry out experiments of social engineering without confronting the popular resistance and bourgeois rigidities of European society at home. On colonial governance in Africa, see *inter alia*: Rabinow, Paul. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press; Wright, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, especially Morocco, Indochina and Madagascar; Celik, Zeynep. 1997. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations. Algiers under French Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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governmental provisions, there was, over time, the development under local or Portuguese patronage of various syncretic institutions (e.g. port, governor's palace,<sup>38</sup> schools).<sup>39</sup> This secondary apparatus was an often questioned domain, and usually co-produced by local and Portuguese agency. Remarkably, it was these syncretic institutions that provided the experimental ground for many hybrid spatial formations and architectural styles, eventually feeding into the channel for the 'Indo-portuguese' architectural stream in the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Thus, on the whole, in the colonial context of Diu, the political-administrative sphere and the domestic/civic sphere were not at all independent entities. The notion of colonial governance had necessarily to be far wider and complex than just a mere bureaucratic administration.

Of fundamental importance here, and something that warrants fore-grounding, is the Gujarati response to Portuguese attempts at establishing colonial control, and the participation of the local actors in the creation of a composite civic culture and space. This happened often in the form of fully-fledged buildings and the according hybrid architectural styles, that came up under the patronage of the local elite or other local groups.<sup>41</sup> There also developed foundations, where access and patronage was more mixed, or even solely Gujarati such as the *Banyan* buildings and locations. That a civic architecture and a network of urban civic spaces, in effect a colonial civic domain, was really being produced almost in conjunction, by the Portuguese and their Gujarati counterparts (e.g. by *Banyans*, Parsis and locals), is arguably one of the most critical foundations of understanding colonial civic space in Diu's context. On the other hand, Portuguese colonial architecture also came to assimilate elements from local architecture rather than just use styles imported directly from the metropole, given the belief that designs needed to be adapted to suit the local climate and customs of Gujarat.

This was similarly noted by the architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright, henceforth Wright, for another colonial empire and colonial space:

Administrators hoped that preserving traditional status-hierarchies would buttress their own superimposed colonial order. Architects, in turn, acknowledging that resistance to new forms is often based on affections for familiar places, tried to evoke a sense of continuity with the local past in their designs.<sup>42</sup>

Most post-colonial discourse (especially in the context of decolonisation) seems to have taken two broad routes. The first, a recognition of the failures of colonialism, and the later, a response to the powers of nationalism. Usually, there has been an overemphasis on resistance, which again assumes clear and over emphasized binary categories like 'coloniser-colonised' or 'oppressor-oppressed' as if almost all architectural influence could be explained by this dichotomy. However, constrained by conflicting local contexts, colonial administrations had to make *ad-hoc* adjustments, which would suggest far more tentative power equations than such binary categories would indicate. The previous 'manichean' argument had essentially been that of a deeply severed colonial state and local society, with even physical space being sharply and fundamentally divided into Portuguese and Gujarati urban settlements as we state later. The 'revisionist' approach on the other hand criticises the 'manichean'

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<sup>38</sup> Currently, the Collectorate, Diu's colonial administration office.

<sup>39</sup> For discussions on the ideological foundations of the imperial state in India and development of various colonial institutions in terms of their architectural development, see: Faria, Alice Santiago. 2010. *L'architecture Coloniale Portugaise à Goa. Le Département des Travaux Publics, 1840-1926*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Paris: Université Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne; Metcalf, Thomas. 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tillotson, Giles H.R. - *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Chattopdhay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta Modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>40</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>41</sup> Some examples of this, for example, are the College, School and Public Library in Diu. The governor's Palace set up with contributions from elites of the town.

<sup>42</sup> Wright, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 9.

paradigm for overlooking the hybridity<sup>43</sup> of the colonial situation in which Portuguese and Gujarati were held in a relationship of interdependence.<sup>44</sup> Colonial power, it is argued by the revisionists, was a production of this hybridity “rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native tradition.”<sup>45</sup> On the whole, it is with such viewpoints of multiple negotiations that had to be forged in the consolidation of the political system of colonial culture and its spaces, being founded on contributions from the multiple actors and networks behind the formation of these that this study is aligned.

In a broader sense, this work expects to untangle the nature of east-west interaction in the context of architecture and urban form of European colonial presence in India through the study of Diu. Taking Foucault’s notion of power and knowledge systems, and also philosopher Jacques Derrida’s notion of scepticism about modes of representation<sup>46</sup> as its foundation, one of the most significant bodies of work is Edward Said’s, henceforth Said, ground-breaking account on *Orientalism* and the discourse built up around it. He suggested that the ‘Orient’ was a tool for dominance and a European construct, and showed how a body of (colonial) knowledge could involve the exercise of power.<sup>47</sup> Much post-colonial theory, in turn, has taken its start and spur from Said’s work. A large body of western literature was deconstructed by Said to make his case that the East was depicted by the West as the illogical, feeble, feminised Other, contrasted with the lucid, resilient and masculine West. This contrast was suggested as being derived from the need to create ‘difference’ between the two. Said illustrated the severe political consequences of this awareness in creating hierarchies and attitudes by the European empires. Orientalist representations have not only constructed an ideologically distorted knowledge about the East, but have also created a hierarchy between the East and the West, not to mention the aim “to control, manipulate and claim hegemony” over it.

Nevertheless, Said’s position focuses on the difference but does not recognise the fact that Portuguese (and European) power in the East was never absolute and remained heavily dependent on local forms of knowledge (which were frequently subversive of imperial aims) and local actors. Said’s theory thus emphasises the hegemonic structures and extents of colonial presence but underplays the overlaps and dependence of the two cultures, something that has attracted criticism from varied academic quarters, not least, the ‘Revisionist’ camp. Indeed, Said modified his own position in later texts towards a less binary and more balanced construction.<sup>48</sup> Said’s book inverted the most obvious connotations of ‘Orientalism’, transforming it from dreamy obscurantism to the intellectual vanguard of Europe. Such intellectual audacity provoked controversy and triggered a broad-ranging

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<sup>43</sup> One key term in postcolonial theory, hybridity, usually refers to “the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zones produced by colonization.” Ashcroft, Bill; Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen. 1998. *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*. London & New York: Routledge. 20.

For theorists such as Bhabha, cultural hybridity posits a viable alternative to the “exoticism of multiculturalism,” and opens the way towards “conceptualizing a [genuinely] international culture.” The term itself, however, remains disputed. Robert Young has pointed out the hybridist racist legacy, while Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has warned against the kind of ‘hybridist triumphalism’ that celebrates catch-all concepts of cultural difference without engaging itself sufficiently with special cultural differences. She is critical of utopian visions of global transcultural communities that remain oblivious to the obvious fact that enduring racial prejudices, cultural biases and social hierarchies continue to persist throughout much of the contemporary world, and have yet to be overcome. See *inter alia*, Young, Robert J. C. 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London & New York: Routledge; Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge. Hall, Stuart. 1992. “New Ethnicities.” In Donald, James, and Rattansi, Ali (eds.). *‘Race’, Culture and Difference*. London: Sage. 252-259. Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

<sup>44</sup> See *inter alia*, Young, Robert J. C. 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>45</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge. 112.

<sup>46</sup> Derrida questioned accepting forms of representation at their face value and called for the deconstruction of meanings to reveal the complexity of their production as well as to critique established and accepted social, political and other power structures. Though Derrida used textual analysis as his tool of investigation and demonstration, deconstruction has provided the fundamental ideological basis for much of postcolonial criticism. Derrida’s hugely consequential work provided a vital basis for post-structuralist and post-modern philosophy.

<sup>47</sup> Said, Edward. 1979. *Orientalism*. London: Vintage and 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. Chatto & Windus: London.

<sup>48</sup> As *Culture and Imperialism* published in 1994.

debate in almost all parts of the humanities. Historians argued that Said accepted too readily a simple distinction between East and West, and in so doing solidified it into a rigid and debilitating binary relation. Said's 'Orientalism' was too generalized, it was claimed. But 'Orientalism' was also credited with launching a new discipline, post-colonial studies, that sought to describe and analyse the effects of colonialism and its aftermath.<sup>49</sup> This exposed Said's conception of 'Orientalism' to sustained critical scrutiny. Not only was the East/West binary shown to be too rigid: it was also argued that, on the one hand, the force of domination across this binary was too often seen to be unidirectional (from West to East); and, on the other hand, that the moral bulwark that Said imagines to confront this force is portrayed as the exclusive prerogative of the East. Post-colonial critics, such as Bhabha, and the pioneering feminist post-colonial studies scholar Gayatri Spivak, henceforth Spivak, have, in different ways, argued to the contrary, showing that the colonial experience was never unidirectional, that it had transformative effects on both colonizer and colonized, and that the dominant and subordinate positions within Said's account of 'Orientalism' were never as stable or fixed as he makes them appear.

The re-reading of architecture and urbanism through the perspectives of colonialism and 'Orientalism' sparked the construction of post-colonial theories in architecture, which we would like to discuss under two main approaches. The first approach, which may be called the poststructuralist<sup>50</sup> trajectory of post-colonial theory, problematizes the very possibility of representing the Other. Spivak in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" argued that the subaltern, just like the peasants who, according to Marx, cannot make their class interest valid without the formation of a unified class subject, cannot be represented within the received structures of the 'West.'<sup>51</sup> "It is impossible for French intellectuals to imagine the kind of Power and Desire that would inhabit the unnamed subject of the Other of Europe," she wrote, "it is not only that everything they read, critical or uncritical, is caught within the debate of the production of that Other, supporting or critiquing the constitution of the Subject as Europe. It is also that, in the constitution of that Other of Europe, great care was taken to obliterate the textual ingredients with which such a subject could cathect, could occupy (invest?) its itinerary."<sup>52</sup> Any attempt to represent or translate the Other into one's own system of reference would be an assimilation of the incommensurable into the familiar. Rather than the delusional attempts to "let the other(s) speak for himself,"<sup>53</sup> Spivak proposed Derrida's continuous deferral theory as a much more viable strategy in order to 'resist and critique "recognition" of the Third World through "assimilation."<sup>54</sup> This continuous suspension theory demanded admitting the necessity of representing the 'non-West,' while simultaneously questioning the very possibility of this representation. Thus it meant that the confrontation with post-colonial problems necessitated a much deeper critique of the Self.

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<sup>49</sup> King, Anthony D. 2004. *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*. New York: Routledge. 51, 62-63.

<sup>50</sup> Post-structuralism is defined in a very simple and raw way by its relationship to its predecessor, structuralism, an intellectual movement developed in Europe from the early to mid-twentieth century which argued that human culture may be understood by means of a structure - modeled on language - that differs from concrete reality and from abstract ideas - a 'third order' that mediates between the two. Post-structuralist authors all present different critiques of structuralism, but common themes include the rejection of the self-sufficiency of the structures that structuralism posits and an interrogation of the binary oppositions that constitute those structures. Intellectuals whose work is often characterised as post-structuralist include among others Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Judith Butler, and Julia Kristeva.

<sup>51</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" transformed the analysis of colonialism through an argument that acknowledged current importance of Marxism while using deconstructionist methods to explore the division of labor and capitalism's 'worlding' of the world. The essay hones in on the factors - historical and ideological - that obstruct the possibility of being heard for those who inhabit the periphery. It is a probing interrogation of what it means to have political subjectivity, to be able to access the state, and to suffer the burden of difference in a capitalist system that promises equality.

Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 271-313.

<sup>52</sup> Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 280.

<sup>53</sup> Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 294.

<sup>54</sup> Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 271-313.

Said's work inspired architectural historians and provided a useful category for critically examining the place of the 'non-West' in architecture and urban theories and histories. Taking a series of architectural and urban scholars with a so-called 'Orientalist' view namely, Walter Rossa, henceforth Rossa, and José Manuel Fernandes, henceforth Fernandes, about the architectural and urban spatial cultures of the Portuguese empire in India, Thomas Metcalf, henceforth Metcalf, and Mark Crinson about the architectural and urban spatial cultures of the British empire in India, or Zeynep Celik, henceforth Celik, and Wright, about the architectural and urban spatial cultures of the European empires in the Middle East, each one of them represents varying degrees of mix of theoretical and empirical engagement, as well as how close or far each of them are from Said's central thesis of hegemonic knowledge and representation systems, and thus of 'irreconcilable difference' between the East and the West. What is interesting is that an analysis can actually reveal considerable movement, departure or an ironical re-alignment in one way or another of each of these scholars from Said's basic premise.

In empirically grounded studies, the city often appeared as an inert setting where other subjects could be traced. Such scholarship focused not on cities as such, but viewed them as arenas for colonial economic and political domination, anti-colonial and nationalist organization, or as ethnographic sites. Metcalf, for instance, although he reinforces Said's arguments of hegemonic practices and the 'creation of difference', does this by a meticulous gathering of historical evidence into rich empirical material – methodologically quite different from Said's theoretical approach. Metcalf articulates implicitly the relation between architecture and Said's 'Orientalism' in his study of British architecture in colonial India. His aims are to scrutinise "how political authority took shape in stone" and how "colonial buildings shape the discourse on empire."<sup>55</sup> Crinson's approach is largely empirical and clearly warns against the homogenising and reductive tendencies of Said's thesis – exposing us to the danger of simplifying all architectural material produced in a context of East-West interaction into 'orientalist' objects.<sup>56</sup> He also suggests using anthropologist Nicholas Thomas' idea of 'projects' – which are simultaneously localised, politicised and partial as well as part of meta-narratives of historical developments – to address the issue of homogenisation that Said's 'Orientalism' suffers from. In other words, to study colonial projects rather than colonial discourse.<sup>57</sup> To draw upon Thomas insights on colonialism: "draws attention not towards a totality such as culture, not to a period that can be defined independently of people's perceptions and strategies, but rather to a socially transformative endeavour that is localized, politicized and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them."<sup>58</sup> Projects are often projected rather than realized. Celik and Mitchell primarily build on and reinforce Said's theoretical premise instead of a detailed engagement with the architectural artefact itself and its materiality. Celik and Mitchell also emphasize 'Orientalism' as an epistemological and political 'project' through Orientalist architecture, focusing in a particular genre of architecture suited to Said's theory - exposition architecture.

Some pre-twenty first century works explicitly on urban history laid the foundations of a narrative that recent scholarship has sought to complicate. Rossa and Fernandes, by influence of the architectural historian Alves Costa who theoretically establishes what he calls "the enduring values of the Portuguese Architecture", and after the decay of the focus on the Portuguese identity in the last decades of the twentieth century, tested continuing and recurring rules and features - the so called morphological "precedents" and "invariables"<sup>59</sup> - of urbanism, based on the understanding of the site that led the Portuguese to the foundation of cities in places with a explicit

<sup>55</sup> Metcalf, Thomas R. 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, xi.

<sup>56</sup> Crinson, Mark. 1996. *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*. London: Routledge.

<sup>57</sup> Crinson, Mark. 1996. *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*. London: Routledge. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism's Culture. Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge: Polity, 105-106.

<sup>59</sup> Rossa, Walter. 2015. "Património urbanístico: (re)fazer cidade parcela a parcela." In *Fomos condenados à Cidade. Uma década de Estudos sobre Património Urbanístico*. Coimbra: Coimbra University Press. 116-117.

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architecture obeying cultural principles and methodological procedures which were the result of the import of models applied and restructured according to each specific context, the so called ‘Portuguese city.’<sup>60</sup> This premise was defended as a process of continuity in practices and knowledge of composing and structuring the city that remained persistent in the *long durée*. However, this broad concept had reductive procedures and many dilemmas, constraints and difficulties in a broad application in colonial context. Rather than making recognition of the model, Diu – the ‘ugly duckling’ of this frame - is archetypal appropriate to demonstrate that the ‘Portuguese city’ is a superseded and culturally erratic concept, since colonial urbanism cannot be dissociated from local practices. Nonetheless, the stereotypical weakness of the concept contrasts deeply with the notable persistence of Portuguese colonial cities in India. On the other hand, Rossa demonstrates the evidence of Portuguese positive continuities as a “result of occupying a pre-existing” city of Diu and invigorating hybridities of “implanting their urbanism into a solid pre-existing structure.”<sup>61</sup> Yet, the evidence that Rossa uses reinforces Said’s essential thesis, that of the western Self finding ways to exoticise and ossify the eastern Other, since “it is evident that there is no such thing as Indo-Portuguese [architecture and urbanism].”<sup>62</sup>

One of the central issues that emerges through this comparative historiography is the precarious relationship between engagement with theoretical frameworks and the materiality of the architectural artefact.<sup>63</sup> On the whole, within such a historiographical discourse, it becomes fairly evident that Said’s ‘Orientalism’, albeit of immense significance in reshaping the fundamental contours of post-colonial history writing, cannot be used as a blanket framework and needs to be necessarily more nuanced, modified and even radically altered while reading the specificities of each site and situation of colonial encounter.

### **Literature review on colonial architecture and colonial city in India**

Specific studies on European colonial architecture and urbanism in India have taken five broad directions over the past fifty years. The first is a generation of scholars and historians that produced scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s like Sten Nilsson, Robert Irving Grant, Jan Morris, Philip Davies or Rafael Moreira,<sup>64</sup> gave detailed accounts of European colonial architecture in India, but were, however, predominantly engaged with iconic and monumental architecture and its formal characteristics. The second, mostly seen from the late 1980s until the mid 1990s, typified by the works of academics like A.G.K. Menon, K.T. Ravindran or Jon Lang, was a body of post-colonial critique on colonial architecture and urban patterns in India, specifically tracing its role in the

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<sup>60</sup> Rossa considers the History of Portuguese Urbanism a place to study the ‘Portugalness.’ Rossa, Walter. 2002. “História do urbanismo e identidade. A arte inconsciente da Comunidade.” In Rossa, Walter. 2002. *A Urbe e o Traço. Uma década de estudos sobre o urbanismo português*. Coimbra: Almedina, 2002, 13-22.

<sup>61</sup> Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP), 29 and 74.

See also: Rossa, Walter. 2000. “Da incerteza à interrogação: uma breve reflexão acerca dos trilhos da Historiografia do urbanismo colonial português da Idade Moderna.” In *Actas do Congresso Portugal-Brasil: memórias e imaginários*. Lisbon: Ministry of Education working group for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries, vol. II. 339-348 [also published in 2002. *A urbe e o traço: uma década de estudos sobre o urbanismo português*. Coimbra: Almedina. 425-443].

<sup>62</sup> Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)]. vol. 3. 20-60, especially 56. See also on the Indo-European concept: Cairns, Stephen. 2007. “The stone books of Orientalism.” In Scriver, Peter and Prakash, Vikramaditya, (eds.). *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. London & New York: Routledge. 59-62.

<sup>63</sup> Fernandes, José Manuel. 1987. “O Lugar da Cidade Portuguesa.” In *Povos e Culturas*. Lisbon: Centre for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture of the Catholic University of Lisbon. 2: 79-112 and 1999. “Urbanismo e Arquitectura no Estado da Índia (Índia Portuguesa): Alguns Temas e Exemplificações.” In *Vasco da Gama and India: religious, cultural and art history*, International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998, Souza, Teotónio R. de, and Garcia, José Manuel, (org.). Lisbon and Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Vol. III, 271-293.

<sup>64</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1968. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber; Irving, Robert Grant. 1982. *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Morris, Jan. 1983. *Stones of Empire: Buildings of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Davies, Philip. 1985. *Splendours of the Raj, British Architecture in India*. London: J. Murray.

underpinnings of present day building design and city planning practices.<sup>65</sup> The last gave particular emphasis to the interpretation of overseas military architecture through nationalist reasoning.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, focused on the continuities and links between colonial and post-colonial spatial patterns. The third strand consists of a body of chiefly art history and stylistic studies starting from the late 1980s, centred on the works of Metcalf, Giles Tillotson, henceforth Tillotson, Andreas Volwahsen and Pedro Dias, henceforth Dias, which actively engage with the relationship between representation and production of architecture including artisanship and patronage, and the mediations with local cultures that these involved.<sup>67</sup> Metcalf in particular has been engaged with the representation of the late-nineteenth century imperial state in India and its hegemonic framework.<sup>68</sup> Tillotson's and Metcalf's noteworthy works<sup>69</sup> make important associations between the ideology of the colonial state, interests of local Indian patrons, artisanship and the stylistic apparatus of architecture. Metcalf's central argument is also that of an increasingly robust imperial state and its hegemonic practices in the late nineteenth century. The rapport between these features and urban spatial practice, inhabitation and use is a gap to be filled. This study is based on the conviction that it is incumbent on the architectural community, whose very premise it is to look at the practice of space, to address this gap. Dias makes an exhaustive and structured chronology of Portuguese architectural production in the *Estado da Índia*, addressing the information almost as a simple narration of events and people. The fourth, represented essentially by Anthony D. King's, henceforth King, work in the late-1970s, marked a major critical shift in the framework for analysing colonial architecture and urban development. In a pioneering and fundamental study, King demonstrated the intersection between social theory and the writing of colonial architectural history.<sup>70</sup> King could be the major pioneer in today's approach on colonial cities. King's work was later followed by a fifth body of historical work on colonial urban development, which included Norma Evenson's work on the development of the major colonial metropolitan centres in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, Veena Oldenberg's work on the making of colonial Lucknow, Narayani Gupta's work on the urban history of Delhi during the transition from Mughal to colonial rule, and Pradip Sinha's work on the urban history of colonial Calcutta.<sup>71</sup> The key thrust of this body of work was the identification of the colonial city in terms of

<sup>65</sup> See *inter alia*: Ravindran, K. T. 1985. "Architecture and Identity." In Rewal, R. (ed.) *Architecture in India*. Paris: Electa Monitern and 1990 "Colonial Routes." Singh, Tejbir (ed.). In *Seminar* 372; 1995. Lang, Jon, Desai, Madahvi and Desai, Miki. 1997. *Architecture and Independence. The search for Identity. India, 1880-1980*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>66</sup> Moreira, Rafael. 2001. *A construção de Mazagão: cartas inéditas 1541-1542*. Lisbon: Portuguese Institute of Architectural Heritage (IPPAR). 2001; 1995. "Goa em 1535, uma cidade manuelina." In *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas* 8. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. Vol II, 177-221.

<sup>67</sup> Metcalf, Thomas R. 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tillotson, Giles H.R. 1989. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Tillotson, Giles H. R. (ed.). 1998. *Paradigms of Indian Architecture - Space and Time in Representation and Design*. Richmond: Curzon Press; Volwahsen, Andreas. 2002. *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire*, Germany: Prestel Verlag; Dias, Pedro. 1998. *História da Arte Portuguesa no Mundo (1415-1822)*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores; 2008. *A Arte de Portugal no Mundo. Índia: urbanização e fortificação*. Vol. 9. Lisbon: Público, and a text from 2005 called: *De Goa a Pangim. Memórias tangíveis da Capital do Estado Português da Índia*. Lisbon: Santander Totta.

<sup>68</sup> During the same time frame, Matos investigates how the different populations under the Portuguese colonial empire established were represented within the context of the colonial empire by examining the relationship between these representations and the meanings attached to the notion of 'race.' Matos employs an anthropological perspective to examine how the existence of racist theories, originating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, went on to inform the colonial policy in Portugal. Matos, Patrícia Ferraz de. 2013. *The colours of the empire: racialized representations during Portuguese colonialism*. Vol. 4 European Anthropology in Translations. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books

<sup>69</sup> Metcalf, Thomas R. 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Tillotson, Giles H.R. 1989. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>70</sup> King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development. Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge & Paul Kegan.

<sup>71</sup> Sinha, Pradip. 1978. *Calcutta in Urban History*. Calcutta: Firma KLM; Gupta, Narayani. 1981. *Delhi Between the Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Towards the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Oldenberg, Veena T. 2005. "The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877." In *The Lucknow Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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colonial sociology and its stratified spatial characteristics such as black and white towns tracing the precise historical processes behind the production of such landscapes.

Useful precedents are King's pioneering books on the sociology and the spatiality of the colonial settlements and the colonial bungalow,<sup>72</sup> and Peter Scriver's research into the architecture of the 'Public Works Department' in colonial India.<sup>73</sup> King also discusses the colonial administrative set-up, including that of provincial areas. However, his interpretation of colonial cities and architecture in terms of strong binaries (e.g. dominant-dependent, black-white, coloniser-colonised) is radically different from the kinds of tentative governmental functioning, 'hybrid' space, and overlapping heterogeneity that this thesis analyses. Moreover, in his categorisation, King looked at three thematic types of architectural or urban form (viz. the bungalow, the cantonment and the hill station), and thereby omitted other building or precinct types including administrative towns and governmental spaces, which constitute the chief area of enquiry here. Scriver's focus on civilian rather than monumental buildings lies closer to the basic premise of this thesis. However, while Scriver concentrates on tracing the history of a pan-Indian colonial institution, the 'Public Works Department', and the spaces designed by it, the starting point of this study is clearly distinct in that the thrust is on the 'local' site. Further, Scriver concentrates on the time period from 1855-1901, given that the formation of the 'Public Works Department' is the core of his work, whereas this thesis is also interested in the earlier period of life of the colonial city of Diu. To our mind, while the imperial era (Portuguese, English and Dutch)<sup>74</sup> has received considerable scholarly interest within architectural and spatial studies, the period in which colonial power grew has not been sufficiently engaged with in colonial architectural and spatial studies.

The past two decades have witnessed a clear shift from such drastic and 'manichean' readings of colonial landscapes<sup>75</sup> to those in favour of more composite, syncretic and heterogeneous understandings. This has also been accompanied by an increasing interest in social history, in gender history, in institutional and governmental history and in the complex role of European and Indian multiple agencies in the production of a colonial architectural and urban landscape. Some of the most useful precedents that this thesis hopes to complement include *inter alia*: William Glover's work on colonial Lahore; Swati Chattopadhyay's work on the architectural and urban history of Calcutta; Vikram Prakash's work on the translations between 'copying and creation' in the

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<sup>72</sup> Vale, Lawrence J. 1992. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Yale: Yale University Press; Davies, Philip. 1985. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India*. London: J. Murray; Irving, Robert Grant. 1982. *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. New Haven: Yale University Press; King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development. Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan; 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan.

<sup>73</sup> Scriver, Peter. 1994. *Rationalisation, Standardisation and Control in Design: a Cognitive Historical Study of Architectural Design and Planning in the Public Works Department of British India, 1855-1901*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Delft: Publicatiesbureau Bouwkunde, Delft University of Technology.

<sup>74</sup> On those who question the imperialist foundations of historical knowledge altogether: Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 5 and Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 27. Eurocentrism is also manifested through historical avatars, as for example the assumption that Europe is the principal subject of World History, as discussed by Chakrabarty. This is the tendency of historians to see the emergence of capitalism and industrialisation in the West as the real driver of History, and non-Western societies as either 'outside history' or as lagging behind Western historical development.

The nature of the Dutch empire was different from that of Portugal, Britain or France. No Dutch colony, possibly other than southern Africa in the late VOC period, developed into a settler colony. Dutch colonialism has always been dominated by business interests, whether by monopolising trading companies, absentee plantation entrepreneurs, government exploitation or conglomerates of protected private enterprises. The nexus between business and expansion has been crucial in the Dutch case. As a result, Dutch colonialism was less about 'empire' than about 'opportunity.' See *inter alia*: Kuitenbrouwer, Maarten. 1991. *The Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism: Colonies and Foreign Policy, 1870-1902*. New York & Oxford: Berg Publishers (originally published in Dutch in 1985); Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth. 1994. "Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago around 1900 and the Imperialism Debate." In *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25/1: 91-111; Raben, Remco. 1997. "Trade and Urbanization. Portuguese and Dutch urban attitudes in Ceylon Colombo: mirror of colonial mind." In *Mare Liberum, Revista de História dos Mares* 13: 95-117; 2013. "A New Dutch Imperial History? Perambulations in a Prospective Field." In *Low Countries Historical Review*, Volume 128/1: 5-30; 1996. *Batavia and Colombo. The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities 1600-1800*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Leiden: University of Leiden; Oers, Ron van. 2000. *Dutch Town Planning Overseas during VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Delft: Publicatiesbureau Bouwkunde, Delft University of Technology.

<sup>75</sup> As for example, postulated by Anthony D. King.

production of the late nineteenth century Indo-Saracenic jargon; Prashant Kidambi's work on the urban history of colonial Bombay; Peter Scriver's work on the British India 'Public Works Department' in the second half of the nineteenth century already cited;<sup>76</sup> Stephen Legg's, henceforth Legg, work on Delhi's urban governmentalities in the first half of the twentieth century; Arindam Dutta's work on the Institutional history of aesthetic change in the architecture of late-nineteenth century India; Jyoti Hosagrahar's work on Delhi's urban landscape, modernity and indigenous agency during the early-twentieth century and Alice Santiago Faria's work on Goa's 'Public Works Department' in the second half of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>77</sup> In that sense, our work complements and overlaps with Glover's, Chattopadhyay's, Hosagrahar's and Rossa's<sup>78</sup> work, however, very different in its conceptual and empirical frame and focus.

All the following texts represent the bias towards capital cities that escorts colonial spatial studies, where small colonial cities located in peripheral islands narratives rarely find a place. Norma Evenson in *The Indian Metropolis*, mostly focuses on urban morphology and residential models in metropolitan areas, nor, like the other writers mentioned before, does she provide any exhaustive studies on individual building types although she capably addresses the development of the colonial cities in a similar way. Some excellent work has also been carried out by other scholars on larger metropolitan urban centres in India. Andreas Volwahren's work looks at Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi in terms of their dominant stylistic content. Narayani Gupta's book, *Delhi Between the Two Empires*, traces the transitional urban history of Delhi from late Mughal to colonial rule. Veena Talwar Oldenberg and Rosie Llewellyn Jones's research into the making of colonial Lucknow accurately record the superimposition of colonial urban structures onto what was a pre-colonial settlement.<sup>79</sup> However, even here, the engagement is with Lucknow as a grand political centre. Allusion to the monumentality of governance centred on buildings and its architecture has been reasonably shared,<sup>80</sup> but on the more 'ordinary' colonial architecture that portrays European presence it is almost absent. An interesting piece of work that finds resonance with this thesis in its concern for the connection between colonial city and urban space is that of Legg on the making and operation of colonial Delhi in the first decades of the twentieth century. Legg provides an inspiring study of the socio-political, legal, rioting and policing geography of the city.

<sup>76</sup> The architectural historian Peter Scriver has analysed this 'representative' role of the Public Works Department within the overall framework of colonial imperial governance: "In the Victorian heyday of the Raj, the Public Works Department of the Government of India was a prime, even literal, exemplar of this metaphorical 'scaffolding' of empire." Scriver, Peter. 2007. "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India." In Scriver, Peter and Prakash, Vikramaditya (eds.). *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. New York: Routledge. 69.

<sup>77</sup> Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell; Chattopadhyay, Swati. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge; Scriver, Peter. 1994. *Rationalisation, Standardisation and Control in Design: a Cognitive Historical Study of Architectural Design and Planning in the Public Works Department of British India, 1855-1901*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Delft: Publicatiesbureau Bouwkunde, Delft University of Technology; Glover, William J. 2008. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Dutta, Arindam. 2005. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*. New York & London: Routledge; "Strangers within the gate: Public Works and Industrial Art Reform." In Scriver, Peter and Prakash, Vikramaditya (eds.). *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. New York: Routledge. 93-114; Prakash, Vikramaditya. 2007. "Between Copying and Creation: The Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details" In Scriver, Peter and Prakash, Vikramaditya (eds.). *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. New York: Routledge. 115-126; Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*. Ashgate: Aldershot; and Faria, Alice Santiago. 2010. *L'architecture Coloniale Portugaise à Goa. Le Département des Travaux Publics, 1840-1926*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Paris: Université Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne.

<sup>78</sup> Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. I]: South America. Araújo, Renata Malcher de (ed. coord.); [Vol. II]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf, Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. III]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)]

<sup>79</sup> Oldenberg, Veena Talwar. 2005. "The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877." In *The Lucknow Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Llewellyn, Rosie Jones. 2005. "A Fatal Friendship - The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow" in *The Lucknow Omnibus*. Oxford & New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>80</sup> Davies, Philip. 1985. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India*. London: J. Murray; Irving, Robert Grant. 1982. *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Vale, Lawrence J. 1992. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Yale: Yale University Press.

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Colonial spatial culture as something shaped both by the coloniser and colonised and the fact that the boundaries or domains of spatial production and inhabitation were often fuzzy as has been underscored by Chattopadhyay.<sup>81</sup> Her brilliant work fosters itself within this theme of co-production of an administrative and civic culture arising out of a range of social practices that were closely linked, but not limited, to mere governance. Such a premise again finds reverberation with Foucault's argument that "power is situated within a cacophony of social practices and situations."<sup>82</sup> Such a notion also breaks down the idea of the oppositions of the two cultures in question and highlights the importance, instead, of identities overlapping. In terms of critical tools, Chattopadhyay's approach of spanning between physical scales (building typology and urban morphology), of looking at literary texts alongside the physical reading of spaces, and addressing the voices of a range of social groups rather than adhere to simplified categories like colonised versus coloniser, all provide significant inspiration for the methodological orientation of this study.

Once more, the most significant aspect of the analysis here is its focus on a small urban settlement rather than a large urban centre, and on smaller administrative hierarchies rather than the more visible, imposing centres of governance. Diu, as example for study, represent for the most part remarkable opportunities for academic study and literally stood for the 'in-between.'<sup>83</sup> This ambivalence was not simply because of their intermediate location or administrative role, but also because of the permanent negotiations and consequently the constant shifting constellations that such a role entailed. Firstly, they represented the middle-bureaucratic level within colonial administrative hierarchy, i.e. between the governor's headquarters at Diu on the one hand and Goa, the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, on the other. Secondly, they simultaneously played a dual role. In one sense, they represented the 'periphery' or the provincial, with respect to Goa. In another sense, they were themselves the 'centres' and main reference points for their immediate hinterland. Thirdly, they occupied a space, both in terms of people's physical mobility and cultural perception, between the city and the country. For the city, they were the window to the country; whereas for the country they were the window to the city, and in turn, to a larger global world. It is in recognising such a contextual position of Diu that interrogating this intermediate middle-bureaucratic status becomes such a central concern for the study. On the other hand, this dissertation is premised on the inconsistencies of the Portuguese colonial enterprise.

### **Literature on Diu**<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge; 1997. "A Critical History of Architecture in a Post-colonial World: A View from Indian History." In *Architronic* 6/1 (<http://corbu2.caed.kent.edu/architronic/v6n1/v6n1.05a.html>. Accessed 11 November 2014).

<sup>82</sup> Foucault, Michel. 2001. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*. Rabinow, Paul, (ed.). New York: New Press. 98.

<sup>83</sup> The articulation of such difference 'in-between' places produces hybridization of identities: "It is in the emergence of the interstices - the overlap and displacement of domains of difference - that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated". Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge: London. 1.

<sup>84</sup> About Diu's territory, city and architecture, see: Brito, Raquel Soeiro de. 1966. *Goa e as Praças do Norte*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar; Azevedo, António do Carmo. 1995. "Diu: the Parsi connection," in *Mare Liberum: Revista de História dos Mares* 9. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 31-39; Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 69-75; Fernandes, José Manuel. 1999. "Urbanismo e Arquitectura no Estado da Índia (Índia Portuguesa): Alguns Temas e Exemplificações." In *Vasco da Gama and Índia: religious, cultural and art history, International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998*, Souza, Teotónio R. de, and Garcia, José Manuel, (org.). Lisbon & Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Vol. III, 271-293; Shokoohy, Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. 2000. "The Karao Jāmi' Mosque of Diu in the Light of the History of the Island." In *South Asian Studies*, 16/1: 55-72; Noronha, José. 2001. "Diu: urban evolution." In *Colóquio Internacional Urbanístico Português: 1415-1822*, Rossa, Walter; Araújo, Renata; Carita, Hélder (coord.). Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 213-221; Grancho, Nuno. 2001. *Diu: a ilha, a muralha, a fortaleza e as cidades*, Unpublished graduation thesis (prova final). Coimbra: University of Coimbra; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon; Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. 2003. "The Zoroastrian Fire Temple in the Ex-Portuguese Colony of Diu, India." In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 13/1: 1-20; 2003. "The Portuguese Fort of Diu." In *South Asian Studies*, 19/1: 169-203; Grancho, Nuno. 2003. "Diu: uma tentativa de cidade." *Oriente* 6. Lisbon: Orient Foundation. 86-101; Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634.

The architectural and urban historiography about Diu is scarce. The very last critical re-reading of the architectural and urban history narrative was published the previous year.<sup>85</sup> It addresses and maps out the complex development of architecture in Diu particularly in relation to rural-urban mobility and social relationships brought about by the establishment of colonial infrastructure in Diu and their relation with local architectural structures.<sup>86</sup> It was grounded on the 'recognition' of the unrepresentability in almost all participants of the Other, elaborated by Spivak, and the differentiation between difference and diversity, elaborated by Bhabha. Cultural diversity was defined by Bhabha, as a category of comparative studies based on the "pre-given cultural contents and customs [...] giv[ing] rise to liberal notions of multiculturalism, cultural exchange or the culture of humanity."<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, cultural difference "focuses on the problem of the ambivalence of cultural authority: the attempt to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy which is itself produced only in the moment of differentiation."<sup>88</sup> For a post-colonial critic placed in a post-structuralist background, the notion of cultural diversity gives way to the delusion that one can represent all cultures within one's own system of reference, whereas the notion of cultural difference implies the impossibility of this comparison and smooth translation.<sup>89</sup>

The purpose of the text was threefold: first, to make a case for Indian agency in the co-production of Portuguese colonial architecture and urbanism; second, to argue the role of local spatial cultures and architecture as key bearers of colonial modernity; third, to explore Portuguese colonial architectural history through on-ground mapping of everyday domestic spaces of individual families and varied social groups that lived in Diu through their difference and diversity. Positing these architectural forms to be important in terms of typological complexity as

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Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*, (Coimbra: Almedina, 2004), 199-259; Grancho, Nuno. 2005. "Hibridismo na Índia: Diu, cidade guzerate e 'cidade' católica." In *Jornal dos Arquitectos*, 220/221, Lisbon: Portuguese Architects Association. 34-40; Lopes, Nuno. 2009. *As Estruturas Fortificadas de Diu*. M.Phil. dissertation. Évora: University of Évora; Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. 2010. "The Town of Diu, its Churches, Monasteries and Other Historic Features." In *South Asian Studies*, 23/1: 141-188; 2010. "The Island of Diu, its Architecture and Historic Remains." In *South Asian Studies*, 26/2: 161-191; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2011. "Baniyas and the Foreign Trade of Diu (18<sup>th</sup> century)." In Varadarajan, Lotika (ed.). *Gujarat and the Sea*. Baroda: Dashak Itihas Nidhi. 599-612; Matos, João B. 2012. *Do Mar contra a Terra: Mazagão, Ceuta e Diu, primeiras fortalezas abaluartadas da expansão portuguesa. Estudo arquitectónico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Sevilla: University of Sevilla; Mattoso, José (dir.). Grancho, Nuno and Rossa, Walter. 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)]. Vol. 3. 112-135; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2014. "Urban Phenomena of Diu." In *Cities in Medieval India*, Sharma, Yogesh and Malekandathil, Pius (eds.). New Delhi: Primus Books, 777-788; Khatri, Javed. "Diu Fisherfolk Community: Culture and Language." In Varadarajan, Lotika. *Gujarat and the Sea*. Baroda: Dashak Itihas Nidhi. 509-524 and Grancho, Nuno. 2015. "Diu as an interface between East and West. Comparative Urban History in 'Non-western' stories." In Pearson, Michael N. and Keller, Sara (eds.). *Port Towns of Gujarat*. New Delhi: Primus Books, 259-272.

<sup>85</sup> Grancho, Nuno. 2015. "Diu as an interface between East and West. Comparative Urban History in 'Non-western' stories." In Pearson, Michael N. and Keller, Sara (eds.). *Port Towns of Gujarat*. New Delhi: Primus Books, 259-272

<sup>86</sup> For studies of the development of the public sphere and its relationship with the private domain, see, Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2008. *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

<sup>87</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "The Commitment to Theory." In *The Location of Culture*. London, New York, Routledge. 34.

<sup>88</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "The Commitment to Theory." In *The Location of Culture*. London, New York, Routledge. 34.

<sup>89</sup> "With the concept of difference, which has its theoretical history in post-structuralist thinking, psychoanalysis (where difference is very resonant), post-Althusserian Marxism, and the exemplary work of Fanon, what I was attempting to do was to begin to see how the notion of the West itself, or Western culture, its liberalism and relativism - these very potent mythologies of 'progress' - also contain a cutting edge, a limit. With the notion of cultural difference, I try to place myself in that position of liminality, in that productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness.

The difference of cultures cannot be something that can be accommodated within a universalist framework. Different cultures, the difference between cultural practices, the difference in the construction of cultures within different groups, very often set up among and between themselves an *incommensurability*. However rational you are, or 'rationalist' you are (because rationalism is an ideology, not just a way of being sensible), it is actually very difficult, even impossible and counterproductive, to try and fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily coexist. The assumption that at some level all forms of cultural diversity may be understood on the basis of a particular universal concept, whether it be 'human being', 'class' or 'race', can be both very dangerous and very limiting in trying to understand the ways in which cultural practices construct their own systems of meaning and social organisation."

Bhabha, Homi K. 1990. "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha." In Rutherford, Jonathan (Ed.), *Identity. Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 209.

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well as the range of social, political and economic processes that they represented, the text foregrounds them as being significant spatial models of colonial urban domesticity and modernity.

A large range of local actors played a key role in Diu in negotiations between Portuguese and Gujarati urban spatial paradigms to forge newer pan-regional urban landscapes and architectural types. These sociospatial narratives in effect allow us to recover the key, but hitherto marginalised, roles of local urbanism and architecture as well as that of 'ordinary' spaces of everyday living and Gujarati agency within the larger discourse on colonial architecture, urbanism and modernity, disproportionately dominated so far by urban centres and buildings seen to be produced chiefly through Portuguese agency. Me and Rossa together, Rossa, Fernandes, Dias, Shokoohy and with the reticent exceptions of Brito, Noronha, Antunes and Azevedo, 'resisted' the recognition of the 'non-West' simply through assimilation into the mainstream system of reference. Also what has been underlined by these authors on Diu was diversity and not difference. In a broad historical approach of architecture and urbanism it is the other way round that has to be emphasized.

Placing the post-colonial quest in a much broader context, where the basic disciplinary and professional boundaries of architecture are problematized is the strongest contribution that we can make today to understanding Diu's colonial spatial cultures (architecture and urbanism). However, it may also turn out to be the weakest. Writing the history of omissions and only of omissions, is actually the only applicable step for a history of architecture and urbanism that grounds itself on the criticism that the excluded is unspeakable. Recognizing that the Other can never be entirely contained in a given symbolic system emphasizes omissions and explicit mechanisms of exclusion. However, the logical conclusion of an assertion that the 'non-Western' cannot be represented in a Western language may lead to a strategic setup. The post-colonial quest itself becomes an impossible project of translating the untranslatable, speaking the unspeakable. The representative speakers for the 'non-West'<sup>90</sup> should admit that they themselves are situated in the area of the speakable, by virtue of the very fact that they are speaking. However, they can speak about the Other, only if they contradict their own assertion that the Other is unspeakable.

It should follow that some of the authors mentioned that repeating the unspeakable and untranslatable nature of the Other is all they will do, unless the given 'translation' itself within which they are also situated is deconstructed. Their approach escapes self-contradiction only if they admit to their theory's narrow boundaries in the present and ambitious plans for the future. Continuous repetition of the same argument, the argument that the Other cannot speak, becomes their sole (practical) strategy for the present. As the cultural theorist, political activist and sociologist Stuart Hall claims: "Hegemony is not the disappearance or destruction of difference. It is the construction of a collective will through difference. It is the articulation of differences which do not disappear."<sup>91</sup> These various, often conflicting, intellectual colourings and tendencies were mobilized, in turn, by an assumed higher-order scholarly ethos that saw Diu as a relatively uncharted terrain that, now 'discovered,' was freely available for, and indeed required, description, documentation and study. We hope effectively to revoke this licence with this dissertation. All attempts to let the Other speak or translate the Others' language are bound to be annihilated by the impossibility (or the extreme difficulty) of this attempt itself. In its constant repetition, the theory thus runs the risk of ending in self-annihilation and selfmarginalization. There are also limits in transferring Spivak's argument to architecture and urbanism. While the argument about the unrepresentability of the 'non-West' is still relevant in the context of the Eurocentric canon, as it exposes the difficulty of a truly global architecture, it loses its convincing power when transferred to the question of representing a 'non-Western' architect in his/her own city. This leaves a theory that focuses on untranslatability with the highly

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<sup>90</sup> But not of the 'non-West,' since this is impossible according to this theory.

<sup>91</sup> Hall, Stuart. 1997. "Old and New Identities." In King, Anthony D. (ed.). *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 58.

expanded scope of challenging major architectural works, rather than suggesting critical strategies towards immediate practice.

For a wide-ranging analysis, one might refer Immanuel Wallerstein's argument that social science as a discipline has been Eurocentric for five main reasons.<sup>92</sup> Its historiography was based on the premise that European supremacy in the history of the world in the last two centuries was something to be proud of. Through its universalism one felt justified to claim that whatever happened to Europe "represented a pattern that was applicable everywhere, either because it was a progressive achievement of mankind which was irreversible or because it represented the fulfillment of humanity's basic needs."<sup>93</sup> The belief that modern Europe was civilized justified the interest in colonial conquests to 'redeem' non-European people. The distortions of Orientalist scholarship had political consequences to secure "Europe's imperial role within the framework of the modern world-system."<sup>94</sup> And finally, the acutely inscribed acceptance that progress was the "underlying explanation of the history of the world"<sup>95</sup> became a justification imposed on all other Eurocentric practices over the world.

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<sup>92</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The dilemmas of Social Science." In *New Left Review*, 1/226. 93–109.

<sup>93</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The dilemmas of Social Science." In *New Left Review*, 1/226. 96-97.

<sup>94</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The dilemmas of Social Science." In *New Left Review*, 1/226. 100.

<sup>95</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The dilemmas of Social Science." In *New Left Review*, 1/226. 100.



## CHAPTER ONE

*The city at the beginning.*

*Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu.*

IN THE MUGHAL<sup>1</sup> PERIOD, GUJARAT<sup>2</sup> was one of the most flourishing regions of India, and indeed, the most urbanized. In 1572, when the Mughals annexed the sultanate of Gujarat (1401–1572) to their empire, about 19 per cent of its revenues came from urban taxation.<sup>3</sup> With a littoral stretching towards the Arabian seas, the coastal cities of Gujarat were major entrepôts of inter-regional trade, linking the ports of West Asia, particularly Aden and Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, to Malacca and Achin in the Southeast Asia. Since Diu was a pivotal city in these routes and a border place of these territories, it became a major transit points for bullion and horses coming from Basra, Hormuz and Mocha and destined for the interior markets of northern and eastern

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<sup>1</sup> The Mughals were the dynastic muslim rulers of South Asia from 1526 until 1857, ruling over present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. The first Mughal Emperor, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, inherited his new Empire after defeating the last of the Lodi sultans at Panipat in 1526. Babur was a descendent from both Chinghiz Fortified khan and Timur, and it was to their Timurid heritage that the Mughals proudly claimed lineage to, referring to themselves as Timurids.

<sup>2</sup> Gujarat, which is the northern most region on the western seaboard of India, is broadly composed of three sub-regions distinct from each other: the mainland, the peninsula of Saurashtra and the north-western region of Kutch. The Mughal *suba* of Gujarat coincided substantially with the present state of Gujarat comprising three sub-regions. Within Gujarat the sub-regions have been shaped by geographic regions and topographic features. The mainland is separated by a ill-defined belt which was once an extension of the sea, the gulf of Cambay. The northern plains formed the core not only of the Chalukyan kingdom but also the sultanate of Gujarat. To the east lay a region relatively less accessible which merged into the hilly region both to the north and the East and Southeast which separated Gujarat from Mewar, Malwa and the Deccan. This iconic idea of Gujarat, essentially an outline map of Kutch, Saurashtra, and ‘Gujarat’ held together by the long straggling coastline, the artificially straight lines of the border with Pakistan formed by Partition and by the lapping waves of the western Indian Ocean, and the more organic but no less contested boundaries with neighbouring states, is commonly used by many as a shorthand, and, apparently timeless, way of saying something about the identity of the state. We suggest that these boundaries are porous and malleable, sometimes in ways unique to Gujarat, and have been determined by a confluence of different intellectual and cultural traditions. About the ‘idea’ of Gujarat, see especially: Simpson, Edward (Introduced and annotated). 2011. *Society and History of Gujarat since 1800: A Select Bibliography of the English and European Language Sources*. New Delhi. Orient Blackswan. xiii-xxxvi and Simpson, Edward and Kapadia, Aparna. 2010. *The Idea of Gujarat: History, Ethnography and Text*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

<sup>3</sup> Moosvi, Shireen. 1987. *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c. 1595: A Statistical Study*. New Delhi. 315–16. Pearson calculates that in 1572 the revenues from customs provided 6% of the total revenues of Gujarat (Pearson, Michael N. 1976. *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal. 23–4.) But, his estimate has been contested by Shireen Moosvi in her review of Pearson’s book, 1977. *Medieval India – A Miscellany*, 4. 217–20.

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India. Diu was also major emporia for export goods of the Indo-Gangetic plains and Bengal (such as textiles, indigo and silk) which had a great demand in the markets of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

During the early modern period, Gujarat was well known for its manufacturing and its cities were examples of major manufacturing centres of cotton textiles (such as Ahmedabad, Surat, Baroda and Bharuch). Silk-weaving, using Bengal silk, was done in Ahmedabad, Surat and Cambay. Indigo was produced in Sarkhej and was refined in Cambay. In addition, it also had a strong handicraft industry, making weapons, furniture and jewellery. Gujarat also supplied a great variety of drugs and medicinal products to the rest of India and abroad.<sup>4</sup>

The end of the muslim sultanate of Gujarat came in 1573, when the Mughal emperor Muhamad Akbar (1542-1605, r. 1556-1605)<sup>5</sup> annexed it in his empire. Gujarat became the most prosperous *subah*<sup>6</sup> in Mughal period. It enjoyed the identity of high incidence of urbanization and well developed trade and commerce. The ports in Gujarat provided commodities to different places as far as south-east and west Asia. It was also a manufacturing Centre for high quality textiles which had a large demand in internal and international market. Due to its accelerated commercial activities and ports, it played an important role in the development of trade and commerce, Gujarat has always been acknowledged as commercial, urbanized and affluent region in Indian History.

Diu was peripheral to the peninsula of Kathiawar and in the *subah* of Gujarat.<sup>7</sup> The city was tributary first of the Mughals and later of the Portuguese. As an early modern city, it had three important historical moments: first, the establishment of Gujarat as an independent sultanate, second, the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughal empire in 1573 and finally and foremost, the instituting of a European presence in Gujarat as a direct result of the establishment of a Portuguese colonial city in Diu. The Portuguese coveted Diu, on the one hand because of its strategic position, at the southern tip of the peninsula, near which most of the traffic between India and the Red Sea, mostly conducted by Gujarati merchants, had to pass; and on the other hand, as an outlet of Gujarati cotton fabrics, which were indispensable to acquire spices. In fact, Indonesian spices, such as nutmeg, mace and cloves, were normally bartered for Indian clothes. In Kerala, pepper was paid in cash instead, but the Portuguese lacked minted metals, and therefore resorted, from the very beginning of their presence in the Indian Ocean, to gold from Monomotapa;<sup>8</sup> this was exported through the ports of the Swahili Coast, chiefly Sofala, where it was also bartered for Gujarati textiles. As the sultanate of Ahmadnagar had also a prosperous weaving industry and the port of Chaul lay not far from the entrance of the gulf of Cambay, the Portuguese certainly thought that Chaul could replace Diu. From their side, the authorities of Ahmadnagar certainly viewed the Portuguese settlement as a chance to enhance the commerce of Chaul, so that the port could vie with Diu. Thus, they welcomed the

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<sup>4</sup> For more details, see Gopal, Surendra. 1975. *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of European Expansion on a Pre-capitalist Economy*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 186–217. Also see Raychaudhuri, Tapan. 1982. "Mughal India." In Raychaudhuri, Tapan and Habib, Irfan (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I. 1200–1750*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 261-307.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, known as Akbar I and later Akbar the Great, was the third Mughal emperor. Akbar succeeded his father, Humayun, under a regent, Bairam Khan, who helped the young emperor expand and consolidate Mughal domains in India. A strong personality and a successful general, Akbar gradually enlarged the Mughal empire to include nearly all of the Indian Subcontinent north of the Godavari river.

<sup>6</sup> The conquest of Gujarat was the logical culmination of Mughal emperor Akbar's policy of expansion. It may be noted that Malwa was annexed as early as 1561 and Chittor in 1568. In the year 1571, Khandesh was occupied. Thus, the boundaries of the Mughal empire had, after the conquest of these regions, become contiguous with that of the kingdom of Gujarat. The conquest of Gujarat was therefore the corollary of the dynamics of Mughal conquests in western India. After the conquest, Gujarat became one of the *subas* of the Mughal empire. Mirza Aziz Koka was appointed the first *subedar* of the province.

<sup>7</sup> I will refer to this peninsula interspersed as Kathiawar or as a part of Gujarat according to the logic, utility and chronology, in the argument and text. The peninsula Gujarat (Saurashtra) is the largest sub-region of Gujarat. It is bordered by the Indus Delta, extensive salt flats and gulfs of Cambay and of Kutch. The gulf of Cambay can be considered its own separate region, given its size and tidal extent. The peninsula of Saurashtra with its beak stretched into the sea had a long coast-line dotted with a number of port towns. Ethnically it is composed of people who were referred to as Rajputs and had settled in the region as pastoral-nomads through a series of migrations from the Sind region around the close of the first century A.D..

<sup>8</sup> Today, Zimbabwe.

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Portuguese *mutatis mutandis* for the same reason that the raja of Cochin, who wished to compete with Calicut, had in 1501 invited them to his port; or yet, that the sheikh of Malindi, in East Africa, who tried to become independent of Kilwa or indeed to replace it, had gladly received Vasco da Gama in 1498.

Cambay was by far the greatest port in the sultanate of Gujarat. One reason for its pre-eminence was its close proximity to Ahmedabad, capital and commercial and manufacturing centre at the time. However, the presence of large sand banks there made navigation hazardous and risky for the larger sailing vessels. Diu was in the race with Surat to displace Cambay from its position of pre-eminence. The early presence of Ottoman power in Diu revived and deepened the link between this Gujarati port and the Ottoman empire that had first been established during the reign of Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520).<sup>9</sup> Against this background, we can pinpoint the beginning of the Ottoman expansion to the East to sultan Selim's decision to invade the territories of the Mamluk empire in 1516, the first step in a much grander strategy aimed at pulling the Indian Ocean into the Ottoman orbit and seizing control of the spice trade from the newly established Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Much of this growing commercial contact seems to have been the responsibility of a former slave by the name of Malik Ayaz, who served the sultans of Gujarat as governor of the important Indian seaport of Diu during the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Gujarat's ruling sovereign in the early 1530s, sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati (r. 1526-1537), was the son of Selim's old correspondent Muzaffar Shah II, and Diu's local governor, Bahaulmulk Tughan, was none other than the son of Malik Ayaz, the former head of Gujarat's Rumi merchants.<sup>10</sup> Diu lost latter to Surat since it was, in fact, quite disadvantageously placed in comparison owing to its restricted hinterland, and located, as it was, quite some distance away from the capital, Ahmedabad. Surat emerged as the premier port of Gujarat in the early seventeenth century, assisted by the discovery of the Swally hole and offering excellent anchorage facilities for large ships. The Mughal conquest of Gujarat played a crucial role in the rise of Surat in the seventeenth century,<sup>11</sup> by causing an expansion of its hinterland towards the Indo-Gangetic plains.

After local building practice came into existence in the fifteenth century, changes took place whether driven by the political rivalries in the sultanate hierarchy, by the introduction of Iranian architectural knowledge or by the latter influence of European architectural tradition. By the time of the Mughal ascendancy in 1573 and Portuguese arrival in 1535, architectural traditions vastly different and regionally based like those of Gujarat, entered into individual dialogues with both Mughal and European influences. The city had been under Portuguese suzerainty, when protection and the setting of a factory in exchange inside the walls was agreed between the parties, the Portuguese Crown and the Gujarat ruler.

When combing through historical cartography and texts to look for manifestations of urbanity within Portuguese colonialism, one customarily flounders when trying to map its appearance with the pre-given historical markers of territorial discourse. Either one can pick out what adheres to these maps and ignore the rest, or one is left with the puzzling and numerous transgressions of patterns of interactions as we expect them to be in former colonial places. Sixteenth century Portuguese texts and images read the early colonial takeover and colonial presence in

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<sup>9</sup> The opening of a direct Ottoman sea route to the Indies happened during Selim's reign closely corresponded, in its general contours, with a similar process that had already taken place in Portugal during the fifteenth century. For the Ottomans, as for the Portuguese before them, this was a process that included three principal components: first, a growing awareness of the cultural and physical geography of an area of the world that was previously almost unknown; second, an interest in the economic potential of trade with the East, most noticeable with reference to the spice trade; and third, the articulation of an entirely new set of political ambitions and imperial claims to universal sovereignty that would shape the course of future expansion.

<sup>10</sup> Qutb-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, who reigned in the sultanate of Gujarat, India, from 1526–1535 and 1536–1537. Bahadur Shah's father was Shams-ud-Din Muzaffar Shah II, who had ascended to the throne of the Gujarat Sultanate in 1511. Hasan, Farhat. 2004. *State and Locality in Mughal India. Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications. 12-20.

<sup>11</sup> Gupta, Ashin Das. 1994. *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979; New Delhi: Manohar. 3–4 and Moosvi, Shireen. 1992. "The Gujarat Ports and their Hinterlands: An Economic Relationship." In Indu Banga (ed.), *Ports and their Hinterlands in India (1700–1950)*. New Delhi: Manohar. 121–129.

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Diu during these years. This is verified by relating to political and imperial discourses after the cession<sup>12</sup> of the island to the Portuguese in 1535,<sup>13</sup> by describing how urbanity in the city was shaped by the earliest architectural events and finally by categorizing architecture in the Portuguese imperial context.<sup>14</sup>

We will compare and contrast arguments from different drawings and depictions which portray political deviation between historical visions and territorial, urban and architectural discrepancy of representation of the same city. Later, we will come back to the political connotations of the sources, which we think are important to understand the early political history of the Portuguese empire in the East and its repercussions in architecture and urbanism of the early Portuguese colonial cities and in representation. We will end with the collection of valuable ethnographic novelties, many of them unknown in the West until the early sixteenth century and addressed by Portuguese authors. João de Castro (1500-1548),<sup>15</sup> henceforth Castro, Gaspar Correa (1495-1563),<sup>16</sup> henceforth Correa, and Barros, give extant evidence of Diu due to five reasons: Castro's depiction is the first Western

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<sup>12</sup> The formal cession of rights, property, and territory from the sultan of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah, to the king of Portugal, João III.

<sup>13</sup> Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Dec. IV, part II, bk. VI, chap. XII. 68-70; Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de (1500-1559). 1924-33. *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*. Azevedo, P. Coelho, Laranjo, P. M. (rev.). Coimbra: Coimbra University Press. Bk. VIII. 366-367.

<sup>14</sup> About knowledge and perception of India in early Portuguese writings: Gomes, Paulo Varela. 1996. "Ovídio Malabar," Manuel de Faria e Sousa, a Índia e a arquitetura portuguesa." In *Mare Liberum*, 11-12. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) [later published in 2007. *14,5 Ensaios de História da Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Nova Almedina. 159-186.].

<sup>15</sup> First global scientist, cosmographer, cartographer, and viceroy of *Estado da Índia* (1545-1548). In 1538, Castro traveled to India and participated in military efforts including the first siege of Diu. His most important writings are: 1529-1536 – "Tratado da Esfera ...": prepared during the classes by Pedro Nunes, structured as a teaching manual in a dialogue between master and disciple, although it reveals scientific archaisms to Pedro Nunes work (1537); 1536 – "Da Geografia por modo de diálogo"; 1538 – "Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa", with a tribute to prince Luís and reference to Cosmography; 1538-1539 – "Roteiro de Goa a Diu"; 1541 – "Roteiro do Mar Vermelho", or "Roteiro de Goa a Suez ou do Mar Roxo". Architecture would always be one of Castro's concerns (he even writes about Indian art, which he compares with Antique art). His dedication of *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* to prince Luís (son of king João II) accurately follows the model from *De Architectura* preface,<sup>15</sup> where he quotes Vitruvius (from Book I). In February 28, 1545, Castro was appointed thirteenth governor of India by João III, succeeding to Sousa and after prince Luís proposal. From his governance stands out the second siege of Diu military victory in 1546.<sup>15</sup> During November and shortly after the siege of Diu, he began the construction of the citadel. Thus he undertook in 1547 the more "robust and modern fortress built in India so far" and a masterpiece of military Renaissance architecture outside Europe. Moreira, Rafael. 2007. "Arquitectura: Renascimento e Classicismo." In Pereira, Paulo (dir.), *História da Arte Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. vol. II, 55; Garcia, José Manuel. 1995. "D. João de Castro: Um homem de guerra e ciência". *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*. exhibition catalogue. Lisbon: Portuguese Museums Institute. 13 and after.

<sup>16</sup> Historian, chronicler and *Lendas da Índia* author. He wished to "write and remember the matters of India" [Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão, "Prologue", Vol. I, 1]; "Illustrate [...] the Portuguese deeds look more miraculous [...] brief memories" [Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão, Vol. I, 2]; "write a chronicle about the discovery of India, as miraculous [...] I made this brief summary of *Lendas*" [Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão, Vol. III, part I, 7]. Maintained a neutral position dealing with political ideas of the monarchs, Manuel and João III. In 1512, Correa embarked to India. He greatly admired Albuquerque: "As the Governor was curious about things, he asked Dom Gracia to order what he would take to the *arrayal* [party] and went to see how the ships were being repaired" [Bell, Aubrey. 1924. *Gaspar Corrêa*, "Hispanic Portuguese Series." Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. V, 307]; "the Governor ordered that [João de la Camara, *condestabre mor* [officer] from India, entitled by viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida would break that shot from the Moors." [Bell, Aubrey. 1924. *Gaspar Correa*, "Hispanic Portuguese Series." Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. V, 308]. Correa was convict that Manuel I was the most prosperous monarch of all Christendom [Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão. Vol. I, 526] and therefore wrote *Chronicle of D. Manuel*, the king's "political testament". The drawings in *Lendas* relate to "two historic apparatus galleries [which] D. João de Castro ordered [...] to Gaspar Correa." José Manuel Garcia states that *Lendas* was "[...] sequential to the victory in the second siege of Diu and [...] similar [...] to other European courts." Garcia, José Manuel. 2006. *A Historiografia Portuguesa dos Descobrimentos e da Expansão (Séculos XV a XVII): Autores, Obras e Especializações Memoriais*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Porto: University of Porto. 525]. Similarly to *Lendas*, Correa describes Lisbon also from painting with a 'naive look' [There is no data about this painting (place, author, owner). Avelar, Ana Paula. 2003. *Figurações da Alteridade na Cronística da Expansão*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta. 70].

In 1522, Correa inspected building works in Coromandel [Bell, Aubrey. 1924. *Gaspar Corrêa*, "Hispanic Portuguese Series." Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. V, 8. He writes in *Lendas* in 1518: "[...] Heytor Rodrigues was ready and Correa was sent to start working while the Governor was checking everything; and behind the tower he ordered to be built a new strong wall [...] and close to a small house that was from apostle Saint Thomas [...]. Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão. Vol. II. 577. In 1547, during Castro's vice-royalty, Correa's presence is obvious in "the Governor recorded past governors and himself and wanted to be done portraits with legends of each", since he wrote: "he called me due to my skills drawing and also because I had met all the previous Governors which rule in these places. He ordered portraits [...] what I took care with a local artist." [Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.), Porto: Lello & Irmão. Vol. IV. 596-7]. Correa was appointed for this task, because "he understood how to draw and because he has seen there all the governors who had governed in these parts". Correa must have died in Goa in 1563.

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cartographic representation of the city and island; Castro and Correa's drawings and texts show the city and island of Diu after Portuguese arrival in Gujarat; they illustrate how architecture and urbanity were shaped by Diu's early Western history; they relate to metropolitan historical and political discourses from the Portuguese court and show how places of non-European architecture were contrastingly categorized, especially in its political implications.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Barros wrote not only the best connected early European history addressing Diu, but also and most notably, the first Western anthropological text about European arrival and cross-cultural contact in Asia.<sup>18</sup>

This early modern period raises a number of important questions that may be addressed under the broad head of 'historical anthropology.' Thus, it is of obvious interest to examine how notions of humanism and universalism develop in several vocabularies (drawings and texts), and yet how these terms do not in fact unite the early modern world, but instead lead to new and intensified forms power and separation. How are we to read such materials in the context of a broader notion of what constitutes urban history of early modern cities? Clearly, we have the possibility of posing such questions in the context of comparative model, in which individual states are taken as building blocks.

### ***Roteiro de Goa a Diu, 1538-1539***

The drawing of Diu in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* [figure 1.1] was made between 1538 and 1539.<sup>19</sup> Castro was in Diu two months after the Ottomans had laid siege to Diu captained by Hadim Süleyman Pasha (1467-1547),<sup>20</sup> in mid 1538, mobilizing the largest fleet ever sent into the Indian Ocean on a military action that eventually failed in September mostly due to Ottoman indecision.

The text and drawing of *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* is the first tool to discuss Diu's early 'European life.' *Roteiros* are known as *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa* (rutter from Lisbon to Goa, 1538), *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (rutter from Goa to Diu, 1538-39),<sup>21</sup> or by a lesser known alternative, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da Índia* (first rutter of the Indian coast), and *Roteiro do Mar Roxo* (rutter of the Red sea, 1541) equally well known as *Roteiro de Goa ao Suez* (rutter from Goa to Suez). *Roteiros* gave data from 49 ports, bars, coves and islands, and depict 36 drawings of ports or *Távoas* (drawings, plans or charts) from the river entrances, harbours and main places visited. The author observed magnetic declination in 52 locations, recorded details of winds, currents and tides and compiled notes of physical, human and historical geography as well as accurate descriptions and drawings of cities, etc. Most of the charts are hydrographic sketches intended to illustrate the text. The author made several detailed nautical and hydrographical comments that don't follow the model of the Portuguese rutter. Therefore, the *Roteiros* could

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<sup>17</sup> Another important source is the *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India* by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda. It was published in the 1550s, and republished in several languages within decades. Castanheda's chronicle is important for two reasons, first, he spent ten years in Portuguese India before writing his *magnum opus*, returning to Portugal after a wealth of first-hand experience in 1538, the same year of the Hadim Süleyman Pasha's expedition to Diu. Thereafter, he was appointed librarian at the University of Coimbra, where he enjoyed connections with the Crown and privileged access to state documents.

<sup>18</sup> About the cultural and historical concepts in Barros writings, see *inter alia*: Saraiva, António José. 1996. "Uma conceção planetária da história em João de Barros." *Para a história da cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Gradiva. vol. II, part II, 267-290; Biedermann, Zoltan. 2003. "Nos primórdios da antropologia moderna: a Ásia de João de Barros", *Anais de História de Além-Mar*. Lisbon: Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM). 4: 29 - 61.

<sup>19</sup> There are three copies of the *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* but the one in Coimbra University Library (UCBG), remains the most important and vivid. The others are available in the British Library, London, and in the Portuguese National Library (BN), Lisbon.

<sup>20</sup> Hadim (eunuch) Suleiman was an Ottoman statesman and military commander. He was the ruler of Ottoman Egypt in 1525-1535 and 1537-1538, and vizier of the Ottoman empire between 1541 and 1544. He was a participant in the empire's efforts to establish a presence in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. By 1541, after leading an expedition to India and, in the process, successfully conquering Yemen, he was promoted to grand vizierate.

<sup>21</sup> On 21 November he sailed for Diu on board a galley in a powerful fleet, and arrived back in Goa on 29 March 1539. This voyage was the subject of the second *Roteiro*.



[Figure 1.1] *Táboa de Diu* in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, João de Castro (1538 - 1539).<sup>22</sup> Courtesy: Coimbra University Library (UCBG)

<sup>22</sup> *Táboas dos roteiros da Índia* de D. João de Castro, [Táboas dos lugares da costa da Índia] [manuscript], (c. 1538-39). 1 album (63 folios), 430x290 mm. Coimbra University Library (UCBG), Portugal. Reference: UCBG Cofre 33.

better be called diaries.<sup>23</sup> It was a cartographic project of legibility and simplification, namely of the mechanisms of knowledge production through which the Portuguese aimed to render his subjects and territories more easily visible and consequently governable.

It would perhaps be more prudent to surmise that the author was a draughtsman rather than author of the nautical texts. In fact, closer scrutiny of the handwriting in the Socotora chart in contrast to Castro's own, leaves us in no doubt that Castro could not have been the author of the chart. On the other hand, they may have been written by a calligrapher, in which case the drawings could indeed be his work. What is certain is that, during his first travels in India, Castro, whilst on board, described perspectives views of towns and outlooks of the hinterland in other documents, and usually made notes and detailed observations of the bays and ports. This is confirmed in a letter by Estevão da Gama (1505-1576),<sup>24</sup> to João III (1502-1557)<sup>25</sup> written from Goa in October 25, 1541: "I have never seen any ordinary people with him [Castro], nor anyone who could do so much harm among the servants [...] I do not know, however, if he is very good at sounding sandbanks and sketching." It is, however, unrealistic to presume that a draughtsman could produce charts, add watercolors referring to two different works, and yet miss out the drawing of Aden mentioned in the text. Also, the missing chart of Goa was not due to artistic oversight. Moreover, the text indicates sometimes points of reference in the drawings which do not appear in the drawings themselves. Finally, the drawings were repeatedly copied so there is no accurate idea how often they were published. From these facts we shall conclude that it does not seem cleared to attribute the authorship of the watercolors to Castro.

Does *Távoa de Diu*, henceforth *Távoa*, help us to understand Diu before Portuguese arrival in India? In the Indian Ocean, the island and the city of Diu were fundamental places to be charted. Besides this, Diu was Castro's final destination in his journey, where he stayed for longer, and therefore, a place that he may well have described and drawn in detail. The pen and brush illustrations, especially the *Távoas*<sup>26</sup> of Diu and Goa, with architectural and urban illustration, provide clear information about the Portuguese presence from the west coast of Malabar<sup>27</sup> to the southernmost tip of Kathiawar. Castro's foremost concern was to give sailing information to safely arrive in Diu,<sup>28</sup> make note of the absence of underwater hazards and reassure the mariner that the gulf was so clear of dangers that its safe and expeditious navigation depended mainly on knowledge of prevailing currents and winds. It is well known that knowledge of seasonal variations on both currents and winds, although available much earlier on the realm of oral tradition, were codified during the sixteenth century by Castro.

The monumentality of Diu's vista in the *Távoa* deceived first time newcomers on arrival. Castro's text mentions that the arrival on the island by sea was a different matter. Despite its ominous aspect in the *Távoa*, the rocky outline of Diu was broken by excellent anchorages suitable as havens for small sailing vessels. The most imposing

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See also:

[http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/search~S17\\*por?/ccofre+33/ccofre+33/1,1,E/l856~b1777125&FF=ccofre+33&1,1,,1,0/indextsort=-/startreferer//search~S17\\*por/ccofre+33/ccofre+33/1,1,E/frameset&FF=ccofre+33&1,1,/endreferer/](http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/search~S17*por?/ccofre+33/ccofre+33/1,1,E/l856~b1777125&FF=ccofre+33&1,1,,1,0/indextsort=-/startreferer//search~S17*por/ccofre+33/ccofre+33/1,1,E/frameset&FF=ccofre+33&1,1,/endreferer/) (last access 22/01/2016).

<sup>23</sup> Cortesão, Armando and Albuquerque, Luís de. 1968-1982. *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro*. Coimbra: International Academy of Portuguese Culture, Vol. IV, Apêndice VI, 429-431.

<sup>24</sup> Portuguese governor of Estado da Índia (1540–1542). Son of Vasco da Gama. He commanded the fleet that entered the Red Sea, with the intent of attacking the Ottoman fleet in its harbour at Suez, leaving Goa December 31, 1540 and reaching Aden January 27.

<sup>25</sup> King of Portugal from 13 December 1521 until 11 June 1557.

<sup>26</sup> Drawing.

<sup>27</sup> This designation, Malabar, was used by 16th century Portuguese people to refer to the geographical area in the South East Hindustan Peninsula stretching from the Gates Mountains to the sea, from the Mount Eli near Cannanor, and enclosing the area of the Kanara to the North and the Cape Comorin in the Southern extreme.

<sup>28</sup> Castro, João de (1500-1548). 1939-1940. *Roteiros de D. João de Castro*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias. Vol. 2: "Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539)." 158-162.

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architectural structures, citadel and mosque, bordered the waterside like a city's façade<sup>29</sup> and obscured the inner area with its humble, low, mud and thatch settlements and brick structures in disrepair. Accordingly, a feature so conducive to shipping did not fail to attract the attention of the author of the *Roteiro* and its later counterparts.<sup>30</sup> The *Roteiro* does not identify or describe the city's architecture in detail, although the text provides descriptions of the 'island of Diu,' of the 'town of Diu,' and mentions the 'bastion of the sea' and the 'entrance to the harbour of Diu.'

In his text, Castro classified Diu as "a very modern city, although noble and known all over the world."<sup>31</sup> During those times and in that milieu, 'modern' was an attribute used with a far different meaning and purpose than in the present days. What is 'modern' in the sense of being most recent within a given city is quite different from what is 'modern' in the sense of being most similar to the what could be found as 'architectural novelty' in a European city of the sixteenth century. Both meanings are not coterminous and to act as if they were, is arranging arguments in a way that is not fair in order to the proper identification of the forms of urbanism emerging in places outside Europe. Must Diu acquire architectural elements from a Western convention in order to be 'modern' in the sixteenth century? How have regional architectural traditions and building cultures outside the West encountered Europe? Although recognizing that novelty and colonialism are fundamentally connected, we should examine the way 'ancient' built forms metamorphose to 'new/modern' in the context of sixteenth century Portuguese colonialism, and reveals that oppositions like 'ancient' and 'new/modern,' or 'West' and 'non-West,' prevalent in scholarship on the built environment, are culturally constructed.

We should discuss whether Castro's acquisition of the adjective 'modern' for himself is a piece of global history of which an integral part is the story of European empires in India.<sup>32</sup> The definition employed by Castro was based on difference: to be 'modern' was to be new.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the architectural forms Castro found in Diu were familiar to what he knew from the 'latest' and contemporary medieval cities in Portugal with which he was acquainted since his childhood or the cities which he later visited in north Africa as a soldier. In this binary scheme of being 'modern' and 'ancient,' those that were not entirely one or the other were declared to be 'modern' towards a predetermined end. This implicit split between Portugal and the rest of the world in Castro's writings is the source of commitment requests and courting claims that have in common to condition the 'new' with what already exists, imposing questionable rules, and restraining the creative freedom.

For those who regard the forms of Europe's architectural novelties during the sixteenth century to be the only ones that are valid, all others were transitory, incomplete, inadequate, or 'ancient.' This fundamental binarism between 'modern' and 'ancient' relocates discussions of 'being modern' to 'other' geographies outside its conventional locus of early modern Europe. Taking the position that the idea of 'modern' is a normative attribute culturally constructed in the extreme inequities of colonialism, and informed by the perspective that building, space, and society are (re)constitutively connected, we set out here to understand the anxieties of displacement and the fragmentation of experience in Diu's engagement with extraordinary cultural change.

It is difficult to allocate with certainty a specific architecture to a specific location or to a specific function, but some informed conjecture can be made based on the drawing codes before we can assign specific functions to buildings that appear to us to be drawn in a different way. Therefore, while descriptions of Diu as citadel, urban

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<sup>29</sup> Similar spatial configuration to Aden. See Margiriti, Roxani Eleni. 2007. *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 102.

<sup>30</sup> Tibbetts, G. R. 1981. *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*. London: Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. Vol. XLII. On the oral navigational traditions: Hourani, George F. 1995. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Carswell, John (intro.). Princeton: Princeton University Press. 107-108.

<sup>31</sup> Castro, João de (1500-1548). 1939-1940. *Roteiros de D. João de Castro*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias. Vol. 2: "Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539)." 154.

<sup>32</sup> Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1992. "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who speaks for "Indian" pasts?" In *Representations* 37, 21.

<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, Rome, Athens or Évora, were cities that he considered to be 'ancient.'

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core or inner city and suburb were to an extent accurate, this nomenclature did not quite account for the evolution of each of these subdivisions as a well-developed feature of the early pre-modern cities of Gujarat. Rather than mere physical subdivisions, they functioned at the time as separate entities within a larger context dependant on each other, as had been the case in Diu before the Portuguese arrival. Furthermore, each no longer necessarily preserved its functional specialty, but was diversified to many functions becoming a small 'city of sorts' combining to form a larger Diu, and therefore justifiably described as citadel, urban core and suburb. *Távua de Diu* provides a very clear (although rough) picture of these delineated zones of the city, almost misleading one to believe that the sixteenth century urban settlement was a virtual replica of older and more important cities in Gujarat such as Ahmedabad, Junagahad or Patan, which would be an unwarranted conclusion and not the case.

The depiction of the overall urban landscape of Diu was an easy task for Castro [figure 1.1]. The city's structure was almost a simplified diagram. The urban fabric in the *Távua* did not follow the same pattern throughout. Castro asserted that at the time there was an urban settlement represented by the fine rows of houses to the south (upper half of the drawing), while its urban counterpart had the requirement that the friday prayer be solemnized at a mosque made urban living necessary for the full muslim life and seemingly situated somewhere beyond and to the north (lower half of the drawing). Castro reaches a definition of Diu which he contends is quintessential with an islamic city: a city with a mosque with a market/chief bazaar nearby. Appearances do indeed plead for such a fusion: an "anarchic layout," with inextricable network of narrow and twisting streets (often *cul-de-sacs*), the central bazaar, the *caravanserai* and the prevalence of mosque in the landscape with its minarets that could be seen at a distance. The mosque was a large, rectangular, hypostyle building, erected by cross-roads in the classical street plan that seems to have been the centre of the early 'Gujarat' urban settlement. Associated with the *jami-suq* (mosque-bazaar) complex, could be found a *caravanserai*, to accommodate long distance travelers. But while most agreed about the existence of these entities, few could concur on the boundaries between the two domains. Castro notes the differentiation between nonresidential and residential quarters and the fact that residential quarters are often specialized by ethnicity. Finally, he depicts the physical organization of the city markets which he suggests are ordered in a certain hierarchy which is not completely accidental. The population distribution of the different ethnic groups, especially hindu, jain and muslim in the various localities undoubtedly shifted between north and south of such a small urban settlement, but any strict demarcation was at that time absolutely arbitrary. Such boundaries were actually quite fluid and imperceptible and at no time did the city form a homogeneous space for European inhabitants after the Portuguese arrival in Diu.

The pre-colonial city had a unique urban core with recognizable contention and was not equipped with multiple urban cores at various locations within its layout. The drawing highlights the urban topography from the pre-colonial and islamic period of Diu and suggests a tripartite city partition. Diu was divided by Castro in three areas: the fortress, citadel,<sup>34</sup> or *arg*,<sup>35</sup> decentered and within the limits of the city; the Gujarati equivalent of the Arabic *medina* or Persian *shahristan*,<sup>36</sup> the old city, this implying the city proper i.e. the urban core or internal city; and

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<sup>34</sup> Citadel is the name given to any kind of fortress or fortification built at a strategic point for the city protection. The term derives from the same Latin root *civitas*, one of the Latin words for "city", meaning citizen. The oldest citadels were built by the civilization of the Indus valley, where the citadel represented a centralized authority. In a fortified city with bulwarks, the citadel is the strongest part of the system, sometimes well inside the outer walls and bulwarks, but taking part of the outer city for the sake of its economy. It is positioned to be the last line of defence, should the enemy breach the other components of the fortification system.

<sup>35</sup> *Arg* (or *ark*), the inner fortress or citadel of a walled city. The etymology is obscure: the word appears in Middle Persian only in the compound *argbed* a military rank and, though evidently in use, does not occur frequently in New Persian before the early seventeenth century. It is used also by Persian writers of Central Asia and northern India to designate the fortress of a city. The *arg* may also serve as the residence of a ruler and include other court and government offices. The *arg* always lay inside the city wall, sometimes adjacent to it and functioning as part of the defenses; it is analogous to the Roman *arx*, from which the Persian word may have derived, as well as the Norman keep (*donjon*). Its etymology is obscure. It is used also by Persian writers of Central Asia and northern India to designate the fortress of a city (e.g., Bukhara, Delhi).

<sup>36</sup> Following Gujarat's Iranian architectural tradition.

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the commercial and manufacturing suburb, the settlement lying immediately outside the limits of the old city, between the original town and the surrounding islamic wall. There is no evidence of an extensive *rabad* or outer city beyond these limits.<sup>37</sup> Correspondingly, Diu during the sixteenth century was a distinct variant of the standard tripartite and non-concentric model with the citadel positioned to the eastern of the walled city. The city consisted of overlapping Gujarati geographies and conceptions of space and territory. Not surprisingly, the line of demarcation between the two settlements shifted depending on the context and the perception of the observer. In the absence of clearly defined separation, Castro created discrete containments for both public and private sociability. The spatial choices oscillated between a theatrical display of open plans and a proliferation of an elaborate religious muslim compound of architectural confining elements, mosque and other public buildings, that spoke a calculated language of difference between the two distinct parts of the city depicted. Scholarship frequently pointed out that the most significant distinguishing feature of the two settlements was the density of the urban fabric - the sparsely row distributed buildings of the north as opposed to the close-knit fabric of the south. This characterization, however, does not withstand close investigation. The landscape of Diu in the first decades of the sixteenth century was far too complex to be totally and unambiguously described in *Távoa*.

To add and accompaniment of *Távoa* description and this last thought, however, a brief biographical fieldwork note that is a transposition of the drawing for today. We went to India in the late 1990s, looking for our first impression of Diu. To our surprise, it was easy to differentiate hindu (prevalent and dispersed inside the city walls) from muslim (concentrated in the northwest inside the city walls) urban quarters of Diu. Several cues seemed to trigger a subliminal response. First, the ratio of males to females on the street and in public places was higher in muslim than in hindu areas. Second, butcher shops and trades related to hides and animal products were located almost exclusively in muslim areas. And last, it seemed that the decibel level of sounds was higher and more lively in muslim quarters, of which the call to prayer was only one of the basics. These semiotics were chiefly in public space; it was harder to enter semi-private and private space, except in some hindu areas to which we had personal entree. The quarter, in the sense of a semi-private lane or courtyard apartment house, seemed as typical of poor hindu areas as of muslim areas, but circumspect behavior outside the private living quarters seemed less in hindu than in muslim areas. One explanation for this might be differences in the rules of veiling. Hindu women veil primarily before close relatives whereas muslim women veil chiefly from outsiders. Given this, one would expect muslims to make a greater distinction between in and out of the dwellings. In brief, it seemed that social patterns of gender segregation and social patterns were from inception the chief religion-linked variables distinguishing muslim from hindu quarters in a mixed Diu.

### **Diu's tapestry**

Some of the political, military, and diplomatic events that had influence in Europe during the sixteenth century were celebrated by the European Crowns through the commission of tapestries as adornment for its buildings.<sup>38</sup> They were crafted to honour heroic narratives of conquest and violence, and in particular, royal and aristocratic lineages. A collection of tapestries called "Sucessos e Triunfo de Dom João de Castro na Índia"<sup>39</sup> was made in a Flanders workshop in Brussels between 1555 and 1560 and imported to Portugal.<sup>40</sup> The series took the theme of

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<sup>37</sup> Following Gujarat's Iranian architectural tradition.

<sup>38</sup> Tapestry weaving was a significant industry in Europe during the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

<sup>39</sup> Transl.: The victories and triumphs of Dom João de Castro in India.

<sup>40</sup> This series of tapestries is today part of the collection of Kunst historisches Museum of Vienna, Austria. *Taten und Triumph des João de Castro: Die Befreiung der portugiesischen Festung Diu*, Inv. Number: T XXII/4, H. 348 cm, B. 532 cm Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria. For further details about the tapestries: Matos, José Sarmento. 1993. "As tapeçarias de D. João de Castro." In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.). *Medos, Fantasias e Visões. Oceanos 13*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 82-3; Fernandes, Maria Antónia Quina Carvalho. 1993. "Novos dados para um enigma." In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.). *Medos, Fantasias e Visões. Oceanos 13*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 86-92; Moreira, Rafael. 1993. "D. Álvaro de Castro, filho do Vice-rei." In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.). *Medos, Fantasias e*

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Castro's main achievements and is considered to be an art 'chronicle'<sup>41</sup> made after Castro's death.<sup>42</sup> We have thus an intersection of a merely historical with a clearly symbolic and allegorical arena in Diu's sixteenth century history.

The request to produce the tapestries was most likely made by Castro's son, Álvaro.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that it was patronized by the Portuguese court, since there is the precedent of a tapestry commissioned by Manuel I (1469-1521)<sup>44</sup> celebrating Gama's journey to India.<sup>45</sup> Also, João III ordered the tapestries "The Spheres" to signal his marriage to Catherine of Habsburg and 1529's Zaragoza Treaty with Charles V (1500-1558),<sup>46</sup> regarding the Molluccan archipelago and the division of the East. We can also compare "Sucessos e Triunfo de D. João de Castro na Índia" with "The conquest of Tunes", ordered by Charles V and made in 1546 in Brussels by Wilhelm de Pannemaker according to sketches by Jan Vermeyen (1500-1559)<sup>47</sup> and Pieter van Aelst (1502-1550).<sup>48</sup>

One thing was the demand, another was the manufacture that could take several years. The techniques applied and materials used justify the amount of time taken. It seems likely that they were paid for and sent to Portugal as soon as they were finished. When Álvaro de Castro died in 1575, the series was possibly not yet completed, and completion was due to the intervention of Filipe I (1527-1598)<sup>49</sup> after 1580. The sketches were made by Michel Coxcie (1499-1593)<sup>50</sup> and the tapestry was probably made by Bartholomeus Adriaensz.<sup>51</sup>

The tapestry "O cerco da fortaleza Portuguesa de Diu"<sup>52</sup> [figure 1.2] from the series "Sucessos e Triunfo de Dom João de Castro na Índia" draws on the military campaign of the first siege of Diu, which was considered in Europe and to the Western world as a glorious, violent, and ranked imperial and military achievement.<sup>53</sup> It combined

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*Visões. Oceanos* 13. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 96-107. See also: Bauer, Rotraud. 1993. *Die Portugiesen in Indien. Die Eroberungen Dom Joao de Castros auf Tapissereien 1538 - 1548*. Katalog zur Ausstellung, 21 Oktober 1992 - 10 Jänner 1993. Wien: Kunsthistorischen Museum, 1993 and Ledebur, Katja Schmitz-von. 2015. *Fäden der Macht. Tapissereien des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Threads of Power - 16th Century Tapestries from the Kunsthistorisches Museum. 14 Juli bis 20 September 2015. Special Exhibition KHM. Wien: Kunsthistorischen Museum.

<sup>41</sup> Moura, Vasco Graça. 1995. "D. João em Viena: conjecturas." In Paulino, Francisco Faria (ed.). *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 89.

<sup>42</sup> They were rare in the sixteenth century images and any available did not fail to hold the attention of anyone, especially if they were educated men and women. We have to take into account that the time spent on art was much longer at that time than it is today and that these were real colloquiums between the nobility and the people that attended the court who had art at their disposal in quantity and quality. The debate of Filipe I of Portugal and II of Spain about Hieronymus Bosch triptych is well known.

<sup>43</sup> Plausibly, between 1558 and 1560, while he was travelling after the death of Henry II to offer condolences to Catherine de Medici of France, and eventually to match a marriage between princess Maria and Emperor Ferdinand I from Habsburg. Moreira, Rafael. 1993. "D. Álvaro de Castro, filho do Vice-rei." In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.). *Medos, Fantasias e Visões. Oceanos* 13. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 96-107.

<sup>44</sup> King of Portugal from 25 October 1495 until 13 December 1521.

<sup>45</sup> Dias, Pedro. 2007. "À Maneira de Portugal e da Índia. Uma tapeçaria inédita." Porto: VOC Antiques.

<sup>46</sup> Brother of Catherine of Austria, queen and wife of João III. Charles was the heir of Europe's leading dynasties, the House of Habsburg of the Habsburg Monarchy, the House of Valois-Burgundy of the Burgundian Netherlands, and the House of Trastámara of Castile and Aragon. He ruled over extensive domains in Central, Western, and Southern Europe, and the Spanish colonies in the Americas and Asia. Unwilling to allow the wars of religion to come to his other domains, he pushed for the convocation of the Council of Trent, which began the Counter Reform. The 'Society of Jesus' was established by St. Ignatius of Loyola during his reign in order to peacefully and intellectually combat Protestantism, and continental Spain was spared from religious conflict largely by Charles's nonviolent measures according to some authors. He oversaw the Spanish colonization of the Americas.

<sup>47</sup> Dutch Northern Renaissance painter and tapestry designer. About 1525 he became court painter and in 1535 accompanied Charles V at the conquest of Tunis.

<sup>48</sup> Flemish painter, sculptor, architect and a designer of woodcuts, stained glass and tapestries. He worked in Antwerp and Brussels and was painter from Charles V court.

<sup>49</sup> King of Portugal from 17 May 1581 until 13 September 1598.

<sup>50</sup> Dutch Golden Age royal painter. See: Levenson, Jay A. (ed.). 2007. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Exhibition catalogue. Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery & Smithsonian Institution Press. 59.

<sup>51</sup> Master artisan and tapestry maker. Levenson, Jay A. (ed.). 2007. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Exhibition catalogue. Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery & Smithsonian Institution Press. 59.

<sup>52</sup> Available in Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien. Reference: KK T XXII/4, H. 351 cm, B. 538 cm, Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna, Austria. Trans.: The siege of the Portuguese fort of Diu.

<sup>53</sup> The authors focus on war, locate the ancients in no particular time, and lean heavily on written sources even though their ostensible subject is the material vestiges of antiquity. Potter, John. 1697. *Archaeologiae Graecae; or, the Antiquities of Greece*. Rare Book, Manuscript,

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classical elements with exotic novelties.<sup>54</sup> The tapestry was landscape-oriented, rural rather than urban, and generally very figural, whereas the author was drawn to the urban centres and habit of working *en plein air* and evoking war scenes providing inspiration to artists, just as these aesthetic principles were to underpin Classicism and not only in Portugal. It was not his aim to give the largest amount of useful information marked by utilitarian logic in a chain close to written narrative, but instead to give data previously aesthetically censored or morally manipulated with the intention of shaping the memory of the nation and the perception of the Portuguese empire. In this utilitarian perspective, Diu's specific spatial culture details are omitted in order to favour the participants in the military praxis.

In the tapestry, Castro leans heavily on grand historical scenes in the foreground, as opposed to scenes from everyday life in the background, however, the siege of Diu is the main subject. He combines an antinomic occurrence of war and peace with the crowded waters of the entrance of the gulf of Cambay. As a typical loyalist subject, Castro places military leaders abruptly in the foreground, several times as big as what he depicts the undifferentiated army. By contrast, the Gujarati participants, are dressed in glorious regalia, converse amiably as splendid plume sprout triumphantly from their turban as models of gentlemanly politeness and decorous on the cusp of battle. A pastoral landscape of gently rolling hills and leaf trees recedes to the gates of Diu.

This Diu was a particular 'Troy,' a generic rendition that appeared in countless illustrations of the time: a city "know all over the world,"<sup>55</sup> as like Lisbon, Rome or Constantinople. Troy had utterly disappeared; Rome had fallen into chronic decay after the repeated invasion of barbarian armies; Syracuse, Cartaghe or Diu had been famously crushed. After his military victory in Diu, the Portuguese king João III was a monarch with the same 'imperial' credentials in Europe as the Spanish king Charles V.<sup>56</sup> The former was victorious in Diu, while the latter conquered Tunis in 1535. This explains the circumstance of patronage of the tapestry by the Portuguese court: to celebrate the victory of the Portuguese king against Islam, similarly to the Spanish emperor.

The architectural sense of this tapestry is difficult to ascertain, since its composition and narrative flow was disrupted. Allegories and evocations in it ended up promoting the taste for the exotic and the experience of the east. No aspects of cultural and physical geography of Diu are invoked since they are not useful for this realm. What mattered for the author was to capture the essentials of urbanity: a pristinely unruined early modern European city, encircled by medieval walls, capped by rounded turrets. Amid this apparently ancient 'Trojan' scene stands, implausibly, a war scene in the background, partly obscured by the human figures in the fore. The author of the tapestry was thoughtful along cross-disciplinary or synaesthetic lines that separated him ostensibly from its predecessors that portrayed Diu. The unprecedented architectural works are depicted, the outcome of a

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and Special Collections Library, Duke University. I, 412; Kennett, Basil (1674-1715). 1696. *Romae Antiquae Notitia; or, the Antiquities of Rome*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. Many of the illustrations in the University of North Carolina's copy of Kennett have been excised. For an intact 1721 edition, see: Kennett, Basil (1674-1715). 1721. *Romae Antiquae*. London: Special Collections Library, Duke University.

<sup>54</sup> Paulino, Francisco Faria (coord.). 1995. *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*. Exhibition catalogue. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 202-209; Bauer, Rotraud. 1993. *Die Portugiesen in Indien. Die Eroberungen Dom Joao de Castros auf Tapisserien 1538 - 1548*. Exhibition catalogue. Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, 21 Oktober 1992 - 10 Jänner 1993, Wienn: Kunsthistorischen Museum.

<sup>55</sup> Castro, João de (1500-1548). 1939-40. *Roteiros de D. João de Castro*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias. vol. 2: "Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539)," 154.

<sup>56</sup> Diu's siege was mentioned by the European chroniclers from those times and that contributed to come to an end the commissioned art work. Panofsky, Erwin (1892-1968). 1981. *Renascimento e renascimentos na arte Ocidental*. Lisbon: Presença.



[Figure 1.2] “Die Befreiung der portugiesischen Festung Diu”<sup>57</sup>  
Collection: Taten und Triumph des João de Castro.  
Reference: KK T XXII/4, H. 351 cm, B. 538 cm.  
Courtesy: Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria.

Classical and “modern city [Diu], although noble,”<sup>58</sup> that outshone many other contemporary cities in Europe either explicitly, indirectly, or by avoiding political subjects altogether. The tapestry discloses several preoccupations and dilemmas. First, oddly enough, was inaccessibility. Although the Classical past ancient world was exceedingly familiar from literature, its material culture remained elusive in the sixteenth century. Aside from merchants, few Europeans had been to Diu, then part of the sultanate of Gujarat, and seen its antiquities. Much of the city - *Diu nobilis* - had been abandoned or obscured after the siege by mud and debris. Second, was antiquarianism. Today, we use the term disparagingly to mean collectors of trivial objects, but well into the 1500s the enthusiasts of antique objects flourished happily alongside the scholarly readers of classical texts. Renaissance humanists happily adopted this idea and added their own, classifying such relics into four major categories: *antiquitates publicae, privatae, sacrae, and militares*.

Other works like *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* and *Lendas da Índia* (detailed later), denied explicit reference to the devastation brought by the military actions, as they forcibly insist on Diu between pre-siege and post-siege life. The view of Diu in the tapestry was from land and inverted according to what was usually done in all depictions of the place (city and island). This re-order of data is significant, reissues the drawing from *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* and finally reflects the Classical ideal for which the monarch stood and which was accepted by the Portuguese court. *Távoa* depicts territory - city, land and sea - and a major urban view that shows us how the urban space was and that allows us to take some data and ultimately draw conclusions about Diu’s history. It portrays a “place of *land and sea*” and therefore hinterland, land and sea. It relates the island of Diu, the interface between island and

<sup>57</sup> Trans.: The siege of the Portuguese fort of Diu. Collection: The achievements and triumphs of João de Castro.

<sup>58</sup> Castro, João de (1500-1548). 1939-40. *Roteiros de D. João de Castro*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias. vol. 2: “Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539).” 154.

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hinterland and Gujarat. It gives evidence for territory and maritime coordinates. The Gujarat city and its particular architecture, the citadel and a maritime bastion, the wall from sea to sea separating the city from the rest of the island, the eastern tip of the island and the hinterland.

### *Lendas da Índia, c. 1547.*

*Lendas da Índia*,<sup>59</sup> henceforth *Lendas*, is a vivid chronicle which illuminates the early history of Diu and early Portuguese history in the East down to 1550.<sup>60</sup> It is a narration of the Portuguese presence in the East by Gaspar Correa from his arrival in India in 1512 until his death in 1563.<sup>61</sup> It describes heroism, glory, cruelty, greed and makes a portrait gallery of human types.<sup>62</sup> *Lendas* has a collection of portraits from the governor's of *Estado da Índia* and although their authorship is known, Correa does not mention who requested the plans (architectural/urban) also present in the chronicle.<sup>63</sup>

A map by Gaspar Correa, drawn *circa* 1545, represents - with the help of drawings representing forts in some of the Portuguese colonial urban settlements of that time - the presence of Europeans in coastal southern India from Baçaim on the west coast, to Diu at the southernmost tip of Gujarat, or even Malacca on the East coast of the Malayan peninsula. These pen and brush illustrations portray several urban settlements from the East and West coasts of India for the first time for European eyes providing clear evidence of the extent of the Portuguese presence in South India in the mid-sixteenth century.

*Lendas* has eleven portraits, thirteen plans or panoramic views, two of which - Cochin and Socotorá - have disappeared and a few plain drawings. The surviving second volume original manuscripts contain the plans of Malacca, Calicut and Aden and the third volume those of Challe, Bassein and Diu. The printed volumes contain eleven plans, which were certainly included in the manuscript volumes at the date of publication, although five of the plans have disappeared, namely Quilon, Ormuz, Jidda, Ceylon and Cannanore, together with the portraits of Pedro de Mascarenhas (1484-1555),<sup>64</sup> Garcia de Noronha (1479-1540),<sup>65</sup> and Castro. All this information contains sketches and written records from different years and rulers until 1550.

In 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque (1500-1580),<sup>66</sup> henceforth Albuquerque, wrote to João III mentioning detailed information that appointed the royal goal and matched the latter *Lendas* drawings. He secured from the king of Cambay the right to build a fortress in Diu:

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<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, and after so many decades, it is still too early to give a complete scientific appraisal of Correa's account of Gujarat and Diu in *Lendas da Índia*: we need to see and compare original Indian sources with the discovered manuscripts of the *Lendas*. Felner's edition of Correa, even with the learned revision and very useful introduction of Lopes de Almeida (Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão), is not enough. An up-to-date, revised and critical edition is needed, and also from the point of view of Indian history, with notes and accurate transliterations of Indian words.

Chaube's *History of the Gujarat*, provides a framework for the appreciation of this episode of the *Lendas da Índia*, but new readings of Portuguese historians will also enrich such works: Chaube, J. 1975. *History of the Gujarat Kingdom 1458-1537*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

<sup>60</sup> "...que he bem que mais nom escreva...": Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. IV. 731.

<sup>61</sup> Aubrey Bell writes: "*Lendas* meant legends, partly on certain specific instances, of which some are given by Lima Felner [...]. But, as Lima Felner says, these very products of a romantic imagination prove that Corrêa was incapable of lying": Bell, Aubrey. 1924. *Gaspar Corrêa*, "Hispanic Portuguese Series", V, Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 35.

<sup>62</sup> Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. III, 619-620.

<sup>63</sup> *Lendas* drawing was made after 1540 and before 1546, date of the second siege of Diu, and before the second wall was built with its bulwarks according to European Renaissance military architecture.

<sup>64</sup> Soldier, diplomat and sixth viceroy (1554-1555) of *Estado da Índia*. Ambassador in the Holy See, where he made efforts with Paul III for Society of Jesus missions in India, at the request of João III and Diogo de Gouveia.

<sup>65</sup> Garcia de Noronha great-great grandson of Fernando I was third viceroy and the tenth Governor of *Estado da Índia* (1537). Nobleman from the courts of Manuel I and João III. He was considered "one of the greatest men of Portugal" or, as they said in India, "the boldest *douo* of Portugal", and his life is treated by chroniclers, notably Barros, Góis, Castanheda and Brás de Albuquerque.

<sup>66</sup> Portuguese general, a "great conqueror", a statesman, and an empire builder. Albuquerque was the major figure in the establishment of the Portuguese sea empire in the East. In 1510 he captured Goa, which he fortified and made the chief trading post and permanent naval base in India. To give it a stable character, he offered lands and subsidies to Portuguese men who would marry native women. In 1511 Albuquerque captured Malacca; from where he could control the trade from the East Indies and the coast of China. During his

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the king of Cambay will allow you to have a fortress in Diu, the place where you always wished [...]", however he argued about what was necessary "merchandise traded before by Portugal and the fight we gave him in the Red sea [...] where he no longer has trade; the other is [...] war with Aden and his merchandise that does not come [...]; the other is copper to make coins in these reigns and also coming from Cairo that he spent in making money [...] the other is that the kingdom of Cambay has a short territorial connection with the Indian Ocean, [...] a few ports and a short way; [...] his maritime power is the city of Cambay which unbelievably has shallow waters and therefore the main escape way is [...] to the left of Diu and to the right of Cambay.<sup>67</sup>

In 1546, Castro, patron and mentor of Correa, received a letter from João III with the following statement:

I would like to see the drawings of the main fortresses which I have in those parts [India], and because the more detailed they are the more content I should have, I recommend you very much that if there is any person who knows how to do it well [...] the city or place where they are as well as their emplacements, drawn on paper [...] done in such manner that everything we want to know about them can be seen well.<sup>68</sup>

The sketch of Diu (c. 1545, figure 1.3) is the only illustration made after the 1530s crude view of Castro and the 1555-1560 'military' tapestry, and before the plan of Pedro Barreto de Resende of 1635, henceforth Resende.<sup>69</sup> As a result, Correa emerges as a figure of transition between the early attempt of Castro to use pictorial developments, such as linear perspective, and latter instantiations of theatrical art by Resende.

It is also singular in that it is by far the most detailed and realistic of all those known so far. The sharpness and extreme precision of the draughtsman's hand and his mastery of perspective gives to the drawing a touch unmatched in the others. Correa depicted a bird's-eye view similar to drawings adopted at that time in Europe,<sup>70</sup>

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governorship Portuguese vessels touched on the coast of China and sailed to some of the islands of the East Indies, gaining naval ascendancy in the Far East. In Goa again in 1512, Albuquerque strengthened Portuguese administration there and in other coastal cities and prepared a fleet for a campaign along the coasts of Persia and Arabia. His unsuccessful attack on Aden in 1513 failed to close the Red Sea to muslim shipping. His success brought friendly overtures from the Shah of Persia, the Samorin of Calicut, and the kings of Siam and Malacca, as well as several other rulers.

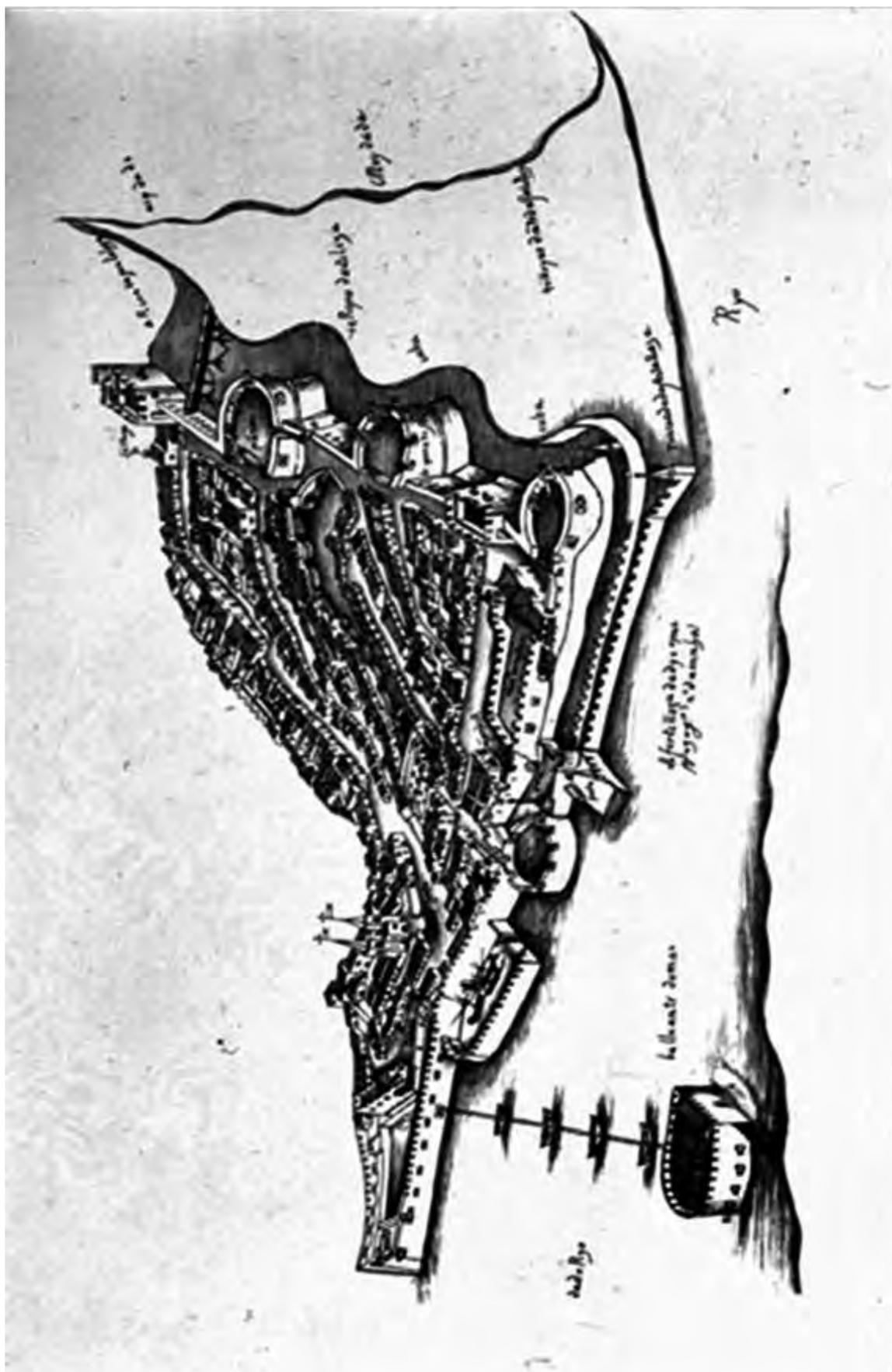
<sup>67</sup> Albuquerque, Afonso de, (1500-1580). 1973. "Letter from Albuquerque, 30 November 1513 to king João III." In *Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque*. Lisbon: Casa da Moeda National Press. vol. I. 135.

<sup>68</sup> Chagas, Manuel Pinheiro. 1849. "Letter from João III to João de Castro, Almeirim, dated 8 March 1546." In *Os Portuguezes em Africa, Asia, América e Oceannia: obra classica*. Lisbon: Typographia Borges. vol. V. 25.

<sup>69</sup> The iconography with authorship attributed to Pedro Barreto de Resende is part of Codex CXV/X-2 available in the Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE) and in the Sloane Ms. 197 in the British Library, London. The image is widely known, and several exhaustive and prolific analysis of this set of iconography were made during the last decade by Joaquim Santos and Sidh Mendiratta, which enabled a better understanding of the context in which they were produced, the methodology used and their importance as a historical source. See: Santos, Joaquim, and Mendiratta, Sidh. 2008. "Descodificando Barreto de Resende: As Vistas de Diu, Damão e Goa." in *Actas do VIII Congresso dos Monumentos Militares: "Fortificação Costeira: Dos Primórdios à Modernidade."* Faro: Associação Portuguesa dos Amigos dos Castelos; 2009. "Os sistemas defensivos das Ilhas de Goa e Diu." In International Seminar *A Fortificação Abaluartada como Património de Valor Universal*. CEAMA, Almeida; 2011. "Goa, Daman and Diu as seen by Resende: a comparative analysis of his cityscapes", in *Oriente* 20: 51-62; 2011. "[A] melhor cousa que Vossa Alteza tem nestas partes»: Representações das cidades da Província do Norte do Estado da Índia (séc. XVI-XVIII)." In IV Simpósio Luso-Brasileiro de Cartografia Histórica, Porto: Oporto University; 2012. "Sistemas defensivos das Ilhas de Tiswadi e Diu. Ocupação e fortificação de dois territórios insulares da Índia portuguesa (Séc. XVI-XVIII)." In *Arquitextos*. São Paulo: Vitruvius. 12/143, (<http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/12.143/4323>. Accessed 25/02/2016).

That being said, we choose not to make an analysis of the same 1635 iconography 'step by step' (context, drawing, drawing codes, architectural depiction, urban depiction, comparison, etc.), that would not go further than what has already been done and especially concerning our path and thought throughout the dissertation. Therefore, it was my choice to refer only to the 1635 cartography whenever it becomes necessary and relevant.

<sup>70</sup> See Sallustio Peruzzi, Italian architect, born in 1511 or 1512. Also discussed in sources as Giovanni Salvestro was a papal architect from 1552 to 1567 and son of Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536), who produced the famous drawing of Saint Peter in Rome with cuts at three different levels perpendicular to the plane of projection and an idiosyncratic treatment of the vaults and dome (1534-1536), Florence, Uffizi, 2Ar. Sallustio Peruzzi produced *Veduta prospettica di Roma* (1564-1565), Florence, Uffizi 274A. The drawing is a bird's eye view taken from three different view points. See Bevilacqua, Mario and Fagiolo, Marcello (ed.). 2012. *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai Catasti*. Rome: Edizioni Artemide.



[Figure 1.3] Diu, from *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correa.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes de (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. III, 625.

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including a very known drawing of Lisbon,<sup>72</sup> made from a point of view no human could actually perform. More than a reality visible to the eyes of someone on the ground, depicted from a high perspective, the citadel is a iconographical phenomenon in all its topographical extension.

Why did Correa render a drawing of Diu in light and shadow in imitation of painters? We suggest three answers to this question. The first is that Vitruvius (c. 90 - c. 20 BCE),<sup>73</sup> who was universally read in Europe by fifteenth century architects, had, by recommending *scaenographia*, justified illusionism in architecture drawing and encouraged orthographic elevations to be given relief by the simulation in wash of light and shade. The second was that Correa with a figural depiction - as other artists of the early Renaissance - had an intent of achieving a greater political intention by the stimulation of relief and spatial recession. As a corollary, the drawing of Castro's *Távoa* focused on structural elements and facades were thought as screens, while the drawing of Correa's *Lendas* buildings were conceived as mass. This is in contrast to our perception of Renaissance architecture primarily in terms of proportion and of the *all'antica* style.

This claim sets forth a nuanced interpretation of Correa's design for Diu that addresses the spatial disassociations found in the drawing in relation to active modes of visual engagement. Correa's scenography is consistently interpreted as emphasizing a sense of visual and spatial unity that, aided by linear perspective, denotes the humanistic absorption of the principles from the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Specifically, it is seen as embodying the emphasis on unity of action, which is conjoined with the unity of time and the unity of space.<sup>74</sup> Using as a fulcrum the flattened, disproportional and paradoxical arrangement of the inside of the citadel of Diu, the space in the drawing can be understood to present Diu as a monumental concept. Eschewing traditional and overarching generalizations about scenography in the sixteenth century, like the pictorial manifestation of Aristotle's theory of unity through single-point perspective, it shows that Correa presents a multifarious and heterogeneous space, not a defined place in which the action is contained. Correa's drawing thus articulates an interplay of relations that, maximizing the artificial by conjuring an anomalous space, displaces the phenomenological expectations of the viewers in order to create a fantastic albeit impossible space that is, ultimately, truer to Diu than any mimetic instantiation of the city.

Besides being at odds with certain passages of the written records from the text, the sketch sometime fails to conform to the observed reality. It represents a mix of what had been constructed at that date, what Correa planned, and even some elements that had already been constructed but shown here according to preceding designs. The urban density of the city inside it is higher than should be expected. There are too many buildings for such a small space:

The fortress of Diu was built in the tip of the city at the entrance of the bar, that stands over the river, which forms a turn towards the sea, and the city is in an island surrounded by water. The fortress stands the largest part over soft stone, and from the river side begins a thick wall and large moat crossing from the land to the sea on the other side of the coast, which is high cliff rock, and from the river side there is a very strong wall until the tip entering the bar, where there is a strong tower; and in front of the fortress, in the river, inside the water there is a bastion with artillery, which makes the fortress stronger by the river side; in such a way that the fortress has no vulnerability except for the city side, where the wall with moat has three bastions, one on the river side, and close to it another made by Manuel de

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<sup>72</sup> *Olisippo quae nunc Lisboa, ciuitas amplissima Lisitaniae, ad Tagum...*, Portugal National Library, Lisbon, by Georg Braun (1541-1622). Original published in: Agrippinate, Georgio Braunio. 1593. "Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintum", volume 5, 2nd drawing. Reference. BNL E. 340 R.

<sup>73</sup> Marcus Vitruvius Pollio was a Roman military engineer and architect who wrote *De Architectura* (On Architecture), a treatise which combines the history of ancient architecture and engineering with the author's personal experience and advice on the subject.

<sup>74</sup> Unities, in drama, the three principles derived by French classicists from Aristotle's *Poetics*; they require a play to have a single action represented as occurring in a single place and within the course of a day. These principles were called, respectively, unity of action, unity of place, and unity of time. These three unities were redefined in 1570 by the Italian humanist Ludovico Castelvetro in his interpretation of Aristotle, and they are usually referred to as "Aristotelian rules" for dramatic structure.

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Sousa, where the the door was, and in the middle of the wall to me a thick bastion called Saint Thomas, and the end of the moat, on the sea side, a tower called Saint James, with the church of Saint James: and in all the places there was good artillery. And the bastion on the river side was called Saint John.<sup>75</sup>

There's a certain crudity about Correa's prose regarding Diu as there is about his drawing, but the root of the matter always remains there. Correa also refers in *Lendas* that:

The fortress had many supplies in good houses separated from the factory and a separated armory which was the best that could be done and also the best artillery [...]. Inside the fortress there was a lot of [...] abundant munitions. Two boats were left [...] in the river. All were paid six months in advance and ten thousand pardaos for repairs in the fortress, which would be done from the inside and intended to finish before winter, because inside the fortress there should be room for six hundred men that will stay there and two hundred in the sea and in the bastion.<sup>76</sup>

On one hand, one should consider that Correa scaled the citadel out of proportion. The depiction of each building inside its walls was a true rendering, since the care and detail of sketch taken in the facades bears testimony of the drawing's accuracy. On the other hand, one should consider the buildings depicted as samples of the designs to be found. The attention and detail with which the houses are rendered and spread again leads us to think that the draughtsman was faithful to his subject within the limits of his bird's-eye view and of his purpose. Also the conformity of the drawing with the textual sources validates the draughtsman authenticity. His avowed intention was a political attitude to be taken towards Diu and therefore an intentional city. Not the city proper.

The drawing is alike and comparable with the other illustrations of *Lendas*. Instead of a view of whole island with a city in its eastern tip (as in *Távoa de Diu* and subsequent depictions), Correa portrayed a enclosed city inside a citadel (i.e., the Portuguese settlement *intra-muros*).<sup>77</sup> Correa represents in drawing a citadel facing the land and describes in the text form a settlement inside a fort. Architecture is portrayed as an isolated fortress, as if all that matters was the citadel. No information about the Gujarat urban settlement between the citadel and the city walls is provided. No data about the Gujarat hinterland some hundred meters north is collected. Last but not least, Correa is inattentive to the territorial context of Diu and the border relationship between Diu and Gujarat is absent. The drawing was a scenography concerned with Portuguese crown audience reception and engagement, creating an experience that is sensory, intellectual, rational, emotional and political. The drawing of *Lendas* is of a "place of sea (citadel) in opposition to land."<sup>78</sup>

When Correa's design is examined as a relatively autonomous work of art, it is possible to analyze the questions that emerge from its articulation of space of Diu as a replicable imperial typological asset. Namely, Correa drew a concomitant international<sup>79</sup> Renaissance model shared between Diu, Ceuta and Mazagan (today's El Jaddida).<sup>80</sup> Despite the distance between these places, the contextual and territorial difference in which they belong, and the architectural differences between the fortified cities, parallels

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<sup>75</sup> Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. IV. 467.

<sup>76</sup> Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. III. 687.

<sup>77</sup> Trans.: inside the walls

<sup>78</sup> Matos, João Barros. 2012. *Do mar contra a Terra. Mazagão, Ceuta e Diu, primeiras fortalezas abaluartadas da expansão portuguesa. Estudo arquitectónico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Sevilha: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad de Sevilla.

<sup>79</sup> The term 'international' is used here to highlight the way connections continued to exist between different territories across long distances. This included unambiguously sovereign places, as well as places under colonial rule such as *Estado da Índia*, and places that do not fit neatly into either of these categories.

<sup>80</sup> Matos, João Barros. 2012. *Do mar contra a Terra. Mazagão, Ceuta e Diu, primeiras fortalezas abaluartadas da expansão portuguesa. Estudo arquitectónico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Sevilha: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad de Sevilla. 107-161, 261-288 and 344-369.

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could be found in architectural systems, typologies, morphologies, and scale of each set, and there is a correlation in terms of timing in that it refers to the political context and historical evolution of each colonial city. Diu, Ceuta and Mazagan are partially resonant with the thesis of the architectural historian George Kubler, henceforth Kubler, in his book *The Shape of Time*,<sup>81</sup> of linked series of objects sharing a former lineage, and the non-linear nature of duration and time.

During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the more noteworthy aspect for Diu's spatial culture was how the architectural profile of the citadel was transformed after the arrival of the Portuguese to the island, or at least modified, by introducing the amenities of a wealthier and restricted European private life with churches and civic buildings that were introduced as novelty into a simple urban spatial culture. A combination of a set of buildings from a restricted period of time, in a relatively limited space, and with more or less the same patronage raises other more specific issues of architecture, like for instance building technology. To the historian of architecture, that is to say, of techniques which require considerable resources and differentiated competencies from specifically trained practitioners, the assumption of types adapting rapidly or slowly to new patrons was then and remains now a reasonable one, for the hitherto unknown sponsorship of architecture by Europeans did not necessarily demand new functions or seek to satisfy new needs. This patronage could easily accommodate itself to the local prevailing habits of building and of designing and one or two technical innovations from elsewhere easily found a place in an essentially traditional system.

The most important feature of the drawing is strikingly obvious in Diu's urbanity. The lack of reference to it in the chroniclers' writings makes it even more out of the ordinary that it could have occurred. Correa drew an entity inside a triangular architectural precinct, urban, abstract and refined. Peripheral streets along the walls, from Saint James bastion to *Couraça Grande* to the governor's palace, intersect each other in the access to the citadel where a dense group of houses of one storey high was drawn. Two streets east-west connect *Cavaleiro* bastion to *Couraça Grande* and *Menagem* bastion to *Couraça Grande*. The 'Gujarat' urban settlement was deliberately disregarded, the rest of the island ignored and the hinterland omitted. Did Correa mean to draw only the Portuguese urban settlement or that inhabited by the Portuguese population (garrison and families)? Why did he neglect the Gujarati city? Why did he overlook the rest of the island and the hinterland? In the sixteenth century, the city of Diu was probably not like the drawing made it out to be.

It is important to question the silence in Portuguese Renaissance manuals of military architecture, given the references to urbanity and city building, regarding the construction of this 'city' inside the citadel of Diu. This settlement inside the citadel walls was constructed after the 'emptiness' of the *Távoa* depiction and decades before the 'fullness' of the *Lendas* depiction. Whether all this was standing or not at that time is an issue. An appraisal of distances gives a fairly good idea of what one should expect from the architecture and the city of Diu at the time the drawing was made. Approximately three hundred metres can be measured from Saint James bastion in the southern limits to *Couraça Grande* in the eastern tip of the citadel. The drawing includes detail of more than two hundred houses, warehouses, a cistern, the captains house and precinct, Saint James chapel, the *Misericórdia* (royal-sponsored confraternity) church<sup>82</sup> (dated from 1542) and the original parish church or *Sé* (dated from 1544). The

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<sup>81</sup> Kubler, George. 2008 (1962). *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

<sup>82</sup> The missionary works of religious orders opened new fields for Christian charity. The confraternities found in the Portuguese empire called *Misericórdias* are considered to have emerged as part of the medieval European tradition of fraternal piety aimed at gathering the devout for communal worship and performing charity. The *Misericórdias* were founded at the instigation of members of the Portuguese royal family and enjoyed royal protection during the sixteenth century. The *Misericórdia* is connected with two persons: Leonor, wife of João II, and Fra Miguel Contreras, a Spanish trinitarian. The queen founded the confraternity of *Misericórdia* in Lisbon in 1498. This patronage was formally confirmed at the Council of Trent, where a special status was accorded to the *Misericórdias* which, unlike other lay confraternities, answered to the Portuguese crown rather than to ecclesiastical authorities. As such, they were different from other religious bodies: they maintained a devotional character outside of secular or regular ecclesiastical institutions. This feature helps to explain why they could be found wherever there was a Portuguese colonial presence, or even simply a Portuguese merchant community.

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most important houses, in the corners of the quarters have two or three storeys. One cistern in the center validates that the collection of rain water would have been an important aspect.<sup>83</sup>

The parish church or *Sé* was the most significant civic and secular building inside the citadel. Standing whitewashed on the eastern city skyline, it was a 'lighthouse of Catholicism' to impress travelers and newcomers to Diu's waters. It would become a common trait of the Franciscan presence in *Estado da Índia*.<sup>84</sup> Simple and common to catholic architecture the world over, that kept on being built in the Portuguese empire. In contrast, to what happened in other places in the Portuguese empire and remarkably unusual before the arrival of catholic religious orders in the East during the late sixteenth century, Diu's parish church or *Sé* wasn't built outside the citadel precinct. This was mainly due to three reasons: the Portuguese catholic population of Diu lived inside the citadel; the religious tolerance towards the Gujarati population, whether hindu, jain, muslim or zoroastrian was promoted and therefore no gestures of antagonism occurred; finally, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement was not a familiar setting for Portuguese architects, masons, military engineers to build a church and for Portuguese priests to catholic proclamation and practice (and ultimately, conversion).<sup>85</sup>

A distinctive problem of design arose from Correa's brilliant depictions. The churches illustrate the setting for the life taken by Portuguese patrons invested in inherited land and in a life of varying evangelization. This implies that the Portuguese did not really invent much that is new; they simply built in spaces which had not previously been used for these purposes. It became a compositional problem with early solutions which were more or less successful until buildings apparently began to be oriented in order to meet its necessities.

The *Misericórdia* church of Diu according to its epigraphy was built in 1542.<sup>86</sup> The *Misericórdia* church of Diu was located in the entrance of the citadel, as Correa drew it, i.e. in front of the captain's house.<sup>87</sup> The catholic church played a dominant role in Diu's social life as an instrument to paste the rather heterogenous ethnic communities established. The Portuguese in Diu were not linked with each other by institutions of government but by completely autonomous ecclesiastical and charitable ones as the *Misericórdias*. A simple corpus with a single nave and rectangular shape and hip roof with three sheets supported by a wooden beam structure also covered with leaves and later with tiles. The church shares a courtyard with the hospital. There is a higher chapel in the extreme of the church. Although the *Misericórdia* was a closely related to Portuguese overseas expansion, it was an institution transcending the borders of Portuguese empire. To be on the board of a *Misericórdia* was a manifestation of 'being somebody' in the Portuguese empire. This applies in particular to the Portuguese/Gujarati

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The number of *Misericórdias* proliferated to such a point that even settlements that ceased to be part of the Portuguese Empire or were never under Portuguese administration could boast one. Members went in pairs to visit the sick, prisoners and poor people in their homes to discover their needs and supply them with food, money, dwellings, beds, etc. The many privileges that Manuel I granted occasioned its fast spread. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries the *Misericórdia* spread out to the Portuguese empire, some of which still existed until the annexation of Diu in 1961, as for example Goa, Ormuz, Diu, Daman, Chaul, Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon, Nagapatam, Colombo, etc.

O'Boyle, Patrick A. 1967. *New catholic encyclopedia*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book. Vol. III. 492-493.

About *Misericórdias* in the Portuguese empire, see *inter alia*: Boxer, Charles R. 1965. *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510-1800*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press; Russell-Wood, A. J. R. 1968. *Fidalgos and philanthropists: the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>83</sup> Correa, Gaspar (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, Lopes de (int. and rev.). Porto: Lello & Irmão. vol. III. 625.

<sup>84</sup> It also happens in the drawing of Old Goa traced in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*.

<sup>85</sup> Initially the Portuguese intention was just trade and the accompanying missionaries served the religious need of sailors and others who came with them. It was only after 1540 that mass conversions took place, principally by the stimulus given by the Trent Council. The major religious Orders of the Franciscans and others who came to India as part of the ecclesiastical system established their bases and engaged in evangelisation, for which they learned the local language, culture and traditions.

<sup>86</sup> "Esta casa da Santa Mzã mandou fazer Dom Bernaldim da Silva amo delrey noso sor semdo Proveador dela desmolas que hele e os irmãos tiraram nesta fortaleza dos fieis cristãos: era de 1542. Luis Neto afez." (This house of the Holy Mass was made by order of Dom Bernardino da Silva, servant of Your majesty and *Provedor* of alms that he and the brothers took from the Christians of faith in this fortress: 1542 era. Luís Neto made it) Rivara refers that this epigraphy was inside the ruins of the *Misericórdia* church in 1859, on the left of the side door. Rivara. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio trasladadas das proprias em Janeiro de 1859*, Nova Goa: Portuguese National Press. 38; Quadros, Jerónimo. 1899. *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia*. Nova-Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas. 77.

<sup>87</sup> Similarly to Bassein.

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communities: indistinguishable from Indians were it not for their catholic shepherd and sometimes for their representation by an elected religious or civic institution.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, equally important was the link to charitable institutions: the lay brotherhood of the ‘Holy House of Charity.’ By participating on the board of the charitable institutions a local elite could stand out from the crowd. Moreover, the *Misericórdia* created an arena of power for local elites. In short, there was a convergence of interests between the Portuguese crown, seeking to appear as the benevolent patron of a unified set and secular elites, aiming to control important parts of civic life such as local administration, public devotions, and urban politics.<sup>89</sup>

According to Diu’s epigraphy, the *Sé* was built before 1544<sup>90</sup> as a sign of triumph after Diu’s cession, a gesture of Christianity and finally aimed at gathering the devout for communal worship. The history of the building is still unclear but it was surely erected following European architectural tradition. Located at the eastern edge of the citadel with houses in its back and implanted on the top of a plinth, it became the highest spot of the citadel with a public open space in front, similar to the later nineteenth century *terreiro*.<sup>91</sup> Probably community prayers happened outside the church walls and therefore, the building was meant to be theatrical and performative. The church depicted in *Távoa* with a single nave and rectangular shape and roof with three sheets was most probably altered in 1544 and several architectural elements were added (stairs, lateral chapels, etc) before the *Lendas* drawing was made. According to the drawing, Diu’s parish church or *Sé* had three corpuses, one central and two lateral behind twin towers or belfries flanking its chancel. Churches like this had tower over narthex façades<sup>92</sup> or alternatively a narrow single nave church with twin towers in front of lateral chapels and all supported by a wooden beam structure.<sup>93</sup> The roof must have been covered first with palm leaves and later with tiles according to European architectural tradition.

Among the few surviving early modern theatrical visual records, Correa’s view of Diu for *Lendas da Índia* has been singled out as signifying a pivotal moment in the history of art, scenography, theatrical architecture, and a fundamental political statement from him to the Portuguese crown.

### *Décadas da Ásia* anthropological and architectural landscapes

Portuguese overseas expansion in the East allowed the direct ‘cross-cultural’<sup>94</sup> contact between a European country and Asian potentates. Through that action several fields of knowledge and perception were opened to

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<sup>88</sup> Magalhães, Joaquim Romero de. 1994. “Uma estrutura do império português, o município.” *Separata de Portugal e o Oriente: 1º Ciclo de Conferências*. Lisbon: Quetzal. 69-89.

<sup>89</sup> Municipalities (*Câmaras*) and Charities (*Misericórdias*) would become fundamental institutions of local power in the Portuguese empire.

<sup>90</sup> “Fez Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda nesta Sé as escadas, coro e torres, a capela mòr com as mais capellas, e seus retabolos, todo forro e madeiramento. Era de 1544 governando a India Martim Afonso de Sousa.” in Quadros, Jerónimo. 1899. *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia*. Nova-Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas. 76.

<sup>91</sup> Public space in front of the church, opened for the imperative of religious life as its central focus within the urban landscape.

<sup>92</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2011. *Whitewash, Red Stone. A history of church architecture in Goa*. New Delhi: Yoda Press. 25-29.

<sup>93</sup> According to Correa’s drawing and to the epigraphy from Diu, the church had two towers and more than one chapel.

“Fez Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda nesta Sé as escadas, coro e torres, a capela mòr com as mais capellas, e seus retabolos, todo forro e madeiramento. Era de 1544 governando a India Martim Afonso de Sousa.” Quadros, Jerónimo. 1899. *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia*. Nova-Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas. 76.

<sup>94</sup> The term ‘cross-cultural’ emerged in the social sciences in the 1930s, largely as a result of the *Cross-Cultural Survey* undertaken by the anthropologist George Peter Murdock. Initially referring to comparative studies based on statistical compilations of cultural data, the term acquired another sense of cultural interactivity. The comparative sense is implied in phrases such as “a cross-cultural perspective,” “cross-cultural contact” and so forth, while the interactive signification may be found in works like *Attitudes and Adjustment in Cross-Cultural Contact: Recent Studies of Foreign Students*, a 1956 issue of *The Journal of Social Issues*. Cross-cultural studies is an adaptation of the term cross-cultural to describe a branch of literary and cultural studies dealing with works or writers associated with more than one culture. Practitioners of cross-cultural cultural studies often use the term cross-culturalism to describe discourses involving cultural interactivity, or to promote (or disparage) various forms of cultural interactivity.

Cross-culturalism is nearly synonymous with transculturation, a term coined by Cuban writer Fernando Ortiz in the 1940s to describe processes of cultural hybridity in Latin America. However, there are certain differences of emphasis reflecting the social science derivation of *cross-culturalism*. Anthropology exerted a strong influence on the development of cross-culturalism in literary and cultural studies. Claude Lévi-Strauss, a French anthropologist, was a key figure in the development of structuralism and its successor, post-

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intellectual activity.<sup>95</sup> After the third decade of the sixteenth century in Portugal, it was possible to describe and apply techniques and practices of comparison<sup>96</sup> or assimilation to places as far apart as Africa, Gujarat or Siam.<sup>97</sup> Barros undertook that contrast in what turned out to be *Décadas da Ásia*, henceforth *Da Ásia*, a remarkable and surprisingly modern text.

*Da Ásia* is the most important anthropological<sup>98</sup> European account of Asia drawn from the political, military, social, cultural commercial and religious features of sixteenth century India. The global design that outweighs the importance given to spatial frames in articulation with history, the emphasis on economy and major trade routes, the attention to diversity of cultures, institutions and social systems, despite Eurocentric assumption and ideological commitment are some of the traits that make *Da Ásia*, arguably one of the key works in sixteenth century's European historiography.<sup>99</sup>

Conversely, it suffers from limitations proper to its time such as religious prejudice, the association of the skin colour with a certain level of civility, or a discourse promoting an often civilizational identification that is not truthful among Europeans and non-Europeans. However, referring to anthropology, the revelation of the Portuguese maritime epic in *Da Ásia* either turns the readers' attention or pays tribute to unfolding geographical and civilizational frameworks from the East. Several episodes, e.g., the arrival of Diogo de Azambuja to Guinea and his encounter with Caramansa,<sup>100</sup> the meeting of Gama with the Zamorin of Calicut<sup>101</sup> or the description of China,<sup>102</sup> show how clear Barros was in describing the reception and interpretation of other cultures and societies by Europeans. More than "the speech of past things,"<sup>103</sup> it was written as a moral obligation to recall the Portuguese presence in the East to those whose memory was kept,<sup>104</sup> but also, and mainly, to those who took responsibilities in the establishment and administration of *Estado da Índia*.<sup>105</sup>

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structuralism. Cross-influences between anthropology and literary/cultural studies in the 1980s were evident in works like James Clifford and George Marcus's collection, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986).

<sup>95</sup> *Compare to describe* is a practice as old as architecture itself, and it underlies the western culture (and ethnography) at least since Herodotus. It makes also part, including the diachrony of comparison and in the broadest sense, of the foundations of philosophical and historical buildings that divide the evolution of human societies into 'eras,' both by decadent (from the Golden Age to the Iron Age) as by progressive (from savagery to civilization) orders. This was addressed by Sylvie Deswarte under the concept of the "strange phenomenon of identities, of cultural coincidences" to which the neoplatonic universalist theory from Francisco de Holanda was related. Deswarte, Sylvie. 1992. *Ideias e imagens em Portugal na época dos descobrimentos: Francisco de Holanda e a teoria da arte*. Lisbon: Difel. 30-32.

<sup>96</sup> About comparison and analogy, see among others: Hartog, François. 2001. *Le miroir d'Hérodote. Essai sur la représentation de l'autre, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée*. Paris: Gallimard. 331-355.

<sup>97</sup> Strictly speaking about Barros, we should not use the term 'comparison' but 'assimilation.' For pre-classical or Renaissance-Mannerist episteme, Michel Foucault discerned four types of similarity (*convenientia, aemulatio, analogy and sympathy*), used particularly in sciences that deal with what we call today as *nature*. Foucault did not reflect on historiographical and ethnographic thought from the sixteenth century. *Comparison*, however, would be strictly under Classical thought from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where reality is analyzed from object to object, with crystal clear consciousness of the discontinuities between them, here distinguishing only two forms of advancement (the comparison of *measurement* and *order*). Foucault, Michel, (1926-1984). 2005. *As palavras e as coisas. Uma arqueologia das Ciências Humanas*. Lisbon: Edições 70. 73-81 and 107-122.

<sup>98</sup> Anthropology in the sixteenth century wasn't a bounded field, when compared or confronted to other disciplines. About the sixteenth century Portuguese anthropological and geographical culture, addressing sources as Barros, Barbosa and Pires, particularly the Portuguese Discoveries and the European Renaissance, see: Barreto, Luís Filipe. 1983. *Descobrimientos e Renascimento. Formas de Ser e Pensar nos Séculos XV e XVI*. Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. 136-143 and 153-168; 1989. "As grandes obras portuguesas de carácter geográfico." In Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo*. Lisboa: Alfa. vol. VI, 45-59; 1989. "As viagens marítimas e a nova visão do mundo e da natureza", in *Portugal no Mundo*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisboa: Alfa. vol. VI, 86-93. Other authors in: Carneiro, Roberto and Matos, Artur Teodoro de (ed.). 2004. *D. João III e o império: actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento*. Lisbon: Center for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture and Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM). 57-74.

<sup>99</sup> Saraiva, António José. 1996. "Uma concepção planetária da história em João de Barros." In *Para a história da cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Gradiva. Vol. II, 267-290.

<sup>100</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. III, chap. I.

<sup>101</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. III, chap. VIII.

<sup>102</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. II, chap. VII.

<sup>103</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IX, chap. V. 353.

<sup>104</sup> About memory and writing in Barros thought, see: Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, "Prologue".

<sup>105</sup> About *Décadas da Ásia* prologues, see: Calafate, Pedro. 1991. "A Filosofia da História no Renascimento Português: João de Barros." In *Vieira de Almeida. Colóquio do Centenário, 1888-1988*. Lisbon: University of Lisbon. 137-150.

## The city at the beginning. Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu.

A merely extratextual critique of sources applied to the descriptions from *Da Ásia* does not necessarily give significant information about the historiographical and ethnographic practice of Barros indispensable to evaluate the accuracy and reliability of his writings. *Da Ásia* is presented by the author as a geographical treatise following the trade routes along the Indian Ocean. Barros selected and classified data applying two tautological fundamentals: first, geographic spaces, social phenomena and cultural singularities were fundamentally similar across the globe and consequently had outcomes that could be universally compared, and second, global space understood in this way, was essentially continuous and homogeneous in texture and quality. Barros in his piece was very informative detailing networks, products and agents involved in short and long distance trade stretching from Africa to China and Eastern Asia. Barros was acquainted with far away kingdoms as Gujarat based on sources as, e.g. *Chronicas dos Reys do Guzarate*.<sup>106</sup>

During the third decade of the sixteenth century, India seems to have been the territory where the horizontal extension of social imaginary categories was more difficult to fit into the data. Barros totally acknowledged the impossibility of providing a combined and cohesive account of India, highlighting the regions and categories shared, since the subcontinent provided ethnographic information which was difficult to systematize: “since all this Hindustan province is inhabited by pagan [people] and [...] Mahomethan. It is very diverse in rites and customs and all the territory was divided [...] in many kingdoms and states.”<sup>107</sup> And he would later insist on how difficult it was to find socio-cultural units in India with unambiguity: “these four nations in creed [gentiles,<sup>108</sup> moors, jews and christians] in what is each one for itself, are so many in each of the parts, that speaking properly, none is pure in the category acknowledged.”<sup>109</sup> According to the referred impracticality, Barros built a hierarchy of places for his descriptions. These grades were not just drawn by him. Places where people gathered, where habits could be experienced rather than elsewhere, where trade could prosper and enhance exchange and finally where powers and people coalesced were places of encounter. What seems significant and innovative is that these places are outlined and systematically brought profusely in the *Da Ásia* text into a ‘contact zone’. As such, Barros positions himself politically in the burgeoning movement to decolonize knowledge with a marked commitment to a de-centering of the western eye and a rethinking of the relation between centre and periphery of the empire.

Empire building was also transposing its ideology fundamentals to other geographies. The quality of history and ethnography should reside in discourse and narration, much more than detail.<sup>110</sup> Barros soon became not also apologist but also proponent of the expansion of faith war against the ‘infidel,’ a confrontation that was a *leitmotiv* of the imperial idea of João III and omnipresent in early modern Portuguese thought to take far from the European

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<sup>106</sup> *Décadas da Ásia* from Barros contains fundamental data and he explicitly refers to this Gujarat source. Barros deals in quite good detail with the political geography of Gujarat. While writing, Barros used the chronicles of Gujarat and other works no longer extant. He had Gujarati interpreters. On account of the importance of Gujarat, Barros devoted a special section for the description of the origin of the kings, customs and manners of the Gujaratis, the various sects and so on. This preceded the map of Gujarat prepared by the royal cosmographer Lavanha in 1613. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, part I, 533-637 and part II, 1-96; The *Chronicas dos Reys do Guzarate* are referred as a fundamental source in *Décadas*. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX. 213.

<sup>107</sup> “posto que toda esta prouincia Indostan seja pouoada de dous generos de pouo em crença, hum idólatra e outro machometa: é muy vária em ritos e costumes, e todos entre sy a tem repartida em muytos reynos e estados.” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IV, chap. VII. 324.

<sup>108</sup> The term ‘gentile’ [*gentoo* (Latin: gentiles) or heathen] is applied without the minor and ethnocentric connotations that it may possibly have had. The description refers to the universe of individuals who did not profess one of the three religions of the Book, namely the christian, jewish and muslims. In the Asian context it applied mainly to hindus.

<sup>109</sup> “estas quatro nações em crença [gentios, mouros, judeus e cristãos], naquellas partes sam tam várias cada huma per sy, que falando propriamente poucos sam puros na obseruancia do nome que cada hum professa” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IX, chap. I. 287.

<sup>110</sup> Barros about the exaltation of Homer and the genre of the fable: “because the force of eloquence has so much power, that it is sweeter and accepted by the ear and mind.” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, “Prologue”. And about the architectural metaphor: “we should choose cut and polished stones by the best achievements that contributed for this work, and by fear from the mob, and not do too much rubble, we will not take into account how much they are necessary to tie and link the wall of history” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, “Prologue”.

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arena. Barros strongly condemns in 1533 the conflict between Charles V and Francis I, and encourages João III for what he favoured as the only legitimate European conflict: “[...] proceed, as does Your very holy intention and make war on the infidels and Moors of Africa, and [...] convert Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India to the true faith of Christ [...] because this [war] is fair, fruitful and brings great praise to the Christian King.”<sup>111</sup> Upon the closer contact established between Europe and India made possible by Vasco da Gama’s arrival, the Europeans were confronted with the fact that the Indian civilization was perfectly capable of rivalling Europe in many aspects. Sixteenth century Portugal can be defined as an agrarian country with a very incipient urbanity. By contrast, India boasted countless highly developed urban agglomerations with a cosmopolitan character, perhaps even superior to some of the European countries. Accordingly, Barros was astonished by and praised the urban and architectural spatial cultures of the Indian cities with which he became acquainted.

Diu was a cosmopolitan city par excellence and was used to a long contact with many people from many nations.<sup>112</sup> For Barros, if someone “came to conquer India should first take possession of the city [Diu], because it was strong with a safe and good harbour, and windward of all India, and for this reason Soleimão arrived in Diu on September 4, 1538.”<sup>113</sup> Barros stressed the urban fundamentals of cities, such as: the best places for trade; their location as sea ports (for instance, the significance of Diu was related to its strategic position on Gujarat, in the western coast of India, that permitted the control of navigation and trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf); their ranking as trade centres of very good and large trade; and the quality of certain natural and manufactured items, in addition to the good pricing of products. Barros offered a fresh, vivid and accurate portrayal of Diu, where ethnographic data was a key feature from Barros’ writings, e.g.:

The city [Diu] was crowded with people from different countries, and all the walls and housetops, and parts from where they could see our *Armada* (fleet), were full, [...] showing that they had it in weak account. [...] But (according to what was said) Mastafá, who had arrived few days ago, seeing the layout of the city, and that in all things he had seen in Italy, Turkey and there was none that by its nature, and art were as defensible as this, with a lot of artillery, there was in the city, like the one he brought to be very heavy [...] and many genres of war artifices, and with so many people.<sup>114</sup>

Furthermore, Barros’ explicit omissions were a central feature to his narrative in *Da Ásia*. While writing about Diu’s dispute, he provides information about sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati “instable and restless [...] already free from Nizamaluco and wishing to be sultan of the Mogols.”<sup>115</sup> The expectations would be frustrated a little further on: “when he [Bahadur] saw Diu’s fortress finished, he strongly regretted its concession to the Portuguese, and since this act could not be undone [Bahadur] determined that a wall surrounding the fortress should be built in order to separate it from the city and sanction a way that the City would not be subdued by the fortress. As soon as Nuno da Cunha [Portuguese viceroy] left, [Bahadur] would build ramparts in the wall to recapture the fortress.”<sup>116</sup> Therefore, deliberate errors and omissions were profusely dispersed by Barros in *Da Ásia* to influence the readers’ judgement and enhance the Portuguese enterprise in the east.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1943. *Panegírico de D. João III e da Infanta D. Maria*, Lapa, Manuel Rodrigues (pref. and notes). Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa. 24.

<sup>112</sup> “atilhada de gente de diversas nações.” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. IV, chap. XIV. 449.

<sup>113</sup> “viesses direito a Dio, porque quem a India pertendesse conquistar, convinha-lhe muito ter aquella Cidade, por ser forte, e de bom, e seguro porto, e a balravento de toda a India, e por esta razão veio Soleimão surgir a Dio aos 4 dias do mez de Setembro daquelle anno de 1538.” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. X, chap. III. 616-617.

<sup>114</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. IV, chap. XIV, 448-449.

<sup>115</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XVII, 96.

<sup>116</sup> The description aimed to highlight the military power from the sultan. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XVII, 96-97.

<sup>117</sup> Biederman, Zoltan. 2004. “De regresso ao Quarto Império: a China de João de Barros e o imaginário imperial joanino.” In *D. João III e o império: Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento*. Carneiro, Roberto and Teodoro de Matos, Artur (eds.). Lisbon: Center for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture and Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM).

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Barros addressed descriptions and events from far away cultures, comparing European cultural categories that were ordered and classified unlike eastern cultures realities, to make considerations about what he considered to be moral decay in Portugal. Accordingly, he points great importance and connotation to Gujarati people, since they were an unavoidable *topos*: “more silk and gold is spent on fabric cloths from various sorts, than in the rest of India; and the city of Patan can compete in number of looms with the cities of Florence and Milan”<sup>118</sup> or “all the people from Gujarat have mechanical skills, in which they are the finest in the East, whose *louçainhas* were highly valued since the Romans and for a long time, arriving there through the Red sea as stated in the navigation chart and text authored by the greek Arrian, in which he mentions many and various sorts of clothing as *ganise*, *monoche*, *sagmatogene*, *milochini*, which are very thin and made of cotton: so as it seems to us, that he referred to *canequis*, *bofetás*, *beirames*, *sabagagis*, and others [...] from whom large duties are payed until today [...] the fineness of their clothes of many sorts, the delicacy of his works are held in more perfection than in the rest of India.”<sup>119</sup> Barros’ attitude towards architecture and urbanism was complex. *Da Ásia* begins with an explicit architectural metaphor.<sup>120</sup> Also the second *Década* prologue, employs allegories of the two architectures of Barros, his writings and the Portuguese empire. He compares his writings to a building which was also an aesthetic object:

In the first *Década*, as it was the foundation of all this building [Barros writings], somehow we wanted to emulate the way architects build on the firm ground and the way building materials are used [...] we layed foundations for the building [Barros writings] with rough stones from Guinea and settled on a firm and constant ground of prince Henrique’s intentions. This started growing with the political discourse until the time of king Manuel I, when the discovery of India showed the ground of the kings work.<sup>121</sup>

Understanding Barros’ metaphors without applying them to his literary work and to historical circumstances is challenging. The beauty and splendour of Asian cities, for him as opposed to other travellers, was a source of approbation. Since he stayed within the boundaries of Europe, he never saw the cities from the East and therefore his knowledge consists in the radical degree to which he portrayed himself as de-contextualized individual.<sup>122</sup> It was customary for travellers to send paintings from their travels to Portugal, and there is no doubt that Barros knew and got familiar with some of these and that they caused a deep impression on his mind. According to Barros, Arabian sea cities and “political populations”<sup>123</sup> were at the top of the civilizational scale. He compared places he did not know to the Iberian cities he knew very well. Mombasa had buildings “of stone and lime with windows and eaves in the manner of Spain [...] beautiful as heard by the Portuguese entering any port from this

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<sup>118</sup> “mais seda e ouro fiado se gasta nele em panos tecidos de diversas sortes, que em toda a Índia; e a cidade de Patão pode competir em número de teares com as cidades Florença e Milão” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. V, chap. I. 543.

<sup>119</sup> “Os Guzarates todos são dados á mecanica, em que se estremáram de todos os do Oriente, cujas louçainhas já em tempo dos Romanos eram muito estimadas, as quaes iam ter a eles por via do Mar Roxo, como se vê em Arriano Author Grego no tratado que fez sobre aquella navegação, no qual nomea muitas, e diversas sortes de roupas, como são, ganise, monoche, sagmatogene, milochini, que diz serem muito finas, e de algodão: pelo que quanto a nós parece, que eram os canequis, bofetás, beirames, sabagagis, e outras, que se acham escritas nos livros das leis dos Romanos, dos quaes costumavam a pagar grandes direitos, e ainda hoje entre nós, com aquele Reyno estar destrido, pelas mudanças que nelle houve, a fineza de suas roupas de muitas sortes, a delicadeza de suas obras são tidas em mais perfeição que todas as da Índia.” Couto, Diogo de (1542-1616). *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. I, chap. VII. 44-45.

<sup>120</sup> In the Prologue, Barros states that *Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo*, from 1522, was the first sketch of the great historical building he would do later about the Portuguese deeds. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, Prologue.

<sup>121</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, “Prologue.”

<sup>122</sup> Barros never travelled beyond São Jorge da Mina in Mozambique and therefore never reached Diu.

<sup>123</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IV, chap. IV. 210.

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kingdom”;<sup>124</sup> Kilwa “very fertile with palms with all the thorn trees and vegetables that we have in Spain.”<sup>125</sup> Finally Diu, a citadel, a city and an island:

standing on a superb place over the sea, with walls, towers and buildings in the manner of Spain, things yet not seen by the Portuguese in the lands of Malabar, between the nostalgia for the homeland brought by the similarity of the buildings of the city; some experienced fear, since behind these walls death could be waiting; and others whose courage was challenged by hope for glory that guns would bring, were more encouraged by this first view of the city, desiring to see inside what was feared from outside.<sup>126</sup>

The perception of ‘Iberian type buildings’ was likewise attained by Duarte Barbosa (1480-1521),<sup>127</sup> henceforth Barbosa, who as Barros was a newcomer to these unusual places while drifting through the Indian Ocean.<sup>128</sup> The Iberian manner he longed for was of course the *Mudejar* style that had emerged in Spain, mixing European and Arabic architectural features prior to its destruction by the *Reconquista*. One presumes that Diu displayed an Islamic manner that the Portuguese travellers, themselves nostalgic for their homeland, identified with promptly.

### **Diu in *Décadas da Ásia***

Barros description of Diu was made immediately after the victory against the Turks of 1509, when the Portuguese *Armada* approached the island under the command of viceroy Francisco de Almeida (1450-1510),<sup>129</sup> henceforth Almeida. The sun uncovered the mist that enclosed the scene and:

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<sup>124</sup> “de pedra e cal, com janellas e eyrados a maneira de Espanha [...] Estaua tam fermosa que oueram os nossos que entrauem em algum porto deste reyno”, Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IV, chap. V. 308. See also: Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2007. “‘Se não me engano.’ O Oriente e a arquitectura portuguesa antiga.” Macau Cultural Institute conference 19 March 2003. In *14,5 Ensaios de História a Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Almedina. 305.

<sup>125</sup> “muy fértil de palmeiras com totalas arueros de espinho e ortaliças que temos em Espanha”. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. VIII, chap. IV. 215.

<sup>126</sup> “assentada em hum lugar soberbo sobre o mar, que os nosso víram os muros, torres, e a policia de seus edificios ao modo de Hespanha, cousa que elles não tinham visto na terra do Malabar, entre a saudade da patria, que pela semelhança dos edificios da Cidade lhe lembrou, a huns sobreveio o temor, vendo que por detrás daquelles muros a morte os podia sobresaltar; e a outros, cujo animo em os grandes perigos estava posto na esperança da gloria que as armas tem, mais os animava a vista desta primeira mostra da Cidade, desejando de se ver dentro, do que a temiam de fora.” Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V. 290. See also: Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2007. “‘Se não me engano.’ O Oriente e a arquitectura portuguesa antiga.” Macau Cultural Institute conference 19 March 2003. In *14,5 Ensaios de História a Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Almedina. 305.

<sup>127</sup> Barbosa, aged 14, embarked to India in 1500 and stayed there until 1506, then returning to Portugal. During this first stay in India, he assisted his uncle in his role as commercial factor, first in Cochin (1500-02) and then in Cannanor (1502-05). He thus belonged to the first Portuguese generation of royal officers, soldiers and merchants who installed themselves in Malabar. Soon, Barbosa interacted closely with the local communities also as an interpreter. After 1511, Barbosa worked mostly as chief *escrivão de feitor* in Cannanor. However, due to the fact that he opposed the military conquest politics of Albuquerque, favouring, by contrast, a concerted action with the local potentates that would facilitate trade, two years later, in 1513, Albuquerque transferred him to Calicut. In the subsequent year, Albuquerque even attempted to imprison Barbosa. In 1519, Barbosa was allowed to occupy his former position at the Feitoria of Cannanor. He must have passed away between 1546 and 1547.

His master work is the *Livro de Duarte Barbosa* (ca. 1516) which can be found in the Portuguese National Library (BNL), Lisbon, with the reference code FG. Ms. 110008. This text is the only dated and signed version and is probably the most similar to the original non extant text. Barbosa began the description of India with a reference to the Gujarat, in which he stressed the leading role played in trade by the two port cities of Diu and Cambay. He then proceeded with the Deccan, Vijaynagar, Orissa, Delhi, the Malabar, the Coromandel Coast, and Bengal. Within this broad framework, the author inserted sub-chapters on specific cities and towns, chapters on the local population and their main professional occupation and on customs of Indian kings or rulers. The *Livro* was not published in Portugal until the nineteenth century, and had a major contribution to the reception and interpretation of Indian culture and society by Europeans. For instance, an Italian translation was included in the first volume of the *Navigazzioni e Viaggi* (1550) by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, which was one of the most important collections on overseas travels. The text is organized into 49 chapters. Chapters 33 to 48 deal with India (the preface that is included in some versions of the manuscript was probably added by Ramusio) and describe the places Barbosa visited or which he heard of, located between the Cape of Saint Sebastian near Cape Town, in present the South Africa, and the Japanese Ryukyu Islands. This was published in two volumes by Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa in 1996.

<sup>128</sup> The description of the ‘Iberian type’ of architecture as well as commodities, etc., appeared in *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*. “[Cambay] with its many houses and buildings in stone and mortar. The houses are very high, and have many windows; they are roofed with tiles in our manner, it has very well paved streets, and many places.” Barbosa, Duarte (1480-1521). 1989. *The book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants... completed about the year 1518 A.D.* Dames, Manuel Longworth (trans.). New Delhi: Asian Educational Series. vol. 1 - 96, 163, 221, vol. 2 - 73, 93, etc. See also: Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V. 290.

<sup>129</sup> Portuguese nobleman, soldier and first governor viceroy of *Estado da Índia* from 1505 until 1509. Almeida is credited with establishing Portuguese hegemony in the Indian Ocean, with his victory at the naval Battle of Diu in 1509.

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the city was exposed, standing in a superb location over the sea, they [the Portuguese] saw its walls, towers and buildings, just like the ones they saw in Spain - they had not seen similar in Malabar - and between the nostalgia for homeland, recalled by the similarity of its buildings, some of them felt fear, thinking that death behind those walls could find them, while others whose courage in the great danger was hope for glory of war, enjoyed that first view from the city [...].<sup>130</sup>

The description starts with a contextual account of the territory, island and city.<sup>131</sup> An island on the margin of the subcontinent,<sup>132</sup> at the entrance to the gulf of Cambay and separated from the Gujarat hinterland by a river. In front of the tip of the island where the city was located stood the village of Gogola.<sup>133</sup> Barros considers both the territorial features of the city<sup>134</sup> and the landfill of Gogola as key elements of Diu's defence system.<sup>135</sup> He makes an historical background, addressing previous rulers and balancing sovereign powers. Then, he writes about the political and military context found and the procedures and negotiations taken by the Portuguese. Finally, he identifies the main actor responsible for the establishment of a Portuguese factory in the island of Diu<sup>136</sup> - Dariar

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Portuguese chronicles relate that in 1508, a Portuguese fleet commanded by Almeida cast anchor before Chaul, the main port of the realm, and urged the ruler to pay *páreas*, i. e., a tribute, to the Portuguese King, Burhân Nizâm Shâh (r. 1508-1554) compliantly agreed to pay an annuity of 5,000 ducats or pagodas, that is to say, c. 500 ounces of gold a year. From the Portuguese point of view, the exigence is understandable if we bear in mind that Almeida, was imposed to Manuel I by the anti-imperialist faction that preponderated in the king's Counsel and apparently preferred a commercial expansion in the Atlantic to the wishes of a Portuguese universal empire of Manuel I. In India, Almeida turned a deaf ear to the sovereign's injunctions to set up an alliance with the ruler of Vijayanagar, to be sealed by a marriage between the offspring of both royal houses, and another with the Negus of Ethiopia, against the muslim powers of the Middle-East; he also ignored the royal instructions to send an expedition to Malacca, to settle in Ceylon and thus be well positioned to control the trade of the whole Indian Ocean, etc. Instead, he put into practice an archaic policy, trying to deal with coastal powers in the same manner that Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula had done with the *Reinos de Taifas*, the petty kingdoms that resulted from the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordova in 1030, *viz.*, treating them as vassals and exacting *páreas* from them. In letters to his king he insisted that, if Manuel I aim was to become Emperor, he could already take the title of "Emperor of the Indies," since several mighty kings, such as those of Kilwa, Hormuz and Ahmadabad paid him a tribute. In fact, the tribute was never paid. Before Almeida could return to Portugal, he died in 1510.

Meanwhile, about 1512 or 1513, Burhân Nizâm Shâh had welcomed twelve Portuguese merchants, who, while coming from Cambay, called at Chaul and decided to settle there; he granted them a charter of privilege, imparted to Diogo do Couto by António de Aguiar, alias Islam Khân, a Portuguese renegade at the service of the sultanate. In 1521 the sultan easily yielded to the pleas of a Portuguese embassy, sent by the governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, and ceded to the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* the port of Revdanda, Chaul, in Portuguese texts. In return, the Portuguese engaged to provide him yearly with four hundred Arabian horses. The embassy was sent as an aftermath of the failure of the Portuguese governor either to obtain permission to build a Portuguese fort in Diu or to seize the city by force.

<sup>130</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V, 290.

<sup>131</sup> "the viceroy, because of the information given by the Moors, fantasized about the city's site, and river entrance, and on this he grounded his idea to attack the enemies, and after seeing everything with his own eyes, amended many things, for reasons such as the city's site, and also the entrance of the river. This later, at that time did not have the defensive power from bulwarks and wall that Melique Az, and those who succeeded him, made, as we shall see, only the natural site with these artifices, and man for its defense, pear enough not wait any daquelle commetimento victoria. Because the river, which surrounded that piece of land, where the city was standing, had one stone bank at the entrance, with which it made two channels: the one from the northern part that ran along the city and where commonly the largest ships entered the port because it was deeper, was more dangerous: here the city was standing with presumption over the channel because it is located in high ground of living stone along the sea: From the other part of the south between the stone bank, everything was almost sand in a way that had no usefulness except for rowing boats: and in this part because Melique Az didn't trust the Rumes, and did not allow them to enter the city." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V, 295.

<sup>132</sup> "[Meliqueiaz] was a prudent man, and [...] gave him the city if Diu, located on a tip the land makes; and because the sea surrounded it with a channel, that makes it take a triangular shape, it took the name of an island." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX, 212-215

<sup>133</sup> Gogola is the village in front of Diu in the mainland coast and is a constituent of Diu's territory.

<sup>134</sup> "between the bastion and the firm ground in front of the city, there is a village called Rumes (according to the description made when we referred to Diu) and this place was so divided and shallow that a ship could not pass through there even if it was light and flat. Finally, in sea and on land and in all the wall there were artifices and artillery that made of us birds standing on a cliff where the wall was made in that part of the sea." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. IV, chap. IX, 482-5.

<sup>135</sup> "there stood a village, that low is called by us *Villa dos Rumes*. The viceroy, after understanding the entrance of the river, the location of the city and the was his captains were waiting is fleet." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V, 296.

<sup>136</sup> "Albuquerque considered that by the trade he would do he would step a foot in that city [Diu], and then with the favour from the king of Cambay, according to the expectation given to him by Melique Gupi, he could build a fortress there to be a factory, on which Melique Az would work contrary to king of Cambay" Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. VIII, chap. V, 304.

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Hão,<sup>137</sup> founder of the city<sup>138</sup> and probably the builder of *Karao Jāmi Masjid*, the old mosque, a rectangular, hypostyle building, erected in the cross-roads of the early Gujarat settlement.<sup>139</sup>

Barros portrays the city's image to the traveler and how it could appear to newcomers upon arrival.<sup>140</sup> He writes about the cosmopolitan character of a place with people travelling from so many places.<sup>141</sup> The concept of 'cosmopolitanism'<sup>142</sup> is evoked by Barros in his writings regarding Diu to conjure up the image of its inhabitants as 'citizens of the world,' easily fitting into different contexts that received them.<sup>143</sup> It has been elaborated in Barros Hellenistic context and was thus in essence a Mediterranean concept. The best example of homegrown South Asian cosmopolitanism was probably employed by Portuguese chroniclers and practised in everyday life as both an ideology and a method of governance.<sup>144</sup> On the peripheries of the Mughal empire and along the coast of

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<sup>137</sup> Dariar Hão is the father of Mahamed, sultan of Gujarat. Mahamed is the name that Barros gives to the founder of Gujarat. Probably, three persons mixed into one: Zafar Khān (r. 1391 - 1411), Ahmad Shāh (r. 1411-1422) grandson of the previous and founder of Ahmedabad and Muhammad Shāh Karim (r. 1442-1451). Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX. 213.

<sup>138</sup> "Soltão Maamed, who was a man of great value, and that could sustain himself in that empire, left his son Daudarcan very magnificently. This Daudarcan was less courageous than his father, and made his kingdom prosperous in everything he could, and it was him who built the city of Dio in that island, which was formerly inhabited by fisherman: having this, as in everything else that came to this place the same fortune that the City of Venice had, so small in its inception, then of such greatness, wealth, and power. He ruled that kingdom for many years, and succeeded to his son sultan Mahamede, who ruled for more than forty years, when aquelle Captain Vasco da Gama discovered India. He was the one who gave that island the Melique az (as written in the João de Barros third Decade)." Couto, Diogo de (1542-1616). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. I, chap. VII. 47.

<sup>139</sup> "[...] Moorish Dariar Hão build that city (according to what is written on this king's account) was a victory [...] and in memory of such an illustrious achievement, while he stayed there to bury the dead, he built a mosque, and founded village that he called Dio [...]." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX. 212-215.

<sup>140</sup> "The city is located in firm ground; but because of the sea channel surrounding it, is an island. This channel has two mouths, one from the North, which is low, and because it is divided and has shallow waters is not used; and the side of the island, facing the sea runs to south till the other part of the mouth of the channel, is has very rough rock cliffs, especially where the city is established, which is the south mouth of the channel; and almost all the city, and its main part lies along this channel, which is the width of one mile. On the other side of the channel, in the same southern part, is a village called *Villa dos Rumes*, and here the sea lies in a way that by being divided any boat cannot do anything, which is very different from the channel that runs along the city, which is deep enough for ships navigation, and defensible from anyone who is entering; and to make this entrance more defensible, in the middle of the channel, between the *Villa dos Rumes* and the city they made a low and strong bastion that fires to the water and since it is in the middle, it is lateral to three other bulwarks from the city, one close to customs, where the trade is unloaded and another one against the sea, facing almost the middle of the channel and that they call *Diogo Lopes*, which is lower than all the others. From this bastion in the middle, goes a strong chain until the other bastion that limits the channel supported by boats; and in the other side against the *Villa dos Rumes* runs another chain also supported by boats until a wooden bridge close to the *Villa*. Besides this chain, which closed that entrance, were among bargantijes and fustas over eighty sailing boats, with many archers, and rifles to help wherever is necessary. *Villa dos Rumes* had many local population, men with their wives, sons and lands to help the place in case of attack." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. IV, chap. XIV. 446-449.

<sup>141</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III, chap. V. 290.

<sup>142</sup> The concept of cosmopolitanism matured with the decline of the model of the Greek city and of the model of governance promoted in the ancient world, and has indeed been used and reinterpreted throughout history. See *inter alia*: Vertovec, Steven and Cohen, Robin. 2002. *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: theory, context and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 314 and Breckenridge, Carol A.; Pollock, Sheldon; Bhabha, Homi K.; and Chakrabart, Dipesh (eds.). 2002. *Cosmopolitanism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 241.

<sup>143</sup> At the very dawn of the twenty first century, scholars wrote that cosmopolitanism, as practiced "is yet to come, something awaiting realization." The proposed concept 'Cosmopolitanisms' was pluralized the itself in order to avoid falling into or reproducing *ad infinitum* Western universalizing definition that somehow was hidden behind contemporary issues and referring to modernization, subjectivization, globalization, multiculturalism and liberalism. Breckenridge, Carol A.; Pollock, Sheldon; Bhabha, Homi K.; and Chakrabart, Dipesh (eds.). 2002. *Cosmopolitanism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 577. Some of the compendia on cosmopolitanism recognize the necessity of engaging "the Eurocentric underpinnings of cosmopolitanism while calling for the recognition of multiple cosmopolitanisms." Rovisco, Maria and Nowicka, Magdalena (eds.). 2011. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism*. Farnham: Ashgate. 3; Delanty, Gerard and Inglis, David, (eds.). 2010. *Cosmopolitanism. Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.; Delanty, Gerard (ed.). 2012. *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies*. London: Routledge.

<sup>144</sup> For Mughal cosmopolitanism, see *inter alia*: Alam, Muzaffar and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. *Writing the Mughal World. Studies on Culture and Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press; Alam, Muzaffar. 2004. *The Languages of Political Islam in India c. 1200-1800*. Delhi: Permanent Black; Kinra, Rajeev. 2008. *Secretary-poets in Mughal India and the Ethos of Persian: the case of Chandar Bhān Brahman*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago; Chatterjee, Kumkum. 2009. "Cultural Flows and Cosmopolitanism in Mughal India: The Bishnupur Kingdom." In *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 46/2: 147-182; Behl, Aditya. 2011. "Pages from the Book of Religions: Comparing Self and Other in Mughal India," in *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of Indian and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Pollock, Sheldon (ed.). Durham: Duke University Press. 312-67; Hasan, Farhat. 2004. *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Findley, Ellison Banks. 1993. *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Lefèvre, Corinne. 2012. "The *Majālis-i Jahāngīrī* (1608-1611): Dialogue and Asiatic Otherness at the Mughal Court." In Lefèvre and Županov (ed.), *Cultural Dialogue in South Asia and Beyond: Narratives, Images and Community (sixteenth-nineteenth centuries)*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55/2-3: 255-286;

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western India, very different kinds of imperial cosmopolitanism were being put in place. The questions of how people of different cultural and religious backgrounds live together more and more exercised Barros' mind, notably in conjunction with an increasing awareness of the importance of Diu in Gujarat's (territorial and military) context.

The architecture of Diu produced in Barros contradictory aesthetic opinions and thoughts. He stated in his writings through both a military and a domestic feature. Although *Da Ásia* was not intended at first to be a military report, Barros was especially thorough in the presentation of combat strategy, techniques and information for military use, such as on the military skills of certain ethnic groups. He considered the Gujarat Rajputs or *Resbutos* (probably jains) - also described by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1500-1559),<sup>145</sup> henceforth Castanheda, and Barbosa - to be very good archers and knights, and also good at handling other sorts of weapons.<sup>146</sup> From a broader viewpoint, let us remember the fact that the Portuguese tried as much as they could to profit from local rivalries, for instance through a policy of alliances, in their affirmation as an empire in general and in gaining sovereignty over the city of Diu in particular. Architecturally speaking, the buildings of Diu were for Barros similar to the ones from Iberian Peninsula raised feelings of nostalgia in the minds of Portuguese travellers.

From city to house, and time to space, we can find in Barros writings about Diu reciprocals where the immense and the minuscule overlap. Therefore, Barros echoes in his thought the domesticity of architecture, in the sense that the city is seen as a home and are two entities interrelated, interchangeable and coherent with the vision of the world he wants to communicate. This identifies Barros first and mainly with the Renaissance Humanism, second with the Renaissance urban culture, and finally, with Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472),<sup>147</sup> henceforth Alberti. According to Alberti, "the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city"<sup>148</sup> a *dictum* from Plato that relates house and city as a part from the whole and vice-versa that underlines the continuity between architecture and urbanistic. Alberti was fond of this maxim and, observing that a house is really a city in miniature, he advises that "with the construction of a house, therefore, almost everything relevant to the establishment of a city must be taken into account."<sup>149</sup> The domestic analogy between the house and the city is relevant. The blurring of boundaries and acknowledgment of overlaps between large and small scales, between private rooms and urban rooms; this all part of scaling cities to suit ourselves, who are both makers and

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Koch, Ebba. 1991. *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526-1858)*. Munich: Prestel; Asher, Catherine B. 1993. "Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India." In *Ars Orientalis*, 23, Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces: 281-302; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2010. "A roomful of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550-1700." In *Ars Orientalis*, 39: 39-83; Flores, Jorge. 2004. *Firangistan e Hindustan: O Estado da Índia e os confins meridionais do Império Mogol*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

<sup>145</sup> Portuguese historian and chronicler of *Estado da Índia* from the early Renaissance. His "História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses" (History of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese) was full of geographic and ethnographic objective information, was widely translated throughout Europe. Eight of the ten books of Castanheda's work were printed in Coimbra: the first volume was issued in 1551, with a second edition in 1554. Castanheda left histories based on residence in India. He spent some ten years in India (1528-38) and had a propensity for action, battles, and military expeditions. He made a special effort to complement his ten years in India with interviews made after his return, when he was a librarian at the University of Coimbra.

<sup>146</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III. chap. V, 215 and especially 290.

<sup>147</sup> Italian humanist author, artist, architect, poet, priest, linguist, philosopher and cryptographer; he epitomised the Renaissance Man. Although he is often characterized as an "architect", to single out one of Leon Battista's 'fields' over others as somehow functionally independent and self-sufficient is of no help at all to any effort to characterize Alberti's extensive explorations in the fine arts.

<sup>148</sup> Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472). 1988. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Rykwert, Joseph; Leach, Neal; Tavernor, Robert (trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press. 23.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011. 1-9. 170.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011.5 - 14. 352.

<sup>149</sup> Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472). 1988. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Rykwert, Joseph; Leach, Neal; Tavernor, Robert (trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press. 5-14. 140.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011.5 - 14. 352.

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users. The poetic implications of this to architecture is that the density of anything's essence is not exclusive to scale. The city as home assuages our fears of desolation and uncertainty, assuring us that things endure, and giving places as human order. It is ultimately this tension between a seemingly invincible fortuna and a potentially transcendent virtue that drives much of Alberti's thinking. Much of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* concerns the city and assumes an urban setting. Building for Alberti, might exemplify man's folly and misunderstanding of his relationship with nature, but it might also exemplify its virtue.

Finally, Diu's military architecture (and from other sites, since *Da Ásia* architectural descriptions are, almost all, from fortified cities) suggested Portuguese military grandeur and again followed the Renaissance Humanism, and Alberti's thought "The citadel should be threatening, rugged and rocky, stubborn and invincible."<sup>150</sup> The architecture should present a symbolic dominance dimension to solve the invulnerability of the citadel. This type of society - military and fortified – reflected a different demand in the city's plan. The ruler needed to exercise control over the people and guard against rebellion and, therefore, had to fortify Diu against foreigners as well as fellow citizens from Gujarat inside its walls.<sup>151</sup> The citadel was built in the eastern tip of the island in a place of shallow waters that could be easily accessible during low tide<sup>152</sup> by request from sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati.

The defence system of Diu was built mainly after the plunder of 1546 and based on a group of bastioned fortifications operating together, which made the city one of the most protected in India. Barros refers to military architectural defences set up by sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati and later modified by the Portuguese.<sup>153</sup> Standing over a rock in the middle of the entrance channel waters to access the city, the *fortim do mar* or *forte de Santo António do Mar* (sea bulwark), was a bastion with fusiform shape and defensive structures from east to west with a tower in the middle, as depicted in his *Távoa* or was just a bastion described as a round tower according to *Lendas*. Barros doesn't help us unravel the different depictions of the sea bastion in the *Roteiro* and *Lendas* drawings. He describes a defensive system with a metal chain<sup>154</sup> from *fortim do mar* or *forte de Santo António do Mar* to Diu's citadel and also wooden defences and artificial siltation making access to Diu difficult because of shallow waters.<sup>155</sup>

The Diu cession treaty,<sup>156</sup> subscribed by Gujarat's ruling sovereign (Bahadur Shah Gujarati) and by the Portuguese monarch (João III) was transcribed by Barros. The treaty, negotiated between the sultan on the one hand, and

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<sup>150</sup> Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472). 1988. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Rykwert, Joseph; Leach, Neal; Tavernor, Robert (trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press. 5-4. 123.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011.5 – 4. 327.

<sup>151</sup> "we should divide the city into zones, so that not only are the foreigners segregated into some place suitable for them and not inconvenient for the citizen, but the citizens themselves are also separated into zones suitable and convenient, according to the occupation and rank of each one of them [...] The silversmiths, painters, and jewellers should be on the forum, then next to them, spice shops, clothes shops, and in short, all of those that might be thought more respectable. Anything foul or offensive (especially the stinking tanners) should be kept well away in the outskirts to the north, as the wind rarely blow from that direction."

Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472). 1988. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Rykwert, Joseph; Leach, Neal; Tavernor, Robert (trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press. VII, i.

<sup>152</sup> "And so that the Mughal could not enter, [Bahadur] fortified the city, and built two bastions, two steps away from the mainland to the island, which could be crossed on low tide." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. X. 57.

<sup>153</sup> "Antonio da Silveira seeing that with things that moved, the city's Moors would reveal enemies, stripped them of all weapons, and arrested some to avoid gatherings and riots, and immediately without further delay provided defenses for the channel, which separates island from land, which were weak, and that could be easily accessed, and where water was shallower, there were two bulwarks, which Soltam Badur had made during the time he feared that Mogoles would come to Dio." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. X, chap. IV. 626.

<sup>154</sup> "[...] a bastion in the middle of the river at the entrance of the port city, crossed a thick iron chain [...]."

Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. IV. chap. IX. 483.

<sup>155</sup> "[...] And close to it in the middle of this channel there were three ships [...] to be [...] sunk to obstruct the channel [...] and even more to obstruct that passage, he made a stockade of thick wood, which was installed to make the access to the port difficult. He had work done on another bulwark in middle of the river, which was a lot of thick stone boulders thrown around it like a reef to avoid big ships from running into it. These stones at that time prevented us from entering the city, but later in the year five hundred thirty-eight were a great advantage [...]." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. IV, chap. IX. 484.

<sup>156</sup> "when the fortress of Diu was finished [Bahadur] regretted the cession to the Portuguese and since he could not undo what he did, he ordered that a wall should be built between the fortress and the city to allow that the city would not be under the fortress supremacy and

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Simão Ferreira e Sousa, on the other, was accompanied by a letter from him to Nuno da Cunha (1487-1539),<sup>157</sup> henceforth Cunha, dated 28/29 September 1535, which is the first of the Persian documents at hand.

That the Çoltão Badur is pleased to cede to the king of Portugal a fortress in Diu at any spot that the governor Nuno da Cunha desires, on the side of the bulwarks facing the sea or the land, of the size that he finds acceptable, and also the sea-bulwark. And also it pleases him to grant and confirm Baçaym with all its lands, tanadarias, rents and duties, as has been stated in the treaty that he made with him, concerning peace in the said Baçaym. With the condition, that all the ships for Mecca which according to the said peace-treaty were obliged to go to Baçaym are no longer to do so, but to come to Diu, as they did before; and that no force should be used against them. And when some ship wishes to go there of its own will, that it be allowed to do so: and that the same apply to others from other parts which are to be allowed to go and come wherever they wish. However, that all of them sail with cartazes. And with the condition that the King of Portugal would not have duties or rents at Diu, or anything other than the said fortress and bulwarks, and that all the duties, rents, and jurisdiction over the people of the land would pertain to Çoltão Badur. And with the condition that all the horses from Ormuz and Arabia which according to the said peace-treaty were obliged to go to Baçaim, will go to Diu, and will pay customs-duties to the King of Portugal in keeping with the custom in Goa. And if the king does not buy them, their owners can take them wherever they want. And with the condition that all the horses that come from this side of the Straits [i.e. between the Persian Gulf and Gujarat], will not pay any duties and be exempt from them. And with the condition that the King of Portugal and Çoltão Badur will be friends of each other's friends and enemies of each other's enemies. And the governor in the name of the King of Portugal will aid Çoltão Badur with all his power at sea and on land, and that the king will do the same for him when needed with his people and fleets. And with the condition that if some Moors from the land of Çoltão Badur wish to become Christians, that the governor will not allow it. And that Çoltão Badur will not allow any Christian to become a Moor. And that if some person or persons who owe money to, or have goods belonging to, the King of Portugal pass over to his lands, that he will oblige them to hand them over, and that the governor will do the same if some man who has the goods of Çoltão Badur or owes him money, passes over to the Portuguese.<sup>158</sup>

The most conspicuous aspect in Barros' writings is helpful in shedding light to an obscure aspect of the 1538 *Roteiro's* drawing. Barros states:

[Khoja Sofar] who lives in much prosperity, and reputation, and being accepted by all, and favored by the Governor and Antonio da Silveira, proposed by his own will for reasons that no one paid attention, to move his residence to Dio; and more was astonishment caused by the secrecy and silence of his enterprise, than the enterprise itself: he was wise and dissimulated; because having so much wealth and so many women, and servants, that he could not move without clamour, and his move was known only after his departure; because in one night of the last days of April he left in a sailing vessel [...] and to demonstrate to all his stay in Diu, he built some very noble houses.<sup>159</sup>

And further on:

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with the intention of building bulwarks in the wall to conquer the fortress after Nuno da Cunha left." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XVII. 96-97.

<sup>157</sup> Governor of Portuguese possessions in India from 1528 to 1538. In 1529, Nuno sent an expedition that sacked and burned the city of Damão on the Arabian Sea at the mouth of the Damão River, about 100 miles north of Mumbai in the muslim state of Gujarat. Forces under his control captured Baxay (now Vasai, often mistaken for Basra in Iraq) from the muslim ruler of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah, on January 20, 1533. The next year, renamed Bassein, the city became the capital of the Portuguese province of the North, and the great citadel of black basalt, still standing, was begun. (It was completed in 1548.) Forced to return to Portugal as a result of court intrigues, he was shipwrecked at the Cape of Good Hope and drowned. His first marriage was to Maria da Cunha, and his second marriage was to Isabel da Silveira. The main source for Nuno da Cunha is João de Barros.

<sup>158</sup> Barro's Portuguese version of the treaty in: Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XII. 68-70. See also, Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de, (1500-1559). 1924-1933. *História do descobrimento & conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, Azevedo, Pedro de and Coelho P. M. Laranjo (rev. and notes). Coimbra: University Press. Bk. VIII, chap. C, 366-367. This text should be compared to the later text of a treaty signed between the viceroy Garcia de Noronha and sultan Mahmud, on 6 Zu'l-Hijja 945 (Torre do Tombo National Archives, Lisbon, Corpo Cronológico, III-16-9).

<sup>159</sup> [Coge Sofar] o qual vivendo em muita prosperidade, e reputação, e sendo acatado de todos, e muito favorecido do Governador e de Antonio da Silveira, propoz em seu animo por causas a que ninguem soube dar sahida, de se ir de Dio com sua casa; e mais espanto causou em todos o segredo, e silencio de sua ida, que a mesma ida: tão sabedor, e dissimulado era; porque tendo fazenda, e tanto número de mulheres, e criados, que não podia fazer mudança sem grande estrondo, se não soube da sua ida, senão depois de partido; porque em huma noite dos ultimos dias de Abril se foi em huma sua não [...] e para [...] assegurar a todos de sua estada em Dio, começou a fabricar humas casas mui nobres." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, Liv. X, Cap. IV. 618-619.

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[...] Aluchan lodged the Queen mother of Soltam Bahadur, in the houses on the top of a hill just like a fortress, because she was old of age, and could not suffer to be in a place uneasy with upheaval. Khoja Sofar stayed close to the fortress in a place called Mandovin; and before the sunrise some bombards were installed along the pier in the same Mandovin and that stands in front of the sea bastion of the Sea [...] On the same day Gaspar de Sousa went with some people following the captain's orders, to help a few of us who lived outside the fort in neighbouring houses, that in the rush to protect themselves inside the fortress left some goods, which helped many [...] the Captain told Lopo de Sousa to protect the ones who went to the city to get water from the city's wells and the ones that took wood to the fortress taken from the houses in the neighbourhood, that were demolished because could do harm to the fortress, and which could not be much more destroyed so that when the Turks besieged Diu they did not do them much harm.<sup>160</sup>

It might be useful at this point to consider the question of what early muslim builders and their princely patrons could have known about the sultanate palace architecture. Concepts of architectural planning and details of construction are often transmitted by a process involving the close observation of existing buildings and their description. This antiquarian or indeed forensic, approach to architecture is somewhere in evidence during Gujarat's ruling sovereignty and we do have reference to dozens of palaces, princely residences, hunting lodges, and garden pavilions in written works from geographical and historical disciplines. Their main purpose, aside from marking a conspicuous feature of a locale, was to impress with certain qualities of the original ruler and occupant. But they contain no information that would be enable a builder to understand these remarkable "sultan palaces" in architectural terms.<sup>161</sup>

The city of Diu 'inherited' by the Portuguese during their early colonial presence in India is of an especially object of study, because it gives us an opportunity to examine how the coming of a new élite language and religion and the emergence of new political and military systems affected the architectural and urban spatial cultures. Two classes of evidence have fostered the notion that there was a continuity in palace architecture in a more comprehensive sense that had an outcome in Diu, but they are of limited significance and circumstantial. One is Castro's *Távoa de Diu* and the other is Barros text. Barros describes before the buildings depicted in Castro's *Távoa de Diu* [figure 1.4]. In an unusual proposal, the Gujarat population was appended on the northeast, with an array of public buildings that summarized the core of Gujarati life as viewed by the Portuguese: mosque, bath, *caravanserai*, and a palace for the nobility. The palace would be the foremost sign of sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati power and dominated the urban image distributed in a vast compound on terraced setting. The difficult geography of Diu, coupled with a cautious military establishment reluctant to give up land for other usage, led to a story of a palace that stood in a platform in a hill and a fortress in the east side of the island. The palace addressed the vulnerable political situation and completed a power statement by local architectural references. However, as vital as historical sources are for an understanding of sovereignty disputes and internal politics in Diu, they provide virtually no direct information about an architectural background. Its defensive and introverted architecture related to the vernacular of the area and to the climatic conditions was most likely an attempt to belong. Barros did not, however, press the issue of continuity of this architectural setting, noting that the building derived from other architectural traditions of Gujarat.

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<sup>160</sup> "Aluchan se alojou nas casas a Rainha Mãe de Soltam Badur, que estavam em hum alto á maneira de fortaleza, porque sua idade, que era muita, não sofria estar em lugar inquieto com rebates. Coge Sofar fez sua estancia junto com a fortaleza em hum lugar chamado de Mandovin; e antes que fosse manhã assentaram algumas bombardas junto a hum cais, que está no mesmo Mandovin e fica defronte do baluarte do Mar [...] No proprio dia sahio Gaspar de Sousa per mandado do Capitão com alguma gente, para valer a alguns dos nossos, que morávam fora da fortaleza em casas vizinhas a ella, que com a pressa de se recolherem deixaram parte de se sua fazenda, o que ainda aproveitou a muitos.[...] A Lopo de Sousa mandou o Capitão que desse guarda aos que hiam buscar agua aos poços, que estavam na Cidade, e aos que mettiam na fortaleza a lenha, que se tirou das casas vizinhas a ella, que se derribaram, porque lhe podiam fazer damno, as quaes não se puderam assolar tanto, que quando veio o tempo do cerco dos Turcos, deixassem de fazer dellas muito mal." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. X, chap. VI. 632-633.

<sup>161</sup> Miguel de Paiva Couceiro (1909-1979), count of Paraty and governor of Diu from 1948 until 1950 refers to this palace in: Couceiro, Miguel Noronha de Paiva. *Diu e Eu*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 134.

Excavations could show the palace occupied in the islamic period, but we do not know how the buildings were used or how far their physical integrity was appreciated and respected.

## The city at the beginning. Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu.

The description in the sixteenth century of Diu as a colonial city rests on scant evidence, on a static reading of texts and city drawings (a reluctance to move between the city scale and the architectural scale), and on lack of critical attention in reading the change over time by comparison of written and drawn sources of Diu. In other words, the existing scholarship is remarkably nonspatial. We address this lacuna by emphasizing the descriptions of written accounts and explaining the organization of the drawings, in terms of layout, architecture, and everyday life, as a means to supply a city in which the functions of buildings changed and residences were used for



[Figure 1.4] Detail from *Távoa de Diu*, João de Castro (1538 - 1539).  
Courtesy: Coimbra University Library (UCBG).

nonresidential purposes and vice versa. The blurring of boundaries lies in this heterogeneous use of space and architecture as well as the heterogeneous population who inhabited the buildings.

Crossover between history and architecture, serves not only to open these fields to one another, but also to facilitate a rethinking of the historical and social engagements of Diu's sovereignty transition between Bahadur Shah Gujarati and João III, in general, and the architectural significance of pre-colonial buildings in Diu, in particular. As elsewhere in the Portuguese empire in the East, the origins and developments of architecture in Diu reveals itself as an ongoing negotiation of its inward and onward tendencies. The extreme conditions of contestation as strained relations in Diu brought the deeper ambiguities of colonial life to the fore in particularly explicit ways. Right into the sixteenth century, the Portuguese engaged in the rebuilding, aggrandising, and architectural reconfiguring of buildings who suffered from the sieges of Diu. Practical necessities justified these architectural projects. The on-going Renaissance architectural re-interpretations were an important manifestation of the Portuguese active participation in, and reflection of their situation within the wider context. In this sense, the role of building in religious architecture was a recurrent response to colonial life in the Portuguese Empire and wider currents of religious renewal. The architectural apex serves to exemplify the nature of the adaptation of Portuguese imperial presence to changing conditions in Diu at the beginning of the sixteenth

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century and the city serves as microcosm by which to explore the concrete institutional and architectural relations between religious architecture and colonial cities.

However, a palace (palatial building or elite house) constitutes an important space defining complex for the historical development of a city. The almost total silence of the sources about such an architectural built complex from the period before the Portuguese arrival in Diu does not rule out the possibility of its existence. The dual nature of the palace, in both the textual source from Barros and the drawing evidence from *Távola* is remarkable. This palace was implanted on the top of a steep hill, almost a promontory above the port, in a terraced setting in the highest place of the city of Diu, at a similar distance from the citywall and from the citadel. On the one hand, there is a square palace with almost no residential accommodation, facing onto the entrance of the city. On the other hand, there is a palace with residential accommodation, enclosed within a buttressed hill. The text evidences the public palace where rulers are made and unmade and sit, but on the other hand, there is a private residence, where rulers live, die, and are buried, and which seems to be in the feminine sphere. Also from other tribal leaders and wazirs of Gujarat with nomadic background, castles and fortresses can be found as the basis of their rule during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The building setting suggests the same exact location where Saint Thomas church was later built in the seventeenth century introducing an unprecedented functional repertoire, as well as a different notion of monumentality, architectural expression, and siting principles. Most probably the building was tear down and replaced by the church and therefore, these sources - Castro drawing and Barros text – were recurrently omitted by all architectural writings about Diu.

The overlapping of sources between Barros' text and Castro's *Távola* drawing, corroborates the existence of a spatial unit shared between the palace, the neighboring bazaar and the urban fortified *khan* built at the bottom of the hill composed of a school, a square (established near the governorships and were places for gatherings and ceremonies), a *caravanserai*, a bathhouse, a water reservoir, a mint, a mosque and a bazaar. The city's main streets that intersected the palace-fort were flanked by arcaded shops, workshops, offices, storerooms, mints, and stables. The longer street parallel to the river culminating in the palace grounds divided the city into three zones, the European (south) and the Gujarat (north) with an area 'in-between'.<sup>162</sup> This can be inferred crossing referencing different sources that give us a match.

Also a mosque and a burial in the south side of the island,<sup>163</sup> are referred in both sources. This mosque stands on a promontory over the sea and was visible to the ships approaching the island from southern and western waters of the Indian Ocean. The palace of Diu is the most important architectural novelty for Diu's architectural and urban history from the medieval and early modern period. Finally, Barros documents the pulling down and looting of houses by the Turks during the siege:

Around the fortress there were many houses, which in time of peace were used to store food and provisions, and things of great volume, that could not fit inside the fortress. These houses where the Guzarates had us surrounded, were torn down because of our artillery; the Turks also took advantage of the houses, until they settled their things, and after tearing them down, and between the houses and the fortress, there was a distance of an empty ground one hundred feet wide.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Bhabha emphasizes what he describes as culture's 'in-between,' for instance, the interstitial spaces within and among individuals and cultures, which do not maintain a single position but form identities in an on-going process.

See *inter alia*, Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 3-4; 2011. "Culture's In-Between." In Hall, Stuart and Gay du, Paul, (eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage Publications. 53-60.

<sup>163</sup> "after the fleet's arrival, a Mosque appeared standing at a high place over the sea, facing Diogo Lopes de Sequeira bulwark, in the south angle of the city" Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. X, chap. IX. 653.

<sup>164</sup> "Havia ao redor da fortaleza muitas casas, que no tempo da paz serviam aos nossos de terem suas provisões de mantimentos, e cousas de grande volume, que não podiam caber dentro da fortaleza. Estas casas em que os Guzarates tiveram cercado os nossos, deixaram estar em pé, por lhe servirem de reparo da nossa artilheria; dellas os Turcos tambem se aproveitaram, até que assentadas alli dus estancias, as derribaram, ficando entre ellas, e a fortaleza hum terreiro despejado, que teria de largo cem pés." Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. X, chap. VIII. 644-645.

We should refer that only archaeological evidence for continuity of these textual and drawn sources will make this subject unambiguous in an untimely manner. Archaeology will necessarily provide the foundations for this enquiry, but in the way of things it is very patchy and does not always answer the questions we are asking. Many of the cities inherited are still thriving today and their past is difficult to recover beneath the modern streets and buildings. Diu is a site where the centre of the ancient city remains the centre of urban life today. Despite these limitations, the written and drawn can give us a sense of the macro-geography of the city, the extent to which pre-colonial cities expanded in the early colonial era or altered their early life.

All the more or less fantastic conceptions suddenly disappeared from Portuguese representations in the third decade of the century. In 1521, Manuel I of Portugal died, and his dreams of the conquest of Jerusalem and universal empire were buried with him. Under his successor, João III, around whom the 'liberal' opposition to Manuel had crystallised a pragmatic and realistic policy, chiefly oriented around commercial interests, finally prevailed. Apparently, there is a relation between this change of policy and mentality and the fact that henceforth only realistic nautical maps are found. From the point of view of Portuguese history, this is easily understandable if we bear in mind that Almeida, the first "Portuguese viceroy in the parts of India," was most seemingly imposed to Manuel by the anti-imperialist party in the Portuguese court that preponderated in the King's Counsel and apparently preferred a commercial expansion in the Atlantic to the apocalyptic dreams of crusade and universal empire of the monarch.<sup>165</sup> However, Barros still advocated Manuel's side.

### The Portuguese empire and the early European representations of Diu

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rediscovery of the Classics in Europe was determined by the dynamics of a new broad *status quo* resulting from the acquisition of new geographical and anthropological possibilities from cultural contact between Portugal and central Europe and Portugal and the East. This made a radical change of aesthetic paradigm which implied a change of Portuguese urban/imperial centrality from Lisbon, first to Tomar and later to Évora.<sup>166</sup> What was at stake was not only an artistic change but mostly of location of power. All portrayals of Diu were ways to transfer that imagery from Portugal to India and of rooting events from Diu's history in the global narrative of European history, the spatial migration of culture or the transfer of knowledge or learning (*translatio studii*).<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> For further details and references see, *inter alia*: Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1993. "Diogo Pereira o Malabar." In *Mare Liberum - Revista de História dos Mares* 5. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 49-64; 2004. "O testamento político de Diogo Pereira, o Malabar, e o projecto oriental dos Gamas." in *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 5: 61-160; 2005. "A Man between two Worlds: Diogo Pereira, 'The Malabarian'." In MacPherson, Kenneth and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (eds.). *From Biography to History – Essays in the History of Portuguese Asia (1500-1800)*. New Delhi: Transbooks. 121-197; Lobato, Alexandre. 1968. "Dois novos fragmentos do Regimento de Cabral para a viagem da Índia em 1500", in *Studia*, 25 (1968), 31-49; his lucid intuition that was later on developed by Jean Aubin: see particularly, his 1996 and 2000. *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe, vol I & II, Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, Vol. I and II; and also 2006. "Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel (1405-1521)." In Flores, Maria da Conceição; Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis and Aubin, Françoise (eds.). *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe, vol III, Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. vol. III. See also Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1990. "L'idée impériale manuéline." In Aubin, Jean (ed.). *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe - Actes du Colloque*, Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Centre Culturel Portugais. 35-103; Portuguese version: 2008. "A ideia imperial manuelina." In Doré, Andréa, Lima Luís Filipe Silvério and Silva, Luiz Geraldo (org.) *Facetas do Império na História - Conceitos e Métodos*, São Paulo: Editora Hucitec. 39-104; and 1991. "Factions, interests and messianism: The politics of Portuguese expansion in the East, 1500-1521." In *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 28/1, SAGE, New Delhi & London, 1991. 97-109.

<sup>166</sup> The king decided to abandon the palace built in Lisbon by his predecessor, the *Paço da Ribeira* (Palace by the River) and moved to Tomar. Moreira, Rafael. 1981. "A ermida de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, mausoléu de D. João III?" In *Boletim Cultural e Informativo da Câmara Municipal de Tomar*, 1: 92-100; and also, *A arquitectura do Renascimento no sul de Portugal: a encomenda régia entre o moderno e o romano*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Lisbon: New University of Lisbon, 1991), particularly chaps. 3 (198-405) and 4 (407-570).

<sup>167</sup> *Translatio studii* is a figure of cultural history. It refers to the *transportation* of studies and cultures from generation to generation and through geographical and historical periods. Traditionally, it was mainly of an imperial and colonialist kind, and thus linked to a *translatio imperii*, a transnational extension of political power. Gil, Juan. 1989. *Mitos y Utopías del Descubrimiento*. Madrid: Alianza; Stierle, Karlheinz. 1996. "Translatio Studii and Renaissance: From Vertical to Horizontal Translation." In Budick, Sanford and Iser, Wolfgang.

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On the death of the Portuguese king Manuel I (1469-1521, r. 1495-1521), the opposition in the crown to his imperial policy, which under the leadership of Vasco da Gama had clung together around the Crown prince, João III, came into power. An order was sent to suspend the construction of the new strongholds that Manuel I had ordered to be built in Madagascar, at Bassorah and in China. Three years later the new king sent Vasco da Gama to India as viceroy, with instructions to reform entirely the Portuguese outlook in the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the commercial interests of the Portuguese crown, irrespective of any crusade or conquest plan. Of the eleven strongholds the Portuguese had in the East, four (Calicut, Quilon, Columbo and Pasai, in Sumatra) should be abandoned.

The hypothesis of a Portuguese withdrawal from the Indian Ocean was not aired as yet; insofar as we know, it only would be discussed later, in the double context of the boom of sugarcane in Brazil and of the strengthening of the Dutch and British threat to the Portuguese positions in the East. Nonetheless, some people in Portugal, such as the duke of Braganza - who only intended to follow the opinion of Vasco da Gama, "who knew the things of India better than anybody else" - advocated a radical reform, whereby the Portuguese would only keep the strongholds of Goa and Cochin, the others being forsaken or rented to neighbouring friendly powers. Nevertheless, there was a gap in João III's scheme: Diu.<sup>168</sup> Apparently Chaul could not fully replace it, and therefore, notwithstanding the commercially oriented and mainly pacific trend of his policy, the king insisted on its conquest. However, the expedition sent there failed again, as had happened in 1521. Finally, accidental circumstances allowed the Portuguese to settle there by peaceful means: when the sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati entered into conflict with Mewar, and then with the Mughal empire, he preferred to make peace with the Portuguese, and, by an agreement of 1534 (see the text some pages before), confirmed by a written treaty in the following year, ceded them the strip of coast between Bombay and Daman (exclusive), and allowed them to open a factory and build a fort in Diu. In return, the Portuguese helped him with a body of some 400 men at arms and a naval force of a dozen small ships. Also Humayun had promised to give Diu to the Portuguese in return for their neutrality, but the governor had preferred to cleave to the other part. Thanks to this chance, no conquest was made by the Portuguese during the whole reign of João III from 1521 until 1557. The imperialistic trend reappeared under the personal reign of the Portuguese king Sebastião (1554-1578, r. 1557-1578), who came of age in 1568.

João III, wanted to convey from himself and from his power, that he was still Christian, even still imperial, but could no longer be Orientalist because its referent was now Classical. His royal image and perception was emulated by his brother in law, the Spanish Charles V, also born in a cradle formatted by a classic imperial ideal. Therefore, a change of geography of power and of artistic discourse was required. The early sixteenth century 'classicization' had repercussions in Diu, especially on its awareness in Europe and in cartographical representation. It looms large in the ideals of the Portuguese crown, whether a maritime or a territorial option was taken as the monarchs' vision for the Portuguese Empire. It was expressed by an understanding of the architectural objects as a whole defined by strict rules of harmony, with norms dictated by ancient architecture and re-discovered by the Italians, rooted in an acceptance of the architectural and urban spatial cultures from the

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*The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 55-67; Nakamura, Fuyubi. 2013. *Asia through Art and Anthropology: Cultural Translation Across Borders.* London: Bloomsbury Academic. Pinney, Christopher. 2003. "Some Indian Views of India." *The Ethics of Representation.* In: Pelizzari, Maria, (ed.). *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900.* Yale University Press: Montreal. 262-275.

<sup>168</sup> For further details and references, see: Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 2011. "A Forgotten Portuguese Document of the Economic History of Gujarat." In Varadarajan, Lotika (ed.), *Gujarat and the Sea,* Baroda: Dharshak Itihas Nidhi. 315-352.

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past. *De Architectura*<sup>169</sup> authored by Vitruvius, was translated into Portuguese by Pedro Nunes (1502-1578)<sup>170</sup> in 1541, in compliance with an order<sup>171</sup> from João III himself. Also the architectural treatise *Medidas del Romano* by Diego de Sagredo's (1526), was published with illustrations of Classical architectural orders and appendix. That same year, an offer to the king of the *Book IV Regole Generale di Architettura*, could have arrived in Lisbon from Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), by the initiative Francisco d'Holanda (1517-1585),<sup>172</sup> henceforth d'Holanda. *De Re Aedificatoria* (1486) written by the Italian architect Alberti aroused the attention of André de Resende (1498-1573)<sup>173</sup> in 1550, and was translated by royal request. Two years later, Isidoro de Almeida<sup>174</sup> with *De Condendis Arcibus*, paraphrased and translated an influential military engineering treatise by Albrecht Durer (1527), called *De Urbibus, arcibus, castellisque condendis*.<sup>175</sup>

With the exception of d'Holanda, only after the death of João III in the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, did a few Portuguese people travel in Europe with the sole purpose of appreciating and probing architecture as art, in contrast, to what had happened until then with other arts and humanities. This occurred much more as a consequence than as a cause of a formal change.<sup>176</sup> Whatever were the ways of this stylistic maturation, a reinforced attention paid to studied and imitated treatises could not be put aside and also bringing Italy to play as a reference place to emulate and replicate. However, there was a singular Portuguese attitude of restrained temperance towards the classics motivated by the overseas expansion, in a sort of *critical classicization*. Therefore, what is perceived as the cultural ideology of the sixteenth century, namely its empiricism and detachment from the Classical culture has to be carefully drawn.

Sixteenth century historiography was developed in a metropolitan environment largely favorable to documenting events from overseas endeavours, which markedly happened after its first decades. Therefore, cartographic representation was a tool for perception, understanding and functional reorganization of Diu's colonial reality in line with the principal interests of colonial administration, namely revenues and defense. To a large extent, thanks to initial cartographical depictions, the rulers passed from the initial stage of considering the region as a *terra incognita* to that where they perceived it as a familiar and accessible place. The process of Diu's renderings adopted the Ptolemaic conception of mapping, which placed cartography at the intersection of liberal and mechanical

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<sup>169</sup> *De Architectura*, architectural treatise masterpiece. Based on Hellenic sources, it contains approaches to physics, geography, navigation and winds. Probably written around 15 B.C., it is divided into ten "books" and covers almost every aspect of Roman architecture.

<sup>170</sup> Portuguese mathematician, royal cosmographer, and professor, from Jewish family. Considered to be one of the greatest mathematicians of his time, best known for his contributions in the technical field of navigation, which was crucial to the Portuguese period of discoveries.

<sup>171</sup> Moreira, Rafael. 1991. *A arquitetura do Renascimento no sul de Portugal: a encomenda régia entre o moderno e o romano* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. vol. 1, 550.

<sup>172</sup> Portuguese humanist and painter. One of the most important figures of the Portuguese Renaissance. Also essayist, architect, and historian. Author of *Da Fábrica que falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (1571). See, *inter alia*: Deswarte, Sylvie. 1992. *Ideias e imagens em Portugal na época dos descobrimentos: Francisco de Holanda e a teoria da arte*, Chicó, Maria Alice (trans.). Lisbon: Difel; 1987. *As imagens das idades do mundo de Francisco de Holanda*. Chicó, Maria Alice (trans.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press; 1983. "Les "De Aetatibus Mundi Imagines" de Francisco de Holanda, Sep. de *Monuments et mémoires* 66, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France; Bury, John. 1979. *Francisco de Holanda: a little known source for the history of fortification in the sixteenth century*, Sep. de *Arq. Centro Cultural Português*, 14. Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; Moreira, Rafael. 1983. "Novos dados sobre Francisco de Holanda." In *Sintria*: 619-692; Bury, John. 2000. "The Italian contribution to sixteenth-century Portuguese architecture, military and civil", in *Cultural links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 77-107.

<sup>173</sup> Dominican friar and father of archaeology in Portugal. He spent years traveling and corresponded with Erasmus and others. He was intimate with João III and his sons, and tutor to prince Duarte.

<sup>174</sup> Deswarte, Sylvie. 1988. "Francisco de Holanda ou le Diable vêtu à l'italienne." In Guillaume, J., *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours en 1988*, Paris: Picard. 327-345 (333).

<sup>175</sup> Moreira, Rafael. 1981. "A Arquitectura Militar do Renascimento em Portugal." In *A Introdução da arte da Renascença na Península Ibérica: actas do Simpósio Internacional organizado pelo Instituto de História da Arte da Universidade de Coimbra 26 a 30 de março de 1980*. Coimbra: Coimbra University Press. 290

<sup>176</sup> Moreira, Rafael. 1995. "Arquitectura: Renascimento e Classicismo, a Resistência Nacional e o Problema do Estilo Chão", in Pereira, Paulo (dir.). *História da Arte Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. vol. II, 350.

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arts<sup>177</sup> and combined theoretical and practical geometry in the context of the philosophical culture of early modern era.<sup>178</sup> It would therefore be analytically inappropriate, when studying Castro and Correa, to accept the evolutionist narrative whereby cartography is thought to have developed from an art to a science, without paying attention to unity between socio-cultural and technological factors shaping early modern knowledge.<sup>179</sup>

Castro (imperialistic party), Correa (commercial party) and Barros (imperialistic party) reflect this historiographical inflection, on the confluence of a process of accumulation of fundamental data for the preparation of narrative summaries and assertions of an ideological discourse celebrating the Portuguese arrival in Diu within this political, cultural and historical context.<sup>180</sup> Their illustrations of Diu are different and each reflects specific imperial visions and distinct cosmologies. Castro and Barros follow an imperialistic party with an ever victorious king, perhaps chosen by God to bring to an end the muslim powers and built a catholic and European territorial empire in India. Correa supports a commercial party exploiting the commerce between India and Europe by the Cape route, in the East where everybody was allowed to go wheresoever he wanted for trade purposes: Diu as isolated fort and detached entity in the middle of the sea. Is there a direct and formal relation between these depictions and the overseas political thought of the Portuguese monarchs towards the Portuguese empire overseas?

After its chroniclers, Diu could be first imagined by few but known by many as an earthly paradise and second, Diu could be fictioned as a Classical city with Classical buildings and populated by luxuriant plants, bizarre animals and the site of epic battles and heroic events. Besides its materialization in icons, such as Castro's *Távoa*, Castro's tapestry, and Correa's bird's-eye view, the gradual "classicization" of the urban landscape and military events depicted show a way to depict cities from that era. Subjects drawn were chosen for their moralizing messages or for establishing parallels between the Portuguese experience and great historical, literary, and political events of the past. Classicism in drawn material would be later mimicked by colonists that had seen classical motifs in seventeenth century mannerism and in the rococo classicism of the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. But against the ornate, classicized motifs of those styles, the classical drawings of the early sixteenth century stand out as strikingly new and performing the ideals of the political party of the metropolitan side they took. Classical images from the Portuguese empire in the East, burst upon the scene beginning in the early 1500s with such 'modern'<sup>181</sup> ideals as idealized liberty, commercial prosperity, and bucolic simplicity being made. They announced the Portuguese empire as a 'Rome reborn.'

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<sup>177</sup> Cosgrove, Denis. 1989. "The geometry of landscape: practical and speculative arts in the sixteenth-century Venetian land territories." In *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cosgrove, Denis and Daniels, Stephen (ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. 254-276.

<sup>178</sup> This creative synthesis confirms how fake the distinction was between the history of science and intellectual and cultural history during the sixteenth century, a tendency reflecting the approaches of a later age rather than the intellectual divisions of the early modern era. The interaction between what we call today 'science' and the field of 'humanities' blurred the difference between the sociology of early modern scientific practices and the sociology of knowledge. Krayer, Jill (ed.). 1996. *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 203-223. Smith, Pamela. 2004. *The Body and the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

<sup>179</sup> Harley, J.B. 1989. "Historical Geography and the Cartographic Illusion." In *Journal of Historical Geography* 15/1: 82 and 2001. *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 33-50.; Wood, Dennis. 1992. *The Power of Maps*. New York: Routledge; Jacob, Christian. 1992. *L'Empire des cartes: Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire*. Paris: Albin Michel; Edney, Mathew H. 1993. "Cartography without 'Progress': Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking", *Cartographica* 30/2 – 3: 54-68.

<sup>180</sup> Dias, José Sebastião da Silva. 1969. *A política cultural da época de D. João III*. Lisbon: Philosophical Studies Institute and Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Coimbra. 286.

<sup>181</sup> This presumption of Western modernity can be located in the Enlightenment and in Kant's essay *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795), and has affected contemporary debates in the social sciences, in particular. Modernity, according to these views, can be summed up as a world in constant movement, recreating itself without certainty about where it is going, and cosmopolitanism would be its accompanying *Weltanschauung*, characterized by intense self-reflexivity and eventually leading to a form of governance of the world and of the self. About historicity of the modern, see *inter alia*: Mitchell, Timothy. 2000. "The stages of Modernity." In *Questions of Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Brown, Rebecca M. 2008. "Response: Provincializing Modernity: From Derivative to Foundational." In *The Art Bulletin*, 90/4: 555-557.

## The city at the beginning. Early Portuguese Narratives of Diu.

What is today perceived as the Portuguese cultural ideology of the sixteenth century, namely its empiricism and detachment from the Classical culture has to be carefully drawn. The emergence of the Renaissance in Portugal as a cultural movement that spanned from the Late Middle Ages in Europe and the enlargement of geographical and anthropological horizons with the arrival of the Europeans in the East was the embryo for the ideology of Portuguese intellectuals of that time. The early European descriptions of Diu through drawings and text were also a part of this reconfiguration, mirroring somehow the reform that happened during the reign of João III and setting the 'place' of Portugal, of the Portuguese empire and of its metropolitan, colonial and diasporic populations (for example, the sieges of Diu - see chapter 2 - had the same meaning for Christianity that the epics happened in christianized places in Classical Antiquity). By categorizing these drawings as political, rather than classical, we obscure their roots in the flourishing culture of classical imagery that preceded Portuguese arrival in India.

Leaving the initial nature that inspired a thalassocratic model, the Portuguese empire was shaped by this new drawn and written form of description by the sixteenth century chroniclers. The exaltation of the king as *pater patriae*, the empire as a space not just conquered but also owned and ruled, marked by the presence of an administration and by an integration of its population through law, language and religion were signs of change in the metropolitan political ideology of the Empire.<sup>182</sup> In the work of Portuguese chroniclers of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese crown political and religious attitudes towards their empire were not readily apparent. Nevertheless, the philosophical bases from which Portuguese chroniclers worked are clearly the same as those that governed the contemporary decisions from the Portuguese Crown in political, military, and religious activities in India. This ideology was essentially threefold: that the Portuguese empire was rooted in the metropolitan history; that, although things in Portuguese empire are the result of hesitation, inflexion, paradox and transitory, no facet is too insubstantial to be noticed, valued, or represented in drawing; and that the Portuguese empire, was chosen, favoured and blessed as urban.

Accordingly, Castro and Correa review in drawing and text what each one of them learned to appreciate in Portugal and what each of them wanted to be perceived in Portugal about Asia.<sup>183</sup> The information provided by the chroniclers was, first, directed to the Portuguese king to let him know about his domains, second, focused on the Portuguese crown and all its entourage urging them balance the power towards territorial and maritime disputes in Portuguese presence in India and finally to the Portuguese counterparts in India. Ultimately, the illustrations of Diu were disquiet with war. Their zest for showing arresting details of ancient battle is clear. Such works must be read in conjunction with each other as a contribution to the perception of Diu in the early modern period. The representations were handbooks for combat in the 'Mediterranean style,' touching on a variety of topics: armor and weaponry; armies and navies; strategy and logistics; conspiracies and sieges; generals and infantry; walls and bullwarks; the role of conquest in founding cities; and even human suffering at the front.<sup>184</sup> They helped sustain a widespread interest in the Classical past in both India and Europe. The sieges of Diu, whether for Christianity or for the Portuguese, had the same meaning that the epics from the Christianized places of Classical Antiquity.

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<sup>182</sup> Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1998. "A Estrutura Política e Administrativa do Estado no Século XVI." In *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel. 207-243.

<sup>183</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 1996. "'Ovídio Malabar,' Manuel de Faria e Sousa, a Índia e a arquitectura portuguesa." In *Mare Liberum*, 11-12. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) [later published in 2007. *14,5 Ensaios de História da Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Nova Almedina. 159-186.]

<sup>184</sup> Paulino, Francisco Faria (coord.). 1995. *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*. Exhibition catalogue. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 202-209; Bauer, Rotraud. 1993. *Die Portugiesen in Indien. Die Eroberungen Dom Joao de Castros auf Tapissereien 1538 - 1548*. Exhibition catalogue. (Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, 21 Oktober 1992 - 10 Jänner 1993, Wien: Kunsthistorischen Museum; Moreira, Rafael. 1998. "Cultura Material e Visual." In *História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Chauduri, Kirti N. & Bethencourt, Francisco. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. vol. I. 542.

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The *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* was a metaphor for a Portuguese terrestrial military campaign in Gujarat which iconizes space not only through perception but also through ideas, large, powerful and exalted; or myths, history and empires; or reflection, civility, development and progress. Contrastingly, the *Lendas* portrayal was nothing but an illusion, a ‘trompe-l’oeil,’ an extravagant architectural and urban facade behind which there was deceitment and an epitome of an insulated fortress in the middle of the sea, one more part of a Portuguese thalassocracy. Therefore, for this last character the Portuguese rule should be in the seas. Do maps reproduce, reflect, mirror realities, or do they create them, or do they create their images? The depictions are probably not very accurate for what was the Diu of that time. Both drawings had political intentions and are partially true, therefore the ‘truth’ about how Diu actually was in the sixteenth century must have been something *in between* both representations of the city.

### **Conclusion**

Castro, Correa and especially Barros, were political thinkers of great importance in the Portuguese empire of the sixteenth century, and their works touch on themes that were amplified in the following century by writers such as Machiavelli and Erasmus. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli discusses the policy of holding a newly conquered territory. There he notes that “when states are acquired in a province differing in language, in customs, and in institutions, then difficulties arise.” To face these constraints, he advises the prince to live in his new domain to make it more safe and enduring, exemplifying that “this was what the Turk achieved in Greece.” Machiavelli, however considers that geographical knowledge is the “first qualification of a good commander,” and he prompts the prince to devote himself to hunting in order to learn about “mountains slope [...] valleys open [...] plains spread.”<sup>185</sup> In the *Art of War*, moreover, he writes that when the prince attacks a strange territory with his soldiers, the first thing he must do is to “have the whole country through which he is marching described and depicted, so that he knows the places, the number, the distances, the roads, the rivers, the marshes, and all of their qualities.”<sup>186</sup> Castro, Correa and Barros observations helpfully emphasize the relationship between geographical knowledge, cartographic practices and the overseas territorial expansion of early modern states. Despite this, none of them offers the reader a well-developed theory of empire government. This should not be a surprise, since their thinking is profoundly skeptic. This scepticism does not merely concern specific political imperial systems but brings into question the nature of politics itself. Castro, Correa and Barros attitude towards politics, to some extent, necessarily becomes an attitude towards Diu.

Classical western writings had a strong influence in the perception of architecture and cities of the Indian subcontinent. The architectural historian Paulo Varela Gomes argues that perceived commonalities between art and architectural tradition of East and West, confrontation or comparison of different conceptual apparatuses and institutional settings, and the possibility of operating with global aesthetical or historiographical concepts were not just merely a topic of discursive tools but something rooted in visual experience and “instinctive formal empathy”.<sup>187</sup> Castro, Correa and Barros exposed to the West a series of valuable ethnographic unknown novelties. The east for the chroniclers was a natural extension and a true path for a familiar space. They carried with them, *albeit* in the beginning only symbolically, the institutional reproduction of their original society (their town, their king, their priests and their symbols). Beyond and before the Holy Land, cities like Lisbon, Diu or Malacca emerged likewise in a ‘savage’ world filled with people without rules or education. People in distant places and secluded civilizations moved across regions, but the way they related to each other or migrated from place to

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<sup>185</sup> Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469-1527). 2003. *The Prince*. Bull, George, (trans.). London: Penguin Books. 10, 48.

See also his 1996. *Discourse of Livy*, Tarcov, Nathan and Mansfield, Harvey, (transl.). Chicago: Chicago University Press. 298.

<sup>186</sup> Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469-1527). 2003. *Art of War*. Lynch, Christopher, (trans.). Chicago: Chicago University Press. 111.

<sup>187</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2012. “Perspectives of World Art Research: form, recognition and empathy” paper presented at the *Opler Conference*, in Worcester College, Oxford, March 29-31. Unpublished.

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place was essentially always the same. All three chroniclers tried to shed light on the dialogic nature of early modern description on sociology of geographical knowledge and anthropology of space made in the context of a *longue durée* historiography. They examine the ways in which the political and cultural encounter was inscribed in Portuguese maps and texts and consequently, the attempt to construct a cartographic panopticon which would justify and facilitate colonial surveillance and control, over Gujarat and mostly over the Indian Ocean, determining the depth of panoptic mapping.

The emergence of cartography should be understood as an instrument that gave legitimacy to João III of Portugal's power through the combination of old and classical authorities. The king was made the apex of the political corpus, almost every time giving rise to his religious identity. These cartographical representations were based on some convictions: that it was the role of the king to provide the social apparatus as well as the salvation of his subjects; that his subjects should imitate their superiors (in this case, the king); that each person was capable of behaving virtuously according to their role in society. Castro, Correa and Barros reveal the heuristic value of the Diu depictions regarding two issues of historiographical importance: the finite limits of imperial power and the central role of information channels between rulers and colonial subjects. Quoting Barros:

And yet to many, seeing the coast depicted only on sailing chart with so many courses, that our ships seemed to sail twice the known world, to enter the new golden way that we wished to discover, this painting influenced their imagination in such a way that haunted their spirit.<sup>188</sup>

The description of the newly attained subjects in the colonial context was not only a tool of territorial expansion and colonial government, but also the outcome of the dialogue (albeit unequal) between the Portuguese and the Indians.<sup>189</sup> By considering mapping and accounts as a ethnographic process of translation, the authors sheds light on cartography as hybrid products of social negotiations and power relations. This conclusion allows us to approach the sixteenth century depictions of Diu not only as an instrument of government, but also as a source of information, a mechanism of translation and ultimately as a political statement.<sup>190</sup>

Castro, Correa and Barros' have the specific characteristics of primordial Portuguese anthropological writing, namely its regard towards Classical culture, its Humanism and finally its Empiricism/Experimentalism. The simultaneity between the broadening of anthropological and geographical horizons in one hand, and the rebirth of the Classical ideal, on the other, justifies the vision and thought of the East imposed by Portuguese intellectuals during the reign of João III. Also Castro, Correa and Barros' Eurocentric conception of culture focus on the ubiquitous patterns of Classical Antiquity. Europe at the time was spanned by the Renaissance and the upper civilizational scale in all cultural fields was Greco-Roman reality, except from religion and geographical knowledge. The ideals of empire, governance war, citizenship and manners were rooted in Greece and Rome and kept invoking and venerating pages of Plato or Aristotle. Cunha was to India what Scipio Cornelia was to Africa:<sup>191</sup> the battle of Diu had the same meaning for Christianity that the epics depicted in places Christianized by the apostles, and the ruins of Diu could not compare to others as did the "architectural works from the Greeks

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<sup>188</sup> "E ainda a muitos, vendo sómente na carta de marear huma tão grande costa de terra pintada, e tantas voltas de rumos, que parecia rodearem as nossas náos duas vezes o Mundo sabido, por entrar no caminho d'ouro novo, que queríamos descobrir, fazia nelles esta pintura hume tão espantosa imaginação, que lhes assombrava o juízo."

Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. VI, chap. I, 3.

<sup>189</sup> "beyond the locals, the city was full of people, and many more people from Arabians, to Parsis, Turks, and many renegades from several nations, some of them paid and others on their own to trade in merchandise from the ships in the port". Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. IV, chap. IX, 483.

<sup>190</sup> About the astounding flow of knowledge about a wider world that had somehow to be absorbed and represented, see Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Wiley-Basil Blackwell. 244.

<sup>191</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, bk. IV, chap. I, 271-275.

and Romans.”<sup>192</sup> If a place was ahead in civilizational terms, sooner or later it would be compared with the Ancient world.

If Castro, Correa and Barros accept the existence of symmetric and comparable civilizations on a global scale, the order and values system applied as standard by them in descriptions was always one and the same, formed by two millennia of western culture and erudition.<sup>193</sup> Expressly for Barros, all civilizations were fundamentally similar in nature to his own and his reference was the European reality, either: (1) by generating European commonplaces or ideas; (2) by invoking the best of what the west produced in the various fields of culture (administration, arts, literature, etc.), especially in Classical Antiquity; or, (3) whether the emphasis given to catholicism, as the only way of salvation for mankind. Civilizational perfection was envisioned as a mixture of civility, Greco-Roman imperialism and the Christian faith, to summarize, the Eastern Roman empire of Constantine.

Castro, Correa and especially Barros drew their own cosmogony.<sup>194</sup> We can say that what was done through them was the rearrangement and reinvention of oral memory turned into official written history.<sup>195</sup> They created something innovative by globally imposing a new and essentially drawn and written order, because it was rooted in Humanistic and global culture through the descriptive act of representation, although with the participation of certain common precepts from other authors.<sup>196</sup> For this path, Castro, Correa and Barros, clearly distant from the chaotic narrative of many previous texts but still far from evolutionary schemes familiar to us, appealed to comparison and translation employed consciously and comprehensively. We are, of course, right in the middle of an issue that is far from being solved, and whose core is the question of commensurability and translatability of the abstract concepts used in different and distant cultures.<sup>197</sup> The whole question is whether the similarities are more helpful than hindering to knowledge.

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<sup>192</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. I, chap. II, 21.

<sup>193</sup> We are obviously arguing on a subliminal level text and therefore could be victims of an illusion regarding the possibility of understanding what was really in the mind of a sixteenth century Portuguese intellectual.

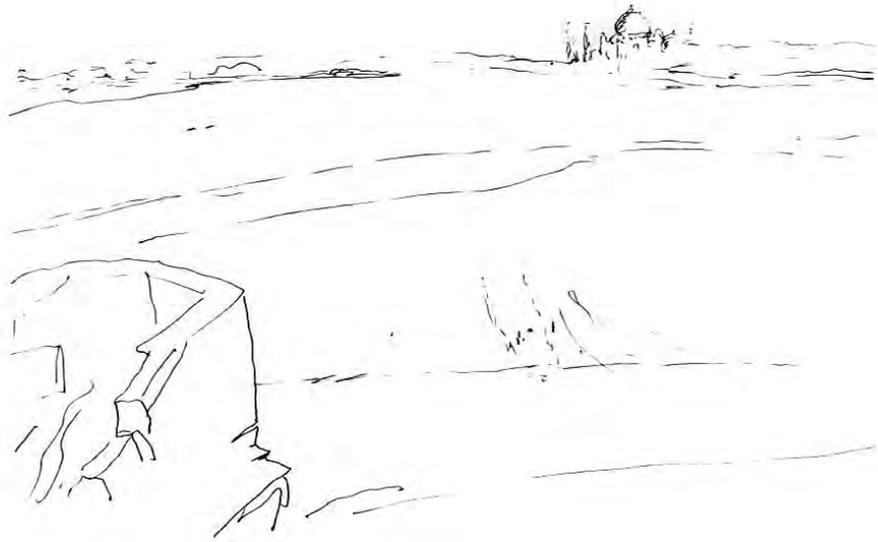
<sup>194</sup> Geographical knowledge became a valued commodity in a society that was becoming more and more profit-conscious, see: Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Wiley-Basil Blackwell. 244.

<sup>195</sup> Finnazzi-Agro, Ettore. 1998. “*Sylvae*. Os (des)caminhos da memória e os lugares da invenção na Idade Média.” In *A História: Entre Memória e Invenção*. Estudos Gerais da Arrábida (org.), Cardim, Pedro (coord.). Mem Martins: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP)/ Europa-América. 61-90. “It was the constructive *inuentio* of court humanists and official chroniclers which transformed that memory into the distinct thing which was history. The more we know of fifteenth-century conditions of news and intelligence in Iberia, the more astounding that invention seems.” Lawrence, Jeremy. 1998. “Memory and Invention in fifteenth-century Iberian Historiography.” In *A História: Entre Memória e Invenção*. Estudos Gerais da Arrábida (org.), Cardim, Pedro (coord.). Mem Martins: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP)/ Europa-América. 121.

<sup>196</sup> Like Duarte Barbosa or Tomé Pires.

<sup>197</sup> See: Holy, Ladislav (ed.). 1987. *Comparative Anthropology*. Oxford: Wiley-Basil Blackwell; Tembiah, Stanley J. 1990. *Magic, science, religion and the scope of rationality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Werner, Michael and Zimmermann, Bénédicte. 2003. “Penser l’histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité” In *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales*, 58/1. 7-36.





## CHAPTER TWO

*The city is a battlefield.*

*The siege of Diu and the colonial city.*

“Quantas clades,  
quantas urbium eversiones,  
quanta gentium excidia future intueor!”<sup>1</sup>

**H**ISTORY AND MEMORY ELUDE AUSTERE DEFINITION, escape categorization, and slip out from the grasp of even the most exhaustive and detached architectural historian. Ancient historians, such as Herodotus, detailed the destruction of many cities and regions, while other writers, such as Seneca and even Ovid, often described a turbulent, violent and destructive world. The destructions of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the tower of Babel are among the major events in Genesis of the Bible, used to illustrate moral lessons and the ultimate power of God. We learn of the destruction of successive cities under Joshua and his successors, as the Israelites inhabit the land of Canaan and battle with their enemies. The besieging and ruination of cities is often discussed in graphic and narrative terms. Such passages serve to reinforce the view that war is an essential feature of urban life and that destruction is simply a fact of cities and of man.

This chapter examines the slippage inherent in histories, in particular a specific slippage arising from the colonial conflict in Diu, which incorporated a naval battle (3 February 1509) and two sieges (from September until

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<sup>1</sup>“What disasters, what sacking of cities, what slaughter of nations do I foresee!” Alberti, Leon Batista (1404-1472). *Momus*. Latin text edited by Virginia Brown and Sarah Knight. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 2003. 84-85.

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November 1538 and from April until November 1546), its reverberations in various histories and places and the built environment. Thus, we take these events and from them expand on the limits of the single narrative to acknowledge the architectural and the urban history of Diu. In engaging visual imagery, travellers' diaries, and documents of war as the multiple narratives of this seemingly singular event, it highlights the extent to which colonial histories change, shift, overlap and contradict themselves in their powerlessness to encompass the disarray of colonialism.<sup>2</sup>

Here, we want to explore more fully the changes in the way Diu's inhabitants made sense of the city by scrutinizing a number of fiction and nonfiction texts written in colonial Diu that treated the city, its events, and its monuments as something more than mere brickwork and plaster. Each of the authors considered, saw the city itself as a horizon of reading. Not every author construed the city in a matching manner, of course, and part of our emphasis in what follows will be to call their inconsistencies into consideration. However, when read together, the texts examined here reflect the gradual coalescence of the conviction that studying the city would reveal the intangible qualities of the present, its places of quality and disrepute its promises and pitfalls, and the shape of people's rapport to both its past and future.

The purpose of this attitude lies in its value of understanding the correlated architectural and urban spatial cultures in Diu and their histories. The narratives of the sieges relate directly to narratives of safety, home, domestic space, and the place of the Portuguese within colonial India. All of these issues bear heavily on the construction of Diu's urban history, from the mid seventeenth until the early nineteenth centuries; for this reason, the multiple and sometimes conflicting histories of Diu during this period form back and forth the focus of this chapter. In the end, this argument supports the notion that colonial discursive constructions of history and urban space embody the contradictions and incongruities of the colonial project itself.

The powerful repetition of the narrative of Diu's sieges encompasses several centuries. Shifts in its meaning and significance over time, narrative connections to images of architecture, and the politicized marking of the historical site, all contribute to the ambiguous, miscellaneous role of the sieges in the architectural and urban histories of the city. The echoes of the events across the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, transformed seemingly similar and singular events into one which continued to affect colonial discourse well into the twenty first century. In the following chapter, we will examine narratives, each of which produce a portion of the colonial discursive construction of Diu, its histories, its urban form, and ultimately its colonialization. All narratives were deeply implanted in the social world and attempted to frame a set of answers to the changes of the urban milieu. Our proposal is to read the symptoms of authority and anxiety that mark the external body of the siege's narratives. While all these artifacts may be read, we also wish to point out the spatial dimensions that may not be measured by their reading.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Scholarship of the late twentieth century has to a large extent acknowledged the legacy of colonial histories in the current understanding of Indian histories of the subcontinent. Without attempting to escape from this legacy, we explore these histories in order to uncover the contradictions and inconsistencies that we have inherited from colonial discursive constructions of historical events. Precolonial genres of urban writing that look to the physical city as a source of evidence for intangible qualities can be easily found. The most relevant to our discussion in north India was the *shahr ashob*, or 'city disturber' literature. *Shahr ashob* literature came to India from Persia and is usually written in the form of a satire or lament on the declining qualities of a city and its figures. The genre is most closely associated with the period of Mughal decline in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in India, and it is thus also coterminous with an important period of Portuguese rule over Diu. Many describe particular cities in generic terms rather than by referencing known monuments and places. About *Shahr ashob* literature, see: Petievich, Carla R. 1990. "Poetry of the Declining Mughals: The *Shahr Ashob*." In *Journal of Asian Literature*, XXV/1; Bernardini, Michele. 2001. "The *Masnavi-Shahrashubs* as Town Panegyrics: An International Genre in Islamic *Mashriq*." In Haag-Higuchi, Roxane and Szyska-Christian, (eds.). *Narrated Space in the Literature of the Islamic World*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 81-94; Sharma, Sunil. 2004. "The City of Beauties in Indo-Persian Poetic Landscape." In *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24/2: 73-81.

<sup>3</sup> The colonial era fiction in India in which the city forms are an important topos for events has thus far received little scholarly attention, and my analysis in this chapter is, of course, tangential to that task. See *inter alia*: Glover, William J. 2007. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 185-201; Oldenburg. Veena Talwar. 1984. *The making of Colonial Lucknow. 1856-1877*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 3-21; Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2008. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity,*

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For a wide variety of people and in many different ways, Diu's precolonial buildings and spaces also asserted a symbolic presence during the colonial period. The several ruined and active tombs and the many instances of epigraphy continued to serve as repositories for memories of the city's significant ancestors, as physical points of anchorage between a tumultuous present and an auspicious past, and as sites of collective celebration on saints' days and religious festivals.<sup>4</sup> When Portuguese and Indian elites collaborated during the late nineteenth century in producing a new kind of civic landscape in the city, a development discussed more fully in chapter 5, they drew on a reservoir of visual forms and modes of patronage imbued with the stabilizing authority of antiquity. Diu's precolonial monuments also became central features in a new genre of 'local' urban history crafted during the late sixteenth century by the city's chroniclers Castro, Correa and Barros detailed in the previous chapter. In these and other ways, the precolonial past of the city became more than mere debris during the colonial period, more than so many rain-washed bones and coins and decaying or forgotten tombs.

### Precedents of politics, rivalry and conflict<sup>5</sup>

Portugal at the turn of the sixteenth century was a several centuries consolidated and rapidly expanding nation/state in other continents outside Europe, but one whose intellectual, political, and economic prospects were still resolutely comprehended by the Mediterranean basin. In rough lines, these are five features of the sixteenth century Portuguese expansion that can be considered the basic: a starting point of relative geographic and cultural remoteness, the following development of expansive political ideologies focused particularly on trade and maritime navigation neglecting territorial expansion, invention in a few areas of military and naval technologies that enhanced or made the enterprise conceivable, religious conversion, and an unparalleled cultural intellectual interest in the world unknown.

To fluctuating grades, Ottoman expansion shared some of these critical traits of the Portuguese expansion in the western Indian Ocean. The former had nearly no expressive interaction and exchange with the Indian Ocean, a part of the previously unknown world that was, despite a deeply rooted indigenous muslim presence, nevertheless as remote and unfamiliar as it was to contemporary latter Portuguese. Once both, Portuguese and Ottomans, finally did begin a foothold in this part of the world, however, they quickly started to refocus themselves, take stock of the region, reorient their attitudes and develop a set of imperial ambitions that were particularly suited to the vastness of the Indian Ocean. Also, importantly, the Portuguese soon took note and learned that competition from the sultans of Gujarat and their allies, more precisely, from the Ottomans and actually made the fulfillment of these ambitions easier rather than more difficult, by providing a foil against which could radically redefine the terms of sovereignty and legitimacy throughout Gujarat and western India.

After the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and their establishment of a naval blockade that restricted for the first time in history maritime access to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, these titles acquired a new political currency. Albuquerque, the redoubtable founder of the Portuguese empire in maritime Asia, who stated in the most explicit terms exactly what he hoped to achieve as he set out for the Indies: cut off maritime traffic

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*Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge. 136-178. Chattopadhyay used a similar strategy by analysing three devices of Bengali literature from three different moments of Calcutta's colonial history.

About literary images of cities as data, see also: Daechsel, Markus. 2006. *The Politics of Self-Expression*. Royal Asiatic Society Books: Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt. London & New York: Routledge; Fox, Richard G. 1970. *Urban India: Society, Space and Image*. Durham: Duke University Program. From this book: Zelliott, Eleanor. "Literary Images of the Modern Indian City."; Apte, Mahadeo L. "Reflections of Urban Life in Marathi Literature."; and Ramanujan, A. K. "Toward an Anthology of City Images."

<sup>4</sup> See *Távoa de Diu in Roteiro de Goa a Diu* by João de Castro in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (1538 - 1539).

<sup>5</sup> For one of the most important and grounding examinations of Ottoman-Portuguese naval rivalries, see Casale, Giancarlo. 2004. "The Ottoman Age of Exploration: Spices, Maps, and Conquest in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University; and 2010. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, especially chapters 2 (34-52), 3 (53-83) and 4 (84-116).

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through the Red Sea, seize control of the totality of the Indian Ocean's trade, use the profits from this trade to finance the conflict with Mamluk Egypt, and ultimately liberate Jerusalem for the honor of Christendom and the glory of the Portuguese Crown.<sup>6</sup> An apparent exception in maritime enterprise facing the Portuguese newcomers to India, the strongest military power through much of the sixteenth century, was the Ottoman empire, considered the foremost naval power in the Mediterranean. Using the conquest of the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt<sup>7</sup> after 1517 as a pretext, the Ottomans led by sultan Selim I (1470-1520, r. 1512-1520),<sup>8</sup> began to assert a transcendent authority over the Indian Ocean muslims, as they claimed for their dynasty the titles of Caliph and Protector of the Holy Cities.

This conquest gave it access to the western Indian Ocean and accordingly, the Turks would challenge the Portuguese dominance in order to restore the flow of trade through their domains, protect pilgrims traveling by sea to perform the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, assist Muslim coreligionist kingdoms in the Orient, and eventually replace the Portuguese in their imperial gesture. As a consequence of these military actions and political arrangements, Ottoman geographic knowledge of the Indian Ocean had begun to grow, so, too, did merchant communities begin to establish their commercial ties with Gujarat. As early as 1502, the Venetians had begun to contemplate the need to influence sultan Qansuh al-Ghuri (1441-1516, r. 1501-1516),<sup>9</sup> to intervene in the western Indian Ocean.

Under Mahmud Shah I (r. 1458-1511),<sup>10</sup> the Muslim sultanate of Gujarat was at the apogee of its power and was the main seapower in western India.<sup>11</sup> Native shipping in the Indian Ocean and its ramifications at the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were strong and dynamic, but naval power akin to that of the Mediterranean and Atlantic seafaring nations did not exist, contrastingly, to the supremacy, ease and speed with which the Portuguese created their empire spanning from Ormuz to Melaka. The disparity was striking: facing the Portuguese newcomers were the continental empires of the time: Ming in China, Safavid in Persia and Vijayanagar and Mughal in India. Maritime enterprise in western India was left to coastal or insular principalities such as Gujarat.

We remind you that you should always take great care to send some men to discover (a descobryr), both to Melaka and to any other parts that are so far not that well-known, and you should send them with some goods in some local ships which are going there, so long as they can carry them safely. And those whom you send for this purpose should be men who know how to act upon it properly (devem ser homens que ho bem saybam fazer).<sup>12</sup>

During those times, in fact, alongside the self-consciously global maritime Portugal, imperial competitors such as the Ottomans and Mughals also began to think in global terms and to formulate political ideologies and practical strategies on a similarly vast world stage. And over time, the rivalry between all of these competing imperial

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<sup>6</sup> For a detailed study of Afonso de Albuquerque, see Bouchon, Geneviève Autor Bouchon, Geneviève. 1992. *Albuquerque: le lion des mers d'Asie*. Paris: Desjonquères.

<sup>7</sup> Included all of the Levant, Hejaz, Tihamah, and Egypt itself.

<sup>8</sup> Sultan of the Ottoman empire. His reign is notable for the enormous expansion of the empire, particularly his conquest between 1516 and 1517 of the entire Mamluk sultanate of Egypt. Through the conquest and unification of the Muslim heartlands, and after having the Sharif of Mecca grant him the title Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques in 1517, Selim strengthened the Ottoman claim to caliphate.

<sup>9</sup> Second-to-last of the Mamluk Sultans. One of the last of the Burji dynasty.

<sup>10</sup> Abu'l Fath Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah I, Mahmud Begarha, popularly known as Mahmud Begada was the most prominent sultan of Gujarat. Great-grandson of Ahmad Shah I and founder of Ahmedabad.

<sup>11</sup> In 1473, Mahmud I had a military campaign against the principality of Dwarka (west Kathiawar) and finished the piracy in the Island of Sankhodar. In 1508, he marched against Lourenço de Almeida, viceroy's son, in Bassein and Mahim, because of the Portuguese threat to the region. Aubin, Jean. 1971 "Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye." In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L'Histoire de L'Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L'Époque de la Domination Portugaise*. Genève and Paris: Centre de Recherches D'Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. I, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Royal instructions to Dom Francisco de Almeida, 3 March 1505. Torre do Tombo National Archives, Lisbon, Maço 2 de Leis, no. 13, in Silva, Joaquim Candeias. 1996. *O Fundador do 'Estado Português da Índia' D. Francisco de Almeida, 1457 (?)-1510*, Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. doc. 6, 261-99 (quotation on 292).

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centers in turn drew a constantly expanding network of smaller polities, both voluntarily and involuntarily, into their widening political orbits. Indeed, Diu became the epicenter of Indian transit trade with the Red sea, the Persian gulf, and the Mediterranean sea. It is within the political, historical and military blend, between the Portuguese empire, the sultanates of Gujarat and the Ottoman empire, that rivalry and conflict in western India over the sovereignty of Diu happens. Moves in its sense and consequences, connections to images of architecture, and the politicized marking of the historical site, all contribute to the ambiguous, miscellaneous role in the architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu. But at the outset, it must be stressed that although a comparative framework informs the underlying issues raised it is the architectural and spatial implications of the events occurred that matter.

Much of these connections, moves, consequences, and contact<sup>13</sup> seems to have been the responsibility of Malik Ayaz,<sup>14</sup> who served the sultans of Gujarat as semi-independent governor of Diu.<sup>15</sup> He was a former royal slave (*ghullam-i khass*), whose origins have been variously stated as Russian, Dalmatian, Persian, and Turkish and rather more improbably as Malay or Javanese. Once freed, he had accumulated territories and resources in Kathiawar, and operating from Junagadh, used Diu as his own base and seat as governor. By 1507, when the Mamluk fleet entered the western Indian Ocean, he was serving to convert Diu into the key port city linking west Africa and western India. Regrettably, not nearly enough he is known about this intriguing and enigmatic figure, whose origins and early career are almost totally obscure. Most notably, he was regularly mentioned by the Portuguese as a 'Rumi'<sup>16</sup>: "It is because these Rumis are descended from Greeks that they hold themselves to be more honored than the Turks. And in truth they do have an advantage over them in terms of their customs, purity and valour, and wherever they go [...] Rumis [heads] held high. The greatest insult that one can lay upon them is to call [them] Turk [...]. Such is the reason for the name Rumi."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, Malik Ayaz found himself surrounded by Rumi

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<sup>13</sup> It is also clear from Jean Aubin close reading of Arabic documents that actions in the Indian Ocean as driven by a Venetian and Egyptian interests may have converged at certain moments and diverged radically at others. See, Aubin, Jean. 1971 "Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye." In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L'Histoire de L'Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L'Époque de la Domination Portugaise*. Genève and Paris: Centre de Recherches D'Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. I, 5; 1973. "Le royaume d' Ormuz au début du XVI siècle." In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L'Histoire de L'Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L'Époque de la Domination Portugaise*. Genève and Paris: Centre de Recherches D'Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. V. 77-179; 1988. "Un Voyage De Goa à Ormuz En 1520." *Modern Asian Studies* 22/3. 417-432; 1994. *La politique iranienne d'Ormuz: 1515-1540*. In Sep. de "Studia." 53. 27-51.

<sup>14</sup> Slave of Turkis or Persian origin and archer of Mahmud I royal guard. On Malik Ayaz's, see: Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX, 212-215; Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1515-1577). 1989. *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisbon: Alfa. 38; and Aubin, Jean. 1971. "Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye," In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L'Histoire de L'Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L'Époque de la Domination Portugaise*. Genève and Paris: Centre de Recherches D'Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. I, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX, 213.

<sup>16</sup> A word used in the sixteenth century Indian Ocean to denote Turkish-speaking muslims from the Ottoman Mediterranean. Like other Europeans, Portuguese authors referred to the Ottomans not infrequently as 'Turks,' though when doing so they were always careful to draw a distinction between 'Turks' and the indigenous muslims of the Indian Ocean, whom they instead designated as 'Moors.' At the same time, however, Portuguese involvement in the internal affairs of Iran and the Indian Subcontinent brought them into contact with Uzbeks, Turkmens, and various other Turkic peoples from Central Asia. As a result, the Portuguese seem to have been unique among Europeans in developing an awareness of the ethnic connotations of the word 'Turk' and of its inadequacy as a term for the multiethnic population of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, they often turned to the local muslim alternative, 'Rumi,' to describe the Ottomans, while also using the same word in reference to mercenaries and other migrants from the muslim Mediterranean who were 'Ottoman' in origin but had no formal ties with the Ottoman state. On the use of the term 'Rumi,' see Özbaran, Salih. 2002.

"Ottomans as 'Rumes' in Portuguese Sources in the Sixteenth Century," *Portuguese Studies* 17: 64-74; and Casale, Giancarlo. 2007. "The Ethnic Composition of Ottoman Ship Crews and the 'Rumi Challenge' to Portuguese Identity," *Medieval Encounters* 13: 124-27.

<sup>17</sup> "Estes Rumes como procedem dos Gregos, tem se por mais honrados que os Turcos, e na verdade lhe são aventejados em costumes, limpeza e valor; e onde quer que chegão logo se nomeão por Rumes a boca chea. E a mor afronta que se lhe pode fazer he chamar a hum destes Turco, por averem a todos por baixos, torpes e desprimorosos: esta he a rezão deste nome de Rume." Couto, Diogo (1542-1616). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, part II, bk. 8, chap. 9, 264-265.

merchants, and during his tenure the Gujarat settlement outside the citadel was named “the village of the Rumis.”<sup>18</sup>

The Mamluk sultanate did manage to construct and send out a powerful fleet in 1506 to the western Indian Ocean, perhaps on the help of the Ottomans for a part of the task. It was commanded by Amir Husain Bash al-‘Askar,<sup>19</sup> but carrying Circassian Mamluks on board, and was instead manned by European renegades, Africans, and others described broadly as ‘Levantine’ in contemporary texts. It is clear that the decline of the Delhi sultanate from the late fourteenth century onwards had left in Gujarat a political vacuum. Amir Husain’s chief correspondent in India at this time included the sultan Mahmud Shah I and the governor of Diu, Malik Ayaz. Although the last declared that he was nothing more than a ‘fiscal official of the king of Cambay’ (*hum almoxarife del-rey de Cambaya*), in fact, he had his own fleet of small vessels (*atalaias*), and a personal guard.

In this matter, Amir Husain’s decision was perhaps influenced by the proximity relations and close connections between the sultan of Gujarat and Cairo. It was thus logical that the Mamluk fleet and its commander would seek out an alliance with him, and indeed the decision seems to have been made to use Diu as the centre of operations for the Mamluks, rather than any of the ports of the Konkan or Malabar coasts. The fleet sailed from Egypt to India in 1507. Malik Ayaz<sup>20</sup> actively joined hands with Amir Husain Bash al-‘Askar.<sup>21</sup> By the following year, their collaboration bore tangible results when a combined Indian and Egyptian armada defeated the Portuguese off the coast of Chaul. News of these maritime events reached Cairo by the end of 1508, and it was announced that both gained a considerable booty and several Portuguese prisoners would be sent to the court. However, thereafter, it seems that Malik Ayaz and the Rumi merchants of Gujarat decisively shifted their allegiance away from the Mamluks and towards the Ottomans,<sup>22</sup> finally convinced that the former did not properly defend their interests.<sup>23</sup> In fact, already in 1509, Malik Ayaz withdrew his support to Amir Husain Bash al-‘Askar on the eve of the battle of Diu.

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<sup>18</sup> Giancarlo Casale makes a double mistake referring to Diu as “the port of the Rumis.” He quotes ((2010. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 26), the historian Michael Naylor Pearson (1976. *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal. 103). Pearson wrote in his grounding book: “Diu, the port of the Turks” and also makes a mistake, although different. Barros, a primary source from the sixteenth century, states: “porque Melique Az se não fiava muito dos Rumes, os mandou agazalhar, não consentindo que pousassem dentro na Cidade; da estancia dos quaes ficou alli huma povoação, a que agora os nossos chamam a Villa dos Rumes.” (Transl.: Malik Ayaz did not trust the ‘Rumes’, confined them and did not allow them inside the city [Diu’s citadel]; from their stay [before Portuguese rule] remained a village, that they [the Portuguese] named [Villa dos Rumes]).

For Barros and for Coutinho, primary and contemporary sources from the sixteen century, the Diu’s ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement was named “Villa dos Rumes” (Rumes village). City, port, urban settlement, village and citadel are different entities. The citadel of Diu and the city outside the citadel walls are different urban entities. Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bok. 3, chap. 5, 296; Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. VII, 55, chap. XIV, 84.

<sup>19</sup> Kurdish Mamluk admiral.

<sup>20</sup> There is no evidence of direct correspondence between Malik Ayaz and the sultan of Egypt, but Malik Ayaz is known to have corresponded with Selman Reis, corsair and the leader of a contingent of volunteer Ottoman mariners serving in the Mamluk force then stationed in Yemen. Giancarlo Casale defends in *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, ((2010. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 26) that since Malik Ayaz was also a merchant in his own right, with substantial private trading concerns in the Red Sea, he emerged as an advocate of this ‘Rumi’s’ interests in the face of Portuguese aggression and he was instrumental in convincing the Mamluk Egypt, to intervene in defense of the muslims in the Indian ocean, especially in Diu’s waters. Contrastingly, primary sources like Barros write that Malik Ayaz did not trust the ‘Rumis’.

<sup>21</sup> Aubin, Jean. 1996-2006. “Un nouveau classique: L’Anonyme du British Museum.” In *Le Latin et l’Astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*. Lisbon & Paris: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. vol. 2, 553: “Should be noted, that the Anonymous is remarkably informed about the Mamluk 1506-1507 expedition in the Red Sea, and it adds to already strong Castanheda clarification that the Arab chronicles do not believe.” For main Portuguese source regarding the expedition of Amir Husain, see Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade I, Part. I. 173–218, 282–321.

A retrospective account in Arabic from India regarding the Diu engagement is that of Zain al-Din Ma’bari, translated in Zinadím. 1998. *História dos Portugueses no Malabar*. Lopes, David (transl.). Lisbon: Edições Antígona, 58-59.

<sup>22</sup> For the transition between Mamluks and Ottomans, see Bacquéé-Grammont, Jean-Louis and Kroell, Anne. 1988. *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge: L’Affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.

<sup>23</sup> On Malik Ayaz diplomatic maneuverings, see Aubin, Jean. 1971. “Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye,” In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L’Histoire de L’Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L’Époque de la Domination Portugaise I*, 5–15.

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Gujarat and Egypt formed an alliance to reclaim sea routes from the Portuguese.<sup>24</sup> They constructed a fleet commanded by Amir Husain Bash al-‘Askar which was defeated by the Portuguese. The viceroy Almeida arrived with his fleet off Diu on 3 February 1509, attacked and sank the Mamluks’s fleet, after sacking Dabul and submitting Chaul. The battle took place off the coast of Diu and howed the weakness of Indian naval power and that the Portuguese were able to convert a naval advantage into oceanic hegemony.<sup>25</sup> It was the “first mercantile battle in the Indian Ocean,”<sup>26</sup> one of the most important battles of all naval military history (there was a great disproportion of military forces and victory was achieved through naval artillery) and a battle that changed the world as we know it.

Malik Ayaz for his part refused to enter the combat.<sup>27</sup> His denial decision led to the almost total destruction of the Mamluk fleet at the hands of the Portuguese. The later payback was achieved by the obligation to pay tribute to Portugal and permission to build a factory in Diu. As Aires da Gama, brother of Vasco da Gama, wrote to Lisbon in 1519, after an urgent message dispatched by the Portuguese viceroy Albuquerque one year before alerting the Portuguese king about the possibility of an imminent Ottoman invasion of India: Diu was “waiting for the Ottomans with open arms” and “the merchants of Gujarat control the entire trade with Mecca, and do nothing but to go back and forth.”<sup>28</sup>

Rather than following his orders from Cairo, which had called for the fleet to proceed to India for a renewed engagement with the Portuguese, the chronically insubordinate Amir Husain Bash al-‘Askar instead diverted his entire force to Yemen, where he set about conquering its principal cities in a brazen attempt to establish a personal territorial sphere. Within two years of the Ottomans’ arrival in Yemen, a vast connexion of forces from across

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<sup>24</sup> Malik Ayaz had begun to fear Amir Husain. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Aubin draws: ‘Anxious to preserve the authority he had ably acquired, Malik Ayaz feared, rather more than the wrath of the viceroy, the military superiority of the Egyptians, their prestige and the fact that the importance that was given to them might encourage their temptation to dominate’. Aubin, Jean. 1971. “Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye,” In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L’Histoire de L’Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L’Époque de la Domination Portugaise*. Genève and Paris: Centre de Recherches D’Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. 14-15.

<sup>25</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Omanis attacked Diu in 1668 and succeeded in driving the Portuguese from Muscat and other coastal enclaves. The Omanis’ success demonstrates how easy it might have been for a major Asian power to remove the Portuguese altogether. The surprising thing is that, as Michael N. Pearson points out, no major Asian state seriously tried. Ali, Abdul. 1986. “Struggle between the Portuguese and the Arabs of Oman for Supremacy in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.” In *Hamdard Islamicus* 9/4: 75–80.

<sup>26</sup> The battle of Diu, considered by some as one of the five most important battles of naval history, was fought on 3 February 1509 in Diu’s Arabian Sea waters, between the Portuguese Empire and a joint fleet of the sultan of Gujarat, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, the Zamorin of Calicut with support of Ottomans, the Republic of Venice and finally the Republic of Ragusa (today’s Dubrovnik). The Portuguese victory was instrumental for their Empire and for the future ‘faith’ of the Indian Ocean. Mamluks and Arabs retreated, easing the Portuguese strategy of control of the Indian Ocean to route trade circumventing the traditional spice route controlled by the Arabs and the Venetians through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf and down the Cape of Good Hope. After the battle, Portugal captured ports in the Indian Ocean like Goa, Ceylon, Malacca, Ormuz and a few decades later got control over Diu, crippling the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and the Gujarat Sultanate, greatly assisting the growth of the Portuguese Empire and setting its trade dominance for almost a century. Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria. 1985. “The first mercantile battle in the Indian Ocean: the Afro-Asian front against the Portuguese (1508-1509).” In Sep. de: *Actas II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical and Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga. 179-185.

<sup>27</sup> Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães. 1983. *Os Descobrimientos e a economia mundial*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença. Vol. 3, 100 and 1, fails to see that the root cause of the Egyptian defeat was the abandonment of Amir Husain by Malik Ayaz. He argues that ‘the Mamluks above all formed a body of horsemen without any experience of naval combat; they did not possess a body of well-trained mariners’, and cites the study by Stripling, George W. F. 1942. *The Ottomans Turks and the Arabs, 1511–1574*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 30. Contrastingly, Aubin notes that the situation was, (Aubin, Jean. 1996-2006. *Le Latin et l’Astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*. Lisbon & Paris: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Vol. 3, 460): “Since the Circassians refused to campaign outside Egypt and Syria, and otherwise than on horseback, it was using blacks and European Mamluks that the expeditionary force of 1506 to India was formed.” Aubin’s arguments were latter refuted in: Bethencourt, Francisco and Curto, Diogo Ramada (eds.). 2007. *Portuguese oceanic expansion, 1400–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>28</sup> “Tem Dio com os braços apertos esperando pullos Rumes [...] esta Cambaya tem agora todo ho trato de Meca nam fazem nos naos senam ir e vir.” “Carta de D Ayres da Gama a elRey D. Mel. sobre a prevenção a Navios que irão [...] para o Estado da India no anno de 1519 a 2 de Janeyro,” Torre do Tombo National Archive (ANTT), Lisbon. Gavetas 15, Maços 9, doc.11, folio 3v and 4.

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the Indian Ocean thus appeared to be joined under the Ottomans into an anti-Portuguese alliance.<sup>29</sup> The year 1520 marks the beginning of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, considered the grandest sultan in the history of the Ottoman state. At that time and place, Ibrahim Pasha,<sup>30</sup> had an unusually close relationship with Suleiman which was by itself enough to make him one of the most influential individuals in the Ottoman empire where access to the sultan's person translated almost directly into unadulterated political power and therefore, was appointed the titular head of the Ottoman civil and military administration.

Selman Reis (-1528),<sup>31</sup> naval commander that had entered Mamluk service prior to the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and had actively participated in the Mamluk naval expedition to the Indian Ocean in 1515, and thereafter, had defended Jiddah in 1517 from a Portuguese attack, months before the final collapse of the Mamluk regime, in a report of 1525 to Ibrahim Pasha, claim that whoever was responsible for Yemen would be "master of the lands of India"<sup>32</sup> seemed to be proving truer than expected. Selman Reis had very nearly succeeded in establishing a permanent Ottoman foothold in Yemen. In the process, he had managed (however temporarily) to deny the Portuguese the access to the Red Sea, to establish Ottoman control of the maritime trade from India, and to demonstrate the Ottoman dynasty's potential for building alliances throughout the Indian Ocean. Following Selman's assassination, the nephew Mustafa Bayram, who was also a senior officer of the fleet rallied his uncle's forces and briefly attempted to reestablish control over Yemen on his own. By the end of 1528, as news of Selman's death and his nephew's retreat spread across the sea, the situation in the Indian Ocean began to deteriorate as well.

And just as important, of all the various contenders for power during the period from 1536 to 1544, the one who came closest to qualifying as the empire's new leading statesman was Ibrahim Pasha's deputy, Hadim Suleiman Pasha (1467-1547),<sup>33</sup> henceforth Hadim Suleiman, years in Egypt had brought him into close contact with the enterprising Rumi community associated with the corsair Selman Reis and was more determined than ever to build a powerful Ottoman navy in the Red Sea. Later, as governor of Egypt, he was ordered by the sultan on an expedition to the Indian Ocean, where he led the capture of Aden and the siege of Diu in 1538. After Selman's death (1528), when most of these Rumis fled to India and took up service with sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, the pasha was therefore able to tap these contacts to keep himself well apprised of events both in Yemen and throughout the larger Indian Ocean world.

Following a Portuguese attack, Mustafa Bayram, and the loyal members of the Mamluk corsair expeditionary force, fled to the port of Shihir on South Arabia's Hadrami coast. Then, apparently with the blessing of Ottoman

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<sup>29</sup> In 1588, the Ottoman corsair Mir Ali Beg set sail from Yemen with a fleet and headed for the Portuguese controlled city states of Africa's Swahili coast. Although ultimately unsuccessful, his expedition was conceived as only the first step in an extended effort to create a centralized Ottoman imperial infrastructure throughout the Indian Ocean basin. See: Casale, Giancarlo. 2007. "Global politics in the 1580s: one canal, twenty thousand cannibals, and an Ottoman plot to rule the world." In *Journal of World History*, 18/3. 267-296.

<sup>30</sup> Born a subject of the Republic of Venice in the Epiran town of Parga. Taken captive by pirates at the age of six and sold as a slave to an elite household only shortly thereafter, he is said to have met the future Sultan Hadim Suleiman when the two were still in their teens. In 1523, the sultan ordered Ibrahim Pasha to replace him as grand vizier, making him in name, as well as in fact, the head of the Ottoman administration.

<sup>31</sup> Ottoman seaman and corsair, originally from the Aegean island of Lesbos.

<sup>32</sup> Özbaran, Salih. 1978. "A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean (1525)." In *Arabian Studies* 4: 81-88. The original document can be found in the Topkapi Palace Archives, Istanbul. Reference: T.S.M.A. E. 6455.

<sup>33</sup> See also Özbaran, Salih. 1972. "The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581." In *Journal of Asian History*. 6/1. 45-87, especially 60. Selman had also predicted that with the Ottoman conquest of Yemen, "the total destruction [of the Portuguese] will be inevitable, for one of their fortresses is unable to support another and they are unable to put up a united opposition." See Casale, Giancarlo. 2010. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Hadim Suleiman was able to advance through the ranks of the Ottoman hierarchy primarily as a result of his involvement in the empire's efforts to establish a presence in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. By 1541, after leading an expedition to India and, in the process, successfully conquering Yemen, he was promoted to the grand vizierate, the first case in history in which the Indian Ocean became a springboard for attaining the Ottoman empire's highest office. As governor of Egypt, he was ordered by the sultan on an expedition to the Indian Ocean, where he led the capture of Aden and the Siege of Diu in 1538.

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authorities in Egypt, they left Shihr and set sail for Diu arriving there in the winter of 1531.<sup>34</sup> Mustafa's arrival retook and strengthened the link between Diu and the Ottoman Empire that had first been established during the reign of Selim I. It is an historiographical cliché that one of the reasons of Selim's conquest of Egypt in 1517 was his determination to counter the Portuguese threat to his muslim coreligionists and to protect Ottoman trade. Selim was by no means a collaborator in the Mamluk Sultanate's feeble attempts to defend muslim shipping from the Portuguese before 1517. As such, since the Portuguese blockade of the Red sea was firmly in place long before Selim arrived on the scene, the Mamluk dynasty may well have suffered (and ultimately collapsed) as a result of Portuguese movements. But for the Ottomans under Selim, the spice trade can in no way be considered a lost source of revenue that the sultan was unable to protect. Rather, it represented a opportunity to exploit an untapped a font of prosperity.

Just as important, Mustafa Bayram and his men could not have reached Diu at a more critical occasion: just days before Cunha was to launch an attack on the city by sea. In fact, Gujarat's ruling sovereign in 1531, sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati, Gujarat's ruling sovereign, son of Selim's old correspondent sultan Muzaffar Shah II (r. 1511-1526)<sup>35</sup> and Diu's local governor, Bahaulmulk Tughan, was none other than the son of Malik Ayaz. The Gujaratis welcomed the Ottoman arrival, and Bahaulmulk Tughan invited Mustafa Bayram's and his men to assume Diu's defense. This he did, extracting losses and unsettling the Portuguese siege by mining the fortifications outside the citadel and disrupting the 1531 Portuguese siege that took place. As news of this accomplishment spread in Gujarat, Bahadur Shah Gujarati, bestowed gifts and titles on Mustafa Bayram and invited his men to enter his service in Gujarat. He embarked on a set of campaigns, that ranged as far as Bombay on the one hand, and Agra on the other, and in 1535 the Portuguese chroniclers referred to him in this way: "This [Bahadur] is naturally a conqueror, and of great heart, and the most indefatigable man that I've ever seen, and an extraordinarily great lord, save now that Fortune goes against him."<sup>36</sup>

The idea of Bahadur Shah Gujarati military campaigns seems to have been a reversal of the classic pattern, in which initially land-locked states in the Indo-Gangetic plain sought maritime outlets by expanding westwards towards the coast. Here instead was a coastal state that sought to broaden its hinterland, but which equally wished to expand the coastal territories under its control. The reversal, when it came, was rapid. Between the mid-1530s and the late 1550s, the sultanate imploded, leaving it relatively easy prey for the Mughals, once the latter had sorted out their own internal dynastic problems, and also defeated the Afghan alternative that was grouped around Sher Shah and his successors. Therefore, the death of Bahadur Shah Gujarati himself has a dual importance. It is invested with some symbolism for Euro-Asian relations and is equally a hinge moment in regional politics, when the seal is set on the decline of the sultanate.

After all, under Mahmud Shah I, the sultanate of Gujarat was a prosperous political entity that had appeared on the scene and over-extended itself in circumstances when new and powerful rivals been during the first decades

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<sup>34</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade IV, bk. 8, chap. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, who reigned 1526–1535 and 1536–1537, was a sultan of Gujarat sultanate, a late medieval kingdom in India. Bahadur Shah's father was Shams-ud-Din Muzaffar Shah II, who had ascended to the throne of the Gujarat sultanate in 1511. Muzaffar Shah II nominated Sikandar Shah (Bahadur Shah's elder brother) as the heir apparent to the throne. Bahadur Shah's relationship with his brother and father became tense as Sikandar Shah began to assume greater administrative control. Fearing for his life, Bahadur Shah fled Gujarat, first seeking refuge with Chittor, and then with Ibrahim Lodi. He was present at the Battle of Panipat, though he did not take part in fighting. When he received the news of the death of his father on April 5, 1526 he returned to Gujarat and almost all joined him. The opposition was suppressed immediately and executed. After this Bahadur turned against his brothers, his nearest rival Latif was severely wounded in an action, taken prisoner and died. Mahmud II, the infant son of Muzaffar Shah II, who succeeded Sikandar after his death and three other princes were poisoned.

Hasan, Farhat. 2004. *State and Locality in Mughal India. Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications. 12-20.

<sup>36</sup> "Este [Bahadur] naturalmente he comquystador he de grande coracam he ho mays fragueyro omem que eu numqua vy he muy grande senhor em demasya senam agora he foy a fortuna comtrayra." Letter from Martim Afonso de Sousa to João III, written from Lathi on 1 November 1535, and transcribed in: Ribeiro, Luciano. 1958. "O primeiro cerco de Dio." *Studia* 1. 235.

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of the sixteenth century. The former balance of power that had obtained for a good part of the fifteenth century - between the Afghan state in the heart of the Indo-Gangetic plain, the Rajput buffer states between this and Gujarat, the large area of possible expansion in Central India - no longer characterised the century that followed. A possible, and relatively conservative strategy for the Gujarat sultans would have been to consolidate their rule over Kathiawar, encroach slightly on the southern Rajput states and Malwa, and to then try and hold this compact territory against the Mughals.

Coming back to sultan Hadim Suleiman's, it should be emphasized his relationship with Hoja Safar,<sup>37</sup> a former slave of Selman Reis from Otranto, Italy, was to prove significant for the ensuing history of Diu. His career is obscure, and the circumstances under which he entered Selman's service, converted to Islam, and gained his freedom unknown. By the time of Selman Reis's expedition to Yemen in 1526, however, Hoja Safar could be counted among Selman's closest men. Later, he escorted Mustafa Bayram and his Rumi entourage to their new home in India. In 1534, the same year Mustafa Bayram left the Gujarati and defected to the Mughals, Hoja Safar was preferred to replace him as the head of the Rumi community. Accordingly, Bahadur Shah Gujarati made him alias Khudavend Khan<sup>38</sup> and granted him Diu as well as other land holdings.

The aura of the Ottoman Empire as the greatest military power of the time was gained in Europe and did spread among the Portuguese in the *Estado da Índia*, such that they were apprehensive for many years that Christendom's rival could also surface on the ocean and in league with the Gujaratis would dispossess them of their colonial power and possessions.<sup>39</sup> After Basra came under direct Ottoman control, it became possible for the Ottomans to launch periodical attacks against the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean.<sup>40</sup> When the Ottomans took Baghdad in 1534, the more so since the ruler of Basra nominally became the sultan's vassal in the same year, and even more when years later Hadim Suleiman sailed into the Red sea, with the reported objective of taking Aden and Yemen and reducing power of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, taking Muscat and besieging Ormuz. At the time, the Portuguese were disconcerted with the threat of an Ottoman attack on their Indian Ocean possessions.

Hadim Suleiman's own fleet neared completion in the Suez and he had managed to reach a coalition, linking Istanbul with allies across the entire breadth of the Indian Ocean from Shihr and Gujarat to Calicut and Sumatra.<sup>41</sup> As a final piece of this global puzzle, Hadim Suleiman took advantage of political developments in the Mediterranean to further extend the geographical range of his planning. Using the Ottomans' declaration of war against Venice in 1537 as a pretext, he impounded all of the Venetian merchant vessels in Egypt and pressed their crews into service in his fleet. With his forces in Suez augmented by hundreds of Venetian gunners, pilots, and skilled craftsmen, he was ready to set sail for India. Hadim Suleiman's armada, consisting of nearly seventy vessels

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<sup>37</sup> The name appears in contemporary writings as: Coge Sofar (João de Barros as author); Coge Cofar (Diogo de Couto as author); Coge Cafar (Gaspar Correia as author); Coge Cofar (Fernão Lopes de Castanheda as author); Safar Sultani Khudavand Khan and Khwaja Safar Sultani (Haji ad Dabir as author), Coge Sofar (Diogo de Teive as author) and Coju Sofar (António Baião as author). For his biography, see Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. XIII, 83; *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisbon: Alfa.83; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1996. "The Trading World of the Western Indian Ocean, 1546-1565: A Political Interpretation." In *A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa, 8th International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Matos, Artur Teodoro de and Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. (ed.). Angra do Heroísmo: Universidade Católica Portuguesa. 217.

<sup>38</sup> Bentley, Jerry H.; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay and Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. 2015. *The Cambridge World History*. Volume VI, The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE, Part 1, Foundations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 189.

<sup>39</sup> It is remarkable that the logic of this assumption keeps affecting modern historiography as well, resulting in statements unsupported by evidence.

<sup>40</sup> Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History* London: Wiley-Blackwell. 156.

<sup>41</sup> It was arguably the most geographically extensive alliance ever assembled. Kerr, Robert (ed.). 1824. "Particular Relation of the Expedition of Solyman Pacha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu, written by a Venetian Officer who was pressed into Turkish Service on that occasion." In *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood. Vol. 7, 259.

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[Figure 2.1] Death of sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati in front of Diu against the Portuguese 1537.  
Akbar Nama, end of the sixteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> This illustration, from an early Indian history of Portuguese activities (c. 1603-1604), shows the drowning of Bahadur Shah, an hindu sultan, during an on-ship meeting with the Portuguese governor. The Portuguese said that the sultan jumped overboard; Indians insisted that he was pushed.

in all and a crew approaching ten thousand individuals,<sup>43</sup> ranked in its day as one of the largest fleets ever assembled in the Indian Ocean since the legendary fleets of the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho more than a century earlier.<sup>44</sup>

In 1536, the Portuguese had control over Diu, while the sultanate of Gujarat was under attack from the Mughal empire. In some sense, the unsuccessful siege of the fortress of Diu<sup>45</sup> by the Gujarat forces and their Ottoman allies one year later only confirms what happened in 1537, when the sultan died in the waters of Diu [figure 2.1]. In 1538, the same Ottomans, who before had taken over Egypt (1517), joined hands with the Gujarat sultanate to launch an offensive against the Portuguese. The Indian early modern historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam evolved this view: “The Ottoman ‘threat’ [...] seems very likely that the ‘Rumi’ notables in Gujarat would have a role to play, both during the time of the two sieges of Diu and thereafter [...]. The question nevertheless remains of the real extent of the Ottoman interest in India affairs after about 1546.”<sup>46</sup>

Hadim Suleiman not only went out to Gujarat but also imposed a new equilibrium on the Red Sea. His tangible objective was to help the sultan of Gujarat who had asked for military assistance against the Portuguese. On his way, his troops destroyed some settlements and besieged Diu. After some months, he was beaten back and returned empty-handed to Suez. And yet, as carefully planned and as extravagantly financed as his 1538 campaign undoubtedly was, in the end it still fell short of achieving all that Hadim Suleiman had hoped. Most disappointingly, his efforts with his far-flung allies failed to produce their intended result and in Gujarat, his operations were compromised by feeble cooperation between him and his indigenous partners, eventually compelling him to lift the siege of Diu and retreat defeated.

Still, it should not be forgotten that, at the least a victory over Diu was to elude the Ottomans by only the slenderest possible of margins. When Hadim Suleiman gave the order to lift the siege in November 1538, after an epic six week struggle to take the city, the Portuguese garrison commanded by António da Silveira (c. 1500 - ) inside Diu’s fortress was virtually moribund, out of munitions and with no more than a few dozen soldiers to bear arms.<sup>47</sup> Why, then, when the capture of Diu seemed all but inevitable, did Hadim Suleiman choose retreat? The Ottoman retreat from Diu should be considered first and foremost a political rather than a military defeat.<sup>48</sup> Most surviving accounts of the siege, strongly condemn Hadim Suleiman, attribute his decision to cowardice,

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<sup>43</sup> Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*. London: Wiley-Blackwell. 84.

<sup>44</sup> For a reevaluation of the size of this early fleet, see Wake, Christophe. 2004. “The Myth of Zheng He’s Great Treasure Ships.” In *International Journal of Maritime History*, 14/1: 59–75.

<sup>45</sup> About the first siege of Diu, see *inter alia*: Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1515-1577). 1989. *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisbon: Alfa; Dames, M. Longworth. 1921. “The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century.” In *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1: 1-28; Couto, Dejanirah. 1999. “Les Ottomans et l’Inde Portugaise.” *Vasco da Gama and India: religious, cultural and art history*, International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998, Souza, Teotónio R. de, Garcia, José Manuel, (org.). Lisbon and Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Vol. I, 181–200; Casale, Giancarlo. 2010. *The Ottoman age of exploration*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 56–63.

<sup>46</sup> The second siege of Diu happened in 1546, undertaken by Gujarat ‘Rumis.’ Turks and other nationals from the Ottoman Empire that may have participated in it. See *inter alia*: Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1996. “The Trading World of the Western Indian Ocean, 1546-1565: A Political Interpretation.” In *A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos: actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa, 8th International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Matos, Artur Teodoro de and Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. (ed.). Angra do Heroísmo: Universidade Católica Portuguesa. 207-229; Garcia, José Manuel and Quintans, Maria João. 1993. “O Segundo Cerco de Diu visto por D. João de Mascarenhas: uma carta e o seu contexto historiográfico.” In *Mare Liberum* 5: 139-150 and also Correa, Gaspar, (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, M. Lopes de (intro. and rev.). Porto: Lello e Irmão. especially volume IV.

<sup>47</sup> See *inter alia*, Lopo de Sousa Coutinho’s Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa, (1515-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal, the main Portuguese narrative of the siege. See also two documents by: Ribeiro, Luciano. 1958. “O primeiro cerco de Dio.” In *Studia* 1: 201–95; and 1964. “Em torno do primeiro cerco de Diu.” In *Studia* 13–14: 41–100.

There is a letter from Hadim Suleiman to the Gujarat vizier Ulu Khan today preserved in Portuguese translation in the Torre do Tombo National Archive (ANTT), Lisbon. See *Corpo Cronologico*, parte 3a, maço 14, doc. 44.

<sup>48</sup> Some sources even suggest that Hadim Suleiman’s decision to retreat was the result of a letter forged by Hoja Safar to convince him that a major Portuguese relief force was on the way. See *inter alia*: ad-Dabir, Muhammad al-Makki al-Asafi al-Ulughkhani Hajji. 1970. *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi. An Arabic History of Gujarat*. Lokhandwala, M. F. (trans.). Baroda: Oriental Institute. 227 and Serjeant, R. B. 1963. *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast: Hadrami Chronicles with Yemeni and European Accounts of Dutch Pirates off Mocha in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 97.

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arguing that he had been frightened by rumors of a relief force on its way from Goa. It also seems clear that the pasha was facing mounting resistance to his siege even from his own local allies. Still the siege is one of the best-known military episodes of Portugal's history in Asia and has a place in Portuguese historiographical imagery as almost as no other military event until today.

The grand vizier's removal displayed such a degree of continuity with the period of his greatest influence that, by 1546, his allies were ready to launch again a round of land and sea attacks against the Portuguese. As before, the Ottomans' most important associate remained Hoja Safar, who was still governor of Surat<sup>49</sup> and still intent on doing everything within his power to recapture Diu and was therefore able to convince his sovereign, Mahmud III, of the necessity of a renewed attack on Diu.<sup>50</sup> Actions began when, at Hoja Safar's urging, his relative Mustafa al-Nashar<sup>51</sup> agreed to ship Ottoman artillery to Diu from Mocha.<sup>52</sup> With the armies of sultan Mahmud and Hoja Safar already surrounding the city, this force of Ottoman auxiliaries made a dramatic entrance into Diu's harbor on April 18, 1546, "waving Turkish flags, firing a great volley of muskets, and indulging in all of the bizarre and overbearing pageantry customary of that barbarous nation," in the words of Couto.<sup>53</sup> The siege began on the very same day, and as news of the outbreak of hostilities spread, muslim merchants up and down the coast of India began to refuse to trade with the Portuguese in anticipation of a speedy victory for Hoja Safar and his allies.<sup>54</sup> Such confidence proved premature, for the second siege of Diu devolved into an even bloodier and more lengthy struggle than the first had been. Hoja Safar himself was killed on the battlefield by an artillery bombardment,<sup>55</sup> as were numerous high-ranking officers on the Portuguese side. The situation was described bluntly: "Many of the combatants were killed by gunfire; others died of putrified air; very few were left alive."<sup>56</sup> In the end, with both sides nearing the point of exhaustion, the Portuguese were saved by the timely arrival of a relief fleet from Goa. Consequently, the second siege of Diu also ended in failure.<sup>57</sup> The Ottomans second major defeat in eight years was both bitter and definitive. Never again would the Portuguese directly be challenged this way in Diu.

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<sup>49</sup> Between 1538 and 1573, Surat was governed by several Ottoman ('Rumi') commanders and one was Hoja Safar. Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. XII, 75, chap. XIII, 83; Bentley, Jerry H.; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay and Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. 2015. *The Cambridge World History*, Volume VI, The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE, Part I Foundations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 189.

<sup>50</sup> ad-Dabir, Muhammad al-Makki al-Asafi al-Ulughkhani Hajji. 1970. *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi. An Arabic History of Gujarat*. Lokhandwala, M. F. (trans.). Baroda: Oriental Institute. 232-234.

<sup>51</sup> Governor of Zebid (Yemen) until 1545 and a veteran of the 1538 campaign.

<sup>52</sup> One of the ships sent by Hoja Safar to the Red Sea in the run-up to hostilities, captained by another of Hoja Safar's Ottoman relatives with Ottoman soldiers headed for Diu, was intercepted and captured by the Portuguese. See Castro, João de (1500-1548), *Cartas de D. João de Castro*, Sanceau, Elaine (ed.). Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 225-28; on Mustafa al-Nashar's shipment of men and supplies, paid for by Hoja Safar in gold, see Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade V, bk. 11, chap. 8.

<sup>53</sup> "foi hum grande esquadrao de Turcos com suas bandeiras e dando uma grande salva de arcabuzaria e com outras bizarras e soberbas que aquela barbara nao usa." Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade VI, bk. 1, chap. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Sanceau, Elaine, (ed.). 1973-83. *Colleção de São Lourenço*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos. Vol. 3, 367.

<sup>55</sup> About Hoja Safar's death, see Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade VI, bk. 2, chap. 3.

<sup>56</sup> ad-Dabir, Muhammad al-Makki al-Asafi al-Ulughkhani Hajji. 1970. *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi. An Arabic History of Gujarat*. Lokhandwala, M. F. (trans.). Baroda: Oriental Institute. 233.

<sup>57</sup> For the second siege of Diu, see *inter alia*: Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1515-1577). *Liuro primeyro [-segundo] do cerco de Diu que os Turcos posemam à fortaleza de Diu / per Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, fidalgo da casa do inuictissimo Rey dom Ioam de Portugal ho terceyro deste nome*. Coymbra: per Ioá Aluarez, 15 Setembro 1556; 1989. *O primeiro cerco de Diu*. Albuquerque, Luís de (dir. and comment); Pericão, Maria da Graça (transc.). Lisbon: Alfa; Teive, Diogo de (1514-1569). *Cōmentarius de rebus in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostrae MDXLVI / Iacobo Teuio Lusitano autore*. Conimbricæ: excudebant Ioannes Barrerius & Ioannes Aluarus, 1548 [1973. *Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostrae MDXLVI*: Coimbra, 1548. Goertz, Wolf (introd.), Goertz, Wolf & Bianchini L. (transl.). Lisbon: R.B. Rosenthal Editor; *Summario delle cose successe à Don Giovan di Castro Governator del stato della India per il potentissimo Rè di Portogallo tanto nelle guerre contra lo Ydalcaao signore della terra ferme qual è presso alla città di Guoa, come anche principalmente nella vittoria che hebbe rompendo l'esercito del Rè do Cambaia qual teneva assediata la forteza della città de Dio, ove era per capitania di essa Don Giovan Mascharenhas, et l'haveva difeso del detto exercito per spatio di otto mesi che era durato l'assedio*. Roma: A. Blado, 1549. [cited in Garcia, José Manuel. 1995. *Sumário das coisas sucedidas a Dom João de Castro, governador do Estado da India*. Garcia, José Manuel, (present. and revision); Raffaella D'Intino (trans.). Lisbon: Cotovia for National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP)]. Available in the British Library, London. Identifier: System number 000631749. Shelfmark(s): General Reference Collection C.32.e.22;

### Written accounts

Through diaries, reports, and cultural awareness of the brutalities of the war, the sieges of Diu became a major military event for sixteenth century Europe's military history<sup>58</sup> and an historical epitome<sup>59</sup> about the foundations of the Portuguese presence in India and about the fundamentals of Portugal for later Portuguese writers until today. Each of its authors fears exposure through paradox with other accounts of Diu. The moment has woven itself into Diu's history in ways which shaped the perceptions of both travellers and inhabitants to the city for several centuries after the conflict itself, as well as generations of readers of the history of Portugal and of the city's history through archival documentation of the Portuguese presence in India. We take as task here the connection of the volatility and slippage in the representations of the siege with the overall image of Diu itself. As an important part of the history and of architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu, the accounts of travellers, inhabitants, soldiers, and others who have experienced Diu, constitute an instrumental key to understanding the physical and political shifts in the city itself since the late sixteenth century. The nature of these representations forms part of this text as well; in the months of captivity at Diu, comments move through a variety of narrative moods and do, much as every author fears, expose. The stories of the sieges, and their effect upon the spatialization of Diu, anchor our discussion of the encompassing diaries, letters, travel narratives, addresses to the government, monuments, architecture, city space, and ultimately death.

By looking at a seemingly military occurrence and its aftermaths/recurrences in monument, memorial and narrative, the relationships among the different urban spaces of Diu quickly become fundamental to the argument. The fear can be read in terms of what it reveals about one's own contingent knowledge of the historical events. Part of our task will be to open up the moment of the siege in text, in order to examine the ways in which this historical event and its multiple narrative representations shaped Diu during the early modern age. The various narratives of the events contradict one another and expose the multiplicity of colonial histories. Moreover, the multiple narratives - accounts, letters and diaries - in this chapter directly speak to Diu itself as a colonial city and constitute a unique insight into the events leading up to the sieges. They provide contemporary narratives of the mood of months of captivity, and by extension the mood of the Portuguese in India. Moreover, they open up questions of architectural and urban research which plague many; even the narrators themselves not satisfied with their own attempts to relate the facts of the events surrounding them. We will outline briefly some of the main

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2002. *Comentário da gesta portuguesa no cerco à fortaleza da cidade de Diu na Índia*. Cardoso, José (introd. and notes). Braga: APPACDM; Nunes, Leonardo. 1927. *História quinhentista (inédita) do Segundo Cêrco de Dio: ilustrada com a correspondência original, também inédita, de D. João de Castro, D. João de Mascarenhas e outros, Baião, António* (pub. and preface). Coimbra: Coimbra University Press; Corte Real, Jerónimo (1530?-1588). 1991. *Sucesso do Segundo Cerco de Diu: Códice Cadaval 31 – ANTT*. Albuquerque, Martim de (introd.). Lisbon: INAPA.

<sup>58</sup> The events of the sieges of Diu are referred in sixteenth century sources as for example: Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa, (1515-1577). *Liuro primeyro [-segundo] do cerco de Diu que os Turcos poseeram à fortaleza de Diu*/per Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, fidalgo da casa do inuicissimo Rey dom Ioam de Portugal ho terceyro deste nome. Coymbra: per Ioá Aluarus, 15 Setembro 1556; Góis, Damião de, (1502-1574). 1549. *De bello cambaico*. Lovanii: Apud Servatium Sassenum Diestensem. 1549; Nouvelles des Indes... Paris: Jehâ du Pré, 1549; Teive, Diogo de (1514-1569). *Cômentarius de rebus in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostrae MDXLVI / Iacobo Teuio Lusitano autore*. Conimbricae: excudebant Ioannes Barrerius & Ioannes Aluarus, 1548 [1973. *Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostrae MDXLVI: Coimbra*, 1548. Goertz, Wolf (introd.), Goertz, Wolf & Bianchini L. (transl.). Lisbon: R.B. Rosenthal Editor; *Summario delle cose successe à Don Giovan di Castro Governator del stato della India per il potentissimo Rè di Portogallo tanto nelle guerre contra lo Ydalcaon signore della terra ferme qual è presso alla città di Guoa, come anche principalmente nella vittoria che hebbe rompendo l'esercito del Rè do Cambaia qual teneva assediata la forteza della città de Dio, ove era per capitania di essa Don Giovan Mascharenhas, et l'haveva difeso del detto exercito per spatio di otto mesi che era durato l'assedio*. Roma: A. Blado, 1549. [cited in Garcia, José Manuel. 1995. *Sumário das coisas sucedidas a Dom João de Castro, governador do Estado da India*. Garcia, José Manuel, (present. and revision); Raffaella D'Intino (trans.). Lisbon: Cotovia for National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP)]. Available in the British Library, London. Identifier: System number 000631749. Shelfmark(s): General Reference Collection C.32.e.22; 2002. *Comentário da gesta portuguesa no cerco à fortaleza da cidade de Diu na Índia*. Cardoso, José (introd. and notes). Braga: APPACDM.

<sup>59</sup> Francis I (1494-1565), king of France, had the portrait of António da Silveira e Menezes, captain of the citadel of Diu during the first siege in his 'salle de la Renomeé' (illustrious gallery) [Fernandes, Maria Antónia Quina Carvalho. 1993. "Novos dados para um enigma." In Ferreira, António Mega (dir.). *Oceanos* 13. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 83].

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recurring themes of diaries and letters, identifying some of the ‘facts’ which have repercussions in later stories of the siege, and which have shaped Diu in the years following.

After his participation on the second siege of Diu, Castro wrote a letter to João III, addressing some of the actions that should be taken by his monarch to establish his own eastern empire:

... Regarding the matters of Cambaya, I wish to inform Your Highness that I have put Mamude [Mahmud] who calls himself king of Guuzeraate [Gujarat] in such a State that any captain of Your Highness could now enter into his lands [...] and I have killed all the foreign people (*gente estrangeira*) that he had, including all the famous captains of his kingdom, and I have seized all the artillery and munitions from his camp, as well as his strong and great city of Dio; and through my captains I have had all the sea-coast destroyed and devastated, and they seized the cities of Guogua, Guandar [...] from him. After they had killed many of his people they caused such destruction that there was hardly one stone that remained atop another which they also did in many other places and arid castles. So than Portuguese arms were now not only feared in all of Guuzeraate, but their fame has created such in the whole land that no one even dared to defend themselves but instead they either fled many leagues into the interior or surrendered to our clemency and mercy. And after [...] ruining so many of their cities and castles, I remained all of the summer in this city of Dio, waiting for Your Highness to send someone to take over the kingdom of Cambaya. [...] I will return to take up quarters in this city of Dio with all the Portuguese people who can be found in these parts. [...] Written in this city of Dio, 8 January [*sic*: for February] 1547.<sup>60</sup>

The times before and after the sieges can be read as declared war correspondence among various forces and between their envoys and the ‘enemy’ substantiate this claim. The events place Diu within an western Indian strategic framework with Goa, the seat of the *Estado da Índia*. The events demonstrate the extent to which the Portuguese considered themselves to be in hostile and war-time surroundings. This context elucidates, for instance, the construction of factories with defensible walls and easy river access. The series of battles and the narratives also point to the tenuous nature of the Portuguese presence in India during the late sixteenth century. Hence, everything becomes peacetime, with a few small eruptions of easily squashed rebellion. The documentation from the time of the Diu siege paints a different picture, one of pitched battles and breaches of wartime etiquette. Therefore, declared conflicts do not enter some of the narratives. Why do these images of late sixteenth-century history conflict, and how does this ambiguity shape the representation of Diu in these narratives?

One of the most important written portraits describing in a very profuse and comprehensive way the second siege of Diu was made by Correa. He had profound knowledge about the Portuguese presence in Asia and access to written and oral sources. The struggle appears in his landmark work *Lendas da Índia*<sup>61</sup> and the description was made as if the struggle happens in an urban environment, house by house and place by place. Correa detailed with accuracy the ‘war machine’ made by the Gujarati lords of war to besiege Diu.<sup>62</sup> Correa also shows in a penetrating account of war and intelligence in Diu, how networks of Indian spies were recruited and utilized by the Portuguese to secure information about their subjects. Finally, examines the social and intellectual origins of these informants, and considers how the Portuguese interpreted and often misinterpreted the information they supplied for the sake of the siege. As he seeks to demonstrate, it was such misunderstandings which ultimately contributed to the failure of the siege of 1546. However, Gujarati complex systems of communication were challenging the political and intellectual dominance of the European rulers. Correa mentions the death of Castro’s son mourned in solitude.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Alam, Muzaffar and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2011. *Writing the Mughal World: Studies on Culture and Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. 78

<sup>61</sup> Correa, Gaspar, (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, M. Lopes de (intro. and rev.). Porto: Lello e Irmão. Vol. IV, especially, 504-557.

<sup>62</sup> Reference to the *pasheb*, ramps made with soil and rubble to access the citadel walls, Correa, Gaspar, (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, M. Lopes de (intro. and rev.). Porto: Lello e Irmão. Vol. IV. 483

<sup>63</sup> Correa, Gaspar, (1495-1561). 1975. *Lendas da Índia*. Almeida, M. Lopes de (intro. and rev.). Porto: Lello e Irmão. Vol. IV, 526.

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The writings of Lopo de Sousa Coutinho (1515-1577),<sup>64</sup> henceforth Coutinho, are also a primordial and exhaustive account of the siege. They reveal the extent of Castro's political prominence in the region, and the clear purpose of his military and economic assault on the *Estado da Índia* holdings and Castro's policies towards western India.<sup>65</sup> Much of the information reproduced indicates the ineffectiveness of the opposite forces. Nevertheless, even in seeming exasperation, he indicates the power of the Portuguese army and the forward planning made to succeed in his purpose. As with all history, even the story of this brief period is limited. Most of Coutinho's thoughts and letters - as he fought himself the Gujaratis - are missing here as are many of the details of the siege itself. In many ways, the patchiness of the evidence surrounding the siege underscores Coutinho's hesitation even in presenting his own history to posterity. The histories surrounding the events contextualize the siege within war, within resistance to economic and political power, and within the sixteenth century histories of the sultanate of Gujarat and of imperial Mughal India:

... This edge of Diu is cut off by a salt water river, which makes it an island: It is the length of two short leagues and in its wider part half a league. This river is not accessible from the west because of large reefs, and from the east it has a good harbour and good access for small or unloaded ships; and this part faces Bassein, at a distance of twenty-eight leagues. This part of the island was formerly inhabited some by some fishermen with poor houses. Similarly, other fishermen brought their nets and boats and were adding to the town; but no others lived there since there was lack of water, especially from that side. After this, there will be three hundred years, because in the hinterland there were thieves (called *resbutos*), and many people because they lived away from had raids made at every hour, so even in such circumstances, and they could well do it because the river was't wider than half a crossbow shoot, and in the narrower distances: thus a good city was being made; but its better growth, nobility and wall, came about place as I shall say.

Sultan Madrefaxa reigned in Cambay, grandfather of sultan Bahadur, [...] having said that the king sieged a place from the kingdom of Mandou (that he was at war) with powerful army, with people of many nations [...] one native Tartar who earned his pay, called Meliqueliaz [...] and thanking the Tartar for the diligence of his service, he began to honour and favour; but much more he felt the will, wisdom and courage that was present. And wishing to do humanity, Meliqueliaz requested from the sultan the island of Diu with its village, not only did he give him what he asked, but also deemed it appropriate, that on the mainland, there were two or three leagues besides the island. As Meliqueliaz [...] being a wise man of war understood the nature of the river's entrance, and therefore encircled the city with a much larger wall and moat than the town was supposed to have, including the western tip of the river's entrance, and the wall on the sea side until Diogo Lopes de Siqueira's bulwark (later constructed there); and from there cutting the island straight to the river, putting in each place the necessary bulwarks and towers.

And where the wall joins the river another bulwark was founded, and from here the same wall runs along the river until the tip (which I have said) of the entrance; here was founded a powerful bulwark, which was filled of artillery; and further in the same part of the river was built another bulwark called *Couraça*, with a strong thick chain to the sea bulwark in front, which was raised and let down with a capstan. Another was built on a rocky bank that is almost the middle of the river bay, the sea bulwark is uncommonly big and long, and in the midst of it a keep. And apart from being by nature a secure bay, I wanted to make it even more difficult, launching from land one long stockade of thick wood, which surrounds the sea bulwark leaving it inside, and takes it in the channel; and along this stockade some loose stones were launched. The land is occupied by the city's wall of triangular shape, namely, one of the angles where the Diogo Lopes de Siqueira bulwark faces south; the one along the river faces to the northwest, and the third angle which is in the entrance of this river and bay, is facing the west; here is founded the bulwark which I have already said is called *Barra*.

Meliqueliaz soon burst the city with many and rich merchants, favouring his deals so that from a small fishermen's place he soon made the noblest and most feared city in all of India. And since its wealth was countless and the place very visited by merchants, he founded on a beach in front of the city on mainland, a villa of something like a thousand neighbours, surrounded by a wall. And he this did for the Turks who came from the Red sea to take shelter from the many uprisings that troubled the city, and from here it was called the village of *Rumes*,

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<sup>64</sup> Soldier, captain, governor from São Jorge da Mina fort (1541-1545?) and Captain-major for the Royal fleet. He distinguished himself greatly by his bravery in the siege of Diu in 1538, where he fought against Khwaja Safar and his men who greatly outnumbered the Portuguese soldiers. He published his book called "Livro primeiro do cerco de Diu, que os Turcos fizeram a fortaleza de Diu" (First book of the siege of Diu, which the Turks made on the Fortress of Diu) in Coimbra in 1556. It would become the most important description of the siege of Diu and related events.

<sup>65</sup> Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal.

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because the Indians called *rume* to the man who is blond as usually the Turks are. This Meliqueliaz after his death left two children, Melique Tocam, a very appreciated man very and Melique Sacla, both killed with cruelty by Sultan Bahadur and he took rule over the city.<sup>66</sup>

In many ways, the stories of the sieges have little to do with Diu as a city and instead focus on the political manoeuvrings surrounding the clashes for power in western India and the places and prisoners of war taken in those encounters. In the narratives, Diu is merely the backdrop for these events and the city's participation is unexpected. However, the repercussions of these events shape the Portuguese presence in India and Diu dramatically. Primarily, it is the shifting and re-reading of the histories presented in this section which complicate and confound the histories of Diu as a city. Coutinho's warning regarding the dubious accuracy of his text and his worry of exposure in his diaries underlines the shifting nature of the events even as they happened, and this confusion finds its echo in the discontinuities of colonial discourse and the construction of Diu's urban history during the early seventeenth century.

Coutinho's text reverberates with the narrative from 1634 authored by António Bocarro (c. 1594-1642),<sup>67</sup> henceforth Bocarro, that was coupled with the drawing by Pedro Barreto de Resende ( - 1651), henceforth

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<sup>66</sup> “Esta ponta de Diu é cortada de um rio de agua salgada, que a faz ser ilha: será de comprimento de duas leguas pequenas, e no mais largo terá meia legua. Este rio pelo poente não se entra, por causa de grandes recifes, e pela parte do levante tem bom porto e boa entrada para naus pequenas ou descarregadas; e d'esta parte que digo fica de rosto a Baçaim, distante vinte e oito leguas de travessa. Aqui, da parte da ilha, antigamente habitavam alguns pescadores em suas pobres casas. Por esta mesma via outros pescadores passaram suas redes e barcos e foram accrescentando a povoação; mas não que gente outra em ella vivesse por ter defeito de agua, principalmente da dita parte. Depois, haverá trezentos annos, porque na terra firme sobejavam os salteadores (a que chamam resbutos), muitos por viverem fóra dos rebates que dos ditos ladrões cada hora recebiam, assim mesmo se foram á dita ilha, e podiam-n' o bem fazer por não ser mais largo o rio que de meio tiro de bésta, e a logares mais estreito: assim se foi fazendo uma boa villa; mas seu mior accrescentamento, nobresa e cerca, teve o nascimento que agora direi. Reinando em Cambaia o Sultão Madrefaxa, avô do Sultão Badur, [...] tendo o dito rei cercado um logar do reino de Mandou (com que ao presente tinha guerra) com poderoso exercito, no qual militavam diversas nações de gentes [...] um tartaro de nação que no exercito ganhava seu soldo, per nome Meliqueliaz [...] e agradecendo ao tartaro a diligencia que poz em o servir, o começou a honrar e favorecer; mas muito mais o fez depois que sentiu a muita discreção, sizo e valentia que n'ella morava. E desejando-lhe fazer mercê, sendo-lhe do dito Meliqueliaz pedida aquella ilha de Diu com sua povoação, não somente lhe deu o que ele lhe pedia, mas tambem houve por bem, que na terra firme, houvesse duas ou tres leguas quanto se estendia na mesma ilha. Como Meliqueliaz [...] sendo homem de guerra conheceu a forte disposição que a entrada do rio tinha, e assim a dita ilha, cercou então a cidade muito maior de que a povoação era, de bom muro e cava, mettendo dentro do dito muro aquella ponta que estava na entrada do rio da parte do levante, lançando o muro pela banda da costa do mar até onde se chama o baluarte de Diogo Lopes de Siqueira (que depois se ali fundou); e d'alli cortando a dita ilha direito ao rio, pondo nos logares necessarios baluartes e torres. E onde o muro se vem ajuntar com o rio fundou outro grande baluarte, e d'aqui tornou correndo o mesmo muro de longo do rio até outra vez o ajuntar na ponta (que dito tenho) da entrada; e em ella fundou um poderoso baluarte, o qual encheu de muita artilheria; e mais dentro pela mesma parte do rio fez outro baluarte que chamam o da Couraça, do qual sahia uma grande e grossa cadeia para o baluarte do mar que defronte deste estava, a qual à força de cabrestantes erguiam e abaixavam. Fundou outrosim, sobre uma restinga de pedra que quasi está ao meio do rio na boca da barra, o baluarte do mar que digo de grande e demasiado comprimento, e no meio d'elle uma torre de menagem. E além da dita entrada ser forte por natureza, quis com artificio fazel-a mais difficultosa, lançando-lhe da terra firme uma estacada de grossa madeira, a qual vem pela parte de fóra do baluarte do mar deixando-o dentro de si, e determina pegal-a no canal; e ao longo d'esta estacada lançou muitas e grandes pedras soltas. A terra que é occupada da cerca da dita cidade é em figura triangular, a saber: um dos angulos onde está o baluarte de Diogo Lopes de Siqueira olha ao sul; o que está ao longo do rio olha ao noroeste, e o terceiro angulo que é o da entrada do dito rio e barra, está com o rosto ao levante; no qual está fundado o baluarte que já tenho dito que se chama da Barra. Encheu o dito Meliqueliaz em pouco tempo a dita cidade de muitos e ricos mercadores, favorecendo seus tratos de sorte que de logar pequeno de pescadores fez em breve a mais nobre e temida cidade de toda a India. E depois que já sua opulencia era muita e o concurso dos mercadores mui frequentado, fundou em um areal que estava defronte de cidade da parte da terra firme, uma villa de bem mil visinhos, cercada de muro. E esta fez para os turcos que vinham do estreito do mar Roxo se agasalharem n'ella pelas muitas revoltas com que cada hora inquietavam a cidade, e d'aqui se chamou a villa dos Rumes, por que os indios chamam rume ao homem que é louro como o geral dos turcos o são. Este Meliqueliaz finando-se deixou dois filhos, Melique Tocam, homem de muito preço e Melique Sacla, os quaes Sultão Badur matou com asperissimas mortes e senhoreou-se da cidade sobredita.” Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577) - *História do cerco de Diu*, (Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal, 1890), chap. VIII, 51- 55.

<sup>67</sup> Portuguese chronicler of *Estado da Índia*. He was appointed as a chronicler and record keeper in Goa archives from 1631 until his death in 1649. He was responsible for continuing the *Da Asia*, by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto by the year 1617. His book, *Década 13 da História da Índia* (The 13th Decade of the History of India), was only published in 1867. This work covers the era of viceroy Jerónimo de Azevedo, 1612- 1617. This means that there is a gap of twelve years in the recording of events of Portuguese history by official chroniclers (1600-1612). In Bocarro's work, this stands out: *O Livro Das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (The Book of Plans of all the fortresses, cities and villages belonging to the *Estado da Índia*). This work covered the period after 1632, when Philip III ordered the compiling and writing of a comprehensive work on Portuguese fortresses in the Indian Ocean following the dramatic fall of Ormuz in 1622 as a result of the Anglo-Persian alliance. With illustrations by Pedro Barreto de Resende, the original piece is in the Public Library of Évora.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

Resende.<sup>68</sup> The former's text together with the maps authored by the latter are the most important seventeenth century descriptions of the city. Resende's map depicts the city of Diu, including the citadel as well as the area to the west of the citadel, as well as that latter inhabited by the Portuguese. The text incorporates veiled references to the siege and war with a clear discussion of the urban and residential spaces of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement of Diu inside the citadel. In doing so, Bocarro enables an exploration of the connections between the historical matrix of events surrounding the siege and the cityscape itself. He also opens up issues of domestic space and gender as interweaves the discussion of the siege with experiences of Diu:

...The fortress of Diu is located on an island off the coast of *Jaquete*, in the kingdom of Gujarat, in the bay of Cambay [...] it has an almost round form as the plan depicts, with a wall twenty feet high and twelve wide [...] all of stone and lime, with a moat that crosses the wall that is its land side [...]. This moat was opened in rock allowing sea water to enter, however it is too shallow for its width and so, in addition to lack of an additional moat, the wall was built just to the edge of the pit, with no place for any step. [...]

The greatness of this fortress: it has the wall on the land side [...] besides the framework of three bulwarks that were built outside its walls, triangular shaped [...] where its angles go narrow [...] so that Dio has this fortress, in all the perimeter, entering the breastplate, three hundred and five fathoms and ten handspan each.

However, the span and the fortress inside does not correspond to this scope because, besides the thickness of the pointed handspan, there is the wall on the land side, with another wall and moat on the inner side, with three other bulwarks. [...] And the moat of wall inside does not take into consideration the wall outside, but is always convenient. [...] It is a very fine-looking fortress, with steps to climb. It has some artillery.<sup>69</sup>

Bocarro's prose has a tone of basic acknowledgment of the atrocities of the historical situation rather than a reply to it. His Diu has moved beyond the earlier time of instability, as the Portuguese colonial power has established a presence of Portuguese residents, and military personnel inside the citadel. The references to the past history of Diu bracket the most unspoken and remote comment Bocarro makes about the siege. Both Bocarro's and Coutinho's reference to the siege share a common thread in terms of the motif that Bocarro uses to connect these events with home and dwelling places,<sup>70</sup> a motif which heightens the atrocity and upheaval of the history that

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Boxer, Charles R. 1956. "António Bocarro and the "Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental": a bio-bibliographical note." Separata de *Garcia de Orta. Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar*. Special issue. Lisbon.

<sup>68</sup> Portuguese cartographer.

The iconography is attributed to Resende is part of Codex CXV/X-2 available in the the Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE) and in the Sloane Ms. 197 at the British Library, London.

Resende, Pedro Barreto de. *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental Repartido em Tres Partes, a Primeira Contem Todos os Retratos dos Vizorreis que tem Avido no Dito Estado athe o Anno 634, com Discripsois de seus Governos, A Segunda Parte Contem as Plantas das Fortalezas que há do Cabo da Boa Esperança athe a Fortaleza de Chaul e com Larga Descripcao de Tudo o Mais que lhe Toca, A terceira Contem as Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas que ha de Goa athe a China, com Descripção da Mesma Forma, e vão Juntamente Plantas de Fortalezas que não são do Estado que por Estarem nas Mesmas Costas se Puzerão por Curiozidade*.

<sup>69</sup> "A fortaleza de Dio esta sita em hua ilha na costa da terra firme de Jaquete, do Reino de Guzarate, na emceada de Cambaya [...] he feita em forma quazy redondo, como da planta se ve, com hum muro de vinte pes de alto e de doze de larguo [...] tudo de pedra e cal, com hua cava que atravessa o muro que fica da banda da terra [...]. He esta cava aberta em rocha por que entra o mar, porem tem por de muy pouco fundo pera semelhante largura e que, alem de não ter refosso, he comecado o muro logo a borda da cava, sem lugar de banquetta. [...]

A grandeza desta fortaleza: tem o lance de muro que esta da banda da terra [...] afora o ambito de tres baluartes que estão lancados fora dos muros, em forma triangular [...] e pera os angulos vão estreitando [...] de maneira que tem esta fortaleza de Dio, em circuito toda em roda, entrando a couraça, trezentas e sinco braças de des palmos cada hua.

Porem, não fica o vão e praça de dentro correspondente a este ambito porque, alem da groçura dos palmos apontados, fica o muro da banda de terra, com outro contramuro e cava pella banda de dentro, com outros tres baluartes. [...] E a cava do muro da banda de dentro nao he de consideração em respeito da de fora, mas sempre he conveniente. [...] E hua praça muito formozza, com degraos por que se the sobe. Tem algua artelharia." Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac símile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capitulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 208-210.

<sup>70</sup> 'Dwelling,' means a place for getting tranquility and residence, and it is called to a place which human lives in it. A place for settling and being, home, a lake of residence, a still place.

## The city is a battlefield. The siege of Diu and the colonial city.

Coutinho describes. His comments are counterposed with and set within a discussion and description of the dwellings of the Portuguese. However, when bringing the siege to bear on his narrative, he places it within a broader frame of home, here in terms of the shift of the Portuguese population in the city of Diu, and further in terms of the ruins of the first Portuguese dwellings in Diu. The framing of this event within the description of the city of Diu, and within the specific discussion of the Portuguese dwellings, serves as a reminder of past upheaval while at the same time reinscribing the perceived stability of a Portuguese presence in India since the early sixteenth century. The histories of the siege are directly and deeply linked with the shifting cityscape and the establishment of a separate residential space in the city for the Portuguese population of Diu.

This is not merely a study in difference. There are profounder points to this juxtaposition. The tension built in the narrative between turmoil and permanence is a counterpart in the urban distinction between the ‘Gujarat’ and the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlements and between these and the citadel, a distinction which is not altogether as clear as it seems in Bocarro’s text:

There was also another reason why this fortress reached such decay, which was the great tyranny of its captains towards the residents, whether Portuguese, Indian Christians and Gentiles and from any other religion, which were as many as ships and places where they came, today only has a few Gentiles, which work in the boats of Cambay, and in five or six of Mecca. [...] And if the Moors from the mainland will not make proper use of their wives and daughters, all of them went to the fortress for a tribute, since they were so willing to serve and please the captains of the fortress, that they ordered to charge from the richest ten thousand *pardaos* of *mamudes* [...] to lend to the captains [...] The sea has good and many fish and [...] its waters are very healthy (nor does it have any waters other than rain, which they take in cisterns, to drink), however it has many resources from the coast of Daman, and therefore this lack makes more trade.

This city of Dio has a wall that closes the city on the mainland side (as seen in the plan) [...] This wall should be continued on the river side until reaching the fortress, in order for the Gentiles, Moors and Jews to be encircled by something as a fortress, for which they will give a percentage in groceries. And stone is taken from a hill, which stands above the fortress on the northern side.<sup>71</sup>

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Heidegger argues that the manner in which we dwell is the manner in which we are, we exist, on the face of the earth - an extension of our identity, of who we are. In his article “building, dwelling, thinking,” he opens up old indications and conceptual areas on the root of the German word ‘Bauen’ (to build) to explain a soul’s ailments and interprets dwelling as being with things: as he debates the residence of human essence in the truth of being, in being and time. He insists that thinking and poetry are the necessities for dwelling. He assumes dwelling as the most fundamental characteristic regarding mortals.

Home, being posed as an architectural structure in the environment, defines our identity and provides security for us, and finally we find relaxation when we set foot in it. It’s at home that we find things that we know and cherish them.

<sup>71</sup> “[...] Ouve tambem outra cauza por que esta fortaleza chegou a tanta demenuicao, que foi a grande tirania dos capitães pera com os mesmos moradores, assy portuguezes e christaos da terra como gentios e de qualquer outra ley, porque forão tantas que de muitos navios que tinham estes moradores, com que navegavão pera varias partes, apenas tem os gentios oje muy poucos, que andao nas cafilas de Cambaya, e sinco ou seis naos de Mequa.

[...] E, se os mouros da terra firme não uzarão mal de suas molheres e filhas, ja estiverão todos la passados, sendo que erão tão dezejozos de servir e aproveitar aos capitães da fortaleza que ordenarão entre ssy antigamente tirar dos mais ricos dez mil pardaos de mamudes [...] pera emprestarem aos ditos capitães [...].

O mar della he de muito peixe e bom e, posto que não tem, he muy sadia (nem tem aguaoas mais que as da chuva, que tomão em sisternas, de que bebem), comtudo he muy provida da costa de Damão, e assy esta falta lhe fas ter mais comercio.

Tem esta cidade de Dio hum muro que a serca pella banda de terra (como da planta se vê) [...] Este muro se manda continuar pella banda do rio ate chegar a fortaleza, pera que o dito povo de gentios, mouros e judeus fiquem cercados e hua couza mesmo com a fortaleza, pera ajuda do qual derão huns tantos por cento nos mantimentos. E se vay tirando a pedra de hum outeiro, que fica como padrao a fortaleza pera a banda do norte.”

Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 217-220.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

The geography in Diu of the ‘Gujarat’ and the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlements carries with it ambiguities that the terms ‘city’ and ‘suburb’ do not encompass.<sup>72</sup> While Diu is walled, for instance, at the turn of the sixteenth century settlements proliferated outside of the city’s walls:

... There is another place where its possible to go by boat from mainland to island, which is called Tete, and, beyond this, another called Brancavara, which is on the opposite bay where the river joins the sea, as has been said, a league and a half distance from the fortress. This Brancavara bay is very shallow, and fifteen handspans deep at high tide on the bank that is going through, and also the entrance of this bank is rocky and therefore no ships enter or leave, except for some fishing boats. On the west side of the island there are moving sand hills, that move with the wind. And a third part of the sea has turbulent waters. The fortress bay is much larger than Brancavara’s bay, because it has a width from the side to the front of the fortress of two hundred steps.<sup>73</sup>

Additionally, the most important religious architectures of Diu were situated noticeably far west of the citadel: the catholic religious buildings constructed in the early seventeenth century; the islamic religious buildings, as the *Karao Jami Masjid* and the *Karwa Masjid* [figure 2.2]; and the hindu temples that line the western side of the *banyans* neighbourhood, the most important trading and business community of Diu (see chapter 3).<sup>74</sup> Since the seventeenth century, the *banyans* were architectural patrons of Diu’s churches and were allowed in exchange to retain their hindu temples. A helpful list of dos and don’ts was drawn up between the Portuguese colonial authorities and the *banyans*, and according to it an architectural patron decided to assume his role in the urban economy of Diu.

[...] alms to build temples and churches and whatever was given concession to be kept and all favours that their predecessors have given concession to the ministers of secular ecclesiastics. [...] The gentile Gujarati Banyan people that serve [...] your Majesty [...] in those cities from *Estado* are giving in the customs of the city of Diu 0.5 % to help the defense of the city [...] It is money to built four churches in the common city as the Capuchin monastery, Saint Pauls, Saint Thomas and Saint Dominic and many others [...] since the time of Malik Ayaz there was a small temple that you saw when you made a visit to Diu and that you did allow because the temple does not make the rites and habits of the ones which live outside the fortress where there are no Christians.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> As early as the seventeenth century, major residential and trade communities existed outside of city proper. The term *suburb* has taken on a different meaning in post-World War II urban development of the twentieth century. It signified simply inhabited areas near a city (a definition for which only proximity was necessary) and more moralizing definitions, in which the term became an adjective describing something as dissolute or loose, unwanted or polluting.

<sup>73</sup> “Ha outro paço onde se passa com almadia da terra firme pera a ilha, que chamão Tete, e, alem deste, outro chamado Brancavara, que he a outra barra por onde o rio saye ao mar, como fica dito, legua e meya da fortaleza. He esta barra de Brancavara de muy pouco fundo porque, em preamar, não passa de quinze palmos de preamar no banco que a atravessa, ficando tambem a entrada por este banco entre pedras, com que o perigo he mayor e, assy, não entrão por aqui nem sayem embarcacoes nenhuas, salvo algumas almadias de pescadores. Da parte do poente vem comendo a ilha dous outeiros de area, que a tem comido grande parte, e vem sempre andando pera ella com os ventos. E em agoas vivas a cobre o mar a terça parte.

A barra da fortaleza he muito mais largua que esta de Brancavara, porque tem de largura ate a outra banda defronte da fortaleza duzentos paços geometricos.”

Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 220.

About Diu “suburbs” see also: Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade II, bk. III. chap. V, 295-296.

<sup>74</sup> “E fazendo queixa ao povo de Vossa Magestade [...] justiça eclesiástica a não veixação ao povo gentílico vaçalo [...] a seus pagodes misquitas serimonias como consta [...] em tudo faça conservar e não deribar as casas de seus pagodes sob pena de suspensão de seus officios.” (And giving account to the people of Your Majesty [...] ecclesiastic justice to the gentile population [...] to its ceremonies in temples and mosques as it is said [...] all should be made to keep and not demolish temples under the penalty of suspension of their religious practices). Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maço 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110, 9 April 1612

<sup>75</sup> “esmolos pa. Edificarse os templos igrejas e o mais lhes concedeo q lhes fosse goardados todos os favores que os [...] seu anteçoçeres tenham concedidos emcomendado mto. aos ministros Eclegiasticos Esceculares.

[...] O Povo Gentilico Baneanes guzerates da cidade de Dio que eles servirão [...] oje em dia a sua magestade [...] nesse cidades do estado estão apresentado nas alfandegas da dita cid. e meo por cento sendp pa. Ajuda da defenção darmada [...]

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[Figure 2.2] Karwa Masjid, mosque. Diu, 2014.

Thus, while the official Portuguese officers moved some distance, the area of the city along the river in between their compounds and the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement included port, factory, other dwellings, and several neighborhoods,<sup>76</sup> an indication that a population shift took place in the early seventeenth century which matches the report by Bocarro.<sup>77</sup> According to him, the Gujarati population of Diu in 1634 had declined from 10 000

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São dado dinheiro pa. Fazer quatro igrejas na dita cidade comu são a saber o mosteiro dos capuchos, e são paulo, e são Thome e são Domingos e outros muitos serviços [...] desde o tempo de melequeaz tinham na sua povoação hum pagode pequeno que nossa senhoria vio quando visitou a dita cidade e nossa senhoria lhes nãp proibio pera ser o dito pagode não usar defesa dos ritos e costumes por viverem fora da fortaleza donde não vive Christão nenhum.” Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maço 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110, 9 April 1612 and 12 July 1692. Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 28, n° antigo de maço 17, n°s vermelhos 341, datas extremas 1644-1645, doc. 49, 22 August 1644.

<sup>76</sup> “não he possivel desfazer-se senao pouco a pouco, como se vay fazendo pera este dito muro porque, pella banda de ueste, fica tão alcantilado e com tantas pedras que não he possivel dezembarcar-ce, antes por esta banda esta mais forte, com que juntamente ficão dentro dos muros outros outeiros, que são padraustos a fortaleza. E a Igreja de Sam Dominguos e a de Sam Paullo, que ainda que ouve dizerem muitos que as virão erão grandes padraustos a fortaleza [...] acharão que não convinha derruba-las, avendo derrubado cento trinta e cinco cazas muy nobres e grandes, que estavao edeficadas ao longuo da fortaleza, donde lhe podião fazer danno em algum accidente de guerra.” Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoacoens do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descripçoens da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capitulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 219.

<sup>77</sup> In 1634, the viceroy Miguel de Noronha (1629-1635), 4<sup>th</sup> Count of Linhares, ordered Francisco de Moura, captain of Goa, Gonçalo Pinto da Foncequa, *Estado da Índia* chancellor and Juzeph Pinto Pereira, *vedor* from *Fazenda Real* (Portuguese Royal Treasury) to make an inspection of the state of Portuguese forts of Northern Province of *Estado da Índia*, including the fort of Diu. This was the result of a request from king Filipe III made in a letter to Miguel de Noronha of 24 December 1633.

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houses to 3000.<sup>78</sup> Next to those Indian crowds lived 100 Indian christians and 59 Portuguese families,<sup>79</sup> although there were a lot more before 1634. Bocarro blamed this on the extortions of the governors and the hunger and plague of 1632.<sup>80</sup> The Gujarati catholics of the island was practically extinct by 1680 due to the influence of the Omani emergence in the Kathiawar peninsula.

In Resende's map [figure 2.3], the major architectural landmarks which are the churches and the mosque, lie to the west of the citadel walls, and yet remain a part of Diu. If all of this is still Diu, what does it mean for Bocarro to place settlements beyond the citadel and 'inside the city walls'? The urban core of Diu was not its citadel and massive fortification, with a small settlement including churches and hospital. Effectively, the most 'urban' piece of Diu was the 'Gujarat' urban settlement with its temple and mosque, adjacent to the Portuguese citadel and surrounded by a wall between city and island. When Bocarro writes 'inside the city walls,'<sup>81</sup> what he meant was quite far indeed. The distancing here is reemphasized such that Diu lies even beyond areas in proximity of the citadel. By stating this, Bocarro duplicates distances between the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements. Clearly, this account stands in direct contrast to the eighteenth century map,<sup>82</sup> which portrays Diu

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<sup>78</sup> "Tem alem disto a cidade de Dio dos muros da povoação pera dentro, hua grande povoação de gentios, a maior parte casta guzerates, e alguns judeus brancos, e mouros, escuras e com portas e janelas muy pequenas e as ruas muy estreitas, que serão oje tres mil fogos, avando ja sido dez mil." Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218.

<sup>79</sup> "Os cazados portuguezes, que vivem oje nesta cidade fora da fortaleza; são sincoenta e nove, avendo ja sido muito mais. São pobres pellas ditas cauzas mas ainda assy tem, huns por outros, outros sincoenta e nove escravos que possão tomar armas, as quaes tem alguns, de cabides de lancas e espingardas, muy bastantes pera brigarem. Afora estes cazados portuguezes e seus escravos, tem a cidade de Dio cem cazados pretos christaos que, ainda que os mais delles são officiais de officios mecanicos, contudo são todos homens de armas, e as tem de algua sorte pera poderem brigar com ellas. Mas, como tambem os mais destes homens, assy brancos como pretos, seião muito pobres, embarcão-ce muitos a buscar sua vida, por onde não he sua asistencia certa sempre na terra."

Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218.

<sup>80</sup> "Porem as ditas tiranias dos capitães, ouvidores e mais ministros de Sua Magestade apertarão tanto com elles por lhe trazerem sempre mais e mais, que os forão deminuindo ate este numero, onde tambem a fome e peste do anno de mil seiscentos trinta e dous consumo grão parte desta gente." (However the oppression of the captains, *ouvidores* and other administrator of Your Magesty asked for so much to get more and more, that they diminished to this number, where also starvation and the pestilence of 1632 killed many of these people.). Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218.

<sup>81</sup> Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (facsimile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218.

<sup>82</sup> 'Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro Ioão Antonio Sarmento. 1783.' found in OPorto Public and Municipal Library, under the reference C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35). (Plan of the Fortress and City of Diu, which by order of Ill Hon D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza took the Captain Engineer Ioão Antonio Sarmento. 1783. The characters 1.2.3.4 show the foothill of a mountain that fran.co Xavier henriques, governor of this fortress, asked to be tear down, with very low expense of the Royal Treasury, and this work is worth to remember. As well as many others ordered by the same Governor to be made and that with which he ardently was at your Majesty's service, following the example of his tireless father the Brigadier Henrique Carlos Henriques. Each of the ramparts of this fortress is identified with a capital letter, and the ramparts of the city with a lower case as show the two columns of the alphabet with commas in the left of the names of the ramparts. Drawn by João Gabriel Dechermont knight from Saint Luiz, lieutenant colonel engineer in February 1790.). MS. Colour in paper. 461 x 677 mm. Petipé de 200 braças = 120 mm. The scale of the map was the handspan (*Braça*).

The city is a battlefield.  
The siege of Diu and the colonial city.



[Figure 2.3]. Bocarro, António. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descriçõens da Altura em que Estão, de de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Redimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha.* [drawing by Pedro Barreto de Resende] Codex COD CXV. X-2. Courtesy: Biblioteca Pública de Évora (BPE).

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as a unique urban settlement, including the areas into which the Portuguese moved at the end of the eighteenth century. With this shift, Portuguese officials created a higher concentration of Portuguese around the eastern reaches of the settled area of Diu, and yet the geographical continuity between the walled city and its environs seen in the maps belies a stark distinction between the so-called ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement and the new ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement.

The contradictions among various narratives arise in other arenas as well, besides sixteenth and seventeenth centuries texts. The history created seems to be one of an initial settlement, secured by the heroism of Coutinho and others, which then paid the price, whereupon, after the reestablished peace of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese population moved to their own space beyond the citadel and ‘inside the city walls.’ The story cycles through settlement, upheaval, and resettlement, within which the inevitability of the Portuguese presence was never questioned. However, when looked at closely, just as the location of urban settlement as separate from the citadel bears questioning, so Coutinho has inserted an ambiguity here, a hesitation to claim a distinction between conflict and peace:<sup>83</sup> “[Meliqueliaz] surrounded the city, much larger than the village [‘Gujarat’ urban settlement] with a wall and moat [...]. The land that is occupied by this city is in triangular shape [...]. Meliqueliaz shortly invited and received in this city many rich merchants [...] the noblest and feared city in all India.”<sup>84</sup>

Why do these representations from the sixteenth history conflict, and how does this ambiguity shape the image of Diu in these narratives? The separation in Coutinho’s text between the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement and the citadel and its relationship to the siege - the act of terror that drove the Gujaratis and Turks out - sets up a neat dichotomy within which he can easily write out. But the contradictions between the narrative of Coutinho, the narrative of Bocarro (and Resende’s maps), and the other narratives bear further questioning. How do all of these inconsistencies co-exist? In order to explore this, we turn to Diu’s positioning within the colonial city in India,<sup>85</sup> and examine more closely the link between those domestic spaces and the histories of war and upheaval. Ultimately, the discussion of the siege narrative will enable a further understanding of the urban shape of Diu in the early seventeenth century, an understanding which will reveal how the city was perceived within colonial discourse of the time.

The perception of the post-siege (supposed) religious separation between the Portuguese and the Gujarati, as perceived in Bocarro’s writings and later portrayed in the eighteenth century maps (see chapter 4 - *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, by Sarmento and Chermont, 1783-1790*),<sup>86</sup> leads to the further question of the mid-eighteenth century Portuguese domestic space: what constituted the Portuguese dwelling before the siege of Diu? If we extrapolate Bocarro’s backwards, the Portuguese lived within the walls of Diu’s citadel, in European-style

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<sup>83</sup> Scholarship has focused on the economic transitions facilitated by legislation and a few military actions.

<sup>84</sup> “Cercou então a cidade, muito maior do que a povoação era de bom o muro e cava [...]. A terra que é ocupada da cerca da dita cidade é em forma triangular [...]. Encheu o dito Meliqueliaz em pouco tempo a dita cidade de muitos e ricos mercadores [...] a mais nobre e temida cidade de toda o Índia.” Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). *O primeiro cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Alfa. 37-41.

<sup>85</sup> A number of contemporary critics have discussed the colonial lineage of contemporary Indian architecture and planning. See e.g. Lang, Jon; Desai, Madhavi and Desai, Miki. 1998. *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity - 1880 to 1980*. Oxford and New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Ravindran, K.T. 1990. “Colonial Routes.” *Seminar*, 372: 70-76; Chattopadhyay, Swati. 1997. A Critical History of Architecture in a Post-colonial World: A View from Indian History. In *Architronic 6/1* (<http://corbu2.caed.kent.edu/architronic/v6n1/v6n1.05a.html>. Accessed 11 November 2014); 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>86</sup> The cartography is catalogued as ‘*Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.*’ and can be found in Oporto Public and Municipal Library, under the reference C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35). (Plan of the Fortress and City of Diu, which by order of Ill Hon D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza took the Captain Engineer João Antonio Sarmento. 1783. The characters 1.2.3.4 show the foothill of a mountain that fran.co Xavier henriques, governor of this fortress, asked to be tear down, with very low expense of the Royal Treasury, and this work is worth to remember. As well as many others ordered by the same Governor to be made and that with which he ardently was at your Majesty’s service, following the example of his tireless father the Brigadier Henrique Carlos Henriques. Each of the ramparts of this fortress is identified with a capital letter, and the ramparts of the city with a lower case as show the two columns of the alphabet with commas in the left of the names of the ramparts. Drawn by João Gabriel Dechermont knight from Saint Luiz, lieutenant colonel engineer in February 1790.). MS. Colour in paper. 461 x 677 mm. Petipé de 200 braças = 120 mm. The scale of the map was the handspan (*Braça*).

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homes, ruined by the time of 1634 due to abandonment.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, the relationship with the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement involved cooperation and dependence upon the local rulers. This trust was misplaced and accordingly, the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement was founded outside the citadel, away from the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement and between the citadel and the existing urban settlement.<sup>88</sup>

Bocarro’s comments about the houses abandoned by the Portuguese inside the walls of Diu to start living outside the citadel walls, bring together the siege and the feeling of (ephemeral) home stability:

[...] Inside the fortress walls there are many houses in ruins that once existed, very noble and fine-looking of two or three storeys where many Portuguese *cazados* lived with their families, but, because of the bad neighbourhood of the fortress captains with their servants and relatives, these houses were abandoned and they started to live outside the fortress walls, letting them fall apart and become a ruin. Still inside the city walls there is a parish church, another from the *Misericórdia* (Charity), the Royal Hospital, the hermitage of Santiago, the public jail and a water cistern.<sup>89</sup>

His narrative moves from a credulous former time to one of distrust and separation in the name of security and stability. This seems a fairly clear-cut movement, one which fits the text well, and which allows for a time and place (Diu) where the Portuguese had tried to trust and live with Gujaratis, but where there was tolerance to occupy separate and distinct territory within the same city.

The erasure of the context of conflict does damage to the loss of life by the Portuguese soldiers and civil servants who died in the sieges. The damage reverberates in its exclusion of the physical wartime violence that cost lives on both sides. By writing the incident outside of conflict and thus downplaying the events, Coutinho and the others who followed him reinscribed the physical violence of the siege in their elision of it. The siege became part of the overall ‘plot’ in which the Portuguese gain footholds territorially, defend and eventually entrench themselves in urban settlements outside of the major ‘native’<sup>90</sup> urban settlements. The Portuguese right to trade and to live in Diu was never questioned, only their judgment in living in the old city was seen as misplaced. Hence, along with the diaries of the siege, opens the ambivalence<sup>91</sup> of the colonial discourse regarding the late

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<sup>87</sup> Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 210.

<sup>88</sup> Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 219 and Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. IX, 57.

<sup>89</sup> [...] Mostrão-ce dentro dos muros desta fortaleza grandes ruinas de muitas cazas que nella avia, muy nobres e fermozas, de dous ou tres sobrados, onde antiguamente moravão muitos cazados portugezes com suas familias, os quaes, pella ma vezinhança que lhe fazião os capitães da fortaleza com seus criados e parentes, largarão as ditas cazas e se paçarão a viver fora, deixando-as cair e chegar aquele estado. Estão ainda dentro dos muros hua Igreja da See, outra da Misericordia, o Hospital de Sua Magestade, hua fermoza ermida de Sanctiago e a cadeia publica e hua cisterna de agoa.” Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 210.

<sup>90</sup> It is important to clarify here that although the expression ‘native’ was used in colonial India by the European population to refer to Indians mostly in a pejorative sense (as connoting inferior, uncivilised and backward), in this thesis it is used to denote local and more indigenous ownerships and practices, and thus simply to distinguish between Gujarati and Portuguese agency.

<sup>91</sup> In the last decades, ‘ambivalence’ was (mainly) brought to scholarship by Bhabha. He resorts to theories of translation and to psychoanalysis in order to prove that languages, cultures and identities are fragmented, heterogeneous and ambivalent. Bhabha lays out his ideas in an article entitled “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May

sixteenth century, portrayed as a time of simultaneous war and barbaric acts of terror interrupting an assumed peace.<sup>92</sup> Diu used to be a place of unprovoked killings and instability, but it became perfectly safe and secure and unquestionably a place of public cohabitation and religious tolerance between hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics.

Another aspect of Coutinho's discussion of the siege of Diu, lies in the usage of the notion of 'home.' This must be examined in tandem with the idea of mobility and change, especially in the context of the texts discussed here.<sup>93</sup> Coutinho sheds light on the changes made by Portuguese inhabitants in order to ensure themselves a safe, secure, and stable domestic space.<sup>94</sup> Undoubtedly, the relationship between Portuguese attitudes toward domestic space and their image of Diu has ramifications for the colonial shaping of the urban area. As Bhabha, claims: "In a feverish stillness, the intimate recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasions. In that displacement the border between home and world becomes confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting."<sup>95</sup> The role and placement of 'home' within the city thus become central to the scrutiny of the history and change of Diu. 'Home' is a crucial category within European colonization because it is the space of return and of consolidation of the Self enabled by the encounter with the Other. The city intertwines itself with the home, i.e. "the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city"<sup>96</sup> a *dictum* that features the relation between architecture and urbanistic and conveys house and city and vice-versa. The feeling of rooted stability connected with home can be found in the colonial context but at the same time, it is only in the context of mobility and change that the Portuguese 'discover' and inhabit the colonial 'setting' of *Estado da Índia*. A basic contradiction arises from the creation of any sort of 'home' in the space of the colonial city, and one must ask the extent to which the discussion on Diu domestic spaces can represent 'home,' and the extent to which Coutinho's subject position as placed in Diu inflects his framing of those home-spaces.

Prior to the eighteenth century, Diu existed as a strong and well-established city. Part of the ability to discuss the domestic sphere or the colonial home-space in Diu has to do with a racialized construction of the European colonial city<sup>97</sup> in India, defined by two urban entities or places separate in layout and different in name: one in which the colonizer lives, historically a fort area later surrounded by an area for the European population of the city, and the other for the native population of the city. Nevertheless, the standard of 'Gujarat' versus 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements or at the very least of two racially distinct urban settlements side-by-side was applied to Diu many years before any other European colonial urban settlements in India, within the colonial discursive frame of the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>98</sup> 'Black/native' town designation stems from common

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1817," published in *Critical Enquiry* in 1985 and in the book *The Location of Culture* in 1994. For a discussion of 'ambivalence,' see last chapter 'Conclusion.'

<sup>92</sup> The mythologization of Diu into a battle and two sieges, an icon of success, and a turning point for the Portuguese in India serves as a type of promotion of the Portuguese presence in India. The events in Diu become both iconic and a mere blip in the stream of Portuguese history toward its ultimate goal. My question here does not address the relative "correctness" of these versions of colonial history. Rather, I pursue the use of these moments in the discursive construction of Portuguese India in order to highlight the malleability, multiplicity, and ambiguity of that discourse.

<sup>93</sup> Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. IX, 57-58. Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Chap. IX, 57, chap. XIII, 83; 1989. *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisbon: Alfa. 37.

<sup>95</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1992. "The World and the Home," *Social Text* 31/32, Third World and Post-Colonial Issues, 141.

<sup>96</sup> Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472). 1988. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Rykwert, Joseph; Leach, Neal; Tavernor, Robert (trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press. 23.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011. 1-9. 170.

See also, Alberti, Leon Battista, 1404-1472. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo. Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin). Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 2011.5 – 14. 352.

<sup>97</sup> More explicit in British colonial city writings.

<sup>98</sup> Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da

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usage within discussions and representations of colonial cities after the seventeenth century, where some cities grew primarily because of a military and economic presence (Madras, Calcutta and Daman), while other cities (Bombay) had a previous tenuous (Portuguese) colonial presence that established the (British, Dutch, French and Danish) colonial urban precedents. From within this contrasted model, Bocarro's position as a colonizer allowed him to narrate the spaces of Diu outside the citadel (distancing that space even further from 'Gujarat' Diu) as domestic or home-like spaces. Bocarro's text exemplifies the contradiction in Diu's representation of his subject position as well as the contradictions inherent to colonialism itself. Resende reinforces the depicted stereotypically dichotomous spatial split in Diu between the 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements, while simultaneously reiterates the connectedness between Portugal and the *Estado da Índia*. Separation in this case is both a specific one, a separation from the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, and a general, all-encompassing separation from the world. Part of the creation of the Portuguese in India involved the felt need for a sanctuary within a tumultuous landscape, order within chaos.

Where does Bocarro's understanding of Diu's cityscape fall in the context of other images and descriptions of Diu? We turn now to a closer reading of the constructions of the Portuguese position within the cityscape of Diu by reading Bocarro in the context of other visual and written narratives.

"[...] from the bastion (Saint Dominic) to the old village [...] the river does not reach the wall but only turbulent waters and all the rest is two *lanças* or more away; and in this space, not far away from the minor bastion, were built the houses for the captains of the fortress, which did not occupy all this space, and a part was left to finish in great extent because of a lack lime. The grounds of the fortress has a triangular shape. In the middle of it there was a large stone, where later, during the time when António da Silveira was Captain, a great cistern [...] was made in such a fine built building. This fortress was made in this way: wall and ramparts until the battlements were erected in forty and nine days of work; all the men who went with the governor's armada worked in the building of the fortress [...]"<sup>99</sup>

This seems, on the surface, a clear cut division that we can identify within Bocarro's narrative. It is when Coutinho further discusses the siege on his narrative - bringing in the conflicted histories of colonial rule and the spatial conflicts of Diu (the fortress inside the city) - that the text moves outside of this neat dichotomy, acknowledging the ambiguous and messy boundaries of a scarcely racially divided Diu. Looking back to his comments regarding Diu and the siege, Coutinho's juxtaposition of these two elements raises again the multiplicity of the discursive constraints within which he writes. Praising the heroics while contrasting the stability of Diu with the chaos of the siege, Coutinho becomes complicit with the imperial naturalization of the colonial separation between Indian and Portuguese. Thus, his position within colonial discourse while negotiating it through a discursive frame allows him to describe lyrically the contentedness he finds while at the same time mobilizing the hierarchical, racial, and imperial separation between India and Portugal in the discussion of the siege he presents.

The visual images of Diu demonstrate that Portuguese visitors to the place primarily perceived and depicted the city in relation to the hinterland and the river. We find it necessary to introduce one of the more important players in the shape of Diu: the river. It plays a significant role in the issues we discuss before and in the previous

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Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. Especially pages 217 to 219.

<sup>99</sup> "[...] toda aquella parte que cahe sobre o rio, desde a dito baluarte ate a vila velha. No qual espaço o dito rio nao chega ao muro senão de aguas vivas e todo o outro tempo fica duas lancas ou mais afastado; e neste espaço que digo pouco distante do baluarte menor, se fizeram as casas para as capitães da dita fortaleza as quaes não occuparam todo a dito espaço, e ficou uma boa parte em grão-maneira feita por defeito de cal quefaltou. O chão que occupa a dita fortaleza é em figura triangular. Em o meio d'ella havia um grande cavouco, no qual depois, no tempo de António da Silveira ser Capitao, se fez uma grande cisterna [...] mui bem lavrado edificio. Fez-se esta fortaleza a saber: muralha e baluartes até o andar das ameias em quarenta e nove dias de trabalho; e nella trabalhavam todos os homens que com o governador foram em sua armada [...]" Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1517-1577) - *História do cerco de Diu*, (Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal, 1890), chap. IX.

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chapter, bringing the traveler to Diu and serving as a reminder of mobility and change while one is in Diu. In one sense, the river itself acts as a conduit along which travellers, officers, and residents come to Diu; indeed, it constitutes one of the reasons for Diu's importance to the Portuguese as a commercial and strategic urban center:

... This island of Diu is a small thing, one league and a half long and a quarter wide, surrounded by a stream of salted water, entering by the inlet on the fortress side while the other inlet is one league and a half distant, towards the west, which is named *Trancavara*. The river, on the island side, has ten steps of width, shallow waters, still enough to allow one more step, which is named *Passo Seco* (dry step), that can be crossed by foot during low tide, which has thirty steps long, in front of which was made a square bulwark on the island, at the river's edge, fifteen steps away from the city, and connected with it, twelve small dwellings, all done at the expense of the Portuguese that built a small village there. And this bulwark was made for defense from the thieves of the hinterland.<sup>100</sup>

Because it plays against the stationary, home-space of the colonial house, the river serves as a foil for the stability of the colonizer's presence constituting that presence in bringing the Portuguese, newcomer and traveller by boat, and solidifying it by providing a contrast of movement which counterpoints the stability of the built space. At the same time, the construction of the Portuguese houses facing the river removes the Portuguese from the city in its focus outward toward a space of constant mobility and change. Within this tension between movement and steadyness, the Portuguese create a (usually transient) domestic space, a space which isolates even as it ties the resident back to the landscape. In addition to the spatialization of home, the notion that the river captures the center of attention for the Portuguese domestic sphere not only creates this tension between Portuguese inhabitant and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, but also points toward the ephemeral aspect of the Portuguese population of Diu. While a few individuals made a semi-permanent home in the city, many experience the town as a thoroughfare rather than a space of dwelling. Few of the narratives reflect directly on the nature of life as constantly in motion, but as any traveller will readily relate, the drain of energy involved in long journeys takes its toll.

In this discussion, the visual evidence will be extremely useful for a further understanding of the way in which Bocarro's notion of domestic space in Diu follows a general trend in representations of the city. Images of the city perceived and portrayed Diu primarily in relation to the river and Gujarat, always towards north and neglecting the rest of the island and city territory:

... The fortress bay [...] before entering the mouth of the river, from the bulwark to the sea a hundred steps, it is the place where large ships and *Pataxos* appear, because they are within reach of the artillery of the *couraça* and sea bulwark, twelve to fifteen fathoms, without sandbanks, or stones or shallow waters that they should keep safe, giving shelter to the northwest ships, with wind blowing from the mainland, but none of the other winds. The fortress bay starts in the sea bulwark towards in the river which, as the bulwark is far from the fortress or from the city's shore, where it is frontal and a hundred steps away, this is the width of this bay.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> "He esta ilha de Dio couza pequena, de legoa e meya de comprido e hum quarto de larguo, cercada de hum riacho de agoa salgada, que lhe entra pella barra da fortaleza e vay sair a outra barra distante hua legoa e meya abaixo, pera oueste, a que chamao *Trancavara*. O rio, pella parte de dentro da ilha, he de dez paços andantes de largo, de pouco fundo, mas ainda he bastante pera se não vadear senão por hum passo, que chamão o *Passo Seco*, por onde de baixa-mar se passa quazy a pe enxuto, o qual tem de comprimento trinta paços geometricos, defronte do qual esta feito na ilha, à borda do rio, hum baluarte em quadro de quinze paços andantes de praça e, peguado com elle, continuadas, huas cazas de sobrado, pequenas, tudo feito a custa de hum portuguez por ter aly hua aldeia de pouco porte. E fes este baluarte pera defenção dos ladrões da terra firme." Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capitulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 220.

<sup>101</sup> "A barra da fortaleza [...] antes que se entre a boca do rio, da *couraça* ao mar cem dos ditos paços, he o lugar onde sorgem as naos grandes e *pataxos*, porque ficão debaixo da artilharia da *couraça* e do baluarte do mar, em fundo de doze e quinze braças, sem restingas, nem pedras ou baixos de que se devão guardar, ficando so aly abrigadas as embarcações ao noroeste, que lhe venta por cima da terra, mas a nenhum dos mais ventos.

A barra propria desta fortaleza he do baluarte do mar pera dentro do rio que, como o dito baluarte fica distante da fortaleza ou praya da cidade, onde fica fronteiro cem paços geometricos, essa fica sendo a largura desta barra."

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Three drawings from the mid-nineteenth century<sup>102</sup> which will be further revisited (see chapters 5 and 7), support the relation of home and river in the colonial city, and underscore the characterization of the homes of the Portuguese in Diu. One takes its view from across the river, *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* [figure 5.22], the other from the top of the fort ramparts with human figures of Europeans and one native Gujarati, *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur* [figure 5.23], and the last *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* [figure 5.24], with a perspective view with the northern wall of the city, the church and monastery of Saint Dominic already disappeared, and the citadel as the foreground. The drawings were made throughout an expedition of M. Guillain to eastern Africa and India,<sup>103</sup> which carried out distinctive compositions for colonial period imagery of Diu, Mombasa and Goa.

In the depictions, a closure on the side of the image limits the view to the land side and reinforces the focus on the river, hinterland and northern side of the city. In doing so, this limited focus blocks completely any sense of connection with the rest of the island. These drawings and Bocarro's text illustrate the extent to which the river facilitated the separation of the city and the hinterland. The city looked to the river, faced the river, and had this moving body of water as its directional anchor. In effect, the Portuguese houses turned their side (not their back) to the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, using a sort of architectural body language to obstruct the existence of the old city of Diu. Textual descriptions of the Gujarat dwellings support this distinction as well, i.e. these homes are described as looking inward rather than commanding a view.

The description of Diu from Bocarro highlights the common perception of a 'Gujarat' urban settlement. While Bocarro presents the passage as specific to the city, it is relatively clear that in fact, he did not venture very close to the city itself. If then, we read Bocarro's description (and Resende drawing) as a typical portrayal of a generic Indian town, the directly contrasting Portuguese pattern of placing buildings in between the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and the citadel, along the water with a view to the river that carried more weight than mere aesthetic preference or other motivation. However, the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement was decisively not the same as the Indian urban settlement.

The Portuguese houses had a distinct drawing code and looked out toward the river in a clear path from the citadel, the catholic churches and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. The view outward, as the sketches clearly depict,<sup>104</sup> blocks other houses, and gives absolutely no sense of a thriving urban area just outside of the frame. In addition to these physical reasons, the placement of these houses demonstrates the need for a non exclusive

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Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 220.

<sup>102</sup>*Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* / lith. Jacottet, Jean fig. par A. Bayot. - Paris: Bertrand, Arthus [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr., en noir; 20,5 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Jacottet, Jean; Bayot, A.; Guillain, Charles. In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 13; *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur* / E. Cicéri lith. - Paris: A. Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr., en noir; 16,5 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles. In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 11; *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* / Eugene Cicéri lith. - Paris: Arthus Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr., en noir; 19 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles.

In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 12. The drawings are available in Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.

<sup>103</sup> See: Guillain, M. 1856. *Documents sur l' Histoire, La Géographie et le Commerce de L' Afrique Orientale*. Paris: Société de Géographie.

Bombay, Benaras, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Dhaka have been represented this way.

<sup>104</sup> "Vue de la partie est et de la Forteresse de L'île de Diou", prise du mouillage extérieur, E. Cicéri (lith.), Arthus Bertrand (ed.), Paris and "Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou", prise des Remparts de la Citadelle, J. Jacottet (lith.), fig. par Bayot, Arthus Bertrand (ed.), Paris. Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.

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separate space. Hence, within the construction of the paradigmatic colonial city in Diu, we see a parting with no physical segregation between the Portuguese and the Gujaratis, followed by an individual level by a distinction between their respective spaces based on direction of view: outward or inward.<sup>105</sup> The frame of opposition between Gujarati and Portuguese becomes clear within the Portuguese and the Gujarati perceptions of the city. The characterization of the Portuguese houses clearly works within the same discursive frame as these images and traveller's comments.

In the *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou*, taken from the ramparts of the citadel, this separation becomes an isolation, one which marks the intersection of the image of a Portuguese-in-India and the image of the same Portuguese-as-not-Indian. The drawing illustrates a house by the river, some churches (Our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college of the Holy Spirit, Saint Thomas's in the background, and Saint Dominic and monastery in the foreground) and a human figure walking on the top of the city walls. This image of isolation makes it a part of the landscape, while at the same time drawing its distance from the Gujarati population.<sup>106</sup> The Portuguese area of town was decisively not a Gujarati area, since its houses were pointed out towards the river. The view outwards, blocks other residences, and gives absolutely no sense of a thriving urban area just outside of the frame as demonstrated in the sketch. In addition to these physical reasons, the placement of these homes demonstrates the need for a separate space. Hence, within Bocarro's construction of the typical city in India, we see a separation of Diu's urban settlements, followed on an individual level by a distinction between Indian and Portuguese space based on direction of view: outward or inward. The frame of opposition between native and colonist becomes clear within the Portuguese perception of the city.

These images of isolation make the Portuguese a part of the landscape, while at the same time drawing their distance from the Gujarati population. Hence, with the inherent separation of the Portuguese from the Indian clearly seen in the drawings, one could also characterize the separation of the picture as a separation from Portugal. The Portuguese in Diu inhabit a foreign space, as indicated by the shape of the boat placed on the river in the distance. It exists both within order and without: Portugal is the metropole constituting a safe, familiar, ordered place far from India, where is carved a piece of order a separate space from the foreign Indian chaos. With this, the image returns to a final paradoxical relationship: the movement away from Portugal, to explore and visit Portuguese territory. Home, for both Bocarro and the author of the drawing, becomes an ambiguous, malleable space simultaneously incorporating contradictory elements of seemingly separate dichotomies.

Bocarro's description of Diu illustrates the maneuvering of colonial discourse in the mid-seventeenth century, a discourse that shifted and allowed contradiction among racial dichotomies as necessary to establish racial division and elide historical conflict. For Portuguese colonial discourse at this time, the imperative was to gloss over prior wars of conquest while constructing decisively separate spheres for the Portuguese and the Gujarati, expanding the image of the complex ambiguities of Portuguese colonial space in Diu. But, there are contradictions here as well, stemming from the multiplicities of history, and more than that stemming also from the ambiguities and contradictions of colonialism itself. The contradictions in the characterization of the siege somewhere between

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<sup>105</sup> This dichotomous distinction certainly erases any relationship that Indian (specifically hindu) residents of Diu might have to the river, a place of spiritual purity and a site of ritual cleansing.

<sup>106</sup> Indeed, Bocarro's text exhibits one of the typical modes of racial separation. He leaves any discussion of non-European individuals to the 'cultural observation' interspersed with descriptive references, thereby effectively neglecting to describe the Indian presences throughout his travels. Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (facsimile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and quoted in Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. For a similar observation, see Pratt, Mary Louise. 1985. "Scratches on the Face of the Country; Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen." In Louis Gates Jr., Henry (ed.). *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 145.

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war and stability, and the uncertain transience of the domestic sphere for the Portuguese in India reveal the tensions of colonialism. Tracing the path of the ambiguity of the texts of the siege and of the seventeenth century city narratives, and in the images of Diu produces a complex picture of Diu which involves the intricacies of impression and experience, colonial discourse and controversy.

### The memorial to the siege

The ambiguity of the argued before is amplified by the physical marker of the siege of Diu: a memorial column that was dedicated to Hoja Safar and located in the northern riverine shore of the city [figure 2.4].<sup>107</sup> The siege monument/memorial was as privileged site for Portuguese imperial expression in Diu's architectural and urban cultures, as evidenced by the location in the urban landscape of the city – in the 'contact zone' between the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements - and by the iconographic charge of the siege monument/memorial. It served, in large measure, to solidify and unify the memory of a particular event and tended towards the preservation of a piece of history for posterity and therefore, it implied little change and a sense of stability. Memorials shape the way we imagine, interpret, and reference home as place, idea, and experience, and also rival home leading us to believe memorials are the material imprint of a false consciousness, anywhere and everywhere but home. In what ways are complex histories of home conveyed and represented in the 'public sphere'?<sup>108</sup> Are there instances when memorials have the capacity to remember time, place, and people while also attending to constantly changing audiences? How do memorials located in public and community spaces envision home whether home is nostalgic, romantic, absent, or even violent?

In parallel with the multiplicities and contradictions within the narratives outlined before, the siege monument/memorial also changed and shifted throughout the nineteenth century. After its initial erection, a promenade grew up in the vicinity of the siege monument/memorial, further exacerbating the difficulty of reading the column, and solidifying its place within the city. The siege monument/memorial thus serves as an anchor for the histories of the siege and its repetition in the history of the Portuguese sovereignty and presence in Diu. With this magnet, the analysis also opens the questions of the heterogeneous spaces of the city, directly addressing the dichotomous model of Indian-versus-Portuguese typically mobilized in the study of colonial spaces.<sup>109</sup> The column not only signifies a desire to reify the past in nostalgic reclamation, but also participates in the construction of that past as glorious. The siege monument/memorial in its form commemorates the past sacrifices of the Portuguese in India and thus declares the current worth of the discourse centered on the value of

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<sup>107</sup> The siege monument/memorial has the shape of a pyramid with quadrangular basis and is 15-18m high. Each face has longitudinal striations. In its northern side has the following text written on it with the date of 1890: "SEPVLTVRA DE COGE-ÇOFAR INSTIGADOR DO 2.º CERCO DE DIV E COMMANDANTE EM CHEFE DAS TROPAS TVRCAS E JANISARAS DO REINO DE CAMBAYA SITIANTES DESTA PRAÇA NO MEZ DE MAIO DE 1546 FOI MORTO POR VMA BALA PERDIDA QVE CAHINDO DA FORTALEZA NO MEIO DVM ESQVADRÃO DE TVRCOS LHE LEVOV A CABEÇA ERA VALENTE E CORAJOSO" (Coge Sofar grave, instigator of the second siege of Diu, Commander in Chief of the troops from Turkey and from the kingdom of Cambay besiegers of this city in May 1546. He was killed by a stray bullet from the fortress that hit the Turkish troops and beheaded him. He was brave and courageous). Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. "Epigrafia de Diu," Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 46. See nineteenth century cartography of Diu, *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. Identified in the label with n.18 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>108</sup> Habermas has defined the 'public sphere' as being constituted through participation in a universal culture of opinion formation. In his seminal work he argued that, in the eighteenth century, private individuals assembled into a public body began to discuss openly and critically the exercise of political power by the state. These citizens had free access to information and expressed their opinion in a rational and domination-free manner. Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Formation of the Public Sphere*. Burger, Thomas (trans.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press & Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. 2-3. See also Eickelman, D. and Anderson, J. (eds.). 1999. "Redefining Muslim Publics." In *New Media in the Muslim World: the Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 95-111, Calloun, Craig (ed.). 1992. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press and Veer, Peter van der. 2002. "Religion in South Asia." In *Annual Rev. Anthropology* 31:177-180.

<sup>109</sup> These distinctions usually stem from the colonial sources themselves, which clearly distinguish a 'black town' from a 'white town.' See chapter five, for a more detailed discussion and analysis about this matter.

Portuguese presence in India. Hence, the siege monument/memorial column marks the Portuguese stake in the subcontinent, the earlier sacrifices and the late nineteenth century reentrenchment of colonial discursive power.



[Figure 2.4] Monument and memorial to Hoja Safar, Diu. 1959.  
Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU). Reference: AHU L 1691. “Goa tal como a vi”. Box 1. Number 3. “Coluna comemorativa”  
© Emile Marini.  
Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU)

Three questions arise from monument/memorial to the siege and to Hoja Safar and from its location. First, what occupied the space that the Portuguese took over for burial ground? How was it used prior to the siege, and what would have been the implications for Diu? Second, the nature of the initial siege monument/memorial is unclear: why were there no inscriptions, and how did its lack of completion affect the space which its presence founded? This recreation of the column and the addition of inscriptions casts a different profile on the urban space of Diu. With these three basic problems, a wider issue arises: what does this space is able to speak about Diu and about the discursive construction of its spaces?

Moreover, this monument/memorial to the siege and its placement within the city relates directly to the earlier discussions of the narratives of the events. As a commemoration of the sacrifices of those who died, and as a marker during the travellers visit to Diu, the siege monument/memorial and its surrounding also shape the relationships among spaces in the city. Just as narratives of Diu occurred in tandem with discussions of the siege, so this monument/memorial shapes the spaces of Diu until the early nineteenth century. Its narrative is equally important to an understanding of colonial discursive framing of the Portuguese ‘conquest’ and establishment of sovereignty in Diu during the mid-sixteenth century and the subsequent Portuguese rule over the *Estado da Índia*. In what follows, we flesh out the different stories behind the placement of the siege monument/memorial and its physical changes over time, in order to better understand what role this column played in the shaping of Diu within colonial discourse.

The history by Coutinho mentions the massacre and records the looting of Diu which destroyed a considerable part of the city. The location was used as building place for the siege monument/memorial as was depicted by

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Resende (1635), Sarmento/Chermont (1783-1790) and Aniceto da Silva (1833) (see details about the last in chapter 5). After Diu's global conflict, where defeated Hoja Sofar was defeated on 10 November 1546 and compromised the atmosphere of the Ottoman Empire as the greatest military power of the time, Christendom's could triumph on the Indian Ocean and the Portuguese could take possession of their colonial power and territories in the East.

The siege monument/memorial's also exposes some of the manoeuvres and negotiations necessitated by the site of the siege. With an inscription, and half-finished, the siege monument/memorial might be seen as an allegory for the Portuguese presence in India. A monument generally commemorates a person or event, but this seems to echo the uncertainty and contestation of Portuguese power, rule and sovereignty in Diu since the sixteenth century and until the late seventeenth century, that ended with the Oman attack of 1668. Its resonance throughout the years between its initial founding and its subsequent rebuilding must have shifted based on the relationship of the Portuguese colonist to the city. At this early stage, during the early period, and throughout the first century of its existence, its incompleteness underscored the inadequate colonial presence within the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, the distance between Portuguese and Gujaratis, and the continued Portuguese colonial inability to fully establish a presence in the subcontinent as a whole.

The initial conception of the memorial involved a simple column with horizontal accents and a square base.<sup>110</sup> In the drawing,<sup>111</sup> a horizontal line across the top of the column indicates the extent of its completion - the column remained unfinished throughout the first century of its existence. The column's current similarity to the early sketch indicates that if it replaced the previous monument/memorial, its form merely copied the form of the older column and remained unchanged until today. The location of the column ostensibly marks the spot where the Portuguese supposedly threw the victims' bodies. However, the exact circumstances of the victims' deaths and the location of their captivity remains in question.

This demonstrates that the erection of the monument/memorial to the siege was followed by the cemetery's foundation. To a certain extent, this explains its unusual location. Traditional European city planning would dictate that the spaces of death lie outside the major areas of inhabitation, usually outside the city walls, on the opposite side of a ditch, or across a river. Barring this, the cemetery usually lies on the grounds of the ruined church of the Hospitallers, Royal Hospital and Saint John of God monastery (*Hospital Real e mosteiro de São João de Deus*).<sup>112</sup> During the later eighteenth century, supporters of reform movements pushed to locate cemeteries outside the city. Within the Islamic world, while different circumstances dictated the placement of cemeteries, graveyards generally occupied a separate area from the residential and commercial spaces. Hence, the unusual nature of Diu's cemetery, both outside of the main settlement and 'inside the city walls,' highlights the ambiguity of the Portuguese colonial presence, i.e., ruling over Diu, following the Enlightenment city planning, but transgressing the space of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. This placement would not have been lost on the Muslims of Diu, as the Islamic tradition places graveyards outside of residential areas as well.

Turning to the siege monument/memorial of the mid-nineteenth century, it is clear that at this moment in Diu's history, to establish a physical, visual presence in India, the rebuilding of the siege monument/memorial and the

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<sup>110</sup> See the seventeenth century cartography of Diu: Bocarro, António. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, de de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Redimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. [drawing by Pedro Barreto de Resende] Códice COD CXV. X-2. Courtesy: Biblioteca Pública de Évora (BPE).

<sup>111</sup> See the nineteenth century cartography of Diu, *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria José Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. Below and left, identified in the label as n. 49 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>112</sup> According to Rivara, the monastery was in ruins in 1841. The cemetery of Diu would be founded on its ruins. See: Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 45.

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appending of the inscription embodied late nineteenth century efforts to reclaim the refigured glories of early colonialism. At this point, the siege had faded from the minds of European travelers through the region; indeed, by the 1800s, the siege does not figure as prominently in European travel narratives. A revival of the patriotism with which these men lost their lives and the reminder of the barbarities of the sixteenth century reinforced the desire for a reestablishment of European hegemony in the late nineteenth century. With this retrieval of the early history of Portuguese presence in India, the entrenchment of European culture in the administrative and architectural structures saturated the nineteenth century in Portuguese possessions of *Estado da Índia*. Moreover, in the face of a weakening economic and political hold on the subcontinent, the erection of monuments to past sacrifices filled the gap created by the waning of European hegemony.

The Portuguese desired to mark their place within the Indian city and the differing formulations which grew up inside the city walls all suggest a tension between the traditional dichotomy of Portuguese and Gujarati spaces: the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements. The city of Diu, walled and bounded, without Portuguese dwellings inside the citadel, was penetrated by a space of death and commemoration of Portuguese loss of life, the monument/memorial to the siege and the citadel. Like the ambiguity within the narratives discussed before, between home and transience, war and terror, this tension reinforces the shifting, malleable nature of the Portuguese presence in the subcontinent, and throws doubt on any model which draws stark distinctions between the space of the colonized and that of the colonizer.

In the late nineteenth century (as today), the monument/memorial to the siege could be seen from the road as an isolated column at the western end of the city. One would pass it either after leaving the Portuguese section of town or upon entry into this new territory. Hence, one can read this column here, in its prominence in the landscape, as a liminal monument, one that solidifies the division between the two spaces by vertically marking the land. In this sense, the siege monument/memorial works in collusion with the port, the bazaar and the sea gate, setting the boundaries between the Gujarati and the Portuguese. But, since the port and the bazaar already mark that division, the monument/memorial to the siege stands also as a question-mark whether have we really entered the 'Gujarati' urban settlement (or space) of the city? In addition, the form of the column itself, as a fairly typical European commemorative marker, its urn at the top, banded articulation of the column shaft and large square base echo funerary monuments of the late eighteenth century in Europe.<sup>113</sup> This second reading, as a question mark, reverberates more strongly than the first, especially in terms of an analysis of the urban fabric. Immediately prior to the *Porta do Campo (Zampa)*, the city walls main gate, late seventeenth century travellers to Diu crossed a moat, which remains in evidence today. The high arch of the gateway opened across the main road, to a wall encircled city. While this wall's continuity and solidity changed over time, its presence certainly invoked a separation of spaces: an inside and an outside. Once inside the city, *Karao Jami masjid* mosque rises and a bazaar faces the riverine side of the city. The siege monument/memorial rises approximately 500 metres beyond, to the east of the riverine side of the city. After an introduction to the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, then, the monument/memorial to the siege, with the catholic churches which were built close to it, (im)poses again the above question whether we have we left the 'Gujarat' urban settlement?

The column faces both the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements of town, without clearly being a part of either space, between the citadel and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. At the same time, the urban settlement in the vicinity of the column marks the infiltration of the two areas. Does it separate, defining the Indian city as ultimately Other, so much so that even several churches and a burial ground can exist in the core of a walled, inhabited city? Or, is it a penetration of that space, breaking down the Gujarati/non-catholic (hindu, jain, muslim and zoroastrian) versus Portuguese/catholic dichotomy which was established in narratives and

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<sup>113</sup> Etlin, Richard A. 1984. *The Architecture of Death: the Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

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images of Diu? Since the Portuguese arrival in Diu and documented after the first years of the eighteenth century (1707),<sup>114</sup> there was a permanent state of antagonistic tolerance<sup>115</sup> and cohabitation between Europeans and Gujaratis. Perhaps the city represents a combination of both.

As a monument created to commemorate martyrdom, the column reinforces the space between the citadel and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, drawing together a variety of commemorations of death in its headstones. As a memorial and a reassertion of Portuguese and catholic presence in Diu, the commemorative column communicates colonial power through a spatialized discourse of sacrifice and appropriation grounded in conflict. The narratives when aligned with the existence and appearance of the monument/memorial, add a moral and religious undertone to racial superiority. In the context of early sixteenth century Portuguese colonialism, this fits well, as the role of the Europeans in India became one for reforming and moralizing. India's past is conceived as glorious but long-gone, and sees the gradually forming mission of Portugal as a remedy for this situation, instilling some morality into a territory which lacked social and moral grounding. In the face of the loss of the Northern Province, Portugal had to reassess its role in the rest of the Empire. As their economic presence diminished in India, the necessity for justification and definition of Portuguese interests in Diu grew paramount.

### Conclusion

The discussion that was made about the narratives must, in a sense, constitute a new narrative, a new history from the early twenty first century. Writing the early nineteenth century urban shape of Diu by the readings of the narratives of siege was a choice made in order to navigate the discursive contradictions of the relationships among urban spaces in the city. This final narrative will draw out the major threads of those discontinuities, in part to conclude, but also to introduce further problems, some of which arise again in the following chapters. We began this chapter with a phrase which sums up the problem of this period in Diu's history and the colonial discursive framework of the Portuguese presence in India. What strikes us about these multiple histories is that they demonstrate how the colonizer's construction of colonial Diu finds the tension within this particular colonial conquest. In the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese Diu, was almost but not quite Diu.<sup>116</sup>

The diaries of the Portuguese soldiers, along with the travellers' accounts, seem to be clear in their approach to its contemporary events. The events constituted a series of conflicts for the territorial control of north-western India. Part of making a war, however, lies in mythologizing it as it takes place and after the fact. Besides the mythologization of Diu's sieges, little was done in the aftermath of this particular conflict to support its status as such. By the time of Coutinho's presence in the city, his narrative elides this version of history and while claiming heroism and victory, places the siege into a category. One can understand this and what this distinction accomplishes is a justification for the demolition in the mid-seventeenth century of Portuguese dwellings outside of the walled citadel of Diu. Was the siege successful? Not quite.

Bocarro's narrative moves deeper into the problem as he connects the siege event to the location and status of the Portuguese area 'inside the city walls.' His doubling of the distance here underscores the separation necessary for

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<sup>114</sup> "Letter from Fr. António da Trindade". Pereira, A. B. de Bragança (org.). *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental: documentos coordenados e anotados*. Bastorá, Nova Goa: Tip. Rangel, 1857-[1877]), Livro das Monções n. 69. fl. 65. 178-180.

<sup>115</sup> Hayden, Robert M. 2002. "Antagonistic Tolerance. Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans." In *Current Anthropology*, 43/2: 205-31.

<sup>116</sup> Bhabha argues that colonial mimicry is "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite." In clearer language, he asserts that the colonizer wants to improve the Other and to make him like himself, but in a way that still maintains a clear sense of difference. In that sense, the Other becomes "almost the same" as the colonizer, but never "quite" fits in with the hegemonic cultural and political systems that govern both of them. He continues to illustrate that for colonial mimicry to work, it must continue to express its difference, which he terms "ambivalence." Bhabha, Homi K..1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 86.

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the constitution of colonial discursive space. Bocarro installs a notion of home and stability into that distancing, one supported by visual and other textual narrative. However, while Bocarro casts two separate towns, Gujarati and Portuguese, Resende surveys them almost as the same area. Diu includes the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, and the fairly consistent level of building (religious and otherwise) between the two areas supports Resende's understanding of the city. We are left with questions: is it Gujarati or Portuguese? Metropolitan (home) or colonial place? A stable space or a transient space of movement? The slippages among the various narratives which continue until the nineteenth century suggest a problema within the discourse itself. The colonizer is thus both conqueror of India and extremely, doubly separate from it.

Finally, the monument/memorial to the siege further complicates matters. How can a column possibly consolidate the multiple histories involved in these narratives? In the end, it cannot accomplish that type of task, and instead, it questions the boundaries established. A Portuguese marker of Portuguese sacrifice within the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, and surrounded by the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, marks difference in its form while gesturing to the overlaps inherent to the stark dichotomies of colonial discourse. Violating the space of the city, the monument/memorial to the siege also violates the cohesion of colonial distancing. Does it signify the positioning of an 'Gujarat' urban settlement as ultimately Other, and therefore a space of death? Or, does it represent the powerful presence of the Portuguese within the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, distant but still asserting control over? It is because it represents both sides of the dichotomy that the column's narrative is perhaps the most powerful of all. Instead of a singular, unified commemorative statement, the massacre memorial only raises questions rather than stable answers. It marks the slippage Bhabha points to in his 'almost,' and falls into the gaps of history-making as it continues to shift centuries after the event.





The city must make money.  
Mediators, merchants and ship-owners.

## CHAPTER THREE

*The city must make money.*  
*Mediators, merchants and ship-owners.*

IN EARLY MODERN GUJARAT, “A LAND OF THE INDIAN OCEAN<sup>1</sup> as well as of India,”<sup>2</sup> merchants played two distinct yet overlapping roles. As dealers in commodities, they traded along the oceanic and overland routes to destinations from the Red sea to the Coromandel coast and were mainly involved in importing and exporting merchandise. As facilitators of trade, they rendered services that were crucial to the conduct of wholesale trade. As brokers, their amenities were most sought after by the Portuguese and other Europeans and private merchants for the procurement of exports and the disposal of imports.<sup>3</sup> As money merchants who exchanged currency, lent money on interest or remitted funds, they rendered services to

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<sup>1</sup> Time and space are intimately connected in the study of the Indian Ocean. Although this may be a surprising statement, given the influence of Fernand Braudel’s emphasis on the *longue durée*, even a cursory glance at classic works such as K. N. Chaudhuri’s “Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean” reveals that periodization is an essential element of writings on the Indian Ocean. The reasons for this are complex and it may have to do with the unforgivingness of Braudel’s structural vision which is difficult for other historians to replicate or it may have to do with the deep-seated impulse of historians to periodize.

<sup>2</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Caixa 47, Documento 39, “Registo da carta. . .”, n.d. [c. 1784].

<sup>3</sup> While historians now reject the claim that the arrival of the Portuguese marked a decisive break with what came before, the activities of Europeans continue to be privileged in the study of the Indian Ocean. The argument for continuity pre- and post-1500 has been made forcefully by a number of historians, including Ashin Das Gupta and Michael Naylor Pearson. Similarly, compelling arguments have been made for the vitality of Asian traders well into the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, today’s overview of the Indian Ocean literature still maintains the established periodization by dividing the long history of the Indian Ocean into five periods: the ancient, the Islamic, the European, the long nineteenth century, and the twentieth century.

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merchants, to the Portuguese, Europeans, and a host of others, including rulers, administrators, revenue farmers, artisans, and manufacturers. While some merchants combined many of these activities in an effort to spread risk, many specialised in a particular commodity. There existed, therefore, a relationship of endorsement and mutual benefit among these merchants as well as between them and political and commercial entrepreneurs.<sup>4</sup>

A story of the *banyans*<sup>5</sup> - the people, mediators, merchants and ship-owners - who over the course of the second half of seventeenth and the eighteenth century developed exchange, mobility, production and consumer demand in Diu is the subject of this chapter. We try to uncover one history of human mobility and the circulation of goods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that bears a distinctive imprint in Diu's architectural and urban spatial cultures. Such movements created the vital sinews of connection and shaped Diu as an inter-regional arena of exchange.<sup>6</sup> Focusing on culturally defined aspects of exchange and socially regulated processes of circulation, the chapter illuminates the ways in which people find value in things, things give value to social relations, as cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai argues.<sup>7</sup> By looking at things as if they lead social lives, we try to provide a way to understand how this value is externalized and sought after thorough the architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu.

The merchant community of Diu comprised people involved in various activities. The most important merchants became representative of social, religious, legal or administrative contexts in their communities. Money played a vital role in merchant's life and was used to reap more benefit which would complement powerful position. Some were ship-owners, others were freighters, inland traders, suppliers, brokers, and bankers. The range of activities was invariably overlapping and many merchants - mostly *banyans* - could combine their trading activities with those of banking or brokering,<sup>8</sup> an instrumental part of early modern commerce in the Indian Ocean in general and in Diu in particular. "[...] In the *Estado da Índia* there is a nation of *gentiles* that are called *Baneanes*. [...] Dio is their head and the place where their captain is. They have no other aspiration than to add to their interests, have freedom in dressing and in the way to behave, that comes to be able to ride in palanquin, not be cited by small reasons and do their weddings freely with licence of the priests."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Some scholars made their contributions to advance our understanding of Gujarati merchants and their trading world, such as: Gupta, Ashin Das. 1994. *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979; New Delhi: Manohar; New Delhi: Manohar; Subramanian, Lakshmi. 1996. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; 1987. "Banias and the British: the Role of Indigenous Credit in the Process of Imperial Expansion in Western India in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century." In *Modern Asian Studies* 21/3. 473-510; Torri, Michelguglielmo. 1982. "In the Deep Blue Sea: Surat and its Merchant Class During the Dyarchic Era, 1759–1800." In *Indian Economic & Social History* 19/3-4; Ghulam A. Nadri. 2007. "The Commercial World of Mancherji Khurshedji and the Dutch East India Company: A Study of Mutual Relationship." *Modern Asian Studies* 41/2; 2007. "Maritime Merchants of Surat: A Long-term Perspective." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50/2-3; Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. "From Avoidance to Confrontation? A Contestatory History of Merchant–State Relations in Surat, 1600–1924." in Haynes, Douglas E. and Prakash, Gyan (eds.). *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

About Diu and the *Banyans*, see Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 1992. *A Actividade da Companhia de Comércio dos Banianes de Diu em Moçambique (1686–1777)*. Unpublished MA dissertation, Lisbon: New University of Lisbon; 1995. "The Trade Activities of the Banyans in Mozambique: Private Indian Dynamics in the Panel of the Portuguese State Economy (1686–1777)", in Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria (ed.), *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*. New Delhi: Manohar. 301–31; 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Lisbon: New University of Lisbon; 2011. "Banias and the Foreign Trade of Diu (18<sup>th</sup> century)." In Varadarajan, Lotika (ed.), *Gujarat and the Sea*, Baroda: Dharshak Itihas Nidhi. 599-612.

<sup>5</sup> Contemporary historians as Michael N. Pearson, Ashin Das Gupta, Irfan Habib, Douglas E. Haynes, Lakshmi Subramanian, Surendra Gopal, Balkrishna G. Gokhale, Pedro Machado and Luís Frederico Dias Antunes, have studied in some way the *Banyans*.

<sup>6</sup> Bose, Sugata. 2002. "Space and Time on the Indian Ocean Rim." In Fawaz, Leila Tarazi and Bayly, Christopher A. (eds.). *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. New York: Columbia University Press. 365–88; 2006. *A Hundred Horizons. The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>7</sup> For Appadurai, beneath the seeming infinitude of human wants, and the apparent multiplicity of material forms, there in fact lie complex, but specific, social and political mechanisms that regulate taste, trade, and desire. Appadurai, Arjun (ed). 1986. *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Brokers for the European Companies, for example, were usually rich merchants who not only facilitated their clients' sales and purchases of merchandise, but also at times provided the necessary capital.

<sup>9</sup> "[...] No Estado da Índia há hua nação de gentios aque chamão Baneanes. [...] Dio he cabeça delles onde tem seu capittão não aspirão jamais que acrescentar seus interesses, ter liberdades no vestir nomodo desetratar, que vem a ser poder andar em palemquim não serem

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Since the sixteenth century, Diu has been part of a commercial and financial world of goods and flows from where the *banyans* [figure 3.1] enabled and benefited. While *banyans* became directly involved in trade as merchants, it was as financiers and providers of credit in the form of cloth that they played the most critical roles. Therefore, *banyans* as a significant component of Diu's economy were integral to the trade's broader extents. They were enmeshed in a "world on the move,"<sup>10</sup> controlled the money markets and dominated the credit and exchange networks as well as the brokering profession. It should be underlined that there had been professional specialisation since the early seventeenth century and perhaps even earlier. Even though no branch of trade was the limited realm of any ethnic group, some occupations without doubt spoken for more people of one group. Accordingly, *banyan* merchants held a predominant position in overseas trade and shipping and with their large economic resources and control over markets they played a dominant role in the political economy of Diu.

The concept of 'diaspora' has been used as a tool of analysis for studying the activities of merchant communities. Borrowing from the anthropologist Abner Cohen, the historian on Africa and of the slave trade Philip D. Curtin favoured its almost universal application from antiquity to the rise of the modern world.<sup>11</sup> Most scholars of trading diasporas have emphasised the social, cultural and economic organisation of the community concerned, while ignoring the nature and structure of the host societies.<sup>12</sup> Apart from its internal consistency and the community's aptitude to preserve social, cultural, and commercial interactions among its spatially dispersed members, the formation of a diaspora is also the function of a dialectical interaction between the group and the host society, and the diaspora is shaped by its response to the challenges from the latter.

*Sarrafs*<sup>13</sup> or *sahukars* (moneychangers/moneylenders) enabled trade across an array of Indian Ocean places which used a variety of currencies, by providing services in minting or exchanging coins and by transmitting funds to

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sitados por contia pequena e fazerem seus cazamentos livrem.te que fazem com licenla dos prelados, e que por vezes há duvidas." Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n<sup>o</sup> atual de inventário 30, n<sup>o</sup> antigo de caixa 18, n<sup>o</sup>s vermelhos 342, datas extremas 1645-1646, 29 January 1646.

<sup>10</sup> Here should be noted "the interactive emergence of European dominance." In an influential survey, John Wills Jr. shows that throughout Asia Europeans depended closely on indigenous groups, usually merchants, to establish their colonies. In India, the Portuguese, Dutch, and British built their empires atop pre-existing trading structures, in a complex symbiosis mixed with "contained conflict." See Wills Jr., John E. 1993. "Maritime Asia, 1500–1800: The Interactive Emergence of European Domination," *American Historical Review* 98/1: 83–105.

<sup>11</sup> As defined by Cohen, the trading diaspora as "a nation of socially interdependent, but spatially dispersed communities" could be conveniently applied to a variety of trading communities. He describes the period between 1740 and 1860. See, Cohen, Abner. 1971. "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas." In Meillassoux, Claude, (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*. Oxford: International African Institute. 267. See, also: Curtin, Philip D. 1984. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 1-12.

Other anthropologists tend to use 'trade networks,' with less attempt at such precise definition. See Fallers, Lloyd A. (ed.), *Immigrants and Associations*. The Hague: Walter de Gruyter. 1967 and Yambert, Karl A. 1981. "Alien Traders and Ruling Elites: The Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Indians in East Africa." *Ethnic Groups* 3: 173-98.; Ho, Engseng. 2004. "Empire through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/2: 2013-2017; 2006. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Chaffee, John. 2008. "Muslim Merchants and Quanzhou in the Late Yuan-Early Ming: Conjectures on the Ending of the Medieval Muslim Trade Diaspora." In Schottenhammer, Angela, (ed.). *The East-Asian Mediterranean: maritime crossroads of culture, commerce and human migration*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

<sup>12</sup> Wink, André. 1987. "The Jewish Diaspora in India: Eighth to Thirteenth Centuries." In *Indian Economic & Social History* 24/4; Dale, Stephen Frederic. 2002. *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, especially 1-7; Ho, Engseng. 1997. Hadramis Abroad in Hadramawt: The Muwalladin. In Freitag, Ulrike and Clarence-Smith, William Gervase (eds.), *Hadrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s–1960s*. Leiden: Brill; Levi, Scott C. 2002. *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade, 1550–1900*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 86-90; Mentz, Sören. 2005. *The English Gentlemen Merchant at Work, Madras and the City of London 1660–1740*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum P.; Ho, Engseng. 2004. "Empire through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/2: 210-46; 2006. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>13</sup> The *sarrafs* had their origins in Surat. The city remained a significant financial centre well into the nineteenth century, although Surat position in western India as a premier trading and manufacturing centre was gradually replaced by Bombay from the late eighteenth century. The historian Lakshmi Subrahmanyam highlights the critical role played by *Banyan* credit and capital in the English triumph over the Maratha Confederacy in Western India at the turn of the century. See Subramanian, Lakshmi. 1996. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 142. Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. 2001. "Indian and Arab entrepreneurs in Eastern Africa (1800–1914)", in Bonin, Hubert and Cahen, Michel (Eds.), *Négoce blanc en Afrique noire*. Paris: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer. 342; Nightingale, Pamela. 1970. *Trade and Empire in Western India 1784–1806*. Cambridge,

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different destinations.<sup>14</sup> By the early seventeenth century, there was already a great degree of sophistication in banking services and any merchant could avail himself of the facility of transferring money from one place to the other through risk-bearing *hundi* (bill of exchange).<sup>15</sup> Other merchants strictly limited their activities to trade. With low operating costs and content with small margins of profit, inland traders played a vital role in the trading network of the Indian Ocean by providing links between the ports and the interior.

Ethnic connections and religious affiliations largely defined a person's professional possibilities and the scope of his commercial investments. As the historian Dias Antunes suggests, henceforth Antunes, members of diasporic communities maintained strong connections to compatriots while trading abroad.<sup>16</sup> These community ties allowed groups to form hardy coalitions when needed to respond to the inequities and injustices that overseas life could entail. Some groups and affiliations overlapped and shifted according to the needs of the moment. For instance, the Muslim Ismaili and Sunni Bohra merchants from Diu each looked after the needs of others from their subsect and may be identified as tight and cohesive groups that dominated the shipping sector. Yet at times the muslim merchants of Diu banded together as an organized coalition that superseded subsect interests and regional affiliations and included local, Indian, Persian, Turkish, and Arab merchants, both Sunni and Shiites.

The interface between these merchant groups of Diu, each being attentive to a certain type of commerce or having expertise in a specific profession, was active and the extent of reciprocal interdependence obviously abundant. In the conduct of trade, every affluent merchant of Diu depended on the services of a host of *banyan* brokers and bankers. Under steady market circumstances, reliance and consistency were not inevitably restricted to the same ethnic group. For this reason, the notion of a culturally defined merchant diaspora as a framework loses much of its significance.<sup>17</sup> Merchants, nevertheless, favoured commercial networks based on intra-community connections and the reliability of collectively managed information.<sup>18</sup> All merchants in Diu involved in long-distance oceanic trade employed agents to transact business on their behalf along the Indian Ocean littoral. It was therefore reasonable that kin and communal based networks would have primacy over others.<sup>19</sup>

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UK: Cambridge University Press. 171; Haynes has shown that, due to the Surat's decline from the early eighteenth century, "many of [their] linkages to the Indian Ocean mercantile world" have been overlooked, as have the merchants and manufacturers that the city continued to maintain into the middle of the twentieth century. See Haynes, Douglas E. 2015. "Surat City, Its Decline and the Indian Ocean, 1730–1940." In Keller, Sarah, and Pearson, Michael N. (eds.). *Port Towns of Gujarat*. Delhi: Primus Books. 31-42.

<sup>14</sup> Usually both functions were combined in one person.

<sup>15</sup> Habib, Irfan. 1960. "Banking in Mughal India." *Contributions to Indian Economic History I*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay; Prakash, Om. 1991. "Sarraf's, Financial Intermediation and Credit Network in Mughal India." In Cauwenbergh H. G. Van (ed.), *Money, Coins and Commerce: Essays in the Monetary History of Asia and Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times*. Studies in Social and Economic History. Belgium: Leuven University Press. Vol. 22; Martin, Marina. 2012. *An Economic History of Hundi, 1858-1978*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. London: London School of Economics.

<sup>16</sup> Curtin, Philip D. 1984. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press and Ho, Engseng. 2006. *The Graves of Tarim. Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley & London: University of California Press.

<sup>17</sup> The terms 'diaspora' and 'community' are used interchangeably to denote ethnic communities whose members were socially interdependent but spatially dispersed.

<sup>18</sup> In rejecting the notion of 'diaspora' as a theoretical proposition, K. N. Chaudhuri has argued that tendencies like striving to monopolise the trade in certain commodities, possessing a social and political organisation of an informal nature and exchanging commercial information through friends of the same group are not determined by the fact of spatial dispersion but were general characteristics of human behaviour. Chaudhuri, K. N. 1985. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 224-7.

<sup>19</sup> For a critical evaluation of merchant diasporas see: Pearson, Michael N. 2003. *The Indian Ocean*. London: Routledge, 100-1; Bhaswati Bhattacharya, Gita Dharampal-Frick, and Jos Gommans, "Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (1500-2000)." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50/2 (2007), 94-5. Margiriti suggests that the muslim, hindu, and jewish merchants interacted closely with and trusted each other in commercial transactions. See: Margiriti, Roxani Eleni. 2007. *Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 155-8, 178-81, 213-14.

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*Homem Baniane de Dio*

[Figure 3.1] Homem Baniane de Dio, nineteenth century.  
Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), Reference: AHU\_ICONm\_058, D. 527 a 562.  
Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU)

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The idea of commercial networks is a tool for comprehending the dimensions of long-distance trade.<sup>20</sup> This was a crucial institutional factor behind the long-term commercial success of Diu merchants. Families were, nevertheless, the basic units of operation and the network was built by incorporating members of the extended family as well as people from outside the circuits of ethnic, religious or regional community. Unfortunately, our knowledge of familial initiatives, kinship patterns, organisational strategy, succession, and many other aspects of these networks in Diu is rather limited. A reading of the sources, however, yields information about how these contributed to merchants' accomplishments. Family, marriage, agency, inheritance, and adoption were deep-rooted in early modern Diu and played important roles in ensuring the intergenerational mercantile wealth.<sup>21</sup> Even under unpleasant political circumstances during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the continuity of these institutions helped merchants overcome difficulties and preserve wealth and property. The commercial success of some merchant families of Diu in the second half of the eighteenth century exemplified in this chapter illustrates this dynamic.

Since the latter half of the seventeenth century, another empire was entering the competitive maritime arena of the Indian Ocean. Under the leadership of the Busaidi dynasty from the mid-eighteenth century, Oman deepened its involvement in the western ocean by establishing itself at Zanzibar. Oman was in competition with the Portuguese empire for control over the East African coast and had been a feature of the seventeenth century when under an earlier dynasty, the Ya'arubi.<sup>22</sup> After expelling the Portuguese from Muscat in 1650, the Omani attacked several Portuguese settlements. Mombasa was captured at the end of 1698, removing effectively the Portuguese from the northern Swahili coast. For what concerns here, an important military action was taken against Diu in 1668.

The extension of control over the East African coast by the Omani was financially and commercially driven by Gujarati merchant capital. *Bhatiya* merchants primarily from Mandvi established trading and commercial ties with Muscat in the late seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century encouraged the Omani to expand into East Africa where their business interests had been growing. In the nineteenth century, the Omani re-established political control over Mombasa and moving the imperial capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. The state support and cooperation that Kutchi *Bhatiya* received from Muscat's rulers allowed them to intensify their involvement in the southwestern Indian Ocean.<sup>23</sup>

The implications of these changes for *banyan* merchants of Diu was that, especially from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they faced growing *Bhatiya* competition in the Mozambique trade and markets, particularly once Kutchi cloth began to penetrate Mozambique's hinterland. The *banyan* merchants overwhelmingly came from Diu,<sup>24</sup> and the hindu *banyan* networks operated prominently in the city, and directed

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<sup>20</sup> Markovits, Claude. 2000. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Bhattacharya et al., "Spatial and Temporal Continuities," 95-7. About the inadequacy of diasporas as an analytical tool for explicating the nature of interaction among trading societies, see: Chaudhuri, K. N. 1985. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 223-4. Subrahmanyam's analysis of Persian immigrants and their integration into the trade and administration also debunks the idea of diasporas. Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1992. "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation." In *Journal of Asian Studies*, 51/2: 340-63.

<sup>21</sup> Ghulam A. Nadri. 2007. "Maritime Merchants of Surat: A Long-term Perspective." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50/2-3.

<sup>22</sup> The Ya'arubi dynasty were rulers of Oman between 1624 and 1742, holding the title of Imam. They expelled the Portuguese from coastal strongholds in Muscat and united the country. They improved agriculture, expanded trade and built up Oman into a major maritime power. Their forces expelled the Portuguese from East Africa north of Mozambique and established long-lasting settlements on Zanzibar, Mombasa and other parts of the coast. The dynasty lost power during a succession struggle that started in 1712 and fell after a prolonged period of civil war.

<sup>23</sup> Bhacker, M. Reda. 1992. *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar: Roots of British Domination*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>24</sup> While the extent of Indian commercial and financial dominance of the Portuguese imperial economy has been recognized to a certain extent, scholarship has tended either to focus on the imperial capital of Goa (the centre on coastal western India of state and private Portuguese investment and trade) or has provided only brief, narrowly focused or generalized accounts of the involvement of South Asian capital in the maritime trade of Portuguese India. There has been thus no detailed and systematic study of particular South Asian merchant networks who, while operating under the umbrella of the Portuguese imperial state and contributing to its fiscal income, were

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their trade primarily to Yemen and Hadramawt.<sup>25</sup> The eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and Red Sea ports offered attractive financial and commercial opportunities for Indian merchants prior to the seventeenth century that outstripped those of the eastern reaches of the Indian Ocean as conduits of gold and silver from Europe. There was also a significant *banyan* merchant community Daman and Mocha<sup>26</sup> also active in the early eighteenth century in the southern Red Sea ports provided them with markets.<sup>27</sup>

Although often overlooked, the growth of Diu trade in the seventeenth century also encompassed the northern and southern Swahili coasts of Africa as far down as Mozambique island and possibly beyond into the Mozambique channel.<sup>28</sup> But despite this presence, it would seem that regular and sustained contact with Africa became a reality only from the seventeenth century and was mostly focused on the northern Swahili coast.<sup>29</sup> The supply of Mozambique cloth depended overwhelmingly on the *banyan* merchants from Diu, either active in Gujarat or on Mozambique island, to such an extent that a Portuguese official was led to comment that “when these [Indians] fail [in their textile imports] that will be when there is no longer any cotton in the world”.<sup>30</sup> This changed during the eighteenth century as conditions became obstructive and abusive. During the mid-seventeenth century, the *banyans* had been granted *dhimmi* or legally protected minority status (for which they paid a poll tax) as a “gracious

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attached to broader Indian Ocean commercial currents. *Banyan* Merchants in Diu ran their business concerns and pursued commercial and financial agenda that were not circumscribed by Portuguese state or private pressures as they weighed up and seized opportunities in the ocean’s maritime sphere.

As primary source, see: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 30, n° antigo de caixa 18, n°s vermelhos 342, datas extremas 1645-1646, 29 January 1646.

See also these secondary sources, Pearson, Michael N. 1989. “Goa-based seaborne trade, 17th–18th centuries.” In Souza, Teotonio de (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. 146–75; 1998. “Indians in East Africa: The Early Modern Period.” In Mukherjee, Rudrangshu and Subramanian, Lakshmi (ed.). *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; 1981. “Banyas and Brahmins: Their Role in the Portuguese Indian Economy.” In Pearson, Michael N. (ed.), *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*. New Delhi: Concept Publishers. 93–115; 2007. “Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese”, in Bethencourt, Francisco and Curto, Diogo Ramada, (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 88–108; Pinto, Celsa. 1994. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770–1840*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company; Baus, Rudy. 1992. “Indian and Chinese Control of the Portuguese Eastern Empire (1770–1850).” In Purabhilekh-Puratatva, 10/1: 1–19; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 1992. *A Actividade da Companhia de Comércio dos Baniões de Diu em Moçambique (1686–1777)*. Unpublished MA dissertation, New University of Lisbon; 1995. “The Trade Activities of the Banyans in Mozambique: Private Indian Dynamics in the Panel of the Portuguese State Economy (1686–1777).” In Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria (ed.), *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*. New Delhi: Manohar. 301–31; 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 2011. “Baniões and the Foreign Trade of Diu (18<sup>th</sup> century).” In Varadarajan, Lotika (ed.). *Gujarat and the Sea*, Baroda: Dharshak Itihas Nidhi. 599-612.

<sup>25</sup>Although the meaning of the term ‘Vaniya’ has proved somewhat difficult to define accurately, I have understood it to mean a caste-um-occupational category. For a detailed discussion, see Subramanian, Lakshmi. 1996. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press and 1991. “The Eighteenth Century Social Order in Surat: A Reply and an Excursus on the Riots of 1788 and 1795”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 25/2: 323.

<sup>26</sup>Serjeant R. B. 2013. “The Hindu, Baniyan Merchants and Traders.” In *Sanaa: An Arabian Islamic City*. Serjeant R. B. and R. Lewcock (ed.). London: Melisende UK Ltd. 532–535; Das Gupta, Ashin. 2001. “Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700-1725.” In Gupta, Ashin Das, *The World of Indian Ocean Merchant. 1500-1800*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press. 369-98; See also: Um, Nancy. 2009. *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press. 166, where the author notes an instance in 1720 of the arrival in Mocha of more than 300 *banyans* from Diu.

<sup>27</sup>Gupta, Ashin Das. 2001. “Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700–1725.” In *The World of Indian Ocean Merchant. 1500-1800*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press. 369–398.

<sup>28</sup>For example, at the end of the fifteenth century, Indian merchants from Cambay were trading with Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa and Pate in commercial exchanges that appear to have been firmly established by this time. Horton, Mark. 2004. “Artisans, Communities, and Commodities: Medieval Exchanges between Northwestern India and East Africa.” In *Ars Orientalis* 34: 62–80.

<sup>29</sup>Mudenge, S. I. Gorerazvo. 1981. “Afro-Indian Relations Before 1900: A Southeast Central African Perspective”, in Shanti Sadiq Ali and Ramchandani R. R. (eds.), *India and the Western Indian Ocean States*. Bombay: Allied Publishing. 40; Ferreira, A. Rita. 1985. “Moçambique e os Naturais da Índia Portuguesa.” In Albuquerque, Luís de, and Guerreiro, Inácio (eds.), *II International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*. Lisbon: Tropical and Scientific Research Institute (ICT). 617; Alpers, Edward A. 1976. “Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa, c. 1500–1800.” In *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 9/1: 22–44; Lobato, Manuel. 1995. “Relações comerciais entre a Índia e a costa Africana nos séculos XVI e XVII: o papel do Guzerate no Comércio de Moçambique.” In *Mare Liberum* 9: 157–73; Pearson, Michael N. 1998. “Indians in East Africa: The Early Modern Period.” In Mukherjee, Rudrangshu and Subramanian, Lakshmi (ed.). *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 227–49.

<sup>30</sup>Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Caixa 29, Documento 56, Pereira do Lago to Crown, 12 August 1769. Balthazar Manoel Pereira do Lago, Governor-General of Mozambique (1765-1779).

act” by the imam because normally this status was bestowed only on monotheistic communities in territories that came under Islamic law. The status involved restrictions on religious and sumptuary practice, while offered imperial protection. Some of these limitations were disregarded but many were imposed strictly, resulting in an “inherent instability” in the status of *banyan* merchants, traders and brokers. Additionally, *banyans* were also subject to payment to the governor or the imam of entry and exit fees every time they arrived and left, and there were even instances when merchants were subjected to violence to secure funds.<sup>31</sup>

The social makeup of Diu’s trade community was rigidly segmented. However, the best case of social, economical and ethnic commonality was that of the Diu *banyan* brokers. They held Diu’s monopoly over land-based trade brokerage by facilitating the transfer of goods from the hands of maritime merchants<sup>32</sup> into land-based markets<sup>33</sup> in Gujarat and Africa, overseeing currency exchange, and maintaining the local deferred payment schedule. As the primary devices in a well-defined and hierarchical system of brokerage, these Diu *banyan* intermediaries were in contact with all the different types of merchants and served as the city’s middlemen in all commercial affairs. A *banyan* broker could specialize in a certain commercial good or work for a specific merchant or trading company, either freelance or as a continuing employee. Many seem to have played more than one role at a time and to have shifted roles from one season to the next. They wielded enough power to collectively withhold their services from their clients, who included the city’s multitude of wholesale merchants, in order to protest an unreasonable demand of remittance from the governor or the persecution of a member of their community. Early modern brokerage in Diu was complex, however, and the role of a broker had a certain amount of functional flexibility.<sup>34</sup> Their behaviour brought Diu’s trade to a standstill or to a more liberal attitude towards commercial operation.

At least two classes of merchants coexisted in Diu. Antunes makes a clear distinction between traders or wholesalers, almost always *banyans*, and shopkeepers and sellers, almost always relatives or people of trust.<sup>35</sup> The high-volume overseas merchants, dealt in large quantities of wholesale goods such as textiles, spices and metals that were intended for or originated in the international market. The goods they purchased at Diu were either transhipped to another maritime destination such as Cambay, inaccessible due to siltation,<sup>36</sup> or sold to a *banyan* broker for entry into the Gujarati inland market.<sup>37</sup> Operating from their small stores in Diu’s bazaar, the retail merchants belonged to a different mercantile class. They dealt in small quantities of the aforementioned import items as well as other commodities for daily use, local distribution, and regular consumption. Wholesalers and retailers conducted business in different sectors of the city in different types of establishments, and only rarely did their commercial worlds intersect. Many ships arriving at Diu carried mixtures of goods of all sorts, some destined for the wholesale market and others for retail, luxury goods packed in with everyday necessities.

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<sup>31</sup> Um, Nancy. 2009. *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press. 165–167.

<sup>32</sup> A *banyan* ship-owner or a *nākhudā*, the owner’s agent, is sometimes mentioned in passing in the European records, but these men do not represent the greater part of Diu’s *banyans*, who eschewed direct involvement in maritime affairs.

<sup>33</sup> Although European merchants depended heavily on their brokers for linguistic and commercial intercession around the Indian Ocean rim, the practice of brokerage has old roots in Gujarat and other Indian Ocean regions and was not a response to or consequence of the cross-cultural requirements of European trade. Gupta, Ashin Das. 1994. *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979; New Delhi: Manohar. 84.

<sup>34</sup> Pearson Michael N. 1988. “Brokers in Western Indian Port Cities: Their Role in Servicing Foreign Merchants,” *Modern Asian Studies* 22/3: 457.

<sup>35</sup> Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 301-304.

<sup>36</sup> Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-75. *Da Ásia*, Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Dec. VI, Bk. IV, Ch. III.

<sup>37</sup> Barbosa, Duarte (1480-1521). 1989. *The book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants... completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, vol. 1: Including the coast of Malabar, China and the Indian archipelago, Reprod. facsimile: Donald Macbeth, 1921. New Delhi: Asian Educational Series. 112; Boxer, Charles R. 1988. *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, 1415-1825*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 54; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 15 and 33.

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Mediators, merchants and ship-owners.**

The *banyans* ability to acquire textiles in India owed much to the structure of their family firm. Also, they used textile brokers to communicate details of the goods demanded in Mozambique. Finally, they acquired goods from African agents in their service, who in turn maintained relationships with long-distance traders and merchants in Mozambique. This information was provided along social chains that associated Diu and its *banyan* subjects to the hinterlands of Africa and India.

The *banyans* in Diu organized their trade activity around some specific families. This transcended caste and religious distinctions to which families were conventionally subordinated. Family ties and cohesion was a decisive factor for the concentration of capital, enhancing the perpetuity of the organization and the increase of connections between family members that bring together. According to the historian and doyen of Indian Ocean studies, Ashin Das Gupta, henceforth Das Gupta, we can get a sense of the *banyan* involvement in Diu by considering the experiences of the leading family who had its origin in Diu and whose members served as important brokers and merchants in Yemen at the end of the seventeenth century, the Virachands.<sup>37</sup> When Virachand, the founding member and father died, the business was taken over in 1711 by his son Pitambar. Perhaps sensing that circumstances were worsening for Gujarati merchants and businessmen in Mocha, Pitambar returned to Diu in 1716 to settle unspecified 'family business.' His brother assumed responsibility for the family's financial and commercial concerns in Mocha but around 1725, conditions for the family and other *banyans* had worsened to such an extent that they were being 'persecuted' by the authorities. As a consequence of this, the Virachands' along with other *banyan* merchants from Diu, decided to extract most of their capital from the southern Red Sea trade and especially Yemen and send it back to Diu.<sup>38</sup>

This demonstrates that over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a prominent *banyan* merchant community from Diu that developed business interests in and between west India and southeast Africa. Arriving sometime in the early 1760s, to the coastal entrepôt of Mozambique island, they usually began working as apprentices in their families' firms owned and sustained storehouses. They worked the way up the commercial hierarchy, learning Portuguese<sup>39</sup> and likely an African language,<sup>40</sup> as they became the firm's main partners in Mozambique by the 1780s. Their standing as 'honourable' and 'credit-worthy' merchants replicated both theirs and the firm's standing within Diu and Mozambique that was to be sustained well into the nineteenth century.

[Indian merchants] compete ... to give cabayas that are in fashion, toucas ... ordering them especially from Diu with new designs that are communicated to their partners in the monsoons, from which we can see that the Africans, seeing these painted cloths of a new fashion, every year hurry to the [Indian merchants] and not to any Christian [merchants], and when one [Christian] by chance does appear he leaves disappointed and will certainly not return on another occasion.<sup>41</sup>

In regard to the painted cloths of new manufacture that it is said...are brought from the north [Gujarat] in order that they can attract to themselves all the goods brought by the Yao; it is well known that the cloths after the fashion or of new invention are brought [to Mozambique island] by the [Vāniyā] merchants [...]<sup>42</sup>

Later during the eighteenth century, as their investments in African trade grew, the *banyans* from Diu had established a dominant position in the commercial and financial economy of Mozambique.<sup>43</sup> Their control over

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<sup>38</sup> Gupta, Ashin Das. 2001. "Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700–1725", in Das Gupta, *World of the Indian Ocean Merchant*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 369–398. The Virachand family is also cited in: Um, Nancy. 2009. *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press. 165.

<sup>39</sup> The language of empire, trade and imperial administration.

<sup>40</sup> Most likely a form of Emakhuwa, a language from northern Mozambique.

<sup>41</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), Lisbon, Codex 1345, fl., 44v, "Resposta...", 2 July 1781.

<sup>42</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), Lisbon, Caixa 36, Documento 35, Punji Velji, Laxmichand Motichand ... to Juiz Ordinario, 3 August 1781.

<sup>43</sup> *Banyan* hindu merchants from the Gujarat ports, especially Diu, were established on both sides of the Indian Ocean. Trade between Portuguese ports was legally reserved to nationals, and the African ports were not open to ships of all nations until the mid-1840, so that nominally Portuguese *banyans*, muslims, Parsis and even the odd Christian were the obligatory intermediaries in the trade between India

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locating, obtaining, shipment and distribution of Gujarati cotton cloths was key in undergirding this dominance because of their central place in African exchange as both currency and commodity. High demand for Gujarati textiles derived from the many uses to which the cloth was put, and from the myriad social and cultural meanings with which they were inscribed by African consumers. Without textiles, no merchant could trade successfully in Mozambique and its far interior. The main role of Gujarati cotton textiles to Diu's economy in particular and indeed to all economic exchange in the Kathiawar peninsula in general, placed the city in a leading regional position with access to networks of procurement and distribution on the Indian Ocean. Accordingly, heavy investment in the procurement and importation of textiles was made by the *banyans* from Diu and large volumes of this commodity were arranged to be transported in Gujarati long distance vessels across the western Indian Ocean. The textiles arrived on Mozambique island, where they served not only as exchange media for the purchase of ivory and slaves (the two main exports from Southeast Africa during the eighteenth century), but also as high-demand products among Africans throughout Mozambique. It was the African taste that drove the *banyans* from Diu to the quantity and variety of cloth that had to acquire in each trading season from weavers in Gujarat, so that they would find buyers in coastal and interior markets of eastern Africa.

Cloth financed credit as a vital component under girding distance trade and allowed the *banyans* of Diu to extend loans widely to merchants along India and Africa. For much of the eighteenth century, they financed the purchase of African ivory that was highly sought after in Gujarat. It was ensured that the ships that had brought cloth from India to Mozambique returned carrying ivory tusks to Diu, from where they were later redistributed to Gujarat, especially to Surat and Bhavnagar:

[...] *Mazanes* and merchants agree to invoice in this city the cloth to export to the kingdom and to Mozambique similar to those from Surat and from the ports of the gulf of the amount of two hundred thousand *xerafins*. 11 February 1799 in this fortress in the houses of the governor [...]. For the sake of trade and customs of this place the cloth annually traded from Jambuceira to Mozambique and East Africa ports by getting by this way the profit from this place and listening carefully to the *Mazanes* they agreed to manufacture without any constraints the mentioned cloth and by their own free will pay the customs eight *pardaos* and one *tanga* and twenty *reis* percent of the sales since the cloth that comes from Jambuceira pays five *xerafins* three *tangas* and ten *reis* to enter and leave Mozambique. Two *xerafins* three *tangas* and ten *reis* by this way do not diminish the income of customs with the condition that your Majesty not take entry rights for entrance by sea to such manufactures of cloth from Jambuceira also was proposed to the same *Mazanes* by the mentioned governor for the sake of trade in Diu that the cloth exported from Surat to the kingdom, and so did the same *Mazanes* agreed to do, expecting that the governor protects these manufactures sending to this port the ships from the kingdom, to load and buy or at least to overload insuring these *Mazanes* as they insure to buy the cargos of the aforesaid ships, except for the meat and liquids and other goods [...].<sup>44</sup>

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and the east African coast. Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. 1985. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 34.

<sup>44</sup> “[...] Candido José Mourão Garcez Palha [...] *Mazanes* e Mercadores assentarão facturarem nesta Praça as Roupas de Exportação do Reyno e Mossambique a imitação das de Surrate e dos Portos dos Canais da quantia de duzentos mil *xerafins*. Aos onze de Fevereiro de mil setecentos noventa e nove nesta Fortaleza nas Casas da Residência do Castelão Governador [...] Ao bem do Comercio e da Alfandega desta Praça se manufacturassem nella as roupas que anualmente se vão buscar a Jambuceira para se conduzirem a Mossambique e Portos da Africa Oriental ficando por este meyo na terra o Cabedal que della Sahe e ouvido com atenção pellos referidos *Mazanes* assentarão todos sem repugnancia alguma mandar fabricar as mencionadas roupas e por sua livre vontade pagarem na Alfandega oito *pardaos* huma *tanga* e vinte e reis por cento da *Sahida* visto as roupas que vem de Jambuceira cinco *xerafins* três *tangas* e dez *reis* na entrada e da *sahida* para Mossambique Dois *xerafins* tres *tangas* e dez *reis* para por este meyo não diminuir os Rendimentos da Alfandega com a condição porem que sua Magestade não lhe havia levar Direitos da entrada pella linha que viesse por mar para as referidas manufacturas das roupas de Jambuceira sendo igualmente proposto aos mesmos *Mazanes* pelo mencionado Castelão as vantagens do Comercio deste Praça se fizesse nella as Roupas que se exportão de Surrate para o Reino, assentarão os mesmo *Mazanes* assim o fazerem debaixo de esperança que o [...] Governador [...] protegera estas manufacturas mandando aeste Porto os Navios do Reino, Carregallas e Comprallas ou ao menos hum dos sobrecargas dellas segurando os ditos *Mazanes* como assegurarão Comprar a Carga dos sobreditos Navios, que aqui aportarem menos as adições Carnes e Liquidos seque em torna dos outros gêneros [...]”

“Bartolomeu dos Anjos: Candido Jose Mourão Garces Palha Castelão e Governador. Sinais dos Mercadores = Anandagi Givane: Natu Samogi: Chatarboza Curgi: Gegivandas Mulgi: Carva Canacadas: Mulgi Manachande: Sauchande Velgi: Trachande Deuchande: Nirchande Gevani: Calenechande Rmichande: Bovansdans Gitta: Darsi Madougi: Nanamali Goverdane: Pitambor Deuchande: Bovanedas Mulchandi: Calenegi Talsi: Sarachande Sauchande: Namanali Sancar: Mothechani Primogu: Morargi Damador: Damador Virgi: Amarchande Calá: Cangí Gueta: Cangí Carva: Gegivane Cuxal: Primochande Ropechaande: Bernardo Antonio Gomes de Mello: Bertolameo dos Anjos: Francisco Xavier da Silva: Aleixo Caetano Rodrigues: Givan Samogi: Narci Luica: Parsotoma Gevane: Nata Cabanegi: Guardame Bovane: Carmochande Ramochande: Farcarci Susmichande: Motechande Amarsi: Morargi Gevane: Muthechande

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Mediators, merchants and ship-owners.**

Increasingly from the mid-eighteenth century, the loans that the *banyans* from Diu were able to extend to merchants also financed African slave purchases as Mozambique developed from the 1750s into an important source of servile labour for the Indian Ocean and Atlantic markets. As with ivory purchases, the purchase of slaves required Gujarati cloth, and the most prominent of the *banyan* Diu merchants effectively underwrote the expansion of slaving through their dominance of the textile trade. They adapted themselves to the shifting realities of the southeast African economy by investing some capital in slaving and shipping modest cargoes of slaves to India, where military and domestic markets existed for African captives. In being able also to make *hundi* available to merchants, the *banyans* made possible the joint payments that were required in both the slave and the ivory trades. In particular, wealth, commercial and financial prominence enabled them to participate more directly in the slave trade by financing the acquisition of slaving vessels at Port Louis in Mauritius.<sup>45</sup> This involvement demanded, additionally, partnerships with Portuguese slavers, especially once this commerce increased from the last decades of the eighteenth century. Yet, despite extending involvement, the *banyans* from Diu never readdressed their professional interests to the slave trade. Their focus, and that of the family firm from its earliest days, remained the cloth and ivory trade.

As importers of Gujarati textiles that were utilized to purchase slaves along the coast and interior of Mozambique, however, the *banyans* benefitted financially from the payments received for cloths from merchants that invested in this trade. The exchangeability of cloth for silver made the purchase of slaves possible and therefore allowed an expansion of slave trading and brought the Atlantic and Indian Ocean markets into close relation with one another in a demonstration of the trans-oceanic linkages of the eighteenth-century trade. The silver currency acquired as a result of selling cloth to slavers was shipped to India where it was used in payments to Gujarati bankers and to secure credit. Consequently, the *banyans* of Diu were illustrative representatives of the depth and extent of the merchant networks in the western Indian Ocean, and accordingly, had a critical role in the mediation of trans-oceanic relationships. From late in the seventeenth century, and especially from the 1720s and 1730s, the *banyan* merchants from Diu began redirecting business investments away from the Red Sea and towards southeast Africa, places where they had maintained along-standing presence. In particular, this strategy included the shipbuilding centre Portuguese city of Daman, in the eastern opposite side to Diu of the gulf of Cambay.

The focus on the Indian Ocean should not lead to a neglect of terrestrial developments, which were often critical to the vibrancy of maritime commerce. A process of political consolidation among the principalities of Kathiawar, helped to foster a stable economic environment where expanding networks of commodity production (especially textiles) forged links between agrarian India and newly commercial markets in the Indian Ocean economy. Broad consumer demand for African ivory throughout India, propelled interest and presence in Mozambique and reflected the commercial resurgence of Gujarat. The production of goods intended for oceanic trade led to a quickening of land-based commerce. In the case of cotton textiles, although much of the cloth that entered the exchange networks of Diu was woven and finished (bleached, dyed, printed, or painted) in coastal Kathiawar, the cotton itself was often grown deep in the interior which was better adapted for cultivation. Much spinning of yarn was concentrated in the cotton-growing regions of the interior as well. By the eighteenth century cotton and yarn

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Nanamati: Nata Guiça: Velgi Monegi: Roque Chande Natha: Adecran Gutrande: Boanidas Madogi: Cuxal Verchande: Naranegi Sumechande: Banegi Primogi: Sangi Govar: Parsotamo Ropachande: Raichande Primogy: Carva Pragagi: Mutuchande Mulchande: Pitambor Calanegi: Arichande Irgi: Lacamechande Ramogi: Deva Goramo: Curgi Gopalgi: Repachande Calanegi: Luensordas Canegi: Javer Nata: Luisa Deuchande: Vergi Pitambor: Carva Ratangi: Primogi Vergi: Naja Bimo.” Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Índia, n° atual de inventário 337, n° antigo de maço 118, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1770-1832, s.n. 7 de Março 1806 and *Conselho Ultramarino*, Índia, n° atual de inventário 470, s.n. 28 Dezembro 1824.

<sup>45</sup> The destination of a large number of African slaves as labour.

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were transported on some scale to Diu to develop the city as a weaving center and were likely to have been the considerable bulk trades of the Indian subcontinent.

Diu thus emerged as a commercially vibrant region from the second half of the seventeenth century until the last half of the eighteenth century which was the period of Mughal imperial decentralization when regional polities such as the Marathas consolidated their autonomy and power against the imperial centre.<sup>46</sup> The historian André Raymond addressing this last period, reports that the built-up areas of a number of cities in the Indian Ocean grew by about fifty percent between the early sixteenth and nineteenth centuries:

The establishment of an immense [empire] ... created an enormous market where both individuals and products could circulate freely [...]. The centers located on the main commercial routes [...] could only benefit from the activity of these interior currents, which would remain dominant up until the eighteenth century. The vitality of Oriental trade was not really interrupted by the entry of Europeans into the Indian Ocean.<sup>47</sup>

A letter of the end of the eighteenth century claimed that “Dio in its best times was the first port of trade of the coast because it was in the way between the Red sea and Cambay [...] with one income of about three million *xerafins*”<sup>48</sup> or “Diu once the best of all India [...] today in decay and under a permanent threat from the arabs, almost without trade and rich merchants.”<sup>49</sup> Diu became a corridor for the transfer of goods between the Indian Ocean. The expansion of Diu, as well as changes in the political economy of the city (such as the decline in weaver wealth and income), was the outcome of its key position in this ocean of trade. During the eighteenth century, Diu was squeezed between rising cotton prices, driven up by European demand, and stable cloth prices, set by the sizable imports of Indian cottons. The resulting political instability and insecurity that these reconfigurations caused on trade routes in Gujarat created a fluid environment in which commercial fortunes shifted from one city to another.<sup>50</sup>

Within this frame, the *Estado da Índia* supported and promoted trade Diu within a strategy for generating revenue through taxation, where the city was at the centre and the *banyans* were pivotal of this move. In a classic essay published in 1987, Das Gupta, argued that “the relative importance of the European factor grew considerably during the eighteenth century, and it is a characteristic of the century that at its end the Indian Ocean was

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<sup>46</sup> Ludden, David. 1990. “World Economy and Village India.” In Bose, Sugata (ed.), *South Asia and World Capitalism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 159–77.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond, André. 1984. *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th Centuries: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press. 8.

<sup>48</sup> “[...] Foy Dio nos tempos felices o primeiro Porto de Comercio naquella costa, por estar no meio de toda a navegação desde o mar Roxo até Cambaya, e Surrate, e por isso chegou a Sua Alfandega a render perto de tres milhoens de xerafins: hoje se acha reduzida à lamentavel decadencia que vemos arespeito do que foy: se lhe houvera hoje como então quem promovesse Comercio nenhuma embarcação das q vão p.a o Sinde, Mascate, Persia, e mar Roxo, passaria sem o tocar, e achando ali como podia ser o retorno do que hiao buscar aos Portos mais do Sul e do Oeste, farião a promutação e volta e voltarião para suas Portos, o que não fazem pela indigencia daquelles comerciantes.[...]” Ajuda Palace Library, Codex 54-IX-48 (47), folio 3, 1774-1779.

<sup>49</sup> “[...] Dio, a melhor coysa da India, pela opollencia de seus moradores e pella mimoria de nossos triunfos, he hoje lastimoso o seu estado, esta sempre com grande oprensao ameaçado do arabio, sem nenhum genero de contrato, ou muito pouco, sem a quantidade dos moradores ricos, com que seim nobrecia, o que separarão muitos aonde lhe mais facil e seguro o comercio finalmente sendo tao pouco a sua Alfandeg.[...]” Ajuda Palace Library, Codex 51-IX-33, folio 219-220v “Relação do Estado que fica o Est. da Índia”.

<sup>50</sup> The Kathiawar peninsula was commercially vibrant and experienced increased trade when other areas of western India were adversely affected by the political realignments during the eighteenth century. This suggests a view of India as possessing a subcontinent possessing multiple “economies” instead of a single integrated economy. See Washbrook, David. 2007. “India in the Early Modern World Economy: Modes of Production, Reproduction and Exchange.” In *Journal of Global History*, 2/1: 87; Nadri, Ghulam A. 2008. “Exploring the Gulf of Kachh: Regional Economy and Trade in the Eighteenth Century.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 51: 462; Subramanian, Lakshmi. 2009. “The Political Economy of Textiles in Western India: Weavers, Merchants and the Transition to a Colonial Economy.” In Riello, Giorgio and Roy, Tirthankar (eds.). *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850*. Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill. 253–280; Riello, Giorgio. 2010. “The Making of a Global Commodity: Indian Cottons and European trade, 1450-1850” *World History Studies and World History Education, The Proceedings of the First Congress of the Asian Association of World Historians*. Revised version published in Riello, Giorgio. 2009. “The Globalisation of Cotton Textiles: Indian Cottons, Europe and the Atlantic World, 1600-1850.” In Riello, Giorgio and Parthasarathi, Prasannan (eds.), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press & Pasold Research Fund. 261-87; Riello, Giorgio and Parthasarathi, Prasannan. 2014. “The Indian Ocean in the Long Eighteenth Century.” In *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48/1: 1-19.

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dominated by the Europeans.<sup>51</sup> The rise of Europeans was balanced by a decline in Indian (in particular Gujarati) shipping and commerce and Das Gupta declared, “Not only was the European ship dominant in the ocean but [...] the Indian ship had sailed into oblivion.”<sup>52</sup> These shifts were accompanied by other changes including the retreat of Dutch trade, the growing prominence of British cities such as Calcutta and Bombay, and the development of a direct trade between India and China.

Thus, the *long* eighteenth century in the Diu began in the closing decades of the seventeenth with expanded exports of cottons and imports of silver. It concluded in the nineteenth century when flows of silver into the Indian Ocean world came to an end and when the export of cotton cloth was reduced to a trickle.

### **Craftsmen, traders, and pedlars**

A foreign trader arriving to Diu, as his ship sailed between the hinterland and the port where the pier was located, caught his first glimpse of the colonial city.<sup>53</sup> In winter months, anchorage would sometimes be hazardous for those in sailing ships, particularly if caught in strong winds. The ship would then anchor and wait for the lighters operated by boatmen. Otherwise, the bay would be fairly calm and the visitor would promptly set foot on the landing and proceed through the port gate. Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611)<sup>54</sup>, henceforth Linschoten, portrayed eloquently this scenario in the late fifteenth century:

[...] This Towne hath a very great Haven, and great traffique, although it hath verye little or nothing [at all] of it selfe, more than the situation of the place, for that it lyeth betwéen Sinde and Cambaia, which countries are abundant in all kind of things, whereby Diu is alwaies ful of strange nations, as Turks, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, and other cuntries people: and it is the best and the most profitable revenue the King hath throughout all India, for that the Banianen, Gusaratten, Rumos and Persians, which traffique in Cambaia, [and from thence] to Mecca, or the red Sea, doe commonly discharge their wares, and take in their lading in Diu, by reason of the situation [thereof], for that it lyeth in the entrance of Cambaia, and from Diu it is shipped [and sent] to Cambaia, and so brought backe againe to Diu. The Town of Diu is inhabited by Portingals, together with the natural borne Countrimen, like Ormuz and al the townes and places [holden] by the Portingals in India, yet they kéepe their fortresse strong unto themselves.<sup>55</sup>

Behind the land gate of the wall turned west to the island or the sea gate of the wall turned north to the mainland and sea, merchandise was stored in storehouses belonging to customs. The governor, aware of losses caused by theft and contraband, ordered that a customs house should be built close to the port.<sup>56</sup> Merchants would also

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<sup>51</sup> Da Gupta, Ashin. 1987. “India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century,” In Das Gupta, Ashin and Pearson, Michael N. *India and the Indian Ocean*. Calcutta & New York: Oxford University Press, 132.

<sup>52</sup> Da Gupta, Ashin. 1987. “India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century,” In Das Gupta, Ashin and Pearson, Michael N. *India and the Indian Ocean*. Calcutta & New York: Oxford University Press, 134.

<sup>53</sup> About the river and the riverine side of Diu, see also chapters 2 and 5.

<sup>54</sup> Catholic (later converted to Protestantism) Dutch merchant, trader and historian from Utrecht. He travelled extensively along the East Indies’ regions under Portuguese influence. He lived in Goa on the west coast of India between 1583 and 1589, where he acted as secretary and book-keeper of the archbishop Vicente da Fonseca. He is credited with publishing in Europe important classified information about Asian trade. After he returned to the Low Countries in 1592, he collaborated with the Dutch scholar, Berent ten Broecke, to write a series of accounts of the Indies using his vast first-hand experience as well as a number of Iberian maps, books, and manuscripts he had collected during his travels. All of Linschoten’s works circulated widely and were repeatedly reissued and translated in Europe, but the most famous is the celebrated *Itinerario*, first published in 1596. It describes all of maritime Asia from Mozambique to Japan and is illustrated by three maps and thirty-six colored engravings made from original drawings by Linschoten. During his stay in Goa, abusing the trust put in him by the Viceroy, he meticulously copied the secret charts page-by-page. Even more crucially, provided nautical data like currents, deeps, islands and sandbanks, which was absolutely vital for safe navigation, along with coastal depictions to guide the way. The publication of the navigational routes enabled the passage to the East Indies to be opened to trading by the English and the Dutch. As a consequence, the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company broke the sixteenth century European monopoly enjoyed by the Portuguese on trade with the East Indies.

<sup>55</sup> Linschoten, Jan Huygen van (1513-1561). 1885 (1596). *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*. From the 1598 English transl.; Burnell, Arthur Coke (Vol. 1, Ed.), Tiele, P. A. (Vol. 2, Ed.). London: Hakluyt Society. Vol I, 57. The translation is that of the English edition of 1598.

<sup>56</sup> See *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783*. [Public and Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. Identified in the label as n. 53 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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store goods there which had cleared customs prior to shipment. Continuing towards the midst of all the hustle and bustle of Diu, the traveller would probably pass numerous sacks of goods, camels, brokers, and porters unloading merchandise or assembling caravans for the land journeys or boats for the mainland. Together with the merchandise and a porter, the traveller would then move into the area used for horses and gunpowder, games and other festivities, and proceed to the large square at the centre of the city core, and finally enter the customs house<sup>57</sup> where a percentage *ad valorem* duty would be assessed by the customs officials for any goods. Goods were moved between the port and the city by the porters. Their monopoly in the portage of the port was considered cumbersome to the merchants. The porters allegedly pilfered the merchandise at times. Once the goods had cleared customs, they were then conveyed down the streets of the city to the merchants' storerooms. Most of the storage was for export items awaiting shipment at a propitious moment. Only a small part of the imports found its way to local shops, but nonetheless, local, regional, and long-distance trade were all interdependent parts of the economic system. Due to the distance to the harbour, the customs house inside the citadel was deactivated.

The bazaar of Diu was a very limited space<sup>58</sup> that imposed priorities on the city's spatiality. The term denotes all places in Diu where economic exchange was made: the bazaar in general, the weekly rural markets, as well as specialized crafts and retail trades. Tribesmen would enter Diu with their livestock from the rest of the island, which led directly on to the bazaar's main street or from streets which intersected the bazaar's main street in the middle. Camels and other beasts of burden would enter into Diu to carry goods. Bazaar and port were to some extent independent: in the former, the day-to-day business was regulated, while in the latter, the concern was primarily with the business of the wholesale merchants. The bazaar abided by its practice and the merchants' conflicting interests and expectations were certainly taken into consideration by the authorities. Administrative separation, which was only partial anyway, did not imply that citadel/port and town/market were economically wholly separate units. The same officials who regulated and controlled the town markets also measured the weights and scales at the port and customs. Merchants did not always distinguish between long-distance and local trade.

The connection of the import and export trade with the local bazaar was limited. Many items destined for export were consumed in Diu. It could be argued that the local market of the city<sup>59</sup> on the one hand, and the import and export trading sector on the other, constituted two different, even autonomous, spheres of economic activity.<sup>60</sup> Most of Diu's specific bazaars were located on some of its widest streets close to the port or directly off it in small enclosed squares. Goods, cloth, spices and other import commodities sent to the hinterland by caravans left the city and were assembled outside, circumventing the Diu's bazaar. Likewise, goods destined for export were spread out in front where brokers approached the owners of camel loads directly on the beach. A trader arriving

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<sup>57</sup> See *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* Identified in the label as n. 55 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>58</sup> See *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* Identified in the label as n. 54 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>59</sup> See *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* Identified in the label as n. 53 [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>60</sup> As Polanyi's port city paradigm might suggest. See, Arnold, Rosemary. 1957. "Separation of Trade from Market: the great Market of Whydah," In *Trade and Market in the Early Empires.* Polanyi, Karl, Arensenberg, Conrad (eds.). Chicago: Gateway. 177-187.

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by sea could easily experience what Francisco Manuel de Melo Breyner (1837-1903), Count of Ficalho, describes Diu in this way:<sup>61</sup>

Garcia da Horta, walking undisturbed and entertained, as he himself tells us, watching the “opulence and trade of this city,” particularly visiting the bazaar, the required meeting-point in all Eastern places. This Diu bazaar should be interesting, “the best trading place” at those times in those places, and a place where merchants arrived from all over the East. We can imagine how much the scene in the narrow bazaar streets where [...]the most varied and picturesque costumes and figures crossed; prudent and circumspective *banyans*, unable to kill a fly, bypassing not to kill an ant, lending money at ten percent rate per month, dressed in loose silk or cotton shirts, with turbans tied in spiral on their black hair adorned with fragrant flowers; rich Persian merchants from Schiraz or Basra, dressed with opulent *cabaias* the famous brocade woven in Baghdad; lean Bedouins, arriving from Aden on their fine Yemen horses, wrapped in clear *burnus* of thick wool; mountaineers from Afghanistan, ignorant and arrogant, with black and tight beards hiding almost tanned faces; Marathas, descent from the inaccessible northern Ghatts, wild and semi-naked; proud Turks, with their white turbans, followed by their servants, taking in their hands their machetes, trimmed with gold; Brahmans from Surat or Cambay, holding white cloths of fine cotton, and wearing mysterious necklaces, signaling their privileged race; mendicant yogis, intense and fanatic, stripped as spectrums; soldiers from the *Armada*, with swords seeking for adventure, escaping from work in the fortress; muslim women, hidden under long dark veils that allow a glimpse of brightness from their black eyes, elongated by antimony; dancing girls, in tight narrow skirts, naked bellies, and small breasts only covered by embroidered bodice, leaving behind, as a track, the vague scent of sandalwood, and the provocative tinkle of silver shackles. All colors and all nuances, from the black Abyssinian, arrived fresh from Massawa, to the clear tone, thin, slightly aureate of the noble hindu lady. All languages, in a modern kind of Babel, from Arabic to Persian, guzarati and Marathi, Tamil of South Malabar, and Mediterranean *lingua franca*, spoken by a Jew from Maghreb or by a disguised Venetian and the Portuguese in vernacular slang from Alfama or Ribeira das Naus [Lisbon neighborhoods] spoken by soldiers. Exposed to the sale of a wide variety of products; the silks from China; coconuts, areca, ginger, sandalwood and pepper from Malabar; the *beirames* and *baetilhas* from Chaul and Dabul; *chamalotes* silk, and cotton cloths from Cambay; wheat, sesame and opium also, coral, saffron, and scented waters from Aden and Mecca; carpets and *cramesis* from Persia; all paints and all the scents mingling in picturesque mix of an Indian bazaar.”<sup>62</sup>

In 1635, Bocarro states how was the bazaar of Diu: “many Gentiles are excellent woodworkers, goldsmiths and masons [...] among them some are very rich and if they are favoured and helped, this would be one of the most

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<sup>61</sup> He refers to a visit to Diu of Garcia da Horta (c.1501-1568), Portuguese Renaissance Sephardi Jewish physician, herbalist and naturalist.

<sup>62</sup> “Garcia da Horta, andava ocioso, como elle proprio nos diz, e entretinha-se em observar a “opulencia e trato d’essa cidade,” visitando particularmente o bazar, o obrigado ponto de reunião nas terras orientaes. Interessante devia ser esse bazar de Diu, “ho lugar de mór trato” que então havia por aquellas partes, ao qual concorriam os mercadores de todo o Oriente. Podemos imaginar quanto seria animada a scena nas estreitas ruas do bazar, onde, sob um céu implacavelmente azul, feridos sob o sol vivo, se cruzavam os mais variados e pittorescos trajas e figuras; baneanes prudentes a circumspectos, incapazes de matarem uma mosca, desviando-se para não matarem uma formiga, emprestando dinheiro a dez por cento ao mez, vestidos em largas camisas de seda ou de algodão, com os turbantes collocados sobre os cabellos negros, atados em trunfa, ornados de flores cheirosas; ricos mercadores persas de Schiraz ou de Bassora, trajando opulentas cabaias do famoso brocado, tecido em Baghdad; beduinos magros, chegados de Aden com os seus finos cavallos do Yemen, envolvidos nos burnus claros de lã grossa; montanhezes do Afghanistan, incultos e arrogantes, com as barbas negras e hisurtas escondendo quasi os rostos bronzeados; marathas, descidos dos seus inacessiveis Ghattes septentrionaes, selvagens e semi-nús; turcos soberbos, com os seus alvos turbantes, seguidos de pagens, levando nas mãos os seus terçados, guarnecidos de ouro; brahmanes de Surate ou de Cambaya, sobraçando os alvissimos pannos de fino algodão, trazendo ao pescoço os mysteriosos fios, signal da raça privilegiada; yogis mendicantes, intonsos e fanaticos, descarnados como espectros; soldados da armada, fugidos por um momento aos trabalhos da fortaleza, de espada á cinta buscando aventuras; musulmanas, escondidas sob os longos veus escuros, que permitem apenas entrever o brilho dos olhos negros, alongados pelo antimonio; bailadeiras, apertadas nas saias estreitas, os ventres nús, e os pequeninos peitos tersos apenas cobertos pelos corpetes bosdados, deixando atraz de si, como um rasto, o vago perfume do sandalo, e o tilintar provocante das manilhas de prata. Todas as cores e todos os cambiantes, desde o preto retinto do abexim, chegado de fresco de Massauá, até ao tom claro, fino, levemente dourado da nobre senhora hindú. Todas as linguas, cruzando-se em uma especie de Babel moderna, desde o arabico e o persiano, o guzarati e o marathi, até ao tamil dos malabares do sul, á lingua franca do Mediterraneo, fallada por algum judeu maughrabino, ou por algum veneziano disfarçado, e ao legitimo portuguez dos soldados, trocando dichotes em vernacula giria de Alfama ou da Ribeira das Naús. Expostos á venda os mais variados productos; as sedas da China; os cocos, a areca, o gengibre, o sandalo e a pimenta do Malabar; os beirames e baetilhas de Chaul e Dabul; os chamalotes de seda, e os pannos de algodão da propria Cambaya; o trigo, o gergelim e o opio tambem da terra, o coral, o açafraõ, e as aguas rosadas de Aden e da Meca; os tapetes e os cramesis da Persia; todas as tintas e todos os perfumes misturando-se na pittoresca confusão do bazar indiano.” Conde de Ficalho. 1886. *Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo*. Lisbon: National Press. 97.

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populous cities in the world.”<sup>63</sup> Diu served both as an outlet and as a distribution centre for the surrounding regions and much of the activity of the bazaar must be seen in this perspective.

The ebb and flow of activities of Diu depended on several factors: first, on the relationship of Diu with the surrounding island, and with the seasonal rhythms of long-distance trade with hinterland; second, were intricately tied to the modalities of exchange, not only in port and bazaar, but also along the caravan routes outside the walls of Diu; and finally, determined to a degree, by Diu’s topography, and by the ways in which each of its urban settlements was related with the colonial authorities. Yet, the rhythms of activity were also structured according to culturally embedded perceptions of time, which need to be considered.

The spatial organization of Diu conformed to the ‘accepted’ urban structure of Gujarat cities of Islamic precedent: economic activities radiated out from the very centre of the town. It was at the core of the city, that the principal markets were located. The main street and markets were crowded with hawkers and rural dwellers attracted to the amenities of the city. The market was found in a small, enclosed square with numerous stalls. There were small windowless stalls facing the square where various odds and ends were sold. Late in the afternoon, the bazaar square filled up with country folk who participated in the auction for goods or casually watched the activity. There was not always a specific place for the sale, and instead the auctioneer would walk through the streets taking bids. Other specific stalls sold many other certain goods in the streets between the bazaar and the *Jamma Masjid* mosque. Most buying and selling took place in these streets and in the bazaar. While stationary retail traders and craftsmen were not inconsiderable in number, much of the hustle and bustle in the bazaar was caused by the numerous peddlars and porters. The centre of the bazaar was dominated by the drapers, who were mostly retailers for the citadel. Certain markets, such as the grain market, the auction/flea market, and the livestock market were attended predominantly by rural visitors.

The largest section of Diu’s working population was either the hucksters or those who carried goods for others. Artisans were not altogether absent from Diu. Artisanal activity in Diu was limited, and unlike older urban centres in Gujarat, there were few noted crafts. They, of course, could be found scattered through the population, and among them may be noted the weavers, slipper makers, tailors, saddlers, tanners, hair makers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, carpenters and masons, who plied their respective trades in the city, but in numbers scarcely adequate to the requirements of the population. They did not occupy dwellings of a different description from those of the other inhabitants, although they lived in separate places of Diu.<sup>64</sup> Most numerous of all were the professions that served the transient population. The greatest number of artisans were the shoemakers and cobblers, occupations which defy reliable enumeration, since although some of the shoemakers may have maintained permanent stalls in the bazaar, many cobblers were peripatetic. This was probably the case for some tailors as well. They not only circulated in town, but they also serviced rural markets along Diu’s trade routes. Women were employed in tailoring, weaving, and embroidering and as domestic servants.

Many jewellers could be found in Diu, the majority of them Muslims. Their presence can be explained probably in part by imported gold and silver brought to the city. Furthermore, with the presence of bankers, brokers, and

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<sup>63</sup>“São muitos gentios destes excelentes marssineiros de escritores, que fazem muy bons, ourives e pedreiros e, com estarem muy quebradas, ha entre elles alguns muito ricos e, se forão favorecidos e ajudados, fora esta hua das populozas cidades do mundo.” Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoaçoens do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descriçoens da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218-219.

<sup>64</sup> See neighbourhood description of Diu in *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783*. [Public and Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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facilitators, the purchase of jewellery was a method of investment. Gold and silver utensils, elaborately decorated firearms, and jewellery were well-known specialties of Diu. Successful peddlars invested in gold and silver objects, and the women of wealthy merchants were adorned with gold and silver ornaments. A few crafts, such as brass-making and jewellery, were fairly noticeable and concentrated in one geographical area as they are still today. But for the most part, Diu differed from older Gujarat cities in the sense that it lacked a strongly-identifiable artisan sector spread over large parts of the town.

There were no industries in Diu which produced commodities sold on the foreign merchants' market; in fact, only one craft and two 'commodities' were related to the export trade: cloth, ivory, slaves and silver as facilitator. Furthermore, Diu was slow to adopt foreign technical innovations, similarly to Junagadh, Patan, Bharuch, Surat, Cambay or other Gujarat cities before the modern era. Besides the crafts, there were a few horse mills for grinding flour and some textile workshops. Artisans, therefore, constituted a fairly weak social group in Diu. Most of its population could not subsist without the pension allocated by the authorities to the militia. In other words, Diu still maintained a large military and 'official' sector. The working population, apart from merchants and porters, was firmly limited.<sup>65</sup>

Porters were numerous in Diu, since the transport of goods was so important. Most of the porters carried goods for the merchants and the traders, and could be hired at the port where they gathered together. Yet the carrier, who earned menial wages, may also have attempted to hawk his wares as well, bartering odds and ends when the opportunity arose. Auctioneers were also for hire. These auctioneers specialized in different commodities and represented varying social communities, from retail merchants in their own right to petty street hawkers. Some dealt in relatively valuable commodities such as guns and daggers, jewellery and European manufactured goods. Others auctioned mules and cattle. However, the differences between porter, auctioneer, and pedlar were blurred.

Women workers were perhaps the most important sector among Diu's lowest class of the population. Some were employed in cleaning wool, earning half the amount made by low-level artisans. Domestic servants earned even less. The demand for workers for some areas depended on market fluctuations and seasonal changes. There was therefore a migrant labour force, which came into the town from the countryside when labour was in demand, but during the harvest season, when food was provided on top of wages, many rural migrants returned to their homes in the countryside. The absence of workers during the harvest season, made the cost of labour rise in town. In a city which was dominated by trade, much of the population was transient. A final category of the population might be appropriately termed as wage-earner. In addition to the peddlars there were also numerous casual labourers in Diu who assisted the Portuguese and the merchants in various menial tasks.

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<sup>65</sup> In the context of Portuguese colonial India, the role of the local artisan has been articulated by architectural and art historians such as, e.g.: Chicó, Mário Tavares. 1956. "Igrejas de Goa." Separata de *Garcia de Orta*. Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar. Special issue. 331-336.; Azevedo, Carlos de. 1956. "The churches of Goa." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XV/3; 1959. *Arte cristã na Índia portuguesa*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar; 1969. *A arte de Goa, Damão e Diu*. Lisbon: Comissão Executiva do V Centenário do Nascimento de Vasco da Gama; Carita, Hélder. 1996. *Les palais de Goa: modèles & typologie de l'architecture civile indo-portugaise*. Paris: Éditions Chandeigne; Silveira, Ângelo Costa. 1999. *A casa-pátio de Goa*. Porto: FAUP-Publicações; Dias, Pedro. 2004. *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina; Silva, Nuno Vassalo e. 2004. *Goa and the great Mughal*. Flores, Jorge and Silva, Nuno Vassalo e (ed.), Lisbon & London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Scala Publishers; 2008. *A ourivesaria entre Portugal e a Índia: do século XVI ao século XVIII*. Lisbon: Santander Totta; Pereira, António Nunes, *A arquitectura religiosa cristã da Velha Goa: segunda metade do século XVI - primeiras décadas do século XVII*. Lisbon: Oriente Foundation; Carita, Hélder. 2009. *Indo-portuguese architecture in Cochín and Kerala*. New Delhi: Transbooks.com; Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2007. "'Se não me engano.' O Oriente e a arquitectura portuguesa antiga." Macau Cultural Institute conference 19 March 2003. In *14,5 Ensaios de História a Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Almedina. 295-308; 2011. *Whitewash, Red Stone: history of church architecture in Goa*. New Delhi: Yoda Press. Reis, Mónica and Lameira, Francisco. 2016. *Retábulos do Estado de Goa*. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon and University of Algarve.

In the context of British colonial India, the role of the local artisan has been articulated by architectural and art historians such as, e.g.: Nilsson, Sten. 1968. *European architecture in India, 1750-1850*. London: Faber; Morris, Jan. 1983. *Stones of Empire: the buildings of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tillotson, Giles H. R. 1989. *The tradition of Indian architecture: continuity, controversy and change since 1850*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

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The day of Diu was eminently punctuated by aspects of life inherent to hindu, muslim and catholic societies. Diu's large hindu population meant that the rituals of hindus were of equal importance. While the religious lives of hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics remained strictly separate, the commercial life of each was influenced by the other's recurrent schedule of religious practices. The rhythms of the bazaar had their typical daily patterns, yet, each day of the week had its own characteristics delineated by hindu, jain and muslim rituals as well as rotation between night and day. To a large extent, the activities in the market were premeditated according two ritual events: the hindu *Puja* and the muslim friday *jumma*. Regarding catholics, there was no event like these making a separation between the sacred and the profane. It was this confluence of hindu, muslim and catholic religious practices that created a singular rhythm of time in Diu. The busiest day of the week in Diu's markets was thursday, because people from the countryside came into the town to sell their cattle and sheep as well as other commodities. It was also the busiest day of the week for butchers, since the city dwellers needed meat for the traditional friday afternoon meal in the following day.

Contiguous to the market and in the fringe of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, was the most important, oldest and largest mosque of Diu - the *Jama masjid* - where the muslim's five daily prayers and the noon prayers were held on fridays. When the rituals finished, the faithful poured out into the streets in the vicinity of the bazaar where they would immediately come into contact with the artisans and shopkeepers. As can be judged by the mean level of gate and market taxes, commercial activities were average on friday, compared to the rest of the week. After an important afternoon meal, the muslims would return to the bazaar and resume work as on any other day. Nevertheless, muslim religious life did influence the rhythms of Friday in the urban life of the city.

What particularly struck the observer of daily urban pace in Diu was the rhythm of artisans and workers. In winter, the artisans worked from seven in the morning to three in the afternoon without interruption.<sup>66</sup> The seasonal variations of work were determined by the rotation of prayer time. Life for the day labourer was more onerous. Almost all labour, therefore, stopped at night, except for a few marginal or ephemeral areas of working engagement. For example, the larger and more valuable fish were sometimes caught at night by the fishermen. Incidents of extramural contraband trade sometimes occurred at night. For hindus, muslims and catholics, night-time delimited ethnic boundaries. During the day, shops were maintained or business conducted in the city. After nightfall, the catholics found security among their co-religionists behind or in the proximity of the guarded gates of the citadel. In a sense, they were moving from the profane to the sacred, from the mundane activities of the market to the exclusively religious catholic sphere of the citadel.

### **Mediators**

A historical contextualization of Diu from 1535 through the first half of the sixteenth century is important for an accurate understanding of the cultural profile of Diu's wholesale merchant community. A review of some of the merchants in the city confirms that Diu's foreign commercial class was composed primarily of people who hailed from port to port on the western coast of India. It was the captain of Diu - also a merchant - who had the exclusive and monopoly of trade with other customs officials.<sup>67</sup> This is not to argue, however, that *banyan* merchants marginalized or were entirely indifferent towards the *Estado da Índia*. Rather, they maintained a relationship of selective engagement with state offices and institutions made possible by their economic position. The *banyan* merchants had the opportunity to make considerable profits, yet at the same time, they depended on official recognition and were patrons of architectural works (churches and schools) and urban change in Diu.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Except on fridays when an hour of prayer intervened at noon for muslim artisans.

<sup>67</sup> The captain of Diu had the exclusive monopoly of trade with Mozambique, Mombasa, Mocha and Mecca until 1686.

<sup>68</sup> "Governando esta praça Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello se fez esta muralha da feitoria velha athe chegar a primeiro ponte desta fortaleza com este baluarte da invocação Mãe de Deus com o dinheiro que derão os Mazanes, e se acabou em outubro de 1726." (Under the rule of Hieronimo Vadre Rebello in Diu, this wall was built from the old factory until it reaches the first bridge of this fortress with the rampart

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Their special relationship with the rulers gave them particular advantages over the other traders, and at certain periods, they maintained a quasi-total monopoly on the import/export trade of Diu. The fact that the majority of them were muslims was also significant. As members of an important religious minority in Diu, they could almost never attain positions of political power or have a share in local government outside the confines of the muslim community. For this reason, as a general rule, they were highly dependent and, consequently, their loyalty was usually assured.

A report of 1646, estimated the existence of thirty thousand *banyans* in the whole *Estado da Índia*, primarily in Goa, Diu, Bassein and Daman.<sup>69</sup> Some of these Diu merchants were disputed to have capitals up to 400 thousand rupees in the city.<sup>70</sup> The Portuguese empire income in Diu was largely dependent on the revenue generated by *banyan* commerce, giving merchants considerable leverage in defining the terms of their relations with the Portuguese. "Without these men, nothing can exist,"<sup>71</sup> as noted one well-informed Portuguese observer of the nature and structure of commercial relations noted in the late eighteenth century about the *banyans* commercial activity.

In fact, evidence beginning in the late seventeenth century and extending to the present, enables a demonstration of the existence of forms of social organization among the *banyans* of Diu beneath the shelter of Portuguese officialdom. The *banyan* merchants took advantage of the perquisites of imperial subjecthood when it appeared advantageous to do so but negotiated their relationship with Portuguese authorities in India and Mozambique from a position of considerable commercial and financial strength.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, metropolitan interest in reviving the trade of Portugal's territories in the *Estado da Índia* resulted in state reforms that opened trade to private traders and merchants during the eighteenth century. This liberalization of commerce, together with Portuguese neutrality in the European wars, revitalized trade in the imperial economy. This revival was facilitated in the western Indian Ocean by the commercial and financial involvement of Diu *banyan* merchants. International trade was at the centre of Diu's economic life and the *banyan* merchants were the most important social group of the city.

The commercial world of the sixteenth-to-eighteenth century Indian Ocean tells us as much about the ways in which *banyan* merchants operated in Diu during those times. The *Banyan* merchants remained embedded in a society which had little to do with European economies, despite growing foreign economic penetration. However, they operated within the Portuguese imperial context and therefore, Diu (as the partners Goa, Daman, and Mozambique) was a piece of the imperial edifice of the *Estado da Índia*. Portuguese Indian possessions were administratively separated in the 1750s but their commercial and trading relationships were not adversely affected because their economies continued to be closely connected across the western Indian Ocean. The *ancien regime* was under siege by foreign market forces, but it was not yet replaced by a new economic order. The *banyan* merchants operated on many different levels: *comprador* on the one hand, and merchant on the other, ship-owners,

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of invocation of the *Mãe de Deus* (Mother of God) and with the money offered by the *Mazanes*, and was ended in October 1726). Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 28.

<sup>69</sup> Pearson, Michael N. 1973. "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670." In *Mare Luso-Indicum Études et Documents sur L'Histoire de L'Océan Indien en des Pays Riverains à L'Époque de la Domination Portugaise I*. Genève et Paris: Centre de Recherches D'Histoire et de Philologie [1971-1973]. V. 61-73. Especially, 67, 68 and 71; and 1971. "Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 311.

<sup>70</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 30, n° antigo de maço 18, n°s vermelhos 342, datas extremas 1645-1646, Doc. 99, letter of January 25, 1646.

<sup>71</sup> "Cópia de Huma Informação dada pelo General Balthazar M. el Per. a do Lago", in Jerónimo José Nogueira de Andrade. 1917. "Descrição Do Estado em que ficava os Negócios do Anno de 1789." *Arquivo das Colonias*, I. 230. Balthazar Manoel Pereira do Lago, Governor-General of Mozambique (1765-1779).

<sup>72</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Box. 36, Doc. 35, folio 8, Letter from the king João III, 26 October 1744.

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and financier of caravans. The two seemingly irreconcilable worlds of European merchant and royal monopolistic trade, of camel and boat, were intermeshed in the same system to be understood.

There was a something in common between the *banyans* and the Portuguese which tied them together. Paradoxically, to some extent both groups were socially separated from the rest of the city, though for different whys and wherefores: the *banyans*, as members of a religious minority, and the Portuguese, as a somewhat inaccessible sovereign. As merchants, however, they were able to exert considerable local influence, since the prosperity of Diu depended on their enterprises. In some ways, they were economic instruments of the rulers and used in diplomatic affairs. Also, the *Estado da Índia* treasury relied on their financial activities for bringing in needed liquid currency. But this is only part of the picture.

The *banyan* merchants financed much of their business with credit. A merchant's ability to raise credit depended on their good standing, reputation and therefore associated risk among bankers and their peers.<sup>73</sup> *Sarrafs* and *sahukars* lent money and managed credit arrangements with Diu's Portuguese officials, Portuguese traders, *banyan* merchants, and ultimately with Kathiawar's local rulers.<sup>74</sup> Rates of credit varied according to an individual's reputation, and could be secured using collateral such as sailing vessels, ivory cargoes and even African slaves. Credit could be extended between *banyans* to one another at below-market rates, with senior members of family firms providing goods on credit at favourable rates to junior members who were thereby capitalized with commodities that were in demand in Mozambique, particularly cotton textiles.<sup>75</sup> Loss of credit could, at the very least, make raising capital difficult and at worst could result in consequences like the loss of one's business.<sup>76</sup> The stock of Mozambique cloths depended mostly on the *banyans* of Diu, either active in Diu which served as an entrepot with Gujarat, or active in Mozambique island which served the same functions with Africa.

The merchant elite of Diu numbered slightly more than those who were residents in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. Of these, just a few stand out at the core of the city's commercial activities. Because foreign trade was so crucial for Diu - indeed, its *raison d'être* rested on its role as trading post and commercial hub - the elite coterie of *banyan* traders had a fundamental role in the social and political life of the city.<sup>77</sup> The city had a deeply-rooted and wealthy *banyan* muslim elite or 'bourgeoisie' which maintained considerable real estate. Yet wealth was not the only criterion for elite status: learning, family ties, social and political functions were also crucial. Wealthy *banyan* merchant families were high up on the social hierarchy and generally invested in real estate, such

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<sup>73</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Box 96, Doc. 54, "Lachimichande Motichande, Baniane, Filho de Dio [...]", n.d. [c. 1802]; Códice 1374, "Segundo Protesto", n.d. [c. 1806]. When two Gujarati vessels were lost in 1798 in the Mozambique trade, merchants with interests in the voyages found it difficult to raise credit with *sarrafs* in Surat because they were as a consequence regarded as being risky investments.

<sup>74</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, nº atual de inventário 125, nº artigo de maço 14, nºs vermelhos 11, datas extremas 1723-1826, Doc. 20, "Cópia da Rellação das Dividas", 5 June 1758; Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, nº atual de inventário 129, nº artigo de maço 15, nºs vermelhos 271DO, datas extremas 1738-1814, Doc. 115, "Relação dos credores da Fazenda Real", 14 November 1809.

<sup>75</sup> This was a practice widely utilized by South Asian merchant family firms throughout the subcontinent and elsewhere in the western Indian Ocean. See, for example, Dale, Stephen Frederic. 1994. *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press and Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. 2001. "Indian and Arab entrepreneurs in Eastern Africa (1800-1914)." In Bonin, Hubert and Cahen, Michel (ed.). *Négoce blanc en Afrique noire*. Paris: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer.

<sup>76</sup> Bayly refers to the risks associated with the loss of credit: "One of the features of merchant society before the middle of the nineteenth century was the devastating consequences of the loss of credit. A trader who could no longer buy and sell in the market might be reduced to penury more speedily even than a peasant who lost his land". Bayly, Christopher A. 1992. *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 380-1.

<sup>77</sup> It is worth noting that, in Benedict Anderson's well-known formulation, the importation of a non-native elite is a fundamental criterion for the establishment of a sound nation-state. Anderson, Benedict. 2001. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London & New York: Verso. [Anderson, Benedict. 2012. *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexões sobre a origem e a expansão do Nacionalismo*. Curto, Diogo Ramada; Domingos, Nuno and Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira, (introd.), Lisbon: Edições 70.

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[Figure 3.2] Pani bai school, patronized by Bhagvandas Laxmichand. 2014



[Figure 3.3] Pani bai school, classroom. 2014

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as urban and suburban houses, or were patrons of public buildings as catholic churches or schools as the Pani Bai school built in 1927 under the auspices of Bhagvandas Laxmichand [figures 3.2 and 3.3]. Men of holy lineage, officials, and even artisans might have an important place in the social hierarchy. In addition to wealth, the *banyan* elite maintained its position due to the respect that it was able to command from the population at large. One of its major functions was that of intermediary made with men of venerated ancestry, which often arbitrated disputes in the colonial city of Diu and in the island countryside of Diu. Through their close connections with the governor, the powerful chiefs of the hinterland, of east African coast and even Portugal, the *banyan* merchants played a major role as *mediators* in urban life. Their high position in the social hierarchy, in the colonial city and in the surrounding countryside, was perhaps unparalleled in Gujarat.

### **The Diu Banyan Company**

The first unambiguous reference to Gujarati traders in Gujarat was provided by the earliest accounts of the Portuguese. How was this trade organized? Did it follow the pattern of landlord and stranger observed some two centuries previously by Ibn Battuta (1304-1369),<sup>78</sup> or did it conform on a reduced scale as later stated by Tomé Pires (1465? - 1524 or 1540),<sup>79</sup> henceforth Pires. When one adds this data together, and reckons in the undoubtedly great commercial wealth generated by the Gujarati merchants but for which no figures exist in the early sixteenth century, one has a merchant capitalist system of the first order, particularly by Gujarat standards. The main sources come from the early sixteenth century and describe a system in full. According to Pires,<sup>80</sup> the traders of Aden and those of Cambay purchased all kinds of cloth for trading in several places in Arabia.<sup>81</sup> Trade did not, of course, occur between places without the participation of *banyan* people, and Pires made clear the primacy of the Gujarati merchants in the Indian Ocean of his time. But although he stated that they traded everywhere, establishing factories and their own organizations for trade, he did not mention the presence of a corps of merchants in Gujarat. During the seventeenth century, the increasing vulnerability of the Portuguese in Asia and the steady attrition of their maritime empire in the face of English, Dutch, and Omani Arab competition

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<sup>78</sup> Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Al Lawati Al Tanji Ibn Battuta was a Moroccan muslim traveller and scholar born in 1304 in Tangier. He was one of the greatest travellers of all times. In an era when precious few possessed the means or the courage to submit to curiosity and venture off the map's edge, Ibn Battuta set out to complete Islam's traditional pilgrimage to Mecca, and ultimately spent the better part of his life wandering. In nearly 30 years on the road, traversed North Africa, Egypt, and the Swahili coast; reached Mecca on the Arabian Peninsula, passing through Palestine and Greater Syria en route; swung through Anatolia and Persia to Afghanistan; crossed the Himalayas to India, then Sri Lanka and the Maldives; and reached the eastern coast of China before turning around and zigzagging all the way back to Morocco. Even before the term existed, Ibn Battuta lived as a true "Renaissance man." A trained qadi, or judge, Ibn Battuta was also proficient in geography, botany, and Islamic theology, and possessed a social scientist's shrewd capacities of observation. But the primary reason Ibn Battuta lives on today is his writing. Though his prose may not have been the most exhilarating, Ibn Battuta established the science which would eventually become the art of travel writing. Along his journey, he recorded copious observations, notes, insights, and lessons. This magnum opus was preserved by a young scribe who, at the request of Morocco's sultan, spent many months transcribing Ibn Battuta's story, ultimately compiling al-Rihla or "The Travels".

<sup>79</sup> Apothecary and factor of drugs of the Portuguese crown. He reached India in 1511 in order to obtain information and specimens. Between 1512 and 1515 he supervised the spice trade in the *feitoria* of Malacca, collecting much of the material for his *Suma Oriental que trata do Mar Roxo até aos Chins*. In Malacca, Pires was *escrivão*, *contador de feitoria*, and *vedor das drogarias*. He visited Java and eventually returned to Cochin (1515-16) to finally become head of the first Portuguese embassy sent to China in 1517, in which capacity he was imprisoned until he died seven years later. It seems that Pires died in 1524, although at least two of his colleagues survived and even smuggled letters out of China - copies of which reached Barros together with the accounts of Vijayanagara by Nunes and Paes. 1989. *Enformação das cousas da China. Textos do século XVI*. d'Intino, Raffaella (introd.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. 1- 53. The memory of these prisoners was kept alive in Barros's chronicle and even in novels such as *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto, where a half-Chinese daughter of Pires appears as a character.

<sup>80</sup> "Cambay chiefly stretches out two arms, with her right arm she reaches out towards Aden and with the other towards Malacca, as the most important places to sail to, and the other places are held to be of less importance [...] Malacca cannot live without Cambay, nor Cambay without Malacca, if they are to be very rich and very prosperous. [...] If Cambay were cut off from trading with Malacca, it could not live, for it would have no outlet for its merchandise." Cortesão, Armando (ed.). 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*. London: The Hakluyt Society. 2nd series, no. 89, I, 42 and 45.

<sup>81</sup> Cortesão, Armando (ed.). 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*. London: The Hakluyt Society. 2nd series, no. 89, I, 43.

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made them all the more responsive to protest and pressure from Gujarati merchants upon whose commercial activities they came increasingly to rely.<sup>82</sup>

The oldest reference to the *banyans* in Portuguese historiography dates from 1516 and was authored by Duarte Barbosa (1480-1521),<sup>83</sup> who wrote: “[in Gujarat] there is another sort of Heathen whom they call *Baneanes*”, referring evidently to the jain *banyans*, because of the further description he gives on their habits and behaviours “they are very great merchants and swindlers. They live among the Moors with whom they do all their trading. These people eat neither meat or fish [...]”.<sup>84</sup> Pires provided us with detailed impressions of hindu business practices and training. Note, Pires comments:

These [people] are [like] Italians in their knowledge of and dealings in merchandise. [...] They are men who understand merchandise; they are so properly steeped in the sound and harmony of it, that the Gujarantees say that any offence connected with merchandise is pardonable. There are Gujarantees settled everywhere. They work some for some and others for others. They are diligent, quick men in trade. They do their accounts with figures like ours and with our very writing. [...] None of these [other merchants of Cambay] count in comparison with the heathens, especially in knowledge. Those of our people who want to be clerks and factors ought to go there and learn, because the business of trade is a science in itself which does not hinder any other noble exercise, but helps a great deal.<sup>85</sup>

In 1552, Barros discussed in the Vasco da Gama’s arrival in India the *banyans* from Cambay.<sup>86</sup> He describes their character and actions in Gujarat:

The kingdom of Gujarat is populated by four kinds of people, of natives of the same land, called Baneanes: some are *Bagançarijs*, who eat flesh and fish; and some [are] *Baneanes* [Jains] who do not eat anything that possesses [animate] life; others are *Resbutos* [Rajputs], who in ancient times were the noblemen of that land, [who are] also Gentiles; others [are] Moors called *Luteas*, who are natives from the place, newly converted to the sect of Mohamed; others are Moors who came from foreign parts and conquered the land, and expelled the *Resbutos*. [...] The common people are naturally weak, and of a servile condition, since they are of the *Baneane* lineage, who guard with great respect the sect of Pythagoras; not to eat anything that lives.<sup>87</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, a rather similar but less flattering description came from Linschoten, who considered that the *banyans* of Gujarat “the subtlest and politiquet Marchauntes of all India. [...] They are most subtil and expert in casting accounts and writing, so that they do not only surpasse and goe beyond all other Indians and other nations thereabouts, but also the Portingales: and in this respect they have much advantage, for [that] they are very perfect in the trade of merchandise, and very ready to deceive men.”<sup>88</sup>

Seventeenth century travellers’ accounts abound with references to the *banyans*. A Jesuit in 1600 wondered at the wealth of the *banyans*, some of whom had capital at their disposal of 200 thousand rupees and at a later date of much more.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Pearson, Michael N. 1971. “Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600.” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 226-233, 302, 309-311.

<sup>83</sup> Portuguese official who was in India between 1500 and 1516 or 1517. Expert in Malabari language and customs and author of the *Livro*, was the nephew of Goncalo Gil Barbosa and accompanied him when he sailed with Cabral in 1500 and became the first *feitor* of Cochin. He is mentioned by Barros as *escrivão* at Cannanor in 1529.

<sup>84</sup> Barbosa, Duarte (1480-1521). 1989. *The book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants... completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, vol. 1: Including the coast of Malabar, China and the Indian archipelago, Reprod. facsimile: Macbeth, Donald, 1921. New Delhi: Asian Educational Series. 110-111.

<sup>85</sup> Cortesão, Armando (ed.). 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*. London: The Hakluyt Society. 2nd series, I, 41-42.

<sup>86</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*, Dec. I, bk. IV, chap. VI. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. 318-319.

<sup>87</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia* Dec. IV, bk. V, chap. I. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. 542-544.

<sup>88</sup> Linschoten, Jan Huygen van (1513-1561). 1885 (1596). *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*. From the 1598 English transl.; Burnell, Arthur Coke (Vol. 1, Ed.), Tiele. P. A. (Vol. 2, Ed.). London: Hakluyt Society. Vol. I, 252-253. The translation is that of the English edition of 1598.

<sup>89</sup> Guerreiro, Fernão, S.J. (1550-1617), 1930-1942. *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões do Japão, China, Cataio, Tidore ... nos anos de 1600 a 1609 e do processo da conversão e cristandade daquelas partes tirada das cartas que os missionários*

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Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689),<sup>90</sup> was particularly impressed by the training of the *banyans* children for trade:

The members of this caste are so subtle and so skilful in trade that [...] they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without explaining it to them at the same time. explaining it to them. These are the figures which they used in their books, both in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as other parts in India, although the languages may vary.<sup>91</sup>

Pieter van den Broeke (1585-1640),<sup>92</sup> in 1616 noted that on the ships from Diu entering the Red sea, “the majority of merchants on board were *banyans*, a few were Moors or Armenians.”<sup>93</sup>

One of the earliest pictures was provided by John Fryer (c. 1650-1733),<sup>94</sup> who visited Muscat in 1677. He describes the *banyans* as “a fierce treacherous people, gaining as much by fraud as merchandize.” This reputation, however, should be understood within the historical perspective at the time. Muscat was a multi-ethnic city when Fryer visited it: *banyans*, Arabs and Jews were carrying out trade there. The travellers explained away the enormous wealth of the Indian kings by suggesting that it was obtained through the unremitting oppression of the artisan and the ordinary trading class. Note, as an illustration, Fryer’s comments:

There is another thing above all the rest of an unpardonable offence; for banyan or rich broker to grow wealthy without protection of some great person; for it is so mighty a disquiet to the governor that he can never be at ease till he have seen the bottom of this mischief; which is always cured by transfusion of treasure out of the banyans into the governor’s coffers.<sup>95</sup>

John Ovington (1653-1731),<sup>96</sup> commented in 1689 on the *banyan* exclusiveness and on the training which they provided to their children. “The son is engag’d in the Father’s trade, and to maintain the Profession of it in his Posterity, it is transmitted always to the succeeding Generation, which is obliged to preserve it in a lineal Descent, uncommunicated to any Stranger. Upon this account all Marriages are restrain’d to one Sect, and contracted only between Persons of the same Perswasion and Profession.”<sup>97</sup>

In January of 1634, Francisco da Silveira,<sup>98</sup> wrote in a letter addressing and detailing carefully the architectural works (repairs and demolitions) that should be taken in the city, excluding the citadel, and named Diu as the

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*de lá escreveram pelo padre Fernão Guerreiro.* Viegas, Artur (ed.). Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, Vol. 1: 1600 a 1603, Vol. 2: 1604 a 1606, Vol. 3: 1607 a 1609. Vol. 2. 387.

<sup>90</sup> French traveller and trader whose six voyages to India spanned the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

<sup>91</sup> Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1605-1689). 1677. *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier ... qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, en aux Indes, pendant l’espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir, accompagnez d’observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coütumes & le commerce de chaque pais, avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours ...* Paris: chez Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, au Palais. Vol. 1, pt. 2, 197.

<sup>92</sup> Dutch cloth merchant in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He was one of the first Europeans to describe societies in West and Central Africa and in detail trade strategies along the African coast.

<sup>93</sup> Steensgaard, Niels. 1975. *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century: the East India companies and the decline of the caravan trade.* Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press. 91.

<sup>94</sup> John Fryer was an English doctor and Fellow of the Royal Society, now best remembered for his descriptions of travel in Persia and East India.

<sup>95</sup> Fryer, John. *A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters.* London: R. I Chiswell. 1698. 97-98.

<sup>96</sup> English clerical established in Surat. Hired as a chaplain by the East India Company, took place aboard for India. Ovington landed in Bombay a few days before moving to Surat where he was to live two and a half years. His memories of trips were translated into French by Niceron in 1725 under the title “Voyages faits à Surate & en d’autres lieux de l’Asie & de l’Afrique.” His stay in Surat, Ovington describes Mughal influence, hindu religious and cultural particularities and Parsis.

<sup>97</sup> Ovington, John (1653-1731). 1994. *A voyage to Surat in the Year 1689.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

165. See also: Gokhale, Balkrishna G. 1965 “Capital Accumulation in XVIIth Century Western India,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.* 39-40, 54.

<sup>98</sup> Captain of Diu in 1634, after António Telles’ resignation.

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“Banyans city”.<sup>99</sup> Then as now, the *banyans* traded between Diu and Gujarat ports such as Veraval, Gogha, Mangalore and Porbandar and between Diu and Eastern Africa. The strength of the *banyans* seems to have matured after the Portuguese were at secure in the citadel of Diu and capable of challenging the waters of the western Indian Ocean. At Diu, which was the second most important Portuguese urban settlement losing only to Goa as a source of revenue for the Portuguese crown, prosperity rose considerably in the second half of the century with customs revenue doubling from 1556 to the 1590s.<sup>100</sup> In the early 1570s, the customs revenue of twenty-three Gujarati ports amounted to nearly three times the total revenue of the entire *Estado da Índia* a decade later, when it had achieved the very pinnacle of its success.<sup>101</sup>

The uncertainty and instability of the trade system found its reason in the general aspects of trade practices. There are several examples of successful actions taken by the *banyan* merchants in Diu during the seventeenth-century.<sup>102</sup> During those times, Portuguese dependence on the merchants increased a lot and accordingly, the idea of a Portuguese India Trade Company under the *banyans* recurred. Official trade and private trade done in large scale by colonial administration, militaries, clerics, sailors and many others had many failings and flaws to what was supposed to be the income for the Portuguese crown. Until 1686, the captain of Diu had the exclusive monopoly of the trips to Mozambique, Mombasa, Mocha and Jidda (Mecca). This was an advantage that brought great income to the captain and therefore was a very disputed privilege. The creation of the trading company was a consequence of the decay of the Portuguese overseas empire, of the decay *Estado da Índia* and finally of the decay of Diu after the Omani attacks from the Ya’rubi imams from Muscat in 1668 and 1676.<sup>103</sup> During the seventeenth century, most of the wealth from Diu was subjected to a series of administrative measures designed first to stimulate trade, second to keep it in Portuguese hands and finally as a response to the havoc wreaked on Diu by the Omani’s, all this to face the decline of Diu’s revenue. The regime of monopoly in favour of the captain of Diu did not prove effective for the crown pretensions. Therefore, the project of a Portuguese India Trade Company tried twice before in 1587 and in 1628 and both times was restored unsuccessfully.<sup>104</sup>

In 1685, the Portuguese king Pedro II (1648-1706),<sup>105</sup> asked the viceroy for technical and detailed information about a company of business men similar to others belonging to other European imperial nations that operated overseas and about shareholders interested in such a company. This was a decision previously taken by the Portuguese king to acquire and legitimize a model for a ‘Portuguese India Trade Company.’ Similarly to other European powers in the context of each overseas empire, this sort of commercial company was considered absolutely compulsory within the Portuguese imperial trade policy.

The viceroy Francisco de Távora (1646–1710),<sup>106</sup> henceforth Távora, although accepting the crown pretension was very critical and suggested a trading company with majority of private capital equity. Távora justified this

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<sup>99</sup> It is a daily report that starts from October 26, 1633. In the report the walled city is called “çidade dos baneanes” (*banyans* city). The second part of the document is called “Apontamentos das obras que se hande fazer nesta fortaleza de Diu” (Notes on the works to be done in Diu’s fort). Torre do Tombo National Archives (ANTT), Lisbon, *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*, Bk 38, sheet 128-128v.

<sup>100</sup> Pearson, Michael N. 1971. “Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600.” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 242-243.

<sup>101</sup> Pearson, Michael N. 1971. “Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600.” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 235 and Pearson, Michael N. 1972. “Political Participation in Mughal India,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 9/2: 118.

<sup>102</sup> Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

<sup>103</sup> Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1938. “Os Portugueses em Diu,” *Separata de O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 206-210.

<sup>104</sup> Macedo, Borges de. 1975-2000. “Companhias Comerciais”, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Serrão, Joel (dir.). Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais: Livraria Figueirinhas. vol. II, 122 - 130 and Carvalho, Tito Augusto de. 1902. “As companhias portuguesas de colonização: memória.” In *Teses e memórias do I Congresso Colonial Nacional*. Lisbon: Portuguese National Press.

<sup>105</sup> Pedro II was regent (1668-1683) and later king of Portugal (1683-1706).

<sup>106</sup> Vice-roy of *Estado da Índia* from 1686 until 1690. Third Count of Alvor.

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account supported by the decay of all European trade companies in India, since each administration spent money on their own privileges and business, instead of taking care of each official trade and crown matters. This statement demonstrates that further to the convergence of creating a trading company, there were profound discrepancies with its structure and purpose.

In March of 1686, Távora creates the “Companhia de Comércio dos Baneanes de Diu” or Diu *Banyan* Trading Company,<sup>107</sup> henceforth *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu*, which would become a regional trading company of the Indian Ocean.<sup>108</sup> The *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* was supposed to own the monopoly of all trade between India and the eastern coast of Africa. Equally or as much important as the foundation of the company, was the fact that for the first time in the history of Portuguese colonial presence in India, the Portuguese crown allowed an external private social corpus the official trade between the four commercial poles: Diu, Africa, the *Estado da Índia* and the rest of India. In political and economic terms, the concession of the monopoly of trade with east Africa coast, therefore, between Diu and Mozambique, was granted by Távora to the *banyans* of Diu: “the Company of *Mazanes*.”<sup>109</sup> Also equally or as much important, the foundation of the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* was nothing more or less than the end of the exclusive right of trade of the captain of Diu in benefit of the *banyans* of Diu.<sup>110</sup> The *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* was formally established in 1686 and extinguished in 1777.<sup>111</sup> For the Portuguese, it was a European commercial company with legal statutes, legal rights and legal duties, however,

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<sup>107</sup> “In 1686 was allowed the establishment of a *Company for the Private Trade of Mozambique*, confirmed by permit from the Count of Alvor, ruling at that time the *Estado da Índia*, under the following conditions, which they proposed themselves:

1st. That the Company would have the rule of the Rector of the Jesuits of Holy Spirit from Diu; and of the Rector of the same invocation belonging to the Mozambique Congregation. Such was the veneration that the Jesuits had acquired in the East, even among the Gentiles. 2nd. The contract would last for three years. 3rd. They could produce in that fortress Bertangil clothes, in the way done that the past Captains did, without any hindrance, not even from the indigo tenant. 4th. They could have a bazaar in Mozambique, where the *Baneanes* from the company would attend, that any Minister or resident could aggravate, on the contrary, they should before give help and favour. 5th. That they will have the same transit rights, both-ways between Diu and Mozambique Customs, as the Captains of Diu fortress has. 6th. That in Mozambique no Minister or resident would take any clothes or property from the Company, nor borrow, but just pay the price right away: if the reverse happens, the Company would not be obliged to make the trip in the following year, and the transgressor should compensate all losses and damage as Royal rights. 7th. That the Company would not be required to transport white men on the boat by his Captain: just by agreement the company could embark, in which case they have to pay. 8th. That no person or Minister but the Company could board butter, olive oil, wheat, or beeds; otherwise such property could be taken by the Company, if it was shipped without knowledge. 9th. No pay would be made from letters, from the Mozambique boat. 10th. That Customs would be diligent, as happened with the fortress Captain; and the dock guard would prepare the boat, as the Company would pay the usual. 11th. That the company’s boat would take the Portuguese flag. 12th. That the clothes boarded in the Company boats, would pay the same freight payed by the fortress Captain. 13th. That the Captain, Registrar, Pilot, and more officers from the Company boat would have all benefits and freedom as the officers from the fortress boat or fortress Captain had, whether in Diu or in Mozambique. 14th. That at all times the Company asked the fortress Captain and factor for permission for the fleet to leave, to carry Cambay clothes, rice, and Bassein sugar to the boat of the same Company, as fast as possible, and that ships would be provided to convoy the boat in order to safe navigation and proper time. 15th. That João Pacheco de Sá would be required to give to the Company 5000 xerafins, which was a warranty belonging to the *Mazanes* [mahajan]. This was the name given to the *Baneanes*, associated to Diu. 16th. That for 3 years only the Company, and nobody else was allowed to send a ship to Mozambique. 17th. That the collection of money made by the Company would be privileged, as if it was royal money. 18th. The company would have for its service pawns. 19th. That in the boat, would travel a Christian from the Company, and not Gentile, to make his own factory.” Neves, José Acurso das (1766-1834). 1830. *Considerações politicas e commerciaes sobre os descobrimentos e possessões dos portuguezes na Africa e na Asia*. Lisbon: Portuguese Royal Press. 294-298.

<sup>108</sup> “Alvará do Conde de Alvor sobre a Companhia dos Baneanes e seus privilégios”, March 23, 1686, in Andrade, Jerónimo José Nogueira de “Descrição do estado em que ficavão os negócios da capitania de Moçambique nos fins de Novembro do Anno de 1789 com algumas Observações, e reflexões, sobre a causa e decadência do Commercio dos Estabelecimentos Portuguezes na Costa Oriental de Africa”, *Arquivo das Colónias*, vol. I, n. 6, 1917, 282-284.

<sup>109</sup> Alpers, Edward A. 1975. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century*. Berkely & Los Angeles: University of California Press. chap. 3; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon and 1995. “The Trade Activities of the Banyans in Mozambique: Private Indian Dynamics in the Panel of the Portuguese State Economy (1686-1777),” in Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria (ed.), *Mariners, Merchant. and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*. New Delhi: Manohar Pub. 301-336.

<sup>110</sup> “Alvará do Conde de Alvor sobre a Companhia dos Baneanes e seus privilégios”, March 23, 1686, in Andrade, Jerónimo José Nogueira de “Descrição do estado em que ficavão os negócios da capitania de Moçambique nos fins de Novembro do Anno de 1789 com algumas Observações, e reflexões, sobre a causa e decadência do Commercio dos Estabelecimentos Portuguezes na Costa Oriental de Africa”, *Arquivo das Colónias*, vol. I, n. 6, 1917, 285.

<sup>111</sup> For the development of powerful mercantile and banking castes taking advantage of the trading opportunities emerging during the eighteenth century in the British empire, see: Bayly, S. 1999. *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth century to the Modern Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 65-73.

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for the *banyans* it was just a negotiable tri-annual agreement that did not much change the trade being done at that time in Diu.<sup>112</sup> They were exempt from taxes on several types of clothing and could charge for transportation of several items. Furthermore, they also started to produce types of clothing to sell in Mozambique, to choose crews for their vessels and finally chose their routes to antagonize smuggling and avoid losses. Finally, it was permitted to them to “have one Bazar in the port of the Mozambique island made with all the help possible from the locals.”<sup>113</sup> As a consequence of the active mercantile policy of the Society of Jesus - with whom the *banyans* of Diu had standing amicable relations that included patronage of religious buildings - the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* enjoyed stable and lasting protection from the Society.<sup>114</sup> The Jesuits, who gave legal support to the *banyans*, endorsed and influenced the Portuguese crown to grant them similar custom duties to the ones paid by the captain of Diu. The most important traders diversified to urban or cosmopolite activities such as banking, insurance, ship owning and ship rental, even involvement with Portuguese administration with loans to *Estado da Índia* and mostly renting their customs and warehouses.<sup>115</sup> A part of the *banyan* profit was reinvested, donated to charity, or used as a pledge for credit and sometimes a part would be used for architectural patronage:

The Father of the Society [Jesuits] in Dio also asked me to say that the *baneanes* of this city granted charity, to build churches and to build a place for the Company in the same city, that some people sometimes made difficult, giving them by their own free will, asking me to send it and that no one could stop it, or that the Company’s priests wouldn’t keep the grants for themselves, as they did.<sup>116</sup>

However, any advantages this union brought were nullified by the Portuguese statesman Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782) with the ruthless suppression of the Jesuits in 1760.<sup>117</sup> The company was marginal to Portuguese influence and jurisdiction.

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<sup>112</sup> Portuguese sources on *Estado da Índia* clearly point out in Diu a strong *banyan* community of hindus and jains. It is not difficult to distinguish *banyans* from muslims, because when they are grouped together in the same source as “Banyan and moors” the *banyans* are listed first in a sequence before the muslims. It is, however, very difficult to distinguish hindu from jain *banyans*. Also the lack of information about the social practices of hindus and jains is a difficulty for this purpose.

Antunes describes the “*Companhia do Comércio dos Baneanes de Diu*” in: Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 1992. *A actividade da Companhia de Comércio dos Baneanes de Diu em Moçambique, 1686-1777*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon and in 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 26-31, 37; 2011. “Banias and the Foreign Trade of Diu (18<sup>th</sup> century).” In Varadarajan, Lotika (ed.), *Gujarat and the Sea*, Baroda: Dharshak Itihas Nidhi. 599-612.

<sup>113</sup> “Alvará do Conde de Alvor sobre a Companhia dos Baneanes e seus privilégios”, March 23, 1686, in Andrade, Jerónimo José Nogueira de. 1917. “Descrição do estado em que ficava os negócios da capitania de Moçambique nos fins de Novembro do Anno de 1789 com algumas Observações, e reflexões, sobre a causa e decadência do Commercio dos Estabelecimentos Portuguezes na Costa Oriental de África”, *Arquivo das Colónias*, I/6: 284.

<sup>114</sup> See previous footnote about formal establishment of “*Companhia de Comércio dos Baneanes de Diu*” or *Diu Banyan Trading Company*: “In 1686 was allowed the establishment of a *Company for the Private Trade of Mozambique*, confirmed by permit from the Count of Alvor, ruling at that time the *Estado da Índia*, under the following conditions, which they proposed themselves:

1st. That the Company would have the rule of the Rector of the Jesuits of Holy Spirit from Diu; and of the Rector of the same invocation belonging to the Mozambique Congregation. Such was the veneration that the Jesuits had acquired in the East, even among the Gentiles[...].” Neves, José Acurso das (1766-1834). 1830. *Considerações politicas e commerciaes sobre os descobrimentos e possessões dos portuguezes na Africa e na Asia*. Lisbon: Portuguese Royal Press. 294-298.

<sup>115</sup> “O padre superior da casa da Companhia em Dio me enviou tambem dizer que os baneanes da dita cidade concederam por muitas vezes esmolas, pera se fazerem egrejas n’ella e pera a casa que a Companhia tem na mesma cidade, o que alguas pessoas lho estorvavam, dando-as elles de suas vontades, pedindo-me mandasse que nenhuma pessoa lho impedisse, nem aos padres da Companhia em Dio arecadarem a dita esmola, como faziam.” (The priest of the Jesuits in Dio also asked me to say that the *banyans* from this city often granted alms to built churches and for the church of the Jesuits in the city, which some people entangled, giving alms by their own will, and asked that no one should stop it, not even the Jesuits that should collect this alm, as they did). “Lista anexa à carta do feitor de Diu para o Vice-rei”, 14 October 1698, *Livro das Monções n.º 62*, folio 19, “Treslado das Rendas Reais da Feitoria no ano de 1777, January 1, 1778, Codex 9370.

<sup>116</sup> Pato, António de Bulhão (dir.). 1880. “Document 82. March 28, 1608”, *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros da Monções*. Lisbon: Royal Academy of Science. vol. I, 246-247.

<sup>117</sup> Lobato, Alexandre. 1957. *Evolução Administrativa e Económica de Moçambique, 1752-1763*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 257; Boxer, Charles R. 1969. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. London: Hutchinson and Co. 77-78, 186-187.

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The *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* were representatives of a city-wide commercial *mahajan*,<sup>118</sup> a social (guild-like) organization that replicated similar social units that were present in many cities of Gujarat. *Mahajan* had existed in Gujarat for at least eight centuries and played important structural and social roles for merchants. Their social nature had been conflicting and for some scholars, *mahajan* were social organizations whose membership was restricted to narrow groups, while for others, *mahajan* were business organizations whose main purpose lay in securing the commercial interests of a group of traders.<sup>119</sup> The historian Douglas Haynes has noted, though, that drawing a distinction between economic and cultural institutions is flawed because it ignores “the extent to which commercial and social preoccupations interpenetrated and reinforced each other in the culture of high-caste hindus and jains.” *Mahajan* leaders were concerned with managing the collective integrity of the group “by formulating, then enforcing, codes of behaviour [...] [and] promoting a more stable socio-commercial environment in which individual families could pursue greater security, profit and prestige”.<sup>120</sup> The term indicates a caste, occupational or village council employed to resolve disputes, punish crimes, or promulgate rules.

In Diu, this long-established tradition of trade social units was divided between the *mazanes*, which meant a group of people engaged in the same commercial activity, and the *panch*, which meant artisans’ association which regulated trade and manufacture. The *mazanes* were a commercial corpus organized through what was named or classified *mazania*.<sup>121</sup> Also mentioned in Portuguese sources as ‘Mazane’ or ‘Corpo de Mazanes,’ the *mazania* was the entity ruling a group of *banyans* from the same caste or from different castes but from the same *varna*, hindu or jain, with trade as the main activity.<sup>122</sup> The *mazania* of Diu was a group of notables that occupied the top of the

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For *banyan* financial support of the Jesuits at Diu during the first decade of the seventeenth century, see In Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Royal letter 5.II.1597, fasc. 3rd, 2nd Part, Nova Goa, 1861, 680. quoted by Bragança Pereira, A. B. de, IV: 2:2, 646-647. For Jesuit support of the *Mazanes* in 1733 over matters concerning the ivory trade of Mozambique, see Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. quoted by Bragança Pereira, A. B. de, IV: 2:2, 499.

<sup>118</sup> Similarly, to Ahmedabad’s position as provincial capital and commercial hub of Mughal Gujarat was partially paralleled by Diu’s commercial protagonism within *Estado da Índia*.

<sup>119</sup> Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 60.

<sup>120</sup> Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 61.

<sup>121</sup> “[...] The merchants corps of Diu is made of *Mazanes*, all Gentiles of various sects, possessed by endless superstitions, abuse and omens, and leave all these passions behind, that at all times are constraining their trade work: If a *Mazane* leaves his house in the morning to conclude or deal with any settled business. If after leaving his house, if he sees a crow in that place of abundance, not only does he come back to his house but he also considers his business accomplished: he leaves to the dock to issue the ship ready to sail [...] leaves the ship departure for another day: seeks to atone from the guilt he feels: if by chance any dead bird falls at his feet, he considers the ship lost: They set sail to his cargo ships, but they do not do if their ship turns the bow towards land. All these mistakes, and many others that at whole times are happening and are an embarrassment to his trade: and can someone handle freedom when he is so constrained by beliefs. What a brilliant progress can be expected from trade handled by these men of so troubled feelings. The need makes them do it, but with all that sloppiness that few will do it by long-distance navigation, and usually follow the terrestrial way because there are no ships nor pilots [...]” Ajuda Palace Library, Codex 54-IX-48 (47), folio 3, 1774-1779.

<sup>122</sup> In their *Gazetteer*, Campbell and Enthoven refer to the Soratiya as “one of the Hindu sub castes of the Vanias who were the dominant group on Diu”, Campbell, James MacNabb and Enthoven, Reginald Edward - *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay: Government Central Press, vol. IX, part I, 1899. This assumption as no previous support on ancient primary sources.

Sinha writes about the Vanias of Diu in the Anthropological Survey of India:

“The Vania, a community of traders, are also called Gujarati Vania and Mahajan Vania. The Gujarati word Vania has been derived from the Sanskrit word ‘vanij’ meaning ‘trader’. They are divided into three endogamous sub-divisions namely Modh Vania, Soni Vania and Saurathia Vania on the basis of their places of origin and occupation.

Modh are from Modasa near Ahmedabad. Saurthia from Surat (the south coast of Kathiawar) and Soni are the Vania having the occupation of goldsmith. Modhs and Saurathias have been residing in Diu since immemorial times and history of their migration is not available. The Soni migrated from Bagsara of Junagadh district and the first Soni to settle in Diu was Bhimji Visham about 60 years back. The Modh claims to be of Rajput origin and the Soni claim to be the descendant of Modh Brahman and Vania is the occupational term for them. Enthoven has divided the Gujarati Vania into 40 sub-divisions including the Modh and Sorathia. There is no stratification among the sub-divisions. They are distributed in all the villages and in the town of of the island of Diu. Somehow, they are also distributed in Gujarat namely Modhs in Ahmedabad, Junagadh and Cutch: Sonis are in Cutch, Junagadh, Amreli, Porbandar and Jafrabad; and Saurathias are in Porbandar, Mangrol, Verawal and Jafrabad. Gujarati is their spoken language as well as the script within the community. Besides Gujarati, they are also conversant in Cutchhi, Hindi and English. They dress like Gujarati.

The Vania are divided into eighteen emogamous divisions based on goter (clan). The two endogamous divisions, viz. Modh and Saurathia Vania have five exogamous divisions namely Shah, Kachdia, Gardhi, Javeri and Longaria while the Soni have thirteen goters (clan) namely Dharoda, Dhakan, Luhar, Dhank, Sagar, Vaya, Satee-Kunwar, Patni, Jhagda, Ghaghda, Dhakka, Thadeshwar and Shudy. The

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mercantile hierarchy and of the non-Catholic urban society. They took care of matters of urban life and primarily of the ones related to their own trade, such as price and interest rate fixing, payment of merchandise, regulation of bank and insurance activity, ship owning and trade agreements to concession of commercial privileges.<sup>123</sup> Usually, the Portuguese administration did not interfere in the internal matters of these corporations except to sanction the election of its representative.<sup>124</sup>

The *banyans* were under the jurisdiction of the local Portuguese colonial authority in matter of civil and criminal. Nevertheless, it was believed that the *banyans* were actually the ones who held the power (at least economical) in Diu and that the Portuguese governor was merely a pawn,<sup>125</sup> intervening in religious conflicts every time the Portuguese proselytism repressed hindu, jain or even muslim communities.<sup>126</sup> The *banyans* social organization was reflected in the nature of the *mazania*. Birth, wealth, and property did not automatically confer status among them, whether socially or in terms of requisite for leadership. The clerical and lay individuals who formed the *mazania* on behalf of the *banyans* derived their authority from their background, character, and service to the community. Many issues were of social and religious nature such as concerning marriage, adoption, excommunication, and priestly duties. The *mazane* did not pass laws, in a modern sense, but their regulations were binding upon the *banyan* community. However, the *mazane*, could be a spokesperson, could be an interlocutor with the Portuguese authorities, could provide the settlement of disputes between parts, as well the discussion of issues of concern to the entire *banyan* community. In adjudicating private disputes between parties, the *mazane* authority was equally effective in providing the means to regulate the broader social, religious, and cultural concerns of the *banyan* community. The *mazane* was elected among peers as a leader and representative of his corporation. He was a member from a caste that collected money from the other *banyans* and from traders

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basis of differentiation is social and territorial. There is no stratification among the clans of the Modh and Saurathia but among the Soni Vania. Dharoda is considered the highest goter followed by Dhakan and others. They suffix their goter names to their names. The chief function of goter (clan) is to regulate marriage alliances, to trace the descent and to participate in the life cycle rituals. They consider the Brahman superior to them in regional social hierarchy and others the same. They are well aware of the varna system and recognise their position as Vaishya.

The Vania follow the norm of endogamy at community and sub-division levels and most of goter (clan) exogamy. [...] They practise adult marriage. Marriage is settled by negotiation and the form of marriage is monogamy. [...] Marriage among the sister's children is a recent change which is an adjustment with the traditional norm during the Portuguese rule.

[...] Land is their major economic resource. Traditionally they were traders and jewellery-makers. In present situation, the Soni Vania are engaged in their traditional occupation of working on gold and silver for making of gold ornaments and precious stone setters. The Modh and Saurathia owned land during the Portuguese rule, given to them against their services but after the abolition of Proprietorship Act (1962) the land was acquired by the government. The Modh and Saurathia were in the habit of making voyages to Arabian countries, Zanzibar and Mozambique for trade, going in their youth and returning back to Diu after nine or ten years, when they generally marry.

The present day primary occupation is trade and business. They are dependent on the markets of Gujarat and purchase wheat, bajra (millet), sugar, sing tel (groundnut oil) from there and sell in Diu. Service in different government offices is the other means of livelihood. Those who own land, engage the Khedut Koli as their tenants on contract and rent basis.

Their social control is regulated by the traditional council Vanik Mahajan Samaj comprising whole of the Diu district. The council is headed by a President who is elected by voice vote. The Vania profess Hinduism. [...]. Singh, Kumar Suresh (ed.). 1994. *People of India, Daman and Diu, Anthropological Survey of India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. vol. XIX, 174-180.

<sup>123</sup> Pato, António de Bulhão (dir.). 1880. "Document 95. December 23, 1609", *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros da Monções*. Lisbon: Royal Science Academy. Vol. I, 273.

<sup>124</sup> In 1611, the Portuguese crown alluded to an interference from the Banyans with the all-day life of the captain of Diu. Pato, António de Bulhão (dir.). 1884. "Document 176. February 21, 1611", *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros da Monções*. Lisbon: Royal Science Academy. Vol. II, 43-44.

In 1718, the election of the Diu *banyans* captain was disputed between Mitta Jassavir and Macandagi Sacar. See: "Carta do Vice-rei para o castelão de Diu, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira", Portuguese National Library (BNL), Codex 4406, 4 January 1718, folio 390 and "Carta do Vice-rei para o padre administrador do celeiro de Diu" 2 January 1718.

<sup>125</sup> Pato, António de Bulhão (dir.). 1884. "Document 176. February 21, 1611", *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*. Lisbon: Royal Science Academy. Vol. II, 43-44.

<sup>126</sup> "Carta do Vice-Rei para os Mazanes de Diu sobre a opressão que lhe faz o Pai dos Cristãos", February 2, 1704, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, *Livro de Diu n. 1*, file 30, drawer 3, division 1, banda 9, exposição 1 e 2. Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, "Códice existente no Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia Ficheiro 2, Gaveta 2, Divisões 6, 7, 8 e 9 (132 fichas) Carta n° 49, Goa, 11 de Dezembro de 1630, Livro das Monções n° 14 (1630-1631)." 1954-1969. In *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos. vol. VIII, (tomos 23-25), 560.

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interested in some specific item or trade (for example, one cargo or one ship) and was designated to choose commercial goals, places of trade and finally collect and allocate profits.

Usually, the management of mercantile life and administration of difference among *banyans* was taken before the *mazane* for decision and settlement, and merchants deemed to have acted dishonestly faced the threat of banishment if they did not comply with the *mazane* verdict. However, the *mazania* was susceptible of influence by its leading members, who were prominent merchants with noteworthy transoceanic investments. Vulnerability of manipulation by members, may help to explain why *banyan* merchants asked the Portuguese authorities for conflicts litigation until the nineteenth century. Complaints, petitions and cases were increasingly brought before the Portuguese justice by merchants in Diu, even though there was risk of public exposure of their deals by doing so.

As Portuguese imperial subjects, the *banyans* had access to state protection and legal institutions where merchants could bring disputes for adjudication and present cases against errant officials. They may have sought to appeal to Portuguese justice as a complement to the *mazania*, especially in cases where they were settling disputes arising with the Portuguese.<sup>127</sup> They did not abandon or forego recourse to customary practice as represented by the *mazane* to settle differences among members of the merchant community. In effect, a dual system of enforcing commercial, social and legal obligations operated in Diu and whether merchants appealed to one or the other depended on perceived benefits and outcomes. This turn towards the legal infrastructure of the Portuguese imperial state may also have reflected an exhaustive inability of the *mazane* as an instrument for arbitration, resolution and trust among merchants. While it functioned as a semi-formal institution that could, through collective action, threaten to marginalize individual merchants who were found guilty of malfeasance, its authority and capacity to generate trust between merchants may have been limited. Moreover, the communality that was central to the functioning of the *mazania* was likely insufficiently strong to prevent conflicts between parties from entering the public domain, and thus compromise business and the image of the *banyan* community.<sup>128</sup>

The *mazania* and Portuguese imperial judicial courts operated as complementary mechanisms to regulate Diu's merchant and related commercial behaviour. Further, this complementarity reflected the great adaptive capacity of the *banyans* to certain aspects of the Portuguese imperial presence in Diu. It also suggests that, instead of being dictated by an abstracted notion of imperial 'policy' emanating from Goa or the metropole, the logics governing interaction between the *banyans* and the Portuguese imperial state were often determined by local Diu powers and concerns. This often resulted in little agreement between the *Estado da Índia* officials and between them and private metropolitan interests, which further allowed the *banyan* merchants of Diu to exploit commercial opportunities in the western Indian Ocean. For example, Diu's local officials appreciated that the financial contribution of the *banyans* to the income of the treasury was critical for its solvency and therefore sought to foster a commercial and financial environment that was attractive to these merchants. Meanwhile, high-ranking administrators in Mozambique and metropolitan merchants, wedded to the notion (no matter how unrealistic)

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<sup>127</sup> It is also possible that communal solidarity among the *banyans* was weakening at a time when the political and economic landscape of South Asia was undergoing profound change. The increasing presence of the British in western India, coupled with the dangers of attack at sea from French and Maratha vessels, and the competition from other merchant groups in the western Indian Ocean such as the Kutchi *Bhatiya*, may have contributed significantly to the creation of a commercial environment in Diu in which solidarity between merchants of the same town was, paradoxically, weakened. In uncertain conditions, competition between merchants may have become heightened as economic interests were pitted against one another for a share of the ocean's markets.

<sup>128</sup> This idea is inspired by Markovits, Claude. 2000. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947. Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 259–60; Bayly, Christopher A. 1993. "Pre-Colonial Indian Merchants and Rationality", in Hasan, Mushirul and Gupta, Narayani, (eds.), *India's Colonial Encounter: Essays in Memory of Eric Stokes*. New Delhi: Manohar. 3–24.

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that trade between the territories of the *Estado da Índia* should be the preserve of Portuguese merchants, were hostile and resentful of the prominent place occupied by the *banyans* in the overall imperial economy.<sup>129</sup>

Pleas to Portuguese imperial judicial courts by Gujarati merchants reflected a consciousness of the *banyan* rights of appeal as imperial subjects of the Crown. Though *banyan* regarded certain aspects of rule to be invasive and arrogant (increases in customs rates or movement restrictions), they were prepared to accept the official Portuguese presence because it provided an added authority to which they had access as imperial subjects and which well-matched them. From the mid-eighteenth century, merchants were often explicit in asserting their rights related to changes in Portuguese official attitudes to the Gujarati inhabitants of the island of Diu and expressing their loyalty as subjects of the Portuguese crown. As such, they had full rights of appeal to the legal institutions of the *Estado da Índia*. From the 1730s and 1740s, driven by tendencies that precluded the reformist initiative of the Pombaline policies implemented after mid-century, there was a move towards blurring the difference between ‘Gujarati’ and ‘Portuguese’ subjects with the aim of creating a subjecthood defined by legal equality. *Banyans* appear to have taken advantage of this change to invoke rights as vassals of the state in their appeals, petitions and declarations to *Estado da Índia*.<sup>130</sup>

The *banyans* captain or ‘*Capitão Mor dos Baniães*’ was a position appointed by the Portuguese to mediate relations between *banyans* and the imperial power of the *Estado da Índia*. Bocarro refers to the *banyans* captain in this way: “One of these Gentiles has an occupation they call Captain of *Baneães*, serving as its attorney in all necessary matters for them and all those that deal with them.”<sup>131</sup> When acting collectively to protect their commercial and financial interests, the *banyan* merchants were often explicit in detailing how the Portuguese imperial state benefitted from their business interests.<sup>132</sup> Finally, the headman (occasionally hereditary) of the *banyans* was the *sheth*, which was elected by the governing council that collectively organized them. Moreover, whenever necessary, the *sheth* of a *mazania* intervened with the Portuguese to negotiate and decide issues related to trade. In case of a dispute with the state bureaucracy, *sheths* were powerful enough to present statements and complaints to the Portuguese authorities, to the governor or even to the crown.

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<sup>129</sup> Ray, Rajat Kanta. 1995. “Asian Capital in the Age of European Domination: The Rise of the Bazaar, 1800–1914”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 29/3: 449–554; Markovits, Claude. 2000. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1759–1947*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Bose, Sugata. 2009. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

<sup>130</sup> See, for example, Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Box. 14, Doc. 27, “Corpo dos Baniães”, enclosed in Viceroy to Crown, n.d. [but 1758/1759]. See also Pinto, Rochelle. 2007. “Race and Imperial Loss: Accounts of East Africa in Goa,” *South African Historical Journal*, 57/1, 91.

<sup>131</sup> “Hum destes gentios tem hum lugar que chamão Capitão dos Baneães, que serve como de seu procurador em todas as materias que lhe sao necessarias e com quem se tratão tambem as tocantes a elles.” Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. “Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate.” In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 218-219.

<sup>132</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Box. 36, Doc. 35, “Petição de Getta Mitta capitão dos Baniães”, 7 February 1771 folio 12-19; “Requerimento do Beneães”, 28 June 1781, folio 1-7; “Respondão os Mercadores Baneães desta Capital”, 14 July 1781, folio 20-26; “Respondão os Mercadores Baneães desta Capital”, 4 August 1781, folio 28-44.



DIO — VISTA RUA DA CIDADE  
DIO — VIEW OF THE CITY ROAD

[Figure 3.4] Makata Road and *Nagarseth Haveli* (house of the municipal seth), Diu. 1957.

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In the Mughal era, particularly since emperor Jahangir's rule (r. 1605-1627), the *mazanes* and their *sheth* enjoyed great power and prestige in Gujarat. Obviously commercial ventures in textile and indigo were not possible without close linkages with merchants and, as commercial transactions were supervised by the *mazanes* and their *sheth*, both carried pronounced influence with the ruling classes and within society and consequently in Diu's urban life. A feature of Diu's commercial organization was the existence of a municipal *mazane* which included representatives of all the occupational *mazane* in the city and whose head was known as the *Nagarsheth*.<sup>133</sup>

The *mazanes* merchants maintained close relations with the artisan's *panch* and commercial transactions were carried out through these institutions. The predominant mode of payment was to give the artisan a part payment as advance and the remaining amount was given after the task or product was completed, so as a result artisans were always subservient to traders. The *mazane* dealt only with matters such as prices, internal adjudication, and the representation of all members in their external relations with other *mazanes* and governments. In Gujarat, then, specialization was strengthened by wider occupational cooperation in commercial affairs which "helps to explain, why such mahajans were always stronger in Gujarat than in other parts of India."<sup>134</sup>

There appears to have been a city *mahajan* that gathered traders engaged in the same commercial occupation and a *Samast Vanik* or hindu *mahajan* which involved families who belonged to a wider range of occupational groups. The first was responsible for controlling who could practice a certain trade, pressured merchants to uphold their business agreements and provided arbitration in settling trade disputes between its members. Those who failed to comply with the *sheths'* decision could be excluded from the community. Likewise, the latter played a role in managing community issues but because they enjoyed broader authority than individual *mahajans*, they were also able to decide conflicts between members of *mahajans*. Both *mahajans* thus provided "critical arenas in which authority was generated and perpetuated."<sup>135</sup>

Compared to merchants, the socio-economic status of Diu's artisans was inferior in many ways. The *panch* (artisans guild-like organization from the same caste or from different castes but from the same *varna*, hindu or jain) governed the social, commercial and cultural life of its members and provided social insurance to them. Among the hindu upper castes, it was common practice to split hindu society into divisions where castes aggregated. For hindu and muslim artisans, caste and community leaders were also leaders of the *panch* or professional association. The *panch* was headed by a *Patel* (usually hereditary). Goldsmiths, potters and carpenters were included in some castes and cloth printers, blacksmiths and shoemakers in other castes. Among these, goldsmiths were better off while the others were barely able to eke out a living. The *panch* or council not only managed social affairs of the members but also governed their commercial relations. They also managed funds which were used to assist the community.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, commercial organization and the personnel of trade of Diu underwent significant changes. Patterns influenced by Portuguese intervention in the Asian trade during the sixteenth century, gave way to new ones which emerged after the collapse of the Mughal empire and the rise of

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<sup>133</sup> Situated on Makata Road, the *Nagarseth Haveli* (house of the *Nagarseth*) is a three storeys family house. Carved balconies, porticoes, elaborate arches, and stone lions impart ornament and majesty to this house.

<sup>134</sup> Pearson, Michael N. 1972. "Political Participation in Mughal India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 9/2: 120. Pearson notes that the other Indian definitions of *mahajan* include "an individual banker, a money-lender, a merchant, or an unspecified 'great man'." These other definitions imply that only in Gujarat were there collective *mahajans*, but the wider meaning appears to be "Principal person, representing a collectivity in India.

In Goa the term is used, in particular, with respect to the spokesman of the brotherhood of a pagoda." Dalgado, Sebastião Rodolfo. 1919-1921. *Glossário luso-asiático*. Coimbra: University Press. Vol. 2, 46.

<sup>135</sup> These two types of *mahajan* were identified with certainty for Surat in the same chronology. See: Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852-1928*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 61. Useful also is Subramanian, Lakshmi. 1996. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 122-4.

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the British in India and the Omani Arabs on the coast. The collapse of the Mughal empire in the 1750s, the emergence of British Bombay over Mughal Surat, and the rivalry for political and economic command of the Swahili coast between Mazrui Mombasa and Busaidi Zanzibar, unresolved until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, must have discouraged the domination of the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* there. With the arrival to power after 1744 of the Busaidi dynasty in Oman and the development of the east African empire based on Zanzibar after 1750, Diu merchants were at last able to extend their operations to these markets which undoubtedly had strong connections at this time with the dominant group of muslim Bohras of Diu.<sup>136</sup> Finally, and despite these changes Gujarati textiles continued to dominate the Indian Ocean trade into the first decades of the nineteenth century, when American and British cottons seized the market, annihilating the Indian textile manufacturing industry. Although Gujarati merchants continued to play a vital role in Indian Ocean after this time, they no longer operated as independent merchant capitalists.

The *banyans* from Diu were more elusive subjects than the European denizens of Diu. Departing from the Northern Province of the *Estado da Índia* they were authorized to trade with Jidda (Mecca), Aden and other Red Sea ports as far as Muscat and Basra and, also the Malabar coast<sup>137</sup> thorough the concession of *cartazes* and permits for merchant vessels plying the high seas of the Indian Ocean.<sup>138</sup> A survey made in 1720 with a remarkable note, "Lists of all the infidels in the jurisdiction of Dio." It verified that 34.9% of the total population of Diu and from the villages of Brancavará, Brancharvará and Dangaruny were *banyans*, 47.6% of the 1861 houses of Diu and from the nearby villages belonged to *banyans*. Also, 43% of the owners were hindus, while 9.5% were muslims.<sup>139</sup> They were often omitted from the larger historical record of Diu, left out as the more mobile, and often foreign, economic elites had lifestyles unsuited to the traditional format of local conventional biography.<sup>140</sup> Finally, a detailed census of the population of Diu in 1794 reveals that a total population of 6522 included 1645 (25%) *banyans*, more than twice the number of any other group. Of the total *banyan* community, 577 (35%) were men over the age of fourteen.<sup>141</sup>

What emerges clearly is that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries trade of Gujarat with East Africa, including Mozambique and the Swahili coast, was almost entirely mediated through the agency of the *banyans* from Diu. References to merchants' and artisans' enjoying well-established rights and privileges can be found as far back as the eleventh century. This tradition of autonomous associations of merchants (*mazanes*) and artisans (*panch*) continued down in Diu for the following centuries. *Mazanes* framed their own rules of membership and decided the norms of professional conduct for their members. Depending on the specifics of their trade or profession, they also framed rules for sale, purchase and transactions. Prominent merchants were appointed

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<sup>136</sup> For despite its impending collapse after the merchant's revolt between 1730 and 1732 Surat remained in the 1740s "one of the best, the finest, and richest and greatest marts, not only of the Mogul's country, but of all the Indies .... It is here that the Indians constantly embark to go and trade on the coasts of Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Africa, even to the Cape of Good Hope. and in the Island of Madagascar." Guyon, Abbé de. 1757. *A New history of the East Indies, ancient and modern*. London: R. and Dodsley. I, 285-287; Gupta, Ashin Das. 1967. "The Crisis at Surat, 1730-1732," *Bengal Past and Present* 86. 149-162.

<sup>137</sup> Barbosa, Duarte (1480-1521). 1989. *The book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants... completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, vol. 1: Including the coast of Malabar, China and the Indian archipelago, Reprod. facsimile: Donald Macbeth, 1921. New Delhi: Asian Educational Series. 129-130.

<sup>138</sup> Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1938. "Os Portugueses em Diu," *Separata de O Oriente Português*, Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 231.

<sup>139</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 77, n° antigo de caixa 46, n°s vermelhos 372, datas extremas 1706-1750, Doc. 50, "Lista do pouvo gentio e mouro que tem nesta Fortaleza de Dio", 23 November 1720.

<sup>140</sup> Vom Bruck, Gabriele. 2005. *Islam, Memory, and Morality: Ruling Families in Transition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 165-66.

<sup>141</sup> The data is reproduced in Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. IV: 2:2, 404-405. The percentages given are only an approximation based on the available insufficient population data. It is worth noting that the population at Diu at the end of the eighteenth century was considerably reduced from the mid-seventeenth century, when it had reached its peak of prosperity. Various accounts from that period suggest a population of perhaps fifty thousand or more individuals. See also Pearson, Michael N. 1971. "Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 242-243. See also the rise and decline of Sohar, as documented in Williamson, Andrew. 1973. *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*. Muscat: Petroleum Development [Oman].

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ministers and through them the associations of merchants maintained close relations with the Portuguese. The application of the *banyans* to business was not only limited to the transmission of individual and family commercial skills, since it also included their societal existence as merchants. While artisans' associations were mostly coterminous with their caste or community, be they hindu or muslim, merchants were concurrently members of their caste association and their *mazane* or trade association.

The *banyans* resided in a specific designated neighbourhood, so that their strong sense of community expressed itself in spatial as well as structural terms,<sup>142</sup> demonstrating that these interpretations of the economic, social, and political organization of the *banyan* Gujarati trading communities can be established in Diu. The evidence is far too strong to be only suggestive. But there exists now a basis for further research among the people of Diu which has previously been lacking.

**Mulji Raghunath, Kunwarji Narsinh, Ponja Velgi and Calachand Irachand**

The *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* had their captain, leading merchants and several representatives. In the 1760s, the most prominent *banyan* was Ponja Velgi, "the principal trader of that Market" and the "principal head of the traders of that Market." He sought permission in 1762 to appear in public wearing a hat and being carried in a palanquin. Although the sources are silent on this point, he was almost certainly the Captain of the *baneanes* from Mozambique. The muslims of Diu also had a community leader in Mozambique. In 1723, the paymaster for the government was a muslim Indian named Bashira Mucali. In 1759, one Abdul Razaca was named "Lieutenant of the Asian Muslims," a title which probably reflects the fact that their community was less important in the life of Mozambique than was that of the *banyans*. A few years later, another wealthy muslim Indian, Anangi Monagi, bid successfully for the leasing of the customs house and was also named inspector of ivory (*tareiro*) at Mozambique.<sup>143</sup> As the number of muslims dwindled, however, positions such as these must have fallen increasingly into the hands of the *banyans*.

In the eighteenth century, the most important merchant of Diu was Mulji Raghunath. He was the most prominent and successful *banyan* of Diu and his conduct was described by the captain of Diu as follows "If there is a *Mazane* [member of a banyan caste], he is Mulgy Rogunate ... who just does what's best for his business", therefore a very important broker in Gujarat and the major broker in Diu's trade of that time.<sup>144</sup> He was a banker, an entrepreneur, and a broker of private business from the ex-governor of Mozambique, Francisco de Mello de Castro (1702-1777)<sup>145</sup> who traded actively in clothing, ivory and rice. He also had a major role in some diplomatic issues concerning trade with east Africa. He was appointed as a major broker of Diu customs from 1774 until 1781.<sup>146</sup> His wealth and status were conspicuous among Diu's merchant elites. He dealt with more than just the Portuguese merchants and carried out significant business transactions throughout the city.

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<sup>142</sup> For a nineteenth-century map of Diu, which has a depiction of a *banyan* residential neighbourhoods, Shia Bohras, Parsis, Christians, and *mainatos*, see: *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria José Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon]. Definitions of *mainato* can be found in Dalgado, Sebastião Rodolfo. 1919-21. *Glossário luso-asiático*. Coimbra: Coimbra University Press. Vol. 2, 12-13.

<sup>143</sup> Andrade, António Alberto de. 1956. *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 100; Crown to Viceroy, Lisbon, 7 April 1723, in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, London: Government of the Cape Colony, 1899, V, 124-126; Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), Codex 1324, folio 316, *Portaria*, João Pereira da Silva Barba, Mozambique, Aug 9, 1765.

<sup>144</sup> "Carta do Castelão de Diu para o vice-rei sobre a conduta dos individuos que estão nesta Praça", April 28, 1788, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, *Livro de Diu n. 11*, file 30, drawer 3, div. 9, b. 18, exp. 4.

<sup>145</sup> David Marques Pereira, governor of Mozambique, considers him broker of Francisco Mello e Castro, governor and captain of Mozambique from 1750 until 1758. Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Moçambique, Box 13, Doc. 28, "Carta do Governador interino de Moçambique, David Marques Pereira, para o Secretário de Estado do Governo Central, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello", 26 July 1757.

<sup>146</sup> "Carta do feitor de Diu, Carvalho de Lencastre, para o Castelão e deputados do Adjunto" August 1, 1796, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, *Livro de Diu n. 13*, file 30, drawer 3, division 9, b. 18, exp. 4.

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Mulji Raghunath is profusely mentioned in contemporary Portuguese documents, especially the ones related with Diu and Mozambique, whereas other merchants were not acknowledged. This is due to Mulji Raghunath having been a ship-owner who sent vessels across the Indian Ocean, travelled the maritime routes himself and developed commercial relationships with European merchants. Although it is possible that Mulji Raghunath's goods, like those of the European merchants, eventually ended up in others' hands, it would have been through the third-party intermediation of a *banyan* broker rather than by direct contact. By avoiding the customs house of Diu, merchants eluded contact with the Europeans and other maritime merchants and therefore had less protagonism in Portuguese possessions.<sup>147</sup>

Conversely, Mulji Raghunath is absent from biographies and chronicles of Gujarat, even though he held high standing on a par with the governor of Diu. He did so because he was conformed to the model of the pious merchant who used his profits for charitable contribution and because he was a Sunni, who could trade with less stigma than his peers.<sup>148</sup> Local historiography disdains the worldly affairs of the merchant and those who were involved in commercial activity are often omitted from the local historical record, despite the fact that many were closely tied to the local economy. Hence, Mulji Raghunath's biographical record is a unique and fortuitous inclusion in Gujarat's textual record. His biography reveals the sharp social rift between the world of the seafaring, ship-owner and the world of the land-based merchant of Diu. These three worlds remained distinct through the well-structured system of brokerage that dominated Diu's trade and motivated by the fortunes of the Indian Ocean.

Though Mulji Raghunath was firmly established as a Diu resident, first, he owned ships that travelled the Indian Ocean trade routes that allowed great mobility for him and for his goods and finally, he lived in Mozambique for a short period, indicating that he was well connected across the Indian Ocean and that he was more itinerant than his Gujarati counterparts.<sup>149</sup> Since Mulji Raghunath had privileged personal and commercial relations with Islamic coastal leaders of Mozambique, he was called upon to serve in many instances as a mediator between local administration and Portuguese authorities. Therefore, he was capable of communicating with the Portuguese merchants and apparently was familiar with their practices. His trade, like that of all successful merchants, was a family business. Yet Raghunath's prosperity, however conspicuous, did endure throughout his lifetime. He represents the ideal of the pious merchant and was learned in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). His generosity was praised, since he dutifully channelled portions of his profits from the trade to charitable causes and it was stated that he never skipped giving a large sum of alms to the needy.

In a commercial environment in which gossip and hearsay seem to have been as important as the circulation of accurate information in Diu among *banyan* merchants, accusations and counter-accusations levelled by merchants were perhaps to be expected. Indeed, evidence suggests that they were commonplace, at least by the eighteenth century. An acrimonious commercial environment was present by the final quarter of the eighteenth century, amid internal divisions and competition among Diu *banyan* merchants. Complaints and arguments began appearing regularly before the Portuguese justice, as merchants levelled charges against one another. They crystallized into two opposing factions: one headed by Mulji Raghunath and the other by Kunwarji Narsinh. While it is unclear when the animosities between these factions had begun to form, the shipwreck near the Gujarati coast of a vessel owned by Mulji on its return voyage to Diu from Mozambique in 1784 revealed deep-rooted divisions among the merchants taken to arbitrage through vehement representations by both parts. From the Portuguese side, the rupture was viewed as a severe constraint to the commercial life of the island and, by extension, to its

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<sup>147</sup> Serjeant R. B. 2013. "The Hindu, Banyan Merchants and Traders." In *Sanaa: An Arabian Islamic City*. Serjeant R. B. and R. Lewcock (ed.). London: Melisende UK Ltd. 532–535.

<sup>148</sup> Vom Bruck, Gabriele. 2005. *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen: Ruling Families in Transition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 166.

<sup>149</sup> Gupta, Ashin Das. 2001. "Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700–1725." In *The World of Indian Ocean Merchant. 1500-1800*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press. 369-398.

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trans-oceanic African trade. Its possible consequences, a general rupture in trade, led the governor, Luis João de Souza Machado de Morães de Sarmiento, to leave his job and duties, because of his failure to resolve the difference. Even though this may have been an exaggeration, it was no hollow statement, for the governor understood that such a deep-seated rift among merchants could jeopardize the vitality of Diu's commerce. The surviving details of this case make it difficult to determine which of the factions aligned with Kunwarji Narsinh or with Mulji Raghunath, was responsible for the deceit and fraudulent behaviour of which they stood accused. On the one hand, while the evidence suggested that Mulji Raghunath had the support of the majority of merchants, on the other hand, there is also an indication on the other that he and his partners – as creditors of a number of merchants – pressured and intimidated them for their support against Kunwarji. Wherever the truth may lie, the possible complications caused the newly appointed Portuguese governor of Diu when he began his tenure in 1789, to prioritize the reconciliation of the factions. While this does not necessarily mean that they no longer competed for predominance in the trade of Diu and of Mozambique, the disruption to exchange across the western Indian Ocean so feared by the administration did not materialise. The *banyan* vessels continued to carry sizeable cargoes of cotton textiles to the African coast and in return to ship large volumes of ivory and silver to the subcontinent after these years. Yet, the greater use of Portuguese imperial judicial courts and legislative institutions by the *banyans* was striking because of the existence in Diu of the *mazania*, which was the semi-formal merchant institution that adjudicated disputes among its members.

In the mid-twentieth century, at least, a much unimportant Diu was still dominated by the *banyans*, the richest of whom was Calachand Irachand, “who commanded from Diu a commercial emporium with international relations and credit, and agents in Bombay and Lourenço Marques” and who occupied the office of the most important banyan, the *nagarsheth*. As the governor Miguel de Paiva Couceiro (1909-1979), henceforth Couceiro, declared, Calachand Irachand was elected by the commercial communities of Diu as their collective representative to the civil authority.<sup>150</sup> We suggest, then, that the origins of the city wide commercial *mahajan* at Diu with which Paiva Couceiro was familiar may well date back to 1686, the date of the granting of a monopoly to the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* trade by the Portuguese viceroy.<sup>151</sup> Contrastingly to the twentieth century, in the late eighteenth century the office of captain of the *banyan*<sup>152</sup> was hereditary within a single family, although the *banyan* notables seem to have had a voice in determining who among the legitimate heirs should hold office.<sup>153</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined the interplay of external and internal forces through the response of the merchants and pedlars of Diu. The traders of Diu spread their risks by seeking alliances with the three poles of influence in Diu's

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<sup>150</sup> Couceiro, Miguel de Noronha de Paiva. 1969. *Diu e Eu*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 118. Couceiro in his memoirs also notes the close ties between Diu and Mozambique which existed for other hindu castes, including both Brahmins and various artisans. See pages 71, 119, 122-123, 142-143. For their very few numbers at Mozambique Island in the 1940s, see Lobato, Alexandre. 1945. *Ilha de Moçambique*, Mozambique: Portuguese National Press. 126, 129. See Sousa Ribeiro and Repartição Técnica de Estatística (coord.). 1940. *Anuário de Moçambique 1940*. Lourenço Marques: Mozambique National Press. 606.

<sup>151</sup> For the prevailing Luso-Indian definition of *mazane* as the representative of a collectivity, which suggests that a Company of *Mazanes* included the representatives of all the major commercial *mahajans* in Diu.

See Pearson, Michael N. 1972. “Political Participation in Mughal India,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 9/2: 120. Pearson notes that the other Indian definitions of *mahajan* include “an individual banker, a money-lender, a merchant, or an unspecified ‘great man’.” These other definitions imply that only in Gujarat were there collective *mahajans*, but the wider meaning appears to be “Principal person, representing a collectivity in India.”

See Pearson, Michael N. 1971. “Commerce and Compulsion: Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600.” Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 311, where he notes that in 1653 Goridas Parekh was captain of the hindu and muslim Gujaratis of Diu.

<sup>152</sup> Which must correspond to the *sheth* of the *mahajan* in Gujarat.

<sup>153</sup> Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Belchior Amaral, Castellan of Diu, to Viceroy of India (?), Diu, 15 June 1789. Nova Goa: National Press. IV: 2:2, 566-567.

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commerce: the Portuguese, the *banyans*, and the chiefs of the hinterland Gujarat. Some merchants, in their positions as middlemen, managed to reap considerable profits, yet were themselves unable to become a powerful social group. In all their alliances and dealings, they remained dependent and therefore had but minimal effects on social change in Diu. The importance of the merchants lay, above all, in the fact that by the protection they received and their relations with foreign companies, the seeds of colonialism were sown.

Diu in the modern period depended on the *banyans*, a networked and extended multi-ethnic community that commonly accepted some degree of subordination to a primary port-of-trade of the Indian Ocean. The primacy of a focal port in the network was in part due to its strategic location adjacent to the vital passageway on the Africa-to India-to Middle East trade route. The pivotal centre held its importance even more because it operationally linked a number of secondary cities and port-polities across substantial maritime space between the east coast of Africa and the western coast of India. Diu as an early coastal urban centre was an appendage to its adjacent hinterland, and its connotation regularly fluctuated rather than demonstrated societal commitment to any single place. The region's differentiated centers of political power (royal courts), religious authority (temples), and marketplaces were normally insulated in the Diu productive agrarian hinterlands. Instead of addressing the development of urban hierarchies we should consider a horizontal network which linked an equitable colonial city that shared common goals, acknowledged the political independence of its 'members,' and included multiple networked power centers that had different levels of connectivity, and were based upon some degree of acknowledged cultural homogeneity.

Maritime shipping among the *banyans*, often widely separated between Gujarat and Africa, brought about cultural exchanges, movement of ideas and suited the creation of a diaspora in the urban settlement of Diu. The colonial city maintained from inception a core of elite merchant families. Until today, a key ingredient that has been overlooked in the city focused politically and economically, is the vital role that the *banyan* diaspora assumed in the creation of new culturally networked communities as this was implicit in the cosmopolis potential and urban settlements hierarchy of Diu within the *Estado da Índia*. A high percentage of merchant houses ran the bulk of the import and export business of the port. In the most active years, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, some of these merchants made substantial profits. But even in the port's heyday in the 1550s, the fortunes made in Diu were limited and restricted to some *banyans* individuals. During the early modern era, *banyan* maritime diasporas could be identified by their spatiality, distances traveled, itineraries, temporality, fixity, rootedness, and sedentary qualities. In this context, 'place' must be understood as an anchor point, a settlement spot where a number of people gathered 'temporarily' or 'permanently,' with the implication that 'permanently' is effectively temporary, and subject to better opportunities elsewhere, or an ultimate return to the ethnic homeland. Each of these networked spaces had porous boundaries that could change in association with intra-diasporic contexts and events. The evolving *banyan* diaspora communities active in Diu are herein seen as populating conceptual activity spaces in which individuals, families, and varieties of political and socioeconomic networks derived from places of origin as well as from their destinations.<sup>154</sup>

We conclude in the chapter that Diu adds consideration of the human dimension of networked maritime communities in western India to the colonial discourse, with a specific focus on the religious pluralism that was a distinctive feature associated with the activities of networked merchant sojourners. Depictions of regional diasporas, conclude towards a notion of autonomy among the *banyan* mercantile community, and on the way to the existence of equilibrium based on mutual indifference between the ones who held the economic power - the

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<sup>154</sup> Hugh Clark provides a synoptic overview of western scholarship on trade diasporas in the Indian ocean (K. N Chauduri, Janet Abu-Lughod, and Philip Curtin). Clark, Hugh R. 2006. "Maritime Diasporas in Asia Before Da Gama: An Introductory Commentary." In *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49/4. Brill: 385–94.

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*banyans* - and the one who held political power – the Portuguese - in contrast to a system in which a state and its agents could be, and often were, active participants in trade.

Diu never developed into an important international seaport. The reasons that such a development never occurred are related to the era in which the premodern city and modern colonial city lived. First, in a sense, the city was from inception already an anachronism, an imperial city founded by a sultan during the last phase of the empire's independence. Second and equally important, is that the colonial city of Diu never developed into a major city through Portuguese empire, despite the fact that it was for almost a century the principal seaport of Gujarat. The small-scale development of Diu reflected the aims of the Portuguese king, i.e., commerce with Europe was to remain at a minimal level, and it also reflected European aims, Gujarat was of negligible interest in the Portuguese overseas trade. Diu's most important trading partners in the eighteenth century - Portugal and Mozambique - had simply minor commercial interests in India. Also, most of Diu's exports were of minor economic importance to Europe. There was no cloth or spices, as in Maharashtra and in Kerala, to furnish European industries with raw materials. Though Gujarat may have been viewed as an important place of trade by some of the high spirited or adventurous foreign merchants, the Portuguese colonial power in Diu was unwilling and uncappable to take the forceful steps required for converting the close Gujarat into a market for exploitation. Gujarat was too impenetrable with its former princely states and the foreign powers too divided for this to occur.

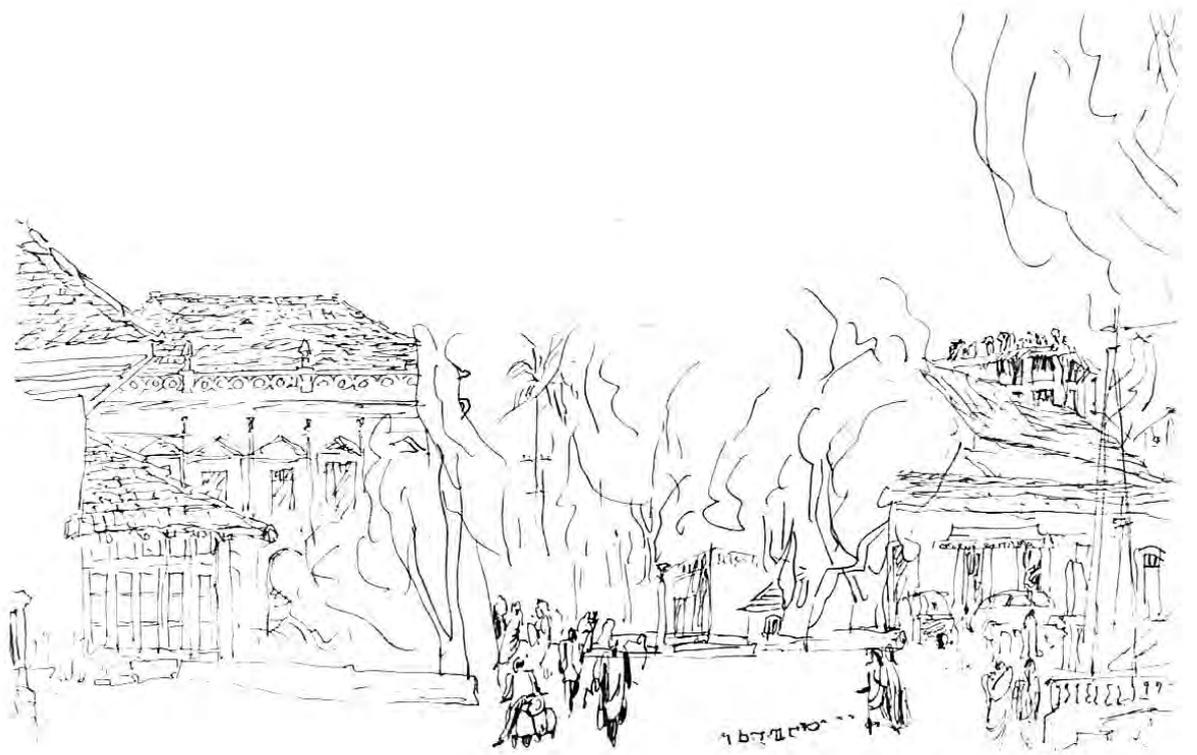
Finally, there were other factors inhibiting Diu's statement in the context of the European colonial city in India during the modern era. The city was created and settled in a relatively infertile region, its importance depended on its special status as port for trade with Europe and Africa, and its own regional market remained relatively small. Hence the impetus for greater urbanization was absent. While the major inland cities of Gujarat, nestled in agriculturally productive regions, were surrounded by numerous markets, Diu was completely isolated from its immediate hinterland. In the absence of greater expansion in foreign trade, Diu did not have the capacity to sustain major urbanization. While the coastal cities in Gujarat today are still growing rapidly as a result of the rural exodus, Diu's population still barely extends beyond its eighteenth-century ramparts. Wealth enabled merchants to build by the early seventeenth century in Diu, as physical displays of their status. These buildings were physical manifestations of consumption and expropriation. Theories of dependent urbanism<sup>155</sup> also help us understand how the changing nature of international political economy and the then internal political situation influenced the European settlement patterns. The decline of Portuguese Diu reflected these transitions.

From this chapter, it becomes evident that we should reject the thesis that Gujarati traders were supplanted by their European counterparts. After examining relations between Indian merchants and the Portuguese in western India and eastern Africa at the end of the eighteenth century, the continued influence and power of *banyan* traders and the "vitality of Indian participation in western India's export trade"<sup>156</sup> should be pointed out. This underscores both the importance and limitations of the city in Portuguese colonial history. Diu was 'constructed' to serve as the port of Kathiawar, where a fairly limited and closely controlled trade with Europe could be conducted. Yet failure as a Portuguese colonial city, was also inherent in its success.

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<sup>155</sup> Social scientists such as geographers, political scientists, and sociologists, put forward explanations of urban primacy, which focus on international economic relations and internal political factors. In particular, dependency theory implies economies, that are more open to trade, experience increased primacy because (dependent) trade concentrates production in the larger cities. Thus, according to Castells, "dependent urbanisation", which implies developing countries rely on industrialised countries for trade, investment, aid, and technology transfer, "causes a superconcentration in the urban areas" (primate cities). See specially: Castells, Manuel. 1977. *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 47-48.

<sup>156</sup> Subramanian, Lakshmi. 2012. "Seths and Sahibs: Negotiated Relationships between Indigenous Capital and the East India Company," in *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 337.



## CHAPTER FOUR

*The city has a thousand faces.*

*Negotiated spaces and the Heterogeneous city.*

THIS CHAPTER WILL TRY TO SHOW THAT what was at stake in Diu during the eighteenth century, was not only the urban and architectural processes, including obviously Western stylistic influences on local architecture, but also the fact that the Portuguese colonial presence had the power to selectively read the cultural landscapes created by local inhabitants, rendering those as potentially consequential. We will explore the construction of Diu's identity, centred on urban and architectural colonial spatial cultures. Retaining the multiplicities and slippages of colonial imagery, social histories, and urban and architectural productions, we examine the ways in which Diu's identity shifts during the Portuguese colonial presence. To do so, we have pulled together a collection of sites, from the scale of the building to the scale of the city, the locality and the nation, from which to discuss the issues presented here. They reveal the inconsistencies, messes, and illogic of the colonial discursive frames in Diu. They pull together the problematic tropes of colonialism as they might be addressed by urban and architectural history.

To understand the major role, the Gujaratis played in the making of the colonial city of Diu, we must learn to recognize the many ways that they presented themselves and concurrently acknowledge the processes by which their contributions were obscured. We will look at the urban settlement patterns of Diu and its vernacular architecture, especially the 'Diu house,' to focus on the role of the Gujaratis in the erection of the city of Diu, since it is an indelible print of a power struggle that linked and formed the intellectual and social consciousness of the emerging disciplines after the eighteenth century inherent in the production of colonial history. These power

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struggles are often more tangled and muted within metropolitan culture, whereas the amplified power differentials in colonial discourse permit a clearer reading of interpretive strategies and illuminate the need to control architectural discussions within prefigured boundaries.

The building history of Diu comprises more than just a fortress, one gone palace, several temples, some mosques, a few churches, and many tombs. It also includes market places, inns, administration buildings, a court of justice near the customs office, community halls, domestic residences and other lesser buildings. What is equally important is how all the various architectural structures were, and still are, related to each other in Diu to form more than one pattern of settlement, be it a colonial city. Another decisive reason for focusing here on the domestic architecture of Diu is that it is unique in its urban scale, architectural work and quality of its craftsmanship. The timber employed in the construction of woodwork in Gujarat in general and in Diu in particular, was not merely a structural expedient but also a medium of display, as is evident from the profusely and intricately carved doors and windows, balconies, struts and columns, visible in the houses.

A general difficulty we had in the study of Diu's vernacular architecture has been the problem of dating the buildings and architectural structures. In a majority of cases, the people concerned had no historical documents which could help to establish the date of erection or fix the personal biographies of those who built them, nevertheless some families were important enough for these to have been historically recorded, especially in patronage. These records provided approximate dates for some of the buildings, and a comparison of style and detail helped to establish the relative dates of other buildings built around that time. In a majority of cases, we had to take recourse to oral evidence and it was interesting to find that most families remembered how many generations ago the house had been founded. As ancestral lineage forms an essential part of Indian tradition (being required, for example, during marriage negotiations), such evidence may be taken to be reliable and fairly accurate approximations can be made on this basis. Accordingly, oral evidence established the average age of the buildings in Diu as 150 years old, i.e., they were erected around 1830. Other quarters which existed around 1780 have been recorded in historical documents, while some fragments of wooden temples, still preserved in various museums, are dated about 1600.<sup>1</sup> These wooden temples were strongly related to domestic architecture. Between these dates, a full-fledged colonial architecture emerged.

### **The church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college of the Holy Spirit and the identity of Diu, a displacement across boundaries**

The church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college of the Holy Spirit in Diu [figures 4.1 to 4.4], henceforth Saint Paul's church, was persistently epitomized in the history of Portuguese architecture as one of the most important buildings in Indo-portuguese architecture and one of the most important catholic religious buildings in Asia and outside of Europe.<sup>2</sup> This has always caused much disquiet and anxiety in audiences of architectural historians in Portugal and in Europe. The architectural form and especially the building's ornament

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<sup>1</sup> In National Museum, New Delhi. (Carved wooden *jharokha* (balcony) from the Palace of the *Nawab* of Radhanpur, Gujarat, eighteenth century; Door-frame depicting Ganesha, musician and devotees, Gujarat. Ht. 195; Wd. 220; Dep. 45 cm. Nineteenth century. Acc. No. 47.111/10; Window frame, Gujarat, carved. Eighteenth century. Ht. 161; Wd. 71; Dep. 23 cm. Acc. No. 47.111/5; Window frame, Gujarat, carved. Seventeenth Century. Ht. 166; Wd. 144; Dep. 29 cm. Acc. No. 47.111/1; Architectural Pillars and top panel, Gujarat, carved, painted. Seventeenth Century. Ht. 195; Wd. 242; Dep. 46 cm. Acc. No. 47.111/2; Ornamental door along with door-frame depicting Jain deity and Goddess Lakshmi, Gujarat, carved, painted. Nineteenth century. Ht. 155; Wd. 162; Dep. 27cm, Acc. No. 60.1153; Door Leaves, Katarmal, Uttar Pradesh. Fourteenth century. Ht. 219; Wd. 140; Dep. 14.5cm, Acc. No. 53.15/1-2).

<sup>2</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2010. "Religious architecture." In Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)]. Vol. 3 Asia and Oceania 125.



[Figure 4.1] Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college of the Holy Spirit, Diu, 1999.

and decoration with strong local influence, does not seem to relate at all to the customary mode of church architecture in the *Estado da Índia*,<sup>3</sup> nor does it relate to earlier churches of art historical repute.

The church has four important features that are imperative concerning its own architectural distinctiveness and urban deployment: first, it is located in the core of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement in the intersection between the citadel and the urban built environment whose during the seventeenth century was a sort of 'no mans lan'; second, it has two 'urban' and scenic facades, towards the northeast (main) and southeast [figure 4.2 and 4.3] with the former college that abuts the northeastern flank of the church; third, it has 'handcrafted' and ornamental expressive facades where the architectural classic orders (possibly interpreted by the architect in the same way as pillars from Indian temples) are massive and thick and the top is ornamented with decoration recalling hindu motifs; fourth, it has lateral semi-circular chapel spaces in its external walls that are not found in any other catholic religious architecture in the *Estado da Índia*. Apart from general statements architecture as the author, building period and the embodiments of the ruler's intentions, the architectural historians of this time are silent concerning the ideas which guided patrons and architects. The building itself constitutes our main evidence. The façade of the church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college of the Holy Spirit in Diu has flanking volutes, straight pediment and round oculus and border atlantes that emerge on the upper floor windows.

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<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the church of Bom Jesus in Goa.



[Figure 4.2] Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul, main façade (northeast), Diu, 2014.

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Needless to say, this is not the place to enter into a history of church architecture in the seventeenth century in the *Estado da Índia*,<sup>4</sup> and we do not intend to delve wholesale into the stylistic influences. Nevertheless, we do feel that it is important to go into some of the possibilities for explaining the church and that makes of it one significant architectural apparatus of catholic religious architecture in the east.<sup>5</sup> However, this approach fails clearing up of ornament and decoration and to give satisfactory answers to the questions posed by stylistic analysis of Saint Paul's church. Also, the question of the architecture of Saint Paul's church was an integral part of travellers' musings on the monument, and as such forms a large part of its representation in text, image, and history. Finally, with this understanding of architecture in Diu is that it by and large ignores the impact of Islam, more often than not content with discharging it with a reference to Mughal forms in architecture.

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century a new architectural motif appears in the palace architecture of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666)<sup>6</sup> and this new element in an already extensive vocabulary of Mughal architectural forms is the baluster column. It rapidly came to be one of the most extensively employed motifs of Indian architecture: it was the predominant columnar form of north and central India in the eighteenth century. The baluster column is also a motif of Saint Paul's church and a classical decorative feature of oriental origin. Not only does the form and composition of the column is comparable, but also the revolutionary naturalistic treatment of the foliate decoration. These similarities may seem not coincidental.



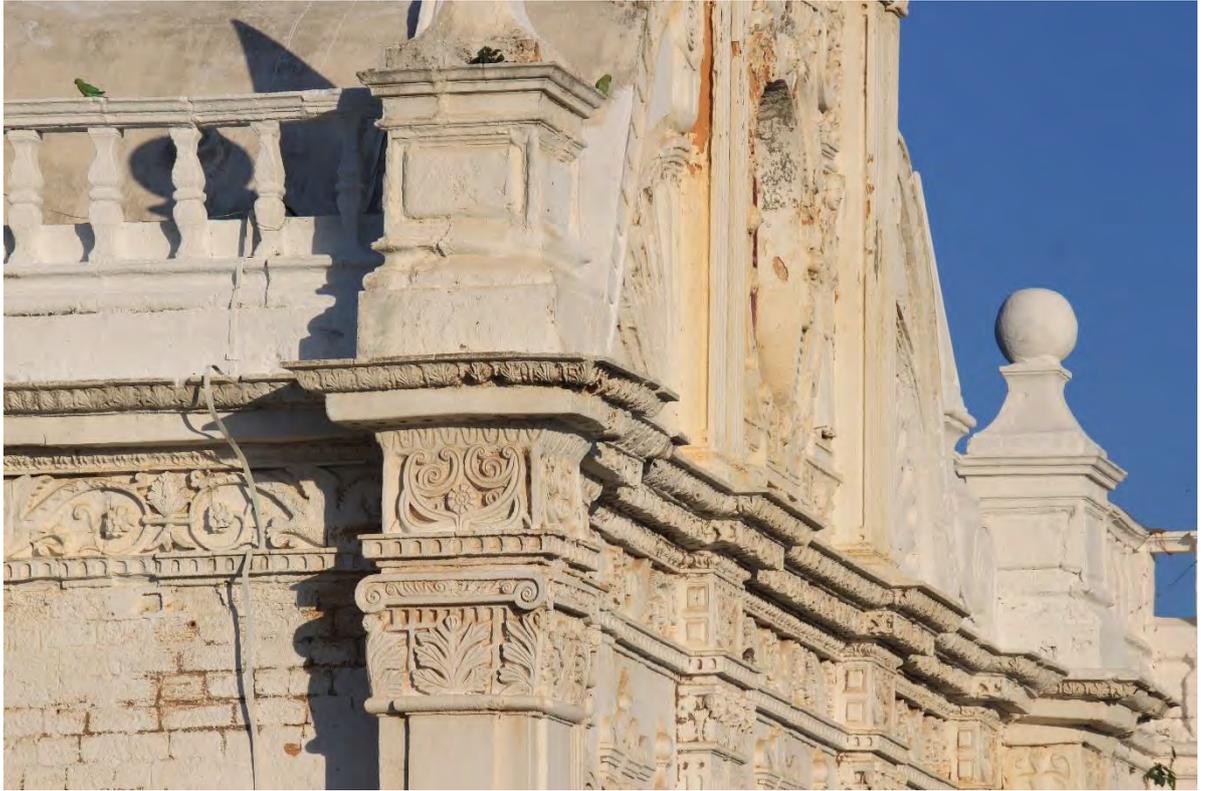
[Figure 4.3] Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul, lateral façade (southeast), Diu, 2014.

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<sup>4</sup>About catholic religious architecture in *Estado da Índia*, see *inter alia*: Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2011. *Whitewash, Red Stone. A history of church architecture in Goa*. New Delhi: Yoda Press and Pereira, António Nunes. 2005. *A Arquitectura Religiosa Cristã de Velha Goa. Segunda Metade do Século XVI – Primeiras Décadas do Século XVII*. Lisboa: Orient Foundation.

<sup>5</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2010. "College of the Holy Spirit and Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul, Convent and Church of Saint Francis." In Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)]. Vol. 3 Asia and Oceania, 127-129.

<sup>6</sup> Fifth Mughal emperor of India from 1628 to 1658. Born prince Khurram, he was the son of emperor Jahangir and his hindu Rajput wife, Taj Bibi Bilqis Makani.



[Figure 4.4] Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul, detail from southeast corner with baluster column on top, Diu, 2014.

The church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul is the oldest known example (or the only surviving one) in *Estado da Índia* of a catholic religious church with side elevations connected with semicircular chapels or architectural spaces. This plan is almost absent from all catholic religious architecture in the east. Also the college as an exceptional façade for a college building from that time with an upper floor *loggia* type arcade that makes the architecture of the building an exceptional piece.

As such, the architecture and architectural language of Saint Paul's church implies a displacement across boundaries between architectural languages. Yet, considering that meaning is constructed grammatically and historically, such a displacement is not a simple process. Added to the equation is the fact that meaning is also produced by users when they speak daily, unrestrained either by rules (grammar) or by history. Can meaning be carried forward entirely from one language to another? Will the architecture be interpreted differently by a readership in another language, culture? Will the architecture retain its significance as a symbol of 'national culture' or will it be estranged and transformed into a sign of difference? Indeed, the concept of translation offers ample opportunities to study how subjects, like architecture, travel across cultural borders (for example, buildings, forms, technologies and the ideas behind them). In the same way that Christianity is taught as a means to impart civilisation, the Portuguese also deliver their own standards through architecture by offering buildings which are implicitly better and impressive as Saint Paul's was the best 'translated'<sup>7</sup> example than the places where Gujarati subjects live. As such, the practice of architectural translation gives agency to the translator to alter the language of Portuguese architecture (its literal meaning, design, ornamentation, etc.) in order to convey its intended effect in another language. Thus, the church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul and college

<sup>7</sup> We borrow the notion of 'translation' from Walter Benjamin's essay 'Task of the Translator.' See *inter alia*: Benjamin, Walter. 2015. *Linguagem, tradução, literatura: (filosofia, teoria e crítica)*. Barrento, João Barrento (ed.). Porto: Assírio & Alvim and Benjamin, Walter. 1969. "The Task of the Translator. An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens*." In Arendt, Hannah (ed.). *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. New York: Random House. 69-82.

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of the Holy Spirit becomes part of the Portuguese and catholic civilising mission. Also, when Saint Paul's church is understood as re-creation and reversal it acquires a political dimension suitable to criticise colonial and, even, contemporary systems of domination.

This discussion helps to situate the catholic religious architecture of Diu within the discursive context of Portuguese colonial empire while at the same time is giving us a sense of what nature that discourse takes. The slippages of colonial discourse and within the cultural artefacts that are a part of that wider discourse reveal the extent to which the discourse itself is contradictory and heterotopic. The problematization here does not aim to somehow straighten out these contradictions, explain them away, and smooth over the historical narrative. On the contrary, we intend to mine the architecture and urbanism for just such contradictions and heterotopic spaces in order to reveal colonial discursivity in its constitutive *contradictoriness*.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this contradiction constitutes the colonial discourse in Diu.

### ***Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, by Sarmiento and Dechermont, 1783-1790***<sup>9</sup>

The city of Diu has been frequently classified by historiography as the product of the fragmentation of two modes of urbanism: one colonial, European, Portuguese and catholic and one local, Indian, Gujarati and hindu/muslim. While the former sought after architectural regularity,<sup>10</sup> the latter offered stability of purpose, though there were also intersections of style and spatial design. The existence of 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements indicated perceived oppositions and ethnic divisions between Gujaratis and non-Europeans and Portuguese and Europeans. After the late eighteenth century, the colonial urban interventions acted to punctuate or envelop parts of the city with facades that hid or fronted the inner 'Gujarat' urban settlement. One entered through the gates and lanes between these facades only to be transported into a different world and another urban settlement.

Traditionally, a division was made between these 'cities,' that is between 'Gujarat' urban settlement and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, if they are not all thrown together into an 'eastern' whole. Appearances

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<sup>8</sup> Discourse and *discursivity* draw from Foucault's thought: "...it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together. And for this very reason, we must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable." Throughout his discussion of discursive power, Foucault emphasizes the discontinuities, contradictions, and gaps within these multiple relations of power. Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality, vol. I - An Introduction*. Hurley, R. (trans.). New York: Random House. 100.

<sup>9</sup> The cartography is catalogued as '*Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783.*' and can be found in Oporto Public and Municipal Library, under the reference C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35). The main label has written: "Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783. Os caracteres 1.2.3.4 mostram a base da parte de hum outeiro qe mandou arazar o governador qe foi desta fortaleza, fran.co Xavier henriques, com Muita pouca despeza da Fazenda Real, he Esta obra digna de Memoria. Como tão bem s outras M.tas mais qe. o dito Governador Mandou fazer com que ardentemente Servia a sua Magestade, seguindo o exemplo do Seu Incançavel Pay o Brigadeiro Henrique Carlos Henriques. Cada hum dos Baluartes deste Castello vai denotado como huma letra grande do Abecedario, e os Baluartes da Cidade com letra Pequena, como mostram as duas Colunas do Mesmo Abecedario virguladas a Esquerda dos Nomes dos dittos Baluartes. Debouchaido por João Gabriel Chermont cavalheiro de São Luiz [Ordem Real] Ten.te coronel engeniero em fevereiro de 1790." (Plan of the Fortress and City of Diu, which by order of Ill Hon D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza took the Captain Engineer João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783. The characters 1.2.3.4 show the foothill of a mountain that fran.co Xavier henriques, governor of this fortress, asked to be tear down, with very low expense of the Royal Treasury, and this work is worth to remember. As well as many others ordered by the same Governor to be made and that with which he ardently was at your Majesty's service, following the example of his tireless father the Brigadier Henrique Carlos Henriques. Each of the ramparts of this fortress is identified with a capital letter, and the ramparts of the city with a lower case so as to show the two columns of the alphabet with commas in the left of the names of the ramparts. Drawn by João Gabriel Dechermont knight from Saint Luiz, lieutenant colonel engineer in February 1790.). MS. Colour in paper. 461 x 677 mm. Petipé de 200 braças = 120 mm. The scale of the map was the handspan (*Braça*).

<sup>10</sup> See Diu's cartography, from *Távua* from Diu in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* by João de Castro in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (1538 - 1539) until Raquel Soeiro de Brito from 1959. Namelly, *inter alia*: *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783.* [Public Municipal Library of OPorto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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do indeed plead for such a fusion: disparate urban layout, an inextricable network of narrow, twisting streets (*cul-de-sacs*), and the dominance in the city of the mosque versus bazaar. Such a picture may border on caricature (in the past a slightly contemptuous one), but is it totally false? Only a thorough analysis of structures and fabrics would be able to affirm it and such an analysis is often difficult to undertake, however not in Diu, because old city maps (preceding the transformations of the twentieth century) and precise ones are extant or at least they are frequent, accessible and with barely one century of difference (1538, 1635, 1783-1790, 1833, 1959, until the cadastral survey dated from 1975 but still used today). A true study of urban fabrics is possible through the use of cadastral plans, since they alone reveal the parcel divisions which provide a truly intimate picture, which allow us to read the traces of earlier structures, to decrypt the land divisions, and to discover the ways houses were implanted. These cadastral plans have, however, appeared only in recent times (1975) and it is difficult to gain access to them, unless one visits the land registries of Diu.

In the seventeenth century, new urban generative elements of the colonial city emerged in a drawing of Diu [figure 2.2].<sup>11</sup> In fact, sixteenth-century sources differentiate between main streets, streets leading to quarters, and functional streets within the quarters. Some of these latter ones may, of course, be *cul-de-sacs*. First, structure streets in-between the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and the citadel were defined. Second, dimensions and hierarchy and final structure of streets were defined. Third, urban blocks were defined. The definition of urban blocks was made by the buildings such as the church, the governor's palace, the customs and military buildings and main urban spaces around them that defined an urban unit: building plus public space. Finally, street structure and geometric structure (no longer necessary) were erased. This last step highlighted the urban blocks and the main axis, a fundamental step towards a final stage of the urban grammar. In any case, to fully resolve the problem, we should use cadastral plans, or at least ancient plans representing land parcelling. Studies of urban fabrics (outside Europe) are scarce and those published on urban morphology limit themselves to exploiting plans where only streets and buildings are shown. Hence, it is impossible in Diu's case to know completely either the form of parcels (geometry, proportions), or the general network of parcel organization (known as 'generating lines' and their 'figures'). However, the lack of this type of complete plan for Diu (at least until the twentieth century) makes such a procedure contentious in this research.

From the outset, the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of Diu was expressed by different urban enclaves. Settlement patterns of Diu appear to have initially followed a hierarchical pattern. As colonial administrators, the Portuguese found it useful and necessary to manage Gujaratis through ascriptive corporate organizations and by corporate zoning enclaves (see chapter 3). The institution of *mazanias*, councils of elders became an effective model for community government and a tool to strengthen the communities' identity. The 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement developed to the east, between the citadel and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement which spread concentrically from the gates wall. The former was intended to house the Portuguese, the Eurasian native catholic and the Parsi population of the city. The last was the residential settlement for the city's indigenous inhabitants and was located between the outskirts of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the city wall. The wealthiest residents of the city resided in the core of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. The most prestigious residents of the city resided in-between the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the fortress. The colonial administration of the city was located in a riverine cluster of buildings in the north of the city that also contained

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<sup>11</sup> The drawing is part of the Codex CXV/X-2 authored by Pedro Barreto de Resende. It can be found in Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE) and in at the British Library (Sloane Ms. 197), London. Exhaustive and prolific analysis were made by Joaquim Santos and Sidh Mendiratta about it, which enabled understanding of the iconography importance as an historical source. That being said, we choose not to make an analysis of the same 1635 iconography 'step by step' (context, drawing, drawing codes, architectural depiction, urban depiction, comparison, etc.), that would not go further that what as already been done and especially concerning our path and thought throughout the dissertation.

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[Figure 4.5] Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783. [Oporto Public Municipal Library, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)]  
Courtesy: Oporto Public Municipal Library

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the customs house and the court. This difference of patterns between the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement and the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement would characterize the city’s subsequent history and change.

In the eighteenth century, new urban infrastructural elements of the colonial city happened in Diu with the initiative of refurbishing the port facilities in the year of 1782. Most likely, an outcome of these works arose in a survey of Diu started in 1783, which included data and cartography. [figure 2.2].<sup>12</sup> This cartography of Diu [figure 4.5]<sup>13</sup> informs very surely and details very accurately the colonial city. It followed the drawing dated from 1635 authored by Pedro Barreto de Resende [figure 2.2]. The authorship of the map was shared between two Portuguese military engineers: infantry lieutenant colonel engineer João Gabriel Dechermont,<sup>14</sup> henceforth Dechermont, and infantry captain engineer João António Sarmiento (1744 - ),<sup>15</sup> henceforth Sarmiento. The former drew it until February of 1790, based on a survey of the latter started in 1783 and commissioned by Frederico Guilherme de Sousa Holstein (1737-1790).<sup>16</sup> It does not make part of a broader collection of maps which could lead us to infer that it was part of a wider survey and data collection. The most important features of this cartography of Diu are first, the accuracy and detail that anticipates almost all data collection of the colonial city of Diu until today, and second and furthestmost important, the depiction of a “yellow dotted line” (as the author calls it) from channel to sea and splitting Diu in two parts, the city from the christians and the city from the *gentiles*, i.e. “curved line [...] that separates Christians from gentiles”<sup>17</sup> [figure 4.5].

This “yellow dotted line” is a representation of outstanding importance for the history of cartography and the history of the European colonial cities in India. It provides an essential insight into the practices and ideas of maps and map-making. The map questions what do ‘colonial’ maps represent by making a cartographic gaze of representation, starting a critique of cartographic reason, and situating pragmatics of maps and mapping as social practice. It gives on a wide range of anthropological and social theoretical implications, and theories of maps and cartography in a way without parallel in contemporary European cartography in India, to show how maps and map-making have shaped the spaces of European colonial cities in India. Going beyond the focus of traditional colonial cartography, the drawing is the example of the use of maps from the eighteenth century to the present, including its role in projects of the national and colonial state, emergent capitalism and the consciousness of science. It also considers the use of maps for military purposes, and very broadly maps Diu with coded modern conceptions of health, disease and social character. It was the drawing and the interpreting of this “yellow dotted line” that marked the cartographic impulse. What did it mean to draw and interpret a line, to make and use a map, to dwell in cartographic information?

The eighteenth century’s depiction of colonial Diu as a city divided between the ‘Gujarat’ and the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ settlements, rests on inadequate evidence regarding the fixed reading of the cartography

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<sup>12</sup> The drawing is part of the Codex CXV/X-2 authored by Pedro Barreto de Resende. It can be found in Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE) and in at the British Library (Sloane Ms. 197), London. Exhaustive and prolific analysis were made by Joaquim Santos and Sidh Mendiratta about it, which enabled understanding of the iconography importance as an historical source. That being said, we choose not to make an analysis of the same 1635 iconography ‘step by step’ (context, drawing, drawing codes, architectural depiction, urban depiction, comparison, etc.), that would not go further than what as already been done and especially concerning our path and thought throughout the dissertation.

<sup>13</sup> *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783.* [Public Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)].

<sup>14</sup> Dechermont was also author of profuse cartography, namely: *Planta da Fortaleza de Villa Nova de Milfontes, 1781*; *Planta da Ilha do Pessegueiro, vulgaremente chamada do mar, 1781. – 1.* He drew a map from the island of Diu dated of 1788 also available in Oporto Public Municipal Library: *Carta Tipográfica da Ilha de Diu. 1788.* [Public Municipal Library of Oporto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(42)]. Ms. Colour. 304 x 411 mm. Petipé de uma légua = 119mm.

He was also author of profuse cartography, namely: *Planta da Fortaleza de Villa Nova de Milfontes, 1781*; *Planta da Ilha do Pessegueiro, vulgaremente chamada do mar, 1781. – 1.*

<sup>15</sup> Infantry officer of the legion company of Royal Volunteers of Pondá, commanded by José Xavier de Carvalho.

<sup>16</sup> Governor of *Estado da Índia*, from 1779 until 1786.

<sup>17</sup> Translation from the original: “A Ligna Curva de Pontilhos e cor amarelos divide os christãos dos Gentilhos” [figure 4.5].

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of those dates (a reluctance to move between the urban scale and the architectural scale), and on the absence of critical analysis in reading the change in urban space over time. The depiction portrays Diu cut in two and the parting line did not embody or symbolize an effective physical boundary in the city. Instead, it was a moveable, porous and blurred delineation of the colonial city of Diu to Portuguese and Gujarati eyes. Apparently, for the Portuguese colonial administrators, the colonial city needed a physical protection from the Gujarat hinterland and concomitantly, the Portuguese needed a separation from the Gujaratis.<sup>18</sup> The line was not the consequence of a deliberate motivation to build a segregation barrier around the 'Gujarat' urban settlement that would have allowed the Gujaratis some individuality from the Portuguese administration and perhaps create a distinct urban identity or vice versa around the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement that would have allowed the Portuguese some autonomy from the Gujaratis and perhaps create a self-governing and prevalent urban identity. Both developments could have posed a threat to Diu as a colonial territory, as a place of trade and to the accumulation of wealth as consequence. The enclosure certainly could have been turned against the Portuguese, if there was an uprising or a direct conflict. A complete inclusion would have made social, economic and political control more difficult to enforce if Portuguese troops did not have clear lines of demarcation in case of disturbances or had their access restricted by passing through gates or if the Portuguese fleets did not have clear sight lines for military intervention. Finally, there was no official policing of a segregation line between 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement actually grew less consistent over time and Portuguese imperial and local governments did not pioneer tools later used in Portuguese empire for race and class segregation as peacetime, sanitation-driven building clearances or even forced removals. The tools of urban space melded since the seventeenth century and somewhat overtime until the end of Portuguese colonial presence in Diu.

Diu was a site of separate and competing knowledges riven by the divides of ethnicity. The evocation of the city as a place of incommensurable realities is faithful to the depiction of the city authored by Sarmiento and Dechermont. The relationship between residential location and social status depicted in the cartography reflects the social distance between social groups. Predating the research on urban spatial relations, the racial 'colour line' separating christians from the *gentiles*, shows the physical proximity of home and dwelling places, the way in which neighbourhoods group themselves and the contiguity of neighbourhoods is one of the main lines of action and communication across individuals and social groups. Despite their different characters, the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement formed the urban core of Diu, reflecting its common urban purpose.<sup>19</sup> Obviously, the degree of separation between the Gujarat and the Portuguese/catholic inhabitants varied according to the particularities of the context. The 'Gujarat' urban settlement and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement were far from being autonomous entities. The economic, political, and

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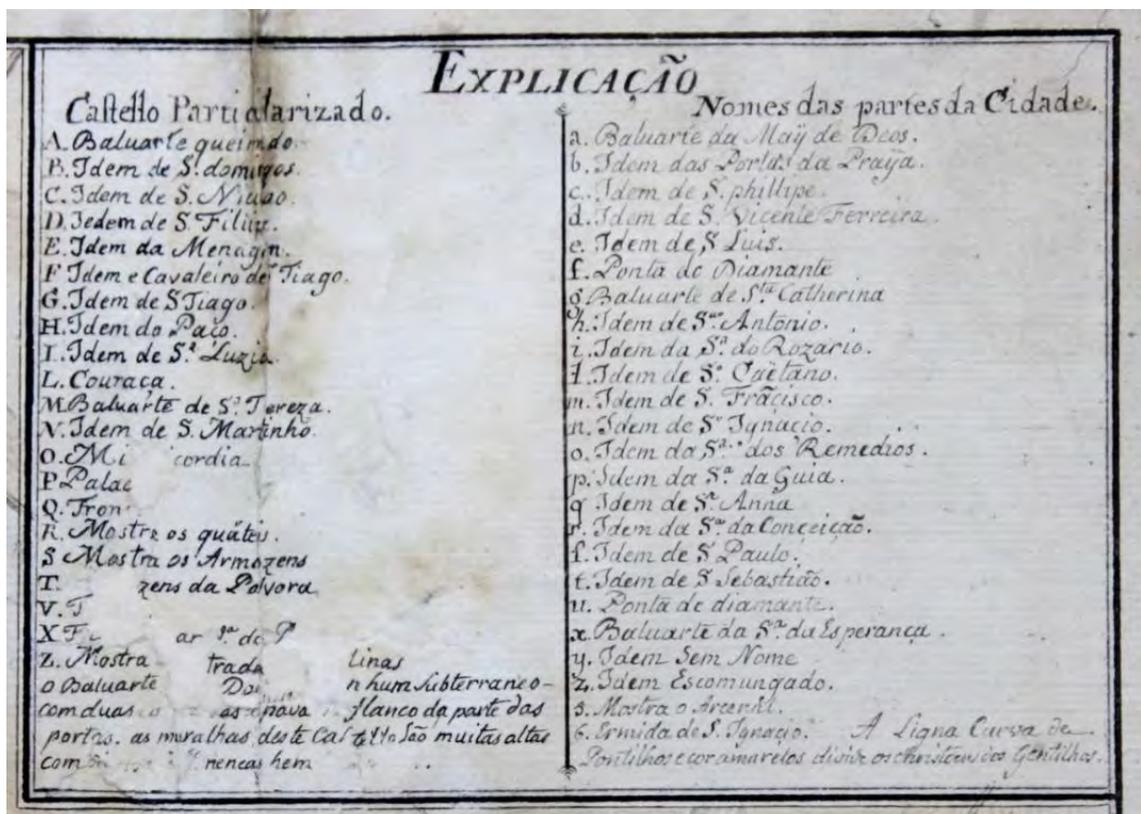
<sup>18</sup> Matos investigates how the different populations under the Portuguese colonial rule were represented within the context of the colonial Empire by examining the relationship between these representations and the meanings attached to the notion of 'race.' Colour, for example, an apparently objective criterion of classification, became a synonym or near-synonym for 'race,' a more abstract notion for which attempts were made to establish scientific credibility. Through her analysis of government documents and colonial propaganda, Matos employs an anthropological perspective to examine how the existence of racist theories, originating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, went on to inform the colonial policy in Portugal. Matos, Patrícia Ferraz de. 2013. *The colours of the empire: racialized representations during Portuguese colonialism*. Vol. 4 European Anthropology in Translations. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books.

<sup>19</sup> The same is the case with Lefebvre's theory: the instrumentalisation of the concept of centrality in the dominant practices of the production of space does not erase the struggles around centrality. The institutionalization of such concepts as centrality, and even more so to the right of the city, open up the possibility of struggle for the excluded to be heard.



[Figure 4.6] Detail from *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro Ioão Antonio Sarmiento. 1783.*

[Oporto Public Municipal Library 1783 HR - BPMP\_C-M&A-Pasta24(35)].  
 Courtesy: Oporto Public Municipal Library



[Figure 4.7] Detail from from *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro Ioão Antonio Sarmiento. 1783.*

[Oporto Public Municipal Library 1783 HR - BPMP\_C-M&A-Pasta24(35)].  
 Courtesy: Oporto Public Municipal Library

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social conditions of colonial culture infiltrated the insularity of both urban settlements, although at different levels and to varying degrees. The social division overriding all others, the divide between Portuguese and Gujaratis, was given concrete geographical expression, i.e. “curved line that separates Christians from gentiles”<sup>20</sup> as written in the label of the map. Although there were areas where a mixed population, hindus, jain, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics gathered as well as common urban places and shared streets, and although Diu was from the start a cosmopolitan and polyglot city, the distinction between east and west was clearly marked by ethnicity, class, gender, community, language and religion. That these divides would foster a vast enterprise of architectural and urban ‘translation’ is a given. Commerce and administration, religious activity and the rule of law, would require mediation, and so too would emerging architectural and urban spatial cultures that were an outcome of ‘cross-cultural’ contact<sup>21</sup> and result of cultural ‘translation.’

Military architecture was drawn and signalled in the cartography (with an uppercase for the citadel and lowercase for the wall). The demolitions which occurred during the seventeenth century in the vicinity of the fortress are identified with numbers from 1 to 4. Catholic places of worship (churches and chapels) were dyed by Dechermont with a darker colour. The legend on the map [figures 4.6 and 4.7] only regards the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement and labels the citadel “with detail” (*Castello Particularizado*) and “the names of parts of town” (*Nomes das partes da cidade*). Catholic buildings such as the churches and monasteries: Jesuits, former church of Eleven Thousand Virgins, today’s Saint Paul and Jesuit monastery of Holy Spirit (*colégio do Espírito Santo e igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição ou de São Paulo*);<sup>22</sup> Franciscans, church and monastery of Saint Francis (*igreja e mosteiro de São Francisco*) [figure 4.8];<sup>23</sup> Dominicans, church and monastery of Sain Dominic (*igreja e mosteiro de São Domingos*); Hospitalers, Royal Hospital and Saint John of God monastery (*Hospital Real e mosteiro de São João de Deus*)<sup>24</sup> all with its own surrounding monastery garden, Saint Thomas church (*igreja de São Tomé*)<sup>25</sup> and the church of Our

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<sup>20</sup> Translation from the original: “A Ligna Curva de Pontilhos e cor amarelos divide os christaons dos Gentilhos” [figure 4.5].

<sup>21</sup> About ‘cross-cultural’ contact, see chapter 1, section 4.

<sup>22</sup> The church was built between 1601 and 1606. The architectural design was made by Gaspar Soares, a Jesuit priest and architect. According to Diu’s epigraphy: “Aos 7 d’ Abril de 1601 no sabbado antes da Dominga de Passione o Governador desta Praça Duarte de Mello com o Reverendo Padre Vigario da Vara Manoel Fernandes lançarão a primeira pedra na Capella desta igreja que delineou o Padre Gaspar Soares da Companhia de Jesus, e pera lembrança se fez este padrão no anno de 1710.” (On the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, 1601, on the Saturday before the Sunday of the Passion, the governor of this city Duarte de Mello with the Reverend Priest Vicar Manoel Fernandes laid the first stone in the chapel of this church designed by Priest Gaspar Soares of the Society of Jesus, and this stone was made as remembrance in the year 1710). Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 41; Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. “Epigrafia de Diu,” Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 59. Gomes, Paulo Varela - “College of the Holy Spirit and Church of our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul, Convent and Church of Saint Francis.” in Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)] Vol. 3 Asia and Oceania, 127.

<sup>23</sup> According to Diu’s epigraphy: “FAMOSA AEDIFICAT POSTQUAM BABYLONIA TVRREM VT LABEFACTET OPVS DESERIT ASTRA DEVS AST VBI MIRA VIDET MATRI FABBRICATA SACELLA QVAE FACIS EXPENSIS, MAXINE NHAIA, TVIS, NON VT DESTRVERET SUPERA DESCENDIT AB ARCE ATTA, SED VT FAMAM TOLLAT IN ASTRA TVAM VIVAT ROMA, INQVIT, PETRO CONTENTO PATRONO ME MEVS HIC PETRVS NHAIS ECCE TENET 1593” Saint Francis church was built in 1593. See: Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865 *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 41; Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. “Epigrafia de Diu,” Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 59

<sup>24</sup> According to Rivara. he monastery was in ruins in 1841. See: Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 45.

<sup>25</sup> According to Diu’s epigraphy and above the main door of Saint Thomas church: “ARCHIEPISCOP. CONS. INDAPV. PRIMAS DNS. FRATER ALEXIVS MENEZIVS. Esta Igreja e Freguesia do Apostolo S. Thomé se Edificou no anno de 1598 por mandado do Senhor Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes Arcebispo Primaz pera os Christãos da Terra” (This Church and Parish of the Apostle Saint Thomas was built in the year 1598 by order of the Lord Bishop Fr. Aleixo de Menezes Prime Archbishop for Diu’s christians) was built in 1598. Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. “Epigrafia de Diu,” Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 63.

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Lady of Hope (*igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*), church and shelter of Saint Anne (*Recolhimento de Santa Ana*) and finally, the customs (*Alfândega*)<sup>26</sup> were all drawn and labelled on the map of Diu.

Though the Renaissance was epitomised in the most important architecture of Diu, the urban dimension of this intellectual movement was long neglected. The expectation was the evocation from Sarmento and Dechermont of the look and feel of the city. Diu was a colonial city planned to display the power and wealth of a proud Portuguese mercantile empire on the ascent. Its streets and civic buildings were built to demonstrate the political authority of the Portuguese. Its catholic buildings were erected as architectural tools of religious evangelization. Sarmento and Dechermont describe the few blocks that were placed strategically within easy proximity to one another and where stood the main architectures of power and knowledge. They marvel at the coherence of Diu's urban policy which places the citadel next to the administrative centre, making transparent the solidarity between the Portuguese administration institutions of trading and policing. The connections between colonial knowledge and colonial power are clearly displayed within the urban space of Diu and yet confined within a carefully protected zone of physical exclusiveness. This image of the unruly 'spill over' of the intellectual project of Diu into the precincts of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement brings into view the physical passage of people and ideas across the spaces of Diu, contrasting with squares and streets where administrative power was concentrated with the narrow laneways of the Gujarati neighbourhoods. The power of state and colonial administration was mediated through templates of urban space in the form of colonial administration buildings, port and pier, and religious buildings. And it sets up a discussion of Diu as a piercing of boundaries, a process of surprising reversals and the emergence of new architectural and urban forms.

While there were efforts by Diu's trade elite to try to become part of the colonial gentry, the related issue of the catholics being an aloof minority is adequately acknowledged through the interpretation of the cartography from the eighteenth century. By what mechanism did the architectural styles move from the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement to the 'Gujarat' urban settlement? Indeed, the very binary that the 1783-1790 cartography works hard to dismantle is drawn upon its own arguments. The map displays the power dominance of the colonists represented by the citadel providing the visible centre for military presence in the city and the cultural heterogeneity of Diu's urbanity represented by 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement patterns. Colonial and indigenous residential patterns reflected conspicuously different urban images, although this was much less pronounced in the early eighteenth century than it would become one century later as the later cartography would depict. It was the most important feature of the whole map and substantiates both Diu's confessional segregation and race integration and most clearly a differentiation between ethnic groups, contradicting the fundamental basis of a colonial culture.

A statement might be useful in relation to the other key concept present in this depicted formulation of the colonial city of Diu. Portuguese colonial rule in *Estado da Índia* was part of a much broader and rapidly developing system of power, governed by the demands of expanding Portuguese capital. The demand for markets and the competitive struggle for domination meant that Portugal was expanding in a range of directions, developing a complex network of economic and social interactions around the globe. Portugal was in short, becoming modern. By this we mean that as an political, commercial, and social force it was engaged in and by what Appadurai calls an increasingly "overlapping set of ecumenes" through which "congeries of money, commerce, conquest and

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<sup>26</sup> According to Diu's epigraphy the Customs buildings were refurbished in 1713.

"Sendo dignissimo Governador desta fortaleza o Senhor Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes mandou reedificar e murar de todo estas cazas da alfandega e mādovim no anno de 1713." (Being Honorable Governor of this fortress Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes the Customs houses and mādovim were rebuilt and walled in the year 1713). Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 20.

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[Figure 4.8] Church and monastery of Saint Francis, today's Diu hospital.

Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU). Reference: AHU L 1691. "Goa tal como a vi". Box 5. Number 404 "Igreja de São Francisco de Assis"

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Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU)

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migration began to create durable cross-societal bonds.”<sup>27</sup> As is suggested by these credentials, this was a phenomenon defined by mobility. The colonial encounter, then, may be understood as part of a broader model of encounter, that which as Appadurai argues is constitutive of modernity. Modernity was not confined to Portugal (or to Europe), or to the colonial moment. Rather, it was a long, uneven and multi-dimensional set of processes through which social, political and economic realities were transformed in the world on the move. Thus, for example, in early to mid eighteenth century India, social mobility increased, reflecting the dynamism of power relations towards the end of the Mughal period. The Maratha Empire was one of several flourishing kingdoms which expanded during this period. Expansion was accompanied by the development of powerful mercantile and banking castes as the *banyans* of Diu which took advantage of the new trading opportunities emerging in this era of commercial vitality (see chapter 3).<sup>28</sup> In addition, new technologies meant that new forms of communication became available, offering “new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds.”<sup>29</sup> As is implied in the previous chapter, these developments led to greater interactions between Diu, Africa and the subcontinent and beyond and so encouraged the emergence of supra-local identities. The activities of the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu*, undoubtedly contributed to these processes. Its presence in Diu was a feature of economic dynamism and social mobility, which was to become, of course, increasingly dominant. The development of new public architectural and urban spatial cultures was a critical feature of this period, as newly powerful social classes explored new ways of expressing power after mid eighteenth century in Diu.

It is important for our understanding of these issues, however, that we recognize the emerging colonial power as framed by these processes of developing modernity. The 1783-1790 cartography explores the process of knowledge production in and about Diu’s spatial cultures during the early modern periods. Disseminated through the networks of the early modern Portuguese empire (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), this process was inextricably connected to the expansion of catholicism and was geared to perpetuate political ambitions and cultural imaginary of the early modern catholic subjects in Diu.<sup>30</sup> The idea that Diu was largely a catholic township may seem partial. The aim of Sarmiento and Dechermont was to follow the path of knowledge production about Diu in the context of a decidedly catholic realm. Under different Portuguese kings, there were variations in accumulating, storing and usage of the map of imperial knowledge. These synchronised concepts of religion and urbanity only make sense within a western, basically christian, framework. As a part of the Portuguese imperial rule established in India inextricably connected to the expansion of catholicism, a ‘Catholic Orientalism’<sup>31</sup> was responsible for creating some epistemic apparatuses, in which several perceptions and concepts were first tested and developed in the European eastern empires. Moreover, if the very characterization of Indian traditions as

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<sup>27</sup> Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 26.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 3 for the Diu *Banyan* Trading Company (*Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu*) and about the British empire, see also Bayly, S. 1999. *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth century to the Modern Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 65-73.

<sup>29</sup> Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 26

<sup>30</sup> Initially the Portuguese intention was just trade and the accompanying missionaries served the religious need. After 1540 that mass conversions took place in other places of the Portuguese empire in India, except for Diu, principally by the stimulus given by the Trent Council. The major religious Orders of the Franciscans and others who came to India as part of the ecclesiastical system established their bases and engaged in evangelisation in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, for which they learned the local language, culture and traditions.

<sup>31</sup> This notion of ‘Catholic Orientalism’ and the process of knowledge production in and about South Asia in the early Portuguese empire was borrowed from Županov and Xavier. See: Županov, Ines G. and Xavier, Ângela Barreto. 2014. *Catholic Orientalism. Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Through a series of case studies, the authors chronicles the rise and the decline of the catholic knowledge of South Asia which had not been, at any point, only and simply “Portuguese.” Multiple sources, polyglot archives and actors moving ever more swiftly through space and time, with divided loyalties, often disregarding “national” divisions and wearing many different hats are at the heart of the narrative which starts at the turn of the sixteenth century and ends by the end of the eighteenth.

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religion by the Portuguese was problematic, we need to rethink the understanding of pressing problems as the clash over religious conversion and the communal conflict within Diu's spatial cultures. Accordingly, 'Catholic Orientalism' was expressed through mapping and cartography as essentially a means to make representation of urban space and gather information on various aspects of Diu's religion and urbanity. Its focus was on the effectiveness of accumulation and storage of knowledge for governance of local administration in Diu. It pointed out that great part of the information showed that besides religious matters, the empire's agents were interested in knowing and controlling Diu's urban 'resources' as well. However, from the mid-eighteenth century, other empires entered the scene and the gathering and sieving through the knowledge gained from various personnel was not exclusively the right of the Portuguese. This knowledge accumulated through agents and practices of that day was 'Catholic Orientalism' and would be latter questioned by the Protestant centred scenario of other European empires, as the British and Dutch in particular. 'Catholic Orientalism' was assimilated and discarded in the Sarmiento and Dechermont map, due to being tainted by unreasonable catholicism and being too close to the equally unreasonable Gujarati viewpoint. However, it raised fundamental questions such as: Is the concept of a city segregated by religion western? Do we need to develop an alternative concept of urbanity that allows us to also include non-western traditions with non-christian religions? Do Indian traditions like Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism form a different kind of religion? Did a new religion, namely Hinduism, come into being during the Portuguese colonial era? However, we are certain that during Portuguese colonial rule another city emerged in Diu.

Through the analysis of Sarmiento and Dechermont cartography we can investigate in what ways their cartographic imaginary proliferated spaces and the ways in which the people of Diu lived in the colonial city. That is, it is the very structure of architectural and urban spatial cultures – far from inscribing a single determinate 'yellow' line – draws and redraws Diu, erases and inscribes again, decodes and recodes, in a ceaseless and complex array of forms of deterritorialization and reterritorialization producing the multiple and shifting identities (or assemblages) of Diu. Predating Lefebvre seminal work, where he asked: "How many maps in the descriptive or geographical sense, might be needed to deal exhaustively with a given space, to code and recode all its meanings and contents?" and answered:

"Its is doubtfull whether a finite number can ever be given in answer to this sort of question. What are most likely confronted with here is a sort of instant infinity, a situation reminiscent of a Mondrian painting. It is not only the codes – the map's legend, the conventional signs of map-making and map-reading – that are liable to change, but also the objects represented, the lens through which they are viewed and the scale used. The idea that a small number of maps or even a single (and singular) map might be sufficient can only apply in a specialized area of study whose own self-affirmation depends on isolation from its context [...] We are confronted not by one social space but by many indeed, by an unlimited multiplicity or unaccountable set of social spaces..."<sup>32</sup>

In Diu's case, its architectural and urban spatial cultures besides the Sarmiento and Dechermont cartography from 1783-1790, there are 1538, 1635, 1789, 1833, 1959 and 1975 examples of descriptive - written and cartographical – maps of the colonial city which territorialize its people and spaces.

### **The *Relação do Povo Gentílico*, 1789**

As a bustling center of religious vibrancy, a place of five world religions such as hinduism, jainism, islam, christianity, and zoroastrianism, Diu should be of particular concern to the study of religious social capital and urbanization. Large scale social change is visible in Diu, with the reverberations of Diu's trade liberalization that happened since the Portuguese arrival, manifest in the colonial city. Three notable changes of concern in Diu

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<sup>32</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Nicholson-Smith, Donald (trans.). Oxford: Blackwell. 85.

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were, first, the swelling urban affluent classes, second, the changing in dynamics of social stratum, and finally, a rising number of Gujaratis living in the city. Building on the implications of qualitative work from colonial urbanism theories and about Diu, we aim to understand whether religious bonding social capital in Diu increased with urbanization and whether such increase was moderated by caste or social position. Religious bonding in Diu was fostered by urbanism (more populated environments intensify the solidarity and social involvement of cultures) and this association was stronger for upper social stratum. However, there is little evidence that social stratum similarly moderates the association between urbanism and religious bonding. Diu always had larger numbers of people from distinct social groups, and therefore, maintained institutions with cultural (including ethnic and religious groups) intensity - which included intra-group accessibility, communication and density - and which also encapsulated members in social networks composed with other cultures. Since from inception, Diu always had an urban environment culturally heterogeneous, its people were more likely to frequently meet other groups with which they are in rivalry, tension, or conflict. In light of these results, religious bonding in Diu might be better understood as rooted in the interaction of social dynamics and changes in the urban environment, rather than as a result of rising number of its inhabitants.

The duality of Diu's colonial architectural and urban spatial cultures gave rise to a map and to a text - two separate constructions of power and knowledge - both constituent elements of a dual and ambivalent representation of the city as consisting of opposing perceptions and dimensions. The social geography of Diu was placed in image (Sarmiento and Dechermont map and text, (1783-1790)) and latter in text through the *Relação do Povo Gentílico* (1789), henceforth *Relação*, to deliver a representation of the social order of the colonial city. The *Relação* was an attachment from "Diu's inscriptions," the epigraphy authored by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara and dated from 1789 ("List of gentiles with the names of each caste, spread over the bulwarks of this city's precinct to head with the weapons they have towards their places, if an attack happens. The warning signal will be two artillery shots. Made on 27<sup>th</sup> September of 1789").<sup>33</sup> These colonial constructs drew together not only forms, but also narratives and languages which became striking representations of Diu. Accordingly, the colonial presence remained ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference.<sup>34</sup> This must not be read as the reflection of given ethnic or cultural traits, since the social articulation of difference, from the Portuguese minority of Diu perspective, was a complex, on-going 'translation' that sought to authorize architectural and urban spatial hybridities emerging in moments of historical change in the city. Diu's colonial architectural and urban spatial cultures were not merely physical sites, but primarily locations from which representations issued.

A scrutiny of sources from the eighteenth century, suggests that caste demarcations were tolerated and even fostered in Diu, because they were especially useful for commercial interests and values. The ethnic response to political, economic and historical change in Diu's colonial society revealed caste as a crucial structural feature. The colonial state felt compelled to collect, organize and disseminate this information that would thus become available for the city's colonial life. For the Portuguese colonial administration, it was clear you could know a man by his caste and it should be the basic category used to organize the city's population. Not merely the relations of territorial influence but also those of production and assembly in Diu tended to be organised and penetrated by principles of kinship. The basic organisation of trade was monopolistic and considerations of caste and religious status were significant in determining access to that privilege. Changes in competition in trade from newly arriving

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<sup>33</sup> "Relação do Povo Gentílico com os nomes das suas Castas, repartido pelos baluartes do Recinto d'esta Praça, para acudirem nos seus lugares havendo qualquer rebate, com as armas que tiverem, cujo signal è de duas peças (sic) de Artilheria. Feita em 27 de Setembro de 1789." Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 49-54; Quadros, Jerónimo. 1899. *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia*. Nova-Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas. 84-86. The text is reproduced in the last pages of the dissertation.

<sup>34</sup> About the concept of ambivalence, see: Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge: London. 85-93.

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groups, deviations in the locus of economic activity and changes in the distribution of patronage could incite social conflicts expressed in ethnic rivalry. The frequency of conflict between different caste and religious sections at this time is also indicative of the economic imperative.

The *Relação* turn out to be a touchstone verification of the eighteenth century Diu's urban history. As a vehicle for the consolidation of Portuguese imperial ideology, the *Relação* converted the necessary means for the collection of Portuguese imperial knowledge, but hardly sufficient for the regulation of Portuguese colonial rule. Each entry in the list includes salient ethnographic knowledge such as caste origin, kinship structure, occupational profiles, marriage rituals, manner of dress and decoration, as well as assorted stories, observations, and accounts of each social group. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the obvious advantages to the Portuguese colonial administration in Diu of an accurate and well-arranged record of customs and the domestic and social relations of the various castes, the fundamental unit of Diu's social structure. The list identifies caste, ethnicity and religion in the vicinity of each bulwark of the city walls. It traces of how many members of each caste were capable of warfare (each rampart of the city wall should be defended from and external threat or attack by a specific caste). It identifies the most important member of a caste - the *mayoral* - by their given name. The status and conduct of the individuals were determined by the rules of the social group to which they belong, which come to be seen as distinguishing markers. No fewer than thirty three caste-based occupations practised in the city, many of which were highly specialized, were recognised as occurring in particular places and played a role in defending the closest bulwark. Therefore, the list epitomised caste and ethnicity in Diu's urban space, i.e. one specific caste, religion, and trade occupied one explicit urban space. Any modification of this space was resisted, as it was contingent upon caste. All the wall of Diu would have human defence and no bulwark would be left without assistance.

The *Relação* lead us to important inferences: first, the rise of caste<sup>35</sup> as the single most important trope for Diu's (and Indian) society; second, the complicity of anthropology Diu's project of colonial state formation; third, Diu's organized social relations through the principle of urban location in the city; and last, the colonial city of Diu as largely a creation of Portuguese commercial interests, yet, it provided a representation of the social order both in its architectural spatial cultures and arrangements and its social structure. The question that arises is: how did the Portuguese, as masters, designers and planners of Diu, tolerate division and segmentation on such a basis as caste? Furthermore, was Diu's colonial agenda the responsible to foster and intensify such demarcations?<sup>36</sup>

With the *Relação* we can explore the social geography of early Diu in order to ascertain how the administration did provide a representation of the city's social order. Once this has been established, a scrutiny of Portuguese sentiment and of statutory measures as found in historical documents would unfold the role of the Portuguese administration in stabilizing and even redefining demarcations and the caste structures within the city. The *Relação* was obviously designed as an easy reference work for colonial administrators, for the military authorities as well as revenue agents, magistrates, and work recruiters. If the ethnographic survey announced the pre-eminence of caste, it was the cartography that played the most important institutional role not only in providing the 'facts' but

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<sup>35</sup> First, 'caste' is taken here in the traditional sense, i.e., "an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of ethnic groups occupying a position superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with such other divisions." (see *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*). Secondly, we use 'caste' referring to a categorization peculiar to the Dravidian speaking parts of southern India except Malabar, namely, the growing of castes into two divisions (see "Right and left hand castes in South India" from Arjun Appadurai). Finally, and addressed in this section, it refers to the phenomenon of a 'colour-caste' which the social difference between 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the rest of the population. See: Kroeber, A. L. 1930. 'Caste.' In *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan. Vol 3. 254-257; Appadurai, Arjun. 1974. "Right and Left Hand castes in South India." In *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 11, 214-259; Adinarayan, S. P. 1964. *The Case of Colour*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House. 62.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps nowhere more fully than in Risley, Herbert H. 1915. *The People of India*. London: W. Thacker.

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also in installing caste as the fundamental unit of the social structure of Diu. All the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement of Diu was organized along language, race, religious, caste and class lines.

When conflict between caste-defined groups hardened into ethnic confrontations, the Portuguese administration had no sufficient power to arbitrate disputes about the proper position of groups within this order. The failure of Portuguese alien political rulers to operate in Diu the honours system satisfactorily, or at all consistently, can be seen to lie behind the near-continuous caste strife. Such kin-corporations carried specific and recognisable religious and caste designations, from which they derived Diu’s urban setting and social effective status within a community. Location of each caste-defined group in Diu’s urban geography, was in many ways ascriptively determined by membership of a corporate kinship body, which took responsibility for the transmission of skills, for the maintenance of craft, for the provision of welfare and the establishment of social discipline. The generality of this ethnic response reveals a crucial feature of the colonial urban society.

Since the social stratification of Diu’s society was based on caste, accordingly, urban pattern and urbanization of the city materialized this condition.<sup>37</sup> In the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement of Diu there were a number of localities dominated by certain social groups. Since mobility, either caste or occupational, was, generally speaking, restricted, there was little scope for achieved social statuses. Each caste was accepted to set up their buildings according to their own architectural traditions which inevitably resembled the island-rural building pattern. Each caste had its occupation and was permitted to settle in the neighbourhood allotted to it as did each description of professional activity. Accordingly, one caste made yarn, another dyed it, a third worked it into cloth, a fourth printed it, and the last financed the various stages of the work and ultimately sold the finished product. Consequently, Diu needed various castes in order to ensure manufacture, trade and revenue, which was obviously of interest to ensure the city’s life and prosperity.<sup>38</sup> As long as those who lived in the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement contributed to the economic prosperity of Diu, the Portuguese administration and population did not interfere with each caste life-style.

We find very clearly emphasized in Diu the concept of a place for commerce, and how it included multiple castes and professions. During the seventeenth century, power over the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement inhabitants lay in the hands of a few mercantile families in the city employed as agents of private traders, the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu* as explained in the previous chapter.<sup>39</sup> These upper caste *banyans* traders, shipowners and financiers which functioned as go-betweens, whether advancing money to the inhabitants of the city, or delivering the finished goods to Diu for shipment to the Indian Ocean, or sending goods to be marketed in the coast of Mozambique<sup>40</sup> occupied the city core of Diu, while lowest caste artisans resided in the periphery and the other inhabitants lived in-between. Accordingly, each neighbourhood (*mohalla*) in the city always had a dominant caste which owned the land and allowed no other to interfere. Each street (*gallis*) was associated with a particular religious and occupational group, or named after a particular temple or square (*chowks*). The majority of them, however, were known for the caste that either founded or predominated in the past. Before reaching the hands of the merchants, cloth woven in the city was dyed on the western limits of the settlement. To the south was the area where the

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<sup>37</sup> *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>38</sup> See: Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 49-54; Quadros, Jerónimo. 1899. *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia*. Nova-Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas. 84-86: “Relação do Povo Gentilico com os nomes das suas Castas, repartido pelos baluartes do Recinto d’esta Praça, para acudirem nos seus lugares havendo qualquer rebate, com as armas que tiverem, cujo signal è de duas peças (sic) de Artilheria. Feita em 27 de Setembro de 1789.” Also in *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>39</sup> Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

<sup>40</sup> Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

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hindu and muslim food processors, such as the fishermen, butchers, milk suppliers and oil-mongers resided. Boatmen, potters, barbers and manual labourers were increasingly attracted to the growing settlement near the port.<sup>41</sup>

The attempts to explain Diu's architectural and urban special cultures tend to simplify the historical and communal realities of the eighteenth century. The houses of the Portuguese, native catholics and Parsis in the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement were bounded by those of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, occupied by the Gujarati trading castes. Expansion of the city to the east was primarily demarcated by the Portuguese residential plots from the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement. The Portuguese were attracted to the new settlement by both the citadel's vicinity and the commercial facilities provided by the port. Its streets formed a distinct and identifiable pattern. The toponymy had only Portuguese and no Gujarati existences. The Portuguese set rules both to trace the main buildings and specially to locate the public space between the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and the citadel with in a sort of ring that circumscribes the overall existing city. All set of guidelines transmitted the relation between the city, its main buildings and from these with the squares. The derivation shows one way to insert each church and afterwards the associated open space. This grammar allows the location of one, two or three squares, and one of them can be generated without being related to a main building. Erase the streets structure and geometric structure was no longer necessary. This final step will highlight the urban neighborhoods and the main axis, a fundamental step towards the final stage of the urban grammar.

### Measuring Silences

As Spivak, has noted, "measuring silences" in colonial records is an important task to perform.<sup>42</sup> To understand the major role local inhabitants play in making the colonial city of Diu, we must learn to recognize the many ways that they presented themselves and also acknowledge the processes by which their contributions were obscured. The Portuguese and the Gujaratis viewed Diu in different ways and these alternate readings had consequences. Through the Portuguese eighteenth century eye, Diu was viewed in terms of religion, race, ethnicity and settlement pattern. The Gujaratis lived in the '*gentile*' town (or the 'Gujarat' urban settlement) - as the Portuguese named in 1789 and drew in 1790 - as densely populated and featured by its thick and intricate network of streets. Its urban coherence layed in each specific activity that took place in each space and mastered by each community. What was at stake was much beyond the processes of making the built environment, including obviously Western stylistic influences on local architecture, but the power that the colonial government had to selectively read the cultural landscapes created by local inhabitants, rendering the landscapes of the latter as potentially inconsequential. It is not clear as to how urban spaces and architecture became sites of contestations between the Portuguese and the Gujarati. Who claimed ownership of urban space of Diu? Was there any litigation in this respect? Was there evidence of clustering of settlements in this respect? How did Portuguese become 'white' when they were elsewhere, amongst visibly different populations, is a question answered at length?<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>42</sup> Spivak sets herself the task of reading "the social text of imperialism" in order to find out "what it refuses say," what is repressed. This "measuring [of] silences," then, for Spivak, becomes synonymous with an investigation and description of "the [...] *deviation*" from an ideal that is irreducibly differential". As Spivak illustrates in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" the "deviation" might take the form of a story or a piece of information that usually goes untold. Spivak, Gayatri Chakravarty. 1994. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Williams, Patrick and Chrisman, Laura (ed.). New York: Columbia University Press. 82.

<sup>43</sup> Said set forth the impact of orientalism in creating an interface between science, politics and culture to justify European superiority over the Other. Substantiation of racial difference on the basis of scientific evidence gained momentum during the colonial era. See his seminal work: Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Knopf. See also: Boxer, Charles R. 1963. *Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire, 1425-1825*. Oxford: Clarendon; Winthrop, Jordan. 1968. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Winthrop attempts to answer: what were the attitudes of

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Indeed, the idea of the separation of European and Gujarati spaces was more than a simple conceptual separation but also a physical one, demarcated by space, both notional and real. While the idea that Gujaratis were shaping urban landscape by a different agenda of power and social relations and would not be easily persuaded despite the financial benefit they could reap as traders is easily asserted. Neighbourhoods of caste and occupation were the more common pattern of Diu. It was more the retainers settled in clusters around their patrons. It is more difficult to provide systematic evidence that pecuniary interest was not a temptation for the locals in this urban milieu. The 'everyday experience' reinforces this separation.

Contrastingly, the Portuguese lived beyond the bazaar and close to the citadel in spacious and low-density environs. In contrast, the complex mapping of the city by Gujaratis included religious buildings, water tanks, caves, statues, stores, and other localities inhabited by Diu's diverse populations. Portuguese accounts, reveal a city seen through the eyes of an elite who rarely left their houses. On the other hand, accounts from Gujaratis reveal several locations important to the local citizenry, many away from the main road and some only approachable on foot. These alternate mappings of the city's divisions show us the very different ways in which people interpret, imagine, and experience the city. What is left out of colonial records of 1783-1790, 1789, 1833 and later (see chapter 5), is as important as what they contain because the 'silences' remind us of community boundaries and unrecorded voices, which have been ignored because they do not officially exist for the definition of architectural and urban spatial cultures of the colonial Diu. This nonlinear sense of Diu's urban history is important.

Diu, a periphery of the Portuguese empire in South Asia was by the nature of its implantation in the local political structures, always ready to bend and compromise on various issues – religious, political, economic. When they did not, it was usually at their own loss. Whether or not we can call it a 'strategic' cosmopolitanism is another question. Although the separation "curved line [...] that separates Christians from gentiles" was drawn in a cartography and in the city's mental map, both Gujarati and Portuguese commentaries noted the main cosmopolitan nature of Diu. The coexistence of Gujarati and Portuguese identities and hindu, jain, muslim, zoroastrian and catholic religious values inevitably generated contestation over space and norms related to matters as architecture and urbanism. The resolution of such conflicts was ultimately determined by power relations between all the groups in question. When there are several competing groups, the concentration of power by one of them replicates on a larger scale what was called caste dominance.<sup>44</sup> Power relations may also create marginal and excluded groups.

What this analysis of Diu has revealed is a tripartite urban form that evolved after the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to this date Diu was organized with the fortress as the major organizing principle. After, there was

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white men towards Negroes during the first two centuries of European and African settlement in what became the United States of America? ; Hannahford, Ivan. 1996. *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press and Woodrow Wilson Centre Press. Hannahford tracks the accumulating growth of knowledge over time, looking for those foundational shifts in thinking and in the organization of knowledge that contributed to a theory of race. In classical antiquity categorization of humanity by race did not exist, the ancients using instead a political archetype to order their world (citizens and barbarians). Nor was the religious archetype, categorization by faith, based on racial divisions. But from the twelfth century onward the racial archetype gradually developed out of a wide variety of sources that explained human differences as "based on [ideas of] blood, physiognomy, climate, land, soil, and language." Such thinking began to take specific shape in the seventeenth century and emerged conceptualized in the nineteenth. About the 'Portuguese-speaking world', see: Bethencourt, Francisco. 2013. *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Bethencourt's works to remove the essence attributed to ideas of race and replace that with a focus upon the political goals that have historically underlain the implementation of racist ideologies. Specifically, he focuses upon the European experience in the world at large, also through the colonial experience in Asia. See also Bethencourt, Francisco and Pearce, Adrian (ed.). 2012. *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>44</sup> A term used by Srinivas, M.N. 1959. "The Dominant Caste in Rampura." In *American Anthropologist*, 61/1: 1–16, to describe how a land-controlling caste group could control local life regardless of formal law or even its prescribed status in the caste system. Bernard Cohn dubbed the "early European Travelers (such as Duarte Barbosa)" and the "official view" of caste in his seminal 1968 essay "Notes on the Study of Indian Society and Culture." Caste was reduced to an array of reified physical essences (such as the 'nasal index') and enumerable census identities in an unchanging society. Cohn, Bernard S. .2007. "Notes on the Study of Indian Society and Culture." In *Structure and Change in Indian Society*. Singer, Milton and Cohn, Bernard S. (eds.). 5-6 and 15–17.

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a slow process of diffusion and decentralization that affected both the Portuguese and Gujarati populations and institutions, for the Portuguese and Gujarati elite begin to live and work in different locales. This urban form was characterized by Portuguese residential sectors with functions and forms that reflect Portuguese spatial and cultural concerns ('Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement), by Gujarati residential areas organized on the basis of their cultural orientations, with not one but several small ceremonial foci, and finally, by an administrative and commercial nexus now (according to 1783-1790 cartography) more loosely defined spatially than at an earlier period (according to 1635 iconography), but marked by catholic religious architecture and colonial administration buildings, and providing an 'in-between'<sup>45</sup> frontier area of interaction for the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements. This geography, then, reflects a prevalent urban paradigm in colonial India, and one which is inherently European (or Western), characterized by the parting of residence and work and an ideology of individualism becoming ubiquitous in the European (or Western) world.

### **'Where there is No Architect:' histories from vernacular architecture**

In the introduction to his book *Global Shadows*, the anthropologist James Ferguson describes an encounter with an inhabitant from a village in Africa, who built his house in the "European style."<sup>46</sup> Emanating from contemporary Western appreciation of local cultures and imperial nostalgia, Ferguson valued the vernacular architecture for its traditional craftsmanship, aesthetic rapport with the site, and environmental sustainability. Given the above, he was stunned at the person preference for a rectangular cement house, roofed with galvanized steel, over the vernacular round houses, made out of mud, stone, and thatched grass roofs. When asked about the choice, he turned the conversation away from architectural style and language and cultural identity to facts, enquiring the man how many rooms there were in his father's house. Following this tête-à-tête, it occurred to Ferguson that this preference was not simply a mere act of mimicry made by an uncritical consumer of Western architectural culture. Rather, he elucidates, the demand for a 'European' house was "a powerful claim to a chance for transformed conditions of life, a place-in-the-world, a standard of living." Or, as a step taken in "the direction we would like to move in."<sup>47</sup>

Literature on vernacular architecture in the non-West is often given to a romantic view of its picturesqueness. Observers looking in from the outside imagine an idealized coherence and a stasis that was not there, and from this perspective, breaks and changes become aberrations. This section focuses instead on transformation and learns from discontinuities in forms and their meanings rather than disdaining them. Contrary also to the comfort of linear chronologies of the development of urban form, the transformation of Diu's landscape from the picturesque to the dysfunctional occurred through a disarray of synchronic activities until the twenty first century - demolishing and building, disclaiming and appropriating, redefining and abandoning - all engaged in the building of the city. This text strives to understand the life and material conditions of existence of people living in Diu 'Gujarat' urban settlement since the eighteenth century. Somehow, the investigation and analysis of planned spaces for the allocation of the Gujarati population within the newly imposed Portuguese colonial order have systematically been ignored by the historiography of Portuguese architecture and urbanism.

We aim at pinpointing the importance and necessity of what this topic represents for a deeper understanding of the process of Diu's territorial structuring and of the construction of its colonial architectural and urban spatial

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<sup>45</sup> I borrow this concept from Bhabha. He gives significance to the interstitial spaces within and among individuals and cultures, which do not maintain a single position but form identities in an on-going process as 'in-between' spaces. See *inter alia*, Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 3-4; 2011. "Culture's In-Between." In Hall, Stuart and Gay du, Paul, (eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications. 53-60.

<sup>46</sup> Ferguson, James. 2006. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press. 18.

<sup>47</sup> Ferguson, James. 2006. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press. 19.

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cultures. We discuss the geographic location, the role of the 'Gujarat' urban settlements within Diu, their relationship to the Portuguese urban spaces, as well as some of their morphological and architectural features. Most observers see such unplanned settlements as a radical shift away from the groups' traditional rural homestead, some describing them as 'vernacular' since these are built from the materials coming from the surrounding environment. The research went beyond this perception and rather proposed that despite changes in the building forms, materials and techniques, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement of Diu is still - consciously or not - governed by Gujarati traditional architectural and urban rules.

A Western perspective prevailed in the historiography of Portuguese architecture and urbanism without considering simultaneously the interference of Portuguese colonization of Diu with the integration of other architectural and urban spatial cultures in the process of occupation and construction of a colonial territory, city and place. The concepts and theories pertaining to culture, ethnicity, and Otherness and the understanding of architecture and urbanism as a cultural, social and historical product leads to a break with traditional interpretations of contact in Diu between Gujarati people and European society. To validate this hypothesis, we try to understand and demonstrate the culture of the Gujaratis through the review of Diu's life and customs in the traditional setting. Then, we establish the evolutionary process of the Gujarat architecture, which was also (re)integrated not only in the history of Diu's architecture but also in the whole colonial architecture history's continuum. Next, we follow the description of the elements that have been found in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement of Diu, as well as in the dwellings and places that have been selected. Finally, from the analysis and contrast between architectural elements found in the squatter settlements selected and the traditional 'Gujarat' urban settlement of Diu setting it is concluded that the traditional Diu architectural spatial culture has survived until today in the 'Gujarat' settlement of Diu. Its persistence has been confirmed by field survey about the everyday activities, the rituals, the objects, the buildings and the spaces created, as well as in the way they are constructed, used or lived in.

For the period beyond 1500, some references on building in Gujarat have to be taken from literature.<sup>48</sup> The most interesting early references come from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.<sup>49</sup> Among the list of goods being traded with India cited there are, "Beams of wood. Exported from Barugaza (Broach) to the marts of Omana and Apologos." And again, "Logs of ebony. Exported from Barugaza [...]"<sup>50</sup> It seems probable that 'beams of wood' refer to the teak brought from the Deccan. Also Ibn Battuta who writes of Cambay, refers to the woodwork: "[...] one of the most beautiful cities as regards the artistic architecture of its houses [...] Among the grand buildings of the city is the house of Sharif as-Samiri [...] I have never seen stronger pieces of timber than those used in this house."<sup>51</sup> Wooden architecture was the dominant style in Saurashtra and the style it set was the model followed by North and South Gujarat. "Building timber is imported chiefly to Bhavnagar and Jodiya from Balser, Daman and Dahanu, and still more largely from the Malabar coast."<sup>52</sup> Note, as an illustration, the account of Coutinho about Diu:

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<sup>48</sup> The most proximate work about Gujarat is the *Srikumarapala Prabandha* of Jinamandana written about 1435, which contains material from an earlier work, the *Prabandhacintamani* of Merutunga written about 1304. The later refers to events in the twelfth century when the Chalukyan ruled over Gujarat, the first dynasty to erect stone temples in Gujarat, earlier temples and buildings being of wood and brick. See, Commissariat, Manekshah Sorabshah. 1938. *A history of Gujarat: including a survey of its chief architectural monuments and inscriptions*. Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. I, lx.

<sup>49</sup> *Periplus* is the work of a Greek navigator who wrote on trade with India. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; with some extracts from: . Huntingford, G. W. B. (ed.). 1980. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea; with some extracts from Agatharkhides "On the Erythraean sea."* Unknown author. London: Hakluyt Society.

<sup>50</sup> Huntingford, G. W. B. (ed.). 1980. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea; with some extracts from Agatharkhides "On the Erythraean sea."* Unknown author. London: Hakluyt Society. 107.

<sup>51</sup> Battuta, Ibn (1304-1369). 1976. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*. Husain, M. (transl.) Baroda: Oriental Institute. 173.

<sup>52</sup> Campbell, James MacNabb (1846-1903) and Enthoven Reginald Edward (1869-1952). 1879. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Gujarat Population, Muslims and Parsees*, Part I. Vol. VIII, Kathiawar. Bombay: Governmental Central Press. 94.

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as the town and island were forsaken by default of water in the fortress we could not sustain [the siege]. [...] One night a fire started inside the fortress, which began at the house of a single woman. As the majority of the houses were covered with straw, and the wind blew in such a small space, sixty houses were burned with all that was inside. [...] As the sounds of war began, he gave great activity to the fortress cistern and to the Rumes village bulwark. Therefore, in the 26th of June of that same year [1538] just before dawn Khoja Çofar assaulted with its four thousand the Rumes village bulwark.<sup>53</sup>

The British traveller Henry Briggs (1824-1872),<sup>54</sup> mentions the use of teak for ship-building at Surat in 1849 and adds a note on a Jain temple at Cambay: “The wooden pillars are curiously wrought, and the wooden ceiling exhibited an attempt at fretwork.”<sup>55</sup> Later in 1824, the bishop Reginald Heber (1783-1826),<sup>56</sup> travelling through Gujarat commented about Baroda: “houses [...] chiefly built of wood, which I had not seen for a long time, with tiled sloping roofs [...] The palace, which is a large shabby building, close to the street, four stories high, with wooden galleries projecting over each other, is quite a specimen.”<sup>57</sup> Heber’s observation indicates that the woodwork of Gujarat was indeed unusual and that the vernacular architecture was quite distinct. Finally, the French traveller Louis-Théophile Rousselet (1845-1929),<sup>58</sup> described what he saw in Baroda “the houses are nearly all of wood, and of that picturesque style peculiar to the territory of Goojerat.”<sup>59</sup> After passing through Kaira and noticing its houses “profusely adorned with wood-carvings” he arrived in Ahmedabad and noted that “the houses of the rich inhabitants are built of brick and wood and all display that aspect of originality which a profusion of balconies and small sculptured columns gives to the Goojerat houses. It is peculiar to Ahmedabad that these houses are never painted [...].”<sup>60</sup> The dominating and characteristic element in these houses was the woodwork. Wooden architecture refers to a system of construction in which wooden framing or wooden bonding was employed along with brick walls to form a composite structure. Another reason for focusing on the domestic historical architecture of Diu is that it is the scale and quality of its woodwork.

Oral evidence gathered during field surveys showed that some of Diu’s wooden houses still standing are, on the average, about 200 years old.<sup>61</sup> An attempt to reconstruct the quantum of wooden architecture which existed around 1800 can be made by observing the older quarters of Diu which have been least disturbed by demolition and renovation. There, the majority of houses applied wooden framing in a structural key way. One aspect of

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<sup>53</sup> “E que, como a dita cidade e ilha fosse desamparada pelo defeito de agua que na fortaleza havia, nos não poderíamos suster. (...) uma noite se levantou um fogo na dita fortaleza, o qual começou em casa de uma mulher solteira. E como grão parte das casas fossem cobertas de palha, e o vento áquella hora soprasse em pequeno espaço, queimou bem sessenta moradas de casas, com fazendas em muitas d’ellas. (...) como a guerra começou a soar, deu grande expediente á cisterna da fortaleza e ao baluarte da villa dos Rumes. Pois assim estando a vinte e seis de junho do dito anno uma antemanhã assaltou Coge Çofar com os seus quatro mil homens o baluarte da villa dos Rumes.” Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa. 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal. Bk. II, chap. I, 99.

<sup>54</sup> Henry Briggs was a mid-nineteenth century British traveller. He wrote in 1849, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, a book of travel in Gujarat, published *The Parsis or Modern Zardushtians* in 1852 and wrote an historical account of the Nizam in 1861.

<sup>55</sup> Briggs, Henry G. 1849. “The cities of Gujarashtra: their topography and history illustrated.” Bombay: Times Press.

<sup>56</sup> English bishop, traveller, man of letters and hymn-writer who, after working as a country parson served as the Bishop of Calcutta until his death.

<sup>57</sup> Heber, Reginald. 2011 (1829). *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Province of India, from Calcutta to Bombay*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Library Collection. Vol. III, 4.

<sup>58</sup> A writer, a traveller and a photography pioneer in India from 1864 until 1870. His photographic collection and travel book *L’Inde des Rajahs: Voyage Dans l’Inde Centrale* (1875) documented monuments, temples and court life.

<sup>59</sup> Rousselet, Louis-Théophile. 2010. *India and its Native Princes - Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal*. Oxford: Benediction classics. 88.

<sup>60</sup> Rousselet, Louis-Théophile. 2010. *India and its Native Princes - Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal*. Oxford: Benediction classics. 128.

<sup>61</sup> See: *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783*. [OPorto Public Municipal Library, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and also *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].



[Figure 4.9] Detail of Wooden architecture in carved door. Diu, 2014.

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Diu's vernacular architecture is that although it was extensive, in fact, only a few major variants of design were repeated. Whether Portuguese or Gujarati, some seventy per cent of the urban population in the city still inhabits traditional houses (however, this figure is rapidly decreasing in the last years). Thus, while one terminus in time of surviving wooden architecture in Diu is about the seventeenth century, the other is the early twentieth century because the last of these wooden buildings were constructed at that time. This could be divided into architectural categories in Diu depending upon the kind of load-bearing construction employed, namely: timber and wattle houses; mud houses, stone houses; brick houses and finally, half-timbered houses.

What makes the circumstances particularly interesting is that it was by no means natural for Diu to have an architecture in wood. There is no structural timber in the island, and therefore, timber was traded in over long distances by sea-carriage (especially from Daman). The timber employed was not merely a structural expedient but also a medium of display. The most customary house in Diu is made of timber and wattle and employs a framing of light timber to which walls of wattle coated with mud are attached. The roofs are of rough rafters, bamboo battens, thatch or country tiles. This house is primitive in design and is used by the majority of the ethnicities who inhabit the island and the city. Mud houses are present until today in rural housing and were once widely used throughout the island. Primitive and sub-standard, the mud house satisfies basic requirements, since it was cheap to construct and durable to utilize. With minor repairs and given a relatively dry climate, it can last for a long time.

Since Diu had a poor supply of structural timber, stone houses were also built in many parts of the city. There is a scarcity of fuel for brickmaking and the stony soil was suitable for constructing a mud house and casting bricks. Brick houses use load-bearing parts made solely of brick. These buildings were first constructed under Mughal influence and later during the colonial era. Half-timbered houses was extensively employed in buildings inside the walls in the urban core of Diu. Half-timbering was invariably utilized in Gujarat as urban prosperity developed and mud to brick construction as process changed over time. The urban house was in fact the model which every well-to-do villager sought to imitate. Contrastingly, rural houses adopted woodwork both for their structure and as a medium of display. The wooden, carved house had become a coveted status symbol in Diu and represents vernacular architecture in a major way.

### **Urban settlement pattern**

If we ignore towns which were merely garrison towns or pilgrim towns, and rate Diu as an archetypal Gujarat city, one in which productive activities were performed, that is, a commercial town, then the reason for its foundation must be to ensure that objective. In other words, such a city as Diu was founded to bring together trade, finance and manufacture, all of which brought in revenue to the ruler, whether Khalji, Tughluq, Gujarati, Mughal or Portuguese to a far greater extent than mere agriculture would. Diu's foundation procedure explains some of their most important social and architectural features. Diu was, in fact, deliberately founded, probably by those in political authority who also ensured its safety.

This apparent plan was in fact under muslim authorship. First, the city needed location, and therefore, a riverine site became preferable, that is, the town had to be near a river and on the edge of a route, such as the Indian Ocean.<sup>62</sup> Second, the city needed security guaranteed by fortifications. Accordingly, Diu was founded along with an enclosing wall and its moat fed by a perennial stream from the ocean. To the southwest, there was a palace<sup>63</sup> at a higher point, bordering the main street. The security of the palace was enhanced by the creation of an

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<sup>62</sup> Surat, Baruch, Baroda and Ahmedabad are also examples where both these conditions met.

<sup>63</sup> Depicted by João de Castro and described by João de Barros and detailed in chapter 1.

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elevation beyond the citadel walls. After the sixteenth century, the palace no longer persisted and Saint Thomas church replaced it. These four quadrants were settled in a very systematic way as the urban and demographic pattern shows throughout the Portuguese presence in Diu.

During the Khalji, Tughluq and Gujarat sultanate periods (1304-1572), muslims belonging to different ethnic groups such as the Bohras, Khojas, Arabs, Turks, Persians, Mamluks, Khorsanis and Turkomans<sup>64</sup> dominated Diu as merchants, preachers and builders while the hindus and the jains which were numerically so larger and professionally so strong, that they served as a backbone of the mercantile ethos of Diu. By this means, men of different castes and regions could come together and reside in adjoining places of the city. The wealthiest Gujarati residents unvaryingly had urban houses and the most architectural complex dwellings in the city and very large landholdings in rural areas of the island, even if they were engaged in trade in the city. Unsurprisingly, the lower categories of artisans and manual workers settled on the fringes of the city or perhaps even outside the wall. The architectural identity of Diu's settlement pattern in Diu cannot be explained by assuming that the latter was an extension of the former. On the other hand, the city always consisted of a multiplicity of castes and therefore the *puras*<sup>65</sup> were settled according to rural principles by people who knew no other settlement pattern. The city can thus be likened to an agglomeration of villages with each separate ward representing a village.

The historian of Gujarat Manekshah Commissariat (1881-1972),<sup>66</sup> making a reference to the seventeenth century social structure of the Gujarat cities, wrote "the high social position attained<sup>67</sup> [...] helps to prove that the hindu merchants and financiers of Gujarat<sup>68</sup> [...] enjoyed complete freedom to pursue their normal activities in trade and commerce, and to amass great wealth, even if they were debarred from the exercise of higher political and administrative functions."<sup>69</sup> He opines that the people of Gujarat must have enjoyed during the first half of the seventeenth century, on the whole, a satisfactory degree of material prosperity. The idea of money triggered their desire for solid position in society, and maintenance of a high social status for its inhabitants.

A walk through Diu will soon reveal that there is, and was, a large part of the core areas of the city where the hindus and the jains were the ones who inhabited, and that they had been probably there for centuries. It became inevitable that a noteworthy part of the city would be settled by them, as generally they were members of the upper castes. It must be remembered that during the Portuguese presence, trade, commerce, manufacture and banking were largely in the hands of hindus and jains who, from early times, had the capital and resources to pursue such activities. The hindu and the jain merchants, *sarrafs* and *sahukars* (moneychangers/moneylenders), brokers and artisans played a permanent role in the city's economy. They were very welcome into the city as they brought in revenue and accordingly, there must have been some kind of allotment of sites or areas for their various professions and activities. In accordance with this, it must be assumed that the areas now inhabited by hindus and jains were similarly allotted to them and as they gradually moved in, they came in organized groups and formed neighbourhoods in a systematic manner, identical to that by which a village was formed and grew. This made the way for a demographic situation, where upper castes would be strongly represented and lower castes living on

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<sup>64</sup> Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 2001. *O bazar e a Fortaleza em Moçambique. A Comunidade Baneane e a transformação do comércio Afro-Asiático (1686-1810)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon. 54.

<sup>65</sup> Neighbourhoods.

<sup>66</sup> His writings included major works of architectural history and a survey of its chief architectural monuments and inscriptions by Bahadur.

<sup>67</sup> By the merchant and financier from Ahmedabad, Shantidas Jawahari who was favoured by Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

<sup>68</sup> Especially in the major towns of the province.

<sup>69</sup> Commissariat, Manekshah Sorabshah. 1938. *A history of Gujarat: including a survey of its chief architectural monuments and inscriptions*. Introduction E. Denison. Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. II, 140.

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the urban fringes.<sup>70</sup> Barbosa refers several times to the jains and to their resourcefulness.<sup>71</sup> Barros mentions the common grouping of *baneane*, *banyan*, *banjan*, etc., for the hindu and jain mercantile castes since he was not aware of the caste system:

...Gujarat is populated by [...] natives of the same land, called Baneanes: some are *Bagançarijs*, who eat flesh and fish; and some [are] *Baneanes* [Jains] who do not eat anything that possesses [animate] life; others are *Resbutos* [Rajputs], who in ancient times were the noblemen of that land, [who are] also Gentiles; others [are] Moors called *Luteas*, who are natives from the place, newly converted to the sect of Mohamed; others are Moors who came from foreign parts and conquered the land, and expelled the *Resbutos*. [...]<sup>72</sup>

The architectural configuration of Diu's hindu and jain *puras*<sup>73</sup> represented in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement was the island village pattern of each of these social groups and was repeated many times over and over combined together into a larger *pura*. Its members were mostly from the upper castes, not necessarily related to each other, although within the smaller neighbourhoods one might find kinship groups or single-caste families together. Each group of buildings shared the same single entrance, had certain amenities which were managed in common, as for example the gate along with its guards and attendants, public toilets cleaned daily by scavengers, one or more common wells and a system of self-administration. It can be noticed that this common organization is actually a village system once practised in rural areas of the island by the dominant caste that controlled the village. Not only was the island village settlement pattern replicated in Diu but along with it, so was the village system of self-government. In short, these parts were not really 'urban' in character but merely a collection of 'villages' and this tells us much about urbanization itself.

Dozens of *burrin* (Varna) or castes inhabited the rest of the city of Diu.<sup>74</sup> Some areas of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement were settled by merchants who invited artisan castes to come and settle. Firstly, this settlement was inhabited by castes which had equal privileges of occupation; secondly, these castes were engaged in non-agricultural occupations, mainly manufacture and trade. On both counts, Diu was not in the hands of a single dominant caste with the same occupation. The dominant caste owned the land and prevented other castes from owning land or settling inside the city, except as inferior outsiders without rights. Other quadrants were occupied by the hindu and jain populations that still continue to inhabit Diu in large numbers. Thus, Diu did not present a very neat and orderly settlement as it was discerned in its early Portuguese cartography.

The 'Gujarat' urban settlement was fundamentally a place of trade nurtured long before the Portuguese presence in Diu. Although known before the arrival of the Portuguese, for its broad commercial activities, there was no provision for any permanent market place and commercial buildings, no place of adjudication, no place for public assembly, and no administration buildings. One would expect that at least a bazaar would have formed an urban space for trade with significant buildings. There was never anything comparable to the *suqs* of West Asia or markets of East Asia. The bazaar was merely an open ground around which petty traders and shopkeepers set up

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<sup>70</sup> Hindu and muslim artisans and food processors, such as the fishermen, butchers, milk suppliers and oil-mongers resided. Boatmen, potters, barbers and manual labourers were increasingly attracted to the port. See: *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>71</sup> Barbosa, Duarte, (1480-1521).1989. *The book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants... completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, Dames, Manuel Longworth (trans.). New Delhi: Asian Educational Series. 110-113.

<sup>72</sup> Barros, João de (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*. Dec. IV, bk. V, chap. I. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. 542-544.

<sup>73</sup> 'Pura' is a suffix meaning 'city' or 'urban settlement,' used in several place names across the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan, Iran and Southeast Asia. It is the oldest Sanskrit language word for 'city,' finds frequent mention in the Rigveda, one of the four canonical sacred texts of hinduism, most dating between c. 1500–1200 BCE. However, in later Vedic literature it also means fortified city, fortress or rampart. These days *pura* is often used for a *mohalla*.

<sup>74</sup> *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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their temporary stalls. A credible reason which militated against shops being established was the state of political insecurity which prevailed within inside the walls of Diu. Under such precarious circumstances, people preferred to live within their defensive enclaves and major commercial neighbourhoods never arose. There were stalls for *sarrafs* and *sahukars*, for unguents, for artisans, for gold, and another for silversmiths, etc. Each kind of goods had its separate market, where the duties of export, import, and sale were collected.

One would expect Diu's mercantile class to fare better as they were not so dependent on political expediency with the state that ruled in the city.<sup>75</sup> But circumstances went against this. The present layout does not indicate that there was a planned market in former times, in other words, what Diu had until the end of the eighteenth century was a poor arrangement, i.e. a copy of the weekly market.<sup>76</sup> The absence of regular shops of any worth has been noticed by many travellers. The fact is that costly goods were kept in warehouses, and when someone wished to buy anything he simply ordered a merchant to his residence for the purpose: "when we talk of bazaars [...] we must remember that there was little, if any, display of goods [...] Customers who had any status did not themselves come to the shops; they asked the dealer to come to them."<sup>77</sup>

The city's mercantile communities, despite their organized manner of settlement and inner system of administration developed particular buildings with specific architectural functions. However, the architectural spatial culture of Diu was very rich, prolific and numerous, the intermediate buildings which made urban life fertile was somehow missing. For example, from inception was established in Diu the obviously imported concept of a muslim *caravanserai* (see chapter 1, section about Castro's *Távoa de Diu*).<sup>78</sup> However, the hindus had no equivalent due to the nature of hindu commerce and manufacture which were carried out strictly within the domestic sphere. In short, none of the features which could be found in comparable cities from the same time period, which produced architectural works. There were community halls built in Diu - guild halls, or *mazanes* of *banyans*<sup>79</sup> - functioning more for caste purposes than for larger commercial activities and which have since disappeared. These commercial corpuses and their *sheths* enjoyed power and social difference that was reflected in architectural terms. Accordingly, the most important indigenous piece of architecture in the city of Diu is the *Nagarseth haveli*<sup>80</sup> [figures 3.2 and 4.12 to 4.14], a three storeys house of the *seth* with carved balconies, porticoes, elaborate arches, and stone lions impart ornament and located in *Makata Road*.

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<sup>75</sup> Whenever someone died, his property was immediately claimed as being a portion of the grant made by him to his subject and hence reverted upon his demise. This property could then be granted afresh to sons but equally to anyone else who was in greater favour. The same thing occurred if the person fell out of favour: his property was seized by royal command. M. Mujeeb described this situation, "[...] the assets of the hindu capitalist were safer than the wealth of the most powerful muslim nobleman. They could not be lost as a result of a court intrigue or fall from favour, and they could be passed on from father to son without being divided up or escheating to the royal treasury." Mujeeb, M. 1969. *The Indian Muslims*. London: George Allen & Unwin. 55.

John Ovington observed, "Indostan is entirely the possession of the Mogul's; who appoints himself heir to all his subjects; so that neither the widow, nor children of a general, can peremptorily challenge one piece after his decease, without the emperor's bounteous indulgence [...] Only for the encouragement of trade in cities and maritime towns, he dispenses with the merchants building their houses, and the property of them descending in their families; very few of them are allowed paternal inheritance." Ovington, John (1653-1731). 1994. *A voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. 87. This system of administration made the ownership of property (especially immovable) so insecure that obviously, no one would dare to invest in architecture, except tombs and mosques, for he was never sure of his sons inheriting it.

<sup>76</sup> Thus, when analysing Diu from inception, the most significant assertions about its architecture come from Castro's portrayal detailed in another chapter. *Távoa from Diu in Roteiro de Goa a Diu* by João de Castro in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (1538 - 1539).

<sup>77</sup> Mujeeb, M. 1969. *The Indian Muslims*. London: George Allen & Unwin. 215.

<sup>78</sup> *Távoa from Diu in Roteiro de Goa a Diu* by João de Castro in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (1538 - 1539).

<sup>79</sup> Gujarat has a long-established tradition of merchants' guild known as *mahajan* and artisans' association known as *panch* which have regulated trade and manufacture for at least a millennium. While artisans' associations were mostly coterminous with their caste or community, be they hindu or muslim, merchants were concurrently members of their caste association and their *mahajan* or trade association. *Mahajans* framed their own rules of membership and decided the norms of professional conduct for their members. Moreover, whenever necessary, the head or *sheth* of a *mahajan* intervened with rulers or their representatives to negotiate and settle specific issues related to their particular trade. During colonial time, the *mahajans* of Diu and their *sheths* enjoyed great power and prestige that was reflected in architectural terms.

<sup>80</sup> A word of Persian origin which denotes a great mansion associated with wealth status and size. In architectural terms, the *haveli* was merely a very grand version of the common urban house.

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[Figure 4.10] *Banyan house*, Diu, 2014.



[Figure 4.11] Balcony or *otlo* of *Banyan house*, Diu, 2014.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

The decay and destruction of medieval Diu after the seventeenth century was fundamentally an indication of an urban life as also of a system of governance which, except for some buildings, cared little for posterity, and civic architecture, or rather its absence, was the consequence. A commercially viable Diu collapsed due to several actions: first, the shift in commercial routes favouring the India peninsula (Delhi, Agra and Kashmir) due to the annexation of Gujarat by the Mughals in 1573; second, the Omani attack to Diu of 1668; third, the Maratha coercion which commenced in the eighteenth century;<sup>81</sup> and ultimately and more significantly, because the Portuguese discharged themselves from Diu's matters. All these events had consequences and ruined the town, so dependent was the city on the presence of a privileged and influential mercantile upper class society and colonial elite.

### **The Saurashtra, the north Gujarat, and the south 'Gujarat' urban settlement patterns**

The kingdoms in Saurashtra were constantly at war between them and the necessity of fortification happened virtually in every urban settlement. Urbanization came to Saurashtra later than it did to the remaining territory of Gujarat, which is a fact borne out by historical references. Towns of classical recognition such as Anahillapur (today Patan), Siddhapur (today Sidhpur), Bhrigukachha (today Bharuch) and Ahmedabad, were all in the north of Gujarat. Saurashtra has no counterpart. Diu, a city of Saurashtra, is of late foundation. Pre-modern Diu was a place characterized by a powerful feudalism where a fear of plunder cannot be explained merely by political unrest and stronger and more long-lasting influences must also have operated. Strong fortifications were built since inception and the fortified city was the outcome of more than a need for privacy or protection. They were, in fact, a means to survive in this hostile environment. Therefore, while the city had to look after itself and consequently made its houses into stronghold, the political authority provided the city with its fortress. Defence was primarily provided by the local chieftain and his men, the *thakur*, who could set up a village and guard it with a defensive arrangement. The chieftain resided in the centre of the village or town in his fort or *darbargadh* and effectively controlled its affairs. Within its fortified walls the *thakur*, gathered other castes which were settled not in the closely-formed self-contained unit of dwellings of the *khadki* but generally along straight streets without any elaborate street-gates.

Broadly speaking, there are four main types of urban settlement patterns in Gujarat: the Saurashtra, the north Gujarat, the south Gujarat and the tribal settlement patterns. Saurashtra's rural settlement pattern and rural house determined Diu's urban one, and the latter was mainly modified to suit the urban condition. In Diu, each urban settlement pattern maintains and uses space differently. It is interesting to find that the main factors which have influenced the different modes of urban settlement pattern are likely to have been occupational and sociological. All the communities are always either trading, agricultural or pastoral, i.e., a great part keep cattle. Thus, embedded within many urban houses was a virtually intact rural core and embedded within every urban condition was an effectively rural condition. Similarly, unchanging remnants of the island-rural life were embedded within the urban situation so that the dichotomy between island-rural and urban was for Diu, only superficial.

There are three different dwelling forms that originate the same number of urban settlement patterns in Diu's 'Gujarat' urban settlement. In the first settlement pattern, each dwelling forms a confined unit with an individual front yard enclosed within a wall, entered through a single gateway called a *delo* and this settlement will be referred to as the *delo*-type. A number of identical dwellings form rows along a street onto which each gateway opens. Due to the enclosing wall of every dwelling, each family is relatively isolated from its neighbours and security for the family and its dwelling was provided by the yard. Families are often of different castes and this reinforces the lack of interaction. Social interaction mainly occurs outside the house. This type of urban settlement

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<sup>81</sup> As Ahmedabad, Cambay and Surat also did.

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is shared with other cities in the Saurashtra peninsula of Gujarat. In the second settlement pattern, each dwelling is joined to the next by a shared party-wall and several such dwellings form a row. Each dwelling faces a similar opposite to it and both enclose a space in front, which resembles a street but which is, in fact, something like a joint enclosed courtyard of its own. To ensure privacy and security, the yard is closed off by a wall and by a gateway. The rear walls of the houses with no windows form a line. In both of these settlement patterns, the arrangement of the yard has a rapport with how cattle was kept.<sup>82</sup> With the ends closed off, there is a *cul-de-sac* guarded by a single gateway used by a large number of families. This gateway is known as a *khadki*, and the arrangement as the *khadki*-type.<sup>83</sup> The rule is that all the families of a *khadki* are of the same caste and have blood relations. *Khadkis* belonging to different castes may adjoin each other and may all open out onto a common closed street. Dominant castes inhabit *khadkis* in the city core, while the service castes inhabit the city's periphery. Social interaction is reinforced by kinship ties and by the common private space.<sup>84</sup> Such an arrangement is known as a *pol*, which is formed by a larger grouping of similar *khadkis* which communicated with each other through lanes all of which finally joined up in a larger road and it was here that a gateway stood enclosing the group of separate enclaves. Finally, in the last settlement pattern, each dwelling is joined to the next with a shared party-wall and a few dwellings form a long row. Two similar rows are not related to each other. They are haphazardly dispersed over the site and form neither streets nor *cul-de-sacs*. There are no enclosing walls around yards or courtyards and the only privacy available is within the house. Each separate row contains dwellings belonging to families which have descended from the ancestor who founded the row or who are otherwise related. Adjacent rows may well belong to different castes, but in such cases a distance is maintained. This type of urban settlement was founded in Diu mainly by the fisherman (*Kolis*) community.

By and large, field survey reveals an ethnic difference between the urban and the island-rural populations of Diu. While the former was made up of migrants, the latter was made up of indigenous people related to tribals. Some parts of Diu were indigenous and therefore reflected this character, that is to say, a pattern of narrow lanes forming self-contained enclaves, while other parts were deliberate foundations with a northern character with straight roads lined with row houses. Other parts of Diu had the latest influence from European architecture.<sup>85</sup> Also, *havelis*<sup>86</sup> were built belonging to wealthy Gujaratis and similar to the ones we found during field survey in concomitant inception cities from the north of Gujarat. However, the greater part of Diu displays a mixed settlement pattern and house arrangement, both northern and Saurashtra pattern. The first and more

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<sup>82</sup> Cattle-herding was traditionally an important occupation in the island of Diu, due to the poor soil and scanty rainfall. Herds were maintained by nomadic families which moved from one grazing ground to the next. Because of the dry climate, cattle could be kept out in the open all the year round. At night, each family stabled its herd within an adjoining enclosed yard which formed one unit with the dwelling. In the simplest case, the dwelling was made of brushwood and thatch and the enclosure of thorns. A number of such family units, each with its own enclosure and dwelling, would form a continuous row. Thus, the pastoral occupation determined the settlement pattern, and this has persisted even in some of the urban areas of the island. This indicates that the change from pastoralism to other occupations probably occurred gradually, with cattle-herding remaining a subsidiary activity.

<sup>83</sup> The Saurashtrian *delo* and the north *khadki* enabled the menfolk to go out knowing that their families could look after themselves behind a protective enclosure.

<sup>84</sup> In a study of the Patels of Kaira, Pocock states: "Descendants [...] have built together in such a manner that the backs of their houses constitute a wall around the whole which is entered by a gateway [...] In the past they were closed at night, thus creating a small fortress within the village. The whole village thus appears as a collection of such fortresses." He then adds, "In a few remaining *khadkis* [...] there still remain the little lodges on the right just inside the gates. There the head of the *khadki* used to sit and see who came and went, and there he could be visited by strangers who, without invitation, would not have been allowed to wander in the *khadki* lanes, especially when the men might be in the fields and the women alone at home [...]" Pocock, David F. 1972. *Kanbi and Patidar: Study of the Patidar Community of Gujarat*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 78.

<sup>85</sup> The well-known account of the foundation of the *Parsiwada* (Parsi neighbourhood) confirms this and is an example. The *Parsiwada* is located between the market square of Diu and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement of Diu.

<sup>86</sup> Traditional townhouse and mansions in India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh usually one with historical and architectural significance. The word *haveli* is derived from Arabic *haveli*, meaning 'partition' or 'private space' popularised under Mughal Empire and was devoid of any architectural affiliations.

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liable possible reason for this, is that these urban settlements grew up gradually over a period of time during which groups of migrants would come, buy and convert houses to their own use. Accordingly, Diu was regularly and increasingly urbanized by an influx of population and the original pattern of rows and intermediate spaces naturally tended to persist. The second reason possible reason is that migrants had to use native craftsmen for their dwellings and could thus only obtain indigenous houses with indigenous settlement patterns. Migrants to Diu - unlike other cities of Gujarat - did not come as a hostile occupying force but as traders and artisans and, therefore, their absorption into the local population must have been incremental and continuous. The adoption of an indigenous house form<sup>87</sup> and the incidence of Muslims in the midst of *Koli* neighbourhoods of Diu supports this.

All these coexistences validate that Diu's architectural spatial culture was hybrid and composite not only in-between Gujarat and Europe but also registered repetition and difference between Diu and contemporary urban settlements of Gujarat. Accordingly, the colonial city of Diu persisted ambivalent, split between local and Western influences, in processes of 'translation' that sought to authorize architectural and urban spatial hybridities emerging in moments of historical change.

### **The house of Diu**

Roughly speaking, houses were placed in Diu in rows at some distance apart without any relationship to each other. The frontage of one row frequently faced the back of another. When roads were made through open spaces, usually close to the front of a row, a large open space was left at the back of the opposite row. In due course, this was absorbed by the latter and enclosed with a wall and a back entrance. The width of the individual plot was narrow, and the extra area thus incorporated was also narrow with a great depth. These extremely narrow and unusually deep house plots are representative of Diu urban house.<sup>88</sup>

The usage of the spaces was conditioned by the fact that the deep plot of the dwelling created a distance between the front and the back a feature particularly noticeable in Diu. The ground floor of the house thus had various spaces with fairly clearly-defined functions. This meant that before the building of the house was begun, the number of spaces required arose from the system of framing employed. The interior of the urban dwelling on the whole kept the sub-divisions of the island-rural house with additional partitions which produced a few rooms in the central area. These were completely closed in with partitions and resembled cells. The front room could thus be used for visitors, clients, business and shop-keeping.

The house of Diu retained a tripartite sub-division of spaces. The triple division of the dwelling was complete with the *otlo* (front verandah/balcony/gallery), the *parsal* (central room) and the *ordo*<sup>89</sup> (room/back room), its three spatial basic units in sequence. The regularity and predictability of this partition with which it keeps recurring is proof of the power and solidness of the tradition. Once it had been established as a norm, every inhabitant who built did so with a preconception. The fact that this model was repeated over and over is quite noteworthy and indicates that its origin lay with a social group that had a dominant, consistent and extensive impact and influence in Diu.

Additions and modifications following plans and usages, were made because of functions which arose within the main occupations of the city: trade, manufacture, artisanship, fishing and herding. But despite this obvious

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<sup>87</sup> The flaw was that the entrance of the house often looked into the rear of the next row, i.e., into the area which required maximum privacy in a family. Another shortcoming was that the passage ran right through the house on one side and given the narrow width of the house, this left very little room for other usage. Again, the extreme depth of the dwelling made communication between the front and back inconvenient. Finally, since the row prevented lateral windows, the depth also made the central portion extremely dark and bad ventilated.

<sup>88</sup> The ratio is as high as 1:9.

<sup>89</sup> Room in Gujarati.

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functional difference between Diu and other urban settlements, there was a prevalence of similarity in other architectural usages. The functional differentiation made it necessary to have dual *ordos* from the very outset. One of the *ordos* could be permanently used for lying-in and its use tended to be mainly by women. The second *ordo* was used more by the men and by visitors. The *ordos* were adjacent to each other and privacy was notional rather than real.

The last step of architectural development of the dwelling was when the loft was extended towards the front of the dwelling to cover both *parsal* and *otlo*, thus producing a regular first floor. This, of course, needed adequate roof space both in the centre and at the two ends the roof had thus to be raised. The first floor of the dwelling basically repeated the spaces of the ground floor, except that the central space now extended over the verandah. Since this floor had developed out of the loft, it retained an inferior status.

These circumstances and spaces necessitated a change in the traditional house-plan. The tripartite unit was left undisturbed, in front of it a small open yard was kept intact, and a new unit was introduced. This consisted of a single room with its own front verandah or *otlo* facing the common space of the *khadki*<sup>90</sup> which now assumed the function of a lane. This layout had six parts in all: the three-part basic unit at the back (*ordo*, *parsal* and *reveshi*), the central courtyard - the *chowk* - and the new two-part front unit (*khadki* room and *otlo*). The new front unit comprised a room running the full width of the plot, with its own upper floor reached by its own stairs, plus a verandah, and was also called a *khadki*, probably because it served the same function, because it functioned like a gateway or barrier to halt strangers. The fact that no new term was devised to describe this architectural addition shows how entrenched the rural vocabulary was.

The archetypal *khadki* consists of a long open space (yard), lined on both sides by two-storeyed dwellings. One end of the yard is closed off and the other is guarded by a gateway. The ground floor had the *ordos* adjacent to the rear two rooms, in front of them and connecting them was a long single space, *parsal*, and to its front there was the verandah, the *otlo*, where the men gathered or slept. The upper or first floor had merely two spaces, one large one over the two *ordos*, the other extending over the *parsal* and verandah, and it was from the latter that steep stairs connected the two floors. The *ordos* contained the hearth. The *parsal* was where the daily tasks were performed, meals served and it was here that guests were received. The central yard functions as a circulation space (especially for women) for all the dwellings which open onto it, and provides stabling area for cattle. All important social functions were performed here. It is, in fact, an extension of the dwelling and has a semi-private character. Apart from the yard, there were no other common facilities. The *khadki* gateway being the formal entrance to the enclave, has status-value and was made in carved wood. The rear part of the dwelling, containing the hearth, was now fully closed off into the *ordo*. The central space was called *parsal* or front hall. The remaining verandah was called *otlo*.

Diu's urban life itself dealt with trade, manufacture, and commerce. The insularity of the city prevented other than those subjects under Portuguese rule from inhabiting it. Also, newcomers which arrived to trade could not be invited to places such as a shop, a guild hall or a public administration building, so they had to be allowed inside to visit the private dwelling causing constraints. Therefore, a section was added in front some distance away leaving an open space in-between. This forward-facing large room running the full width of the plot, with its own upper floor reached by its own stairs, plus a verandah, and was also called a *khadki*, probably because it served the same function, as a more formal 'entrance' beyond which a stranger should not cross. This *khadki*-room was the place where guests or customers were received in a more formal manner, it was also here where the artisans worked and from where they sold their goods. Urbanization and trade had led to the *khadki*-room being added.

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<sup>90</sup> The word *khadki* has been defined as being the part of the house which is built in front as the common space or land (to all these meanings is the sense of 'entry point') which links up a number of houses in a row and has a gateway or simply as a gateway.



[Figure 4.12] Street view of urban house, Makata road, Diu, 2014.

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The ground floor had become the place for business open to the gaze of every passerby, therefore not suitable for transactions where privacy was needed (jewellery, textiles and wholesale trade). With the increasing prosperity merchants, had begun to arrive who must have felt it inconvenient to be received in a place open to view from the street beyond. Such clients therefore were now conducted to the *khadki* first floor for a more private session and gradually this upper chamber began to be decorated as and upper *khadki*-room, now called *divankhanu*.<sup>91</sup> The *khadki*-room in front of the dwelling became a working place for the artisan and a negotiation place for the trader. Women were kept at a distance from this room. Its front *otlo* was narrow, since it no longer served as a place for casual visitors or cattle. At the same time the height of the plinth was raised substantially to give the house a more notable frontage. Since it was two-storeyed, additional stairs were provided which gave this block a separate circulation from that at the rear. The three-part back of the dwelling underwent no change. The inner/rear verandah was called *reveshi*.

This layout had six parts in all: the three-part at the back, the central courtyard or *chowk*, and the new two-part front unit. The courtyard appears for the first time in the house as a response to an architectural need in the urban house arising from commercialization.<sup>92</sup> The courtyard which was introduced was not within the house but between two distinct and separate units. It was a space which a stranger was not expected to cross, even though beyond it he could look into parts of the rear dwelling. The urban house had more interior space and could be used more flexibly. There was a clearly defined semi-public area in front and a private area at the back; the dividing line between the two was the inner edge of the *khadki*-room and beyond this was the line which a stranger was not expected to cross uninvited. The introduction of balconies overlooking the lane became an attribute of the urban house above the ground floor *otlo* and partly cantilevering beyond it, it ran the full width of the house. It resulted in re-arranging the stairs so that they were directly accessible from the *otlo* through a door. The client could go straight up to the premises without entering the house, and the main door could be used only for domestic purposes. The ground floor became private and clients could not look into it. A very effective separation of private and semi-private spaces was achieved. The *khadki*-room became an entrance lobby and was used for storage.

The *divankhanu* was an elite reception room. The *divankhanu* was used to meet gentry and wealthy men and symbolized the status and means of the owner/inhabitant of the house, which could be for example a rich merchant. The *divankhanu* had a front overlooking the street below provided with fenestration, thus giving both the elevation of the house and its interiors a more complex space and a sociability place to assemble and watch. Apart from this, the *divankhanu* had ornamented interiors with wooden panels and were further enhanced by adding wood carvings to the exterior front and carving the wooden columns of the inner courtyard, the verandah and the entrance door, giving the entire facade a magnificent and imposing appearance. Whereas previously the men mainly occupied the ground floor front *khadki*-room, they now assembled and received clients in the upstairs *divankhanu*. The decor and the wood carvings of the house were not meant for the family to enjoy, but to display status to visitors.

Consequently, the first floor, till then a standard area gained in status. The ground floor was used for more intimate and ritual ceremonies and the first floor for more informal gatherings. The presence of a *divankhanu* in the upper floor to some extent made changes in the hierarchy of architectural spaces and was a feature of social status. The hearth was no longer where the prestige lay, nor in the *parsal* where the menfolk ate, it was now in the upper *divankhanu*. Although not clearly stated, it seems that in urban mercantile houses, the upper first floor was now the status bearing area. It became virtually a 'living room.' This did not detract from the importance of

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<sup>91</sup> This word is of Persian derivation, it was used by the Mughals, and meant an reception hall.

<sup>92</sup> The 'courtyard' is used for an inner space open to the sky, and the 'yard' for an open space in front.

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the ground floor, because the hearth remained firmly anchored there, but it made the relationship between the two floors a significant ambivalence only found in Gujarat architecture of Diu. The house may now, for the first time, be said to have become truly 'urbanized'.

There was no gradation in privacy from front to back. There were only two zones, in fact, one semi-public in front with the rest of the house being private. The threshold where the private area begins is the door to the passage from the front room. One curious difference is that the kitchen (*rasodu*) is pushed out into a shed at the back and is thus deprived of its usual important location within a Hindu household. This devaluation, dictated by necessity, and was present in some Parsi houses [figures 4.15 and 4.16]. The Parsi community, on account of its prosperity, exercised great influence in Diu. Traditionally, the Parsis, as well as the Portuguese and richer *banyans* families retained domestic servants as cooks.<sup>93</sup>

### **The *Haveli* or urban courtyard House**<sup>94</sup>

The house became more complex and a more at ease place to live in. The *haveli* is the ultimate stage of development of the urban house associated with size versus inhabitant status and wealth.<sup>95</sup> The *havelis* belonged to the most prominent and wealthiest Hindu and Jain merchant families of Diu under early Portuguese rule which had prosperity to display and desire for ostentation. The most exceptional occurrence is the *Nagarseth haveli* [figures 3.2 and 4.12 to 4.14].<sup>96</sup> The difference between the *haveli* and the common urban house was one of degree, not of kind. The *havelis* were urban houses enlarged by accretions, not by redesign. All the architectural features which formed the repertoire of the craftsman were re-introduced, only in larger number and greater dimensions. However, it can be seen that nothing really innovative was added to the architecture. Any subsequent development of the Diu house occurred through a duplication of units. The changes which did eventually occur, and they came about were those derived from Portuguese architecture.

The *haveli* became a self-contained unit with an individual front yard enclosed within a wall, entered through a single gateway called *delo* and isolated from its immediate neighbours. Since neighboring families are often of different castes, this reinforces the lack of interaction. Due to the enclosing wall of every dwelling, each family is relatively isolated from its neighbours and while inner privacy is heightened, social interaction mainly occurs outside the house. The house consisted of a dwelling situated to one side at right angles to the street and a yard enclosed by a high wall. The house had a greater width and a narrow depth. The entrance was through a single gateway opening onto the street. Urban security meant not only protection from outside attack, but from inner-city strife and plunder.<sup>97</sup>

As in previous designs, the increase in size of the *haveli* was achieved by duplicating parts. Instead of the single *ordo*, two or more were placed adjacent to each other. The standard was two and this became very common among the wealthier families of Diu. The *ordo* was followed by the last feature of the *haveli*, the *parsal*, a single transition space running the full width of the house, which was the same depth but twice the width of the usual *parsal*, which made numerous other useful changes possible. Also, entry into the kitchen (*rasodu*) was now possible

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<sup>93</sup> It would seem that the devaluation of the kitchen was a direct outcome of this.

<sup>94</sup> A word of Persian origin which denotes a great mansion associated with wealth status and size. In architectural terms the *haveli* was merely a very grand version of the common urban house.

<sup>95</sup> The absence of new functions may appear improbable but, whenever a civic function did arise, it was fulfilled within the existing form of domestic architecture. Thus, field research located two 'treasuries' of bankers which were maintained in their residences, two 'mints' where coins were stored in residences (one of them of the Bharat bhai family, Panchvati road, Diu; the other of the Tankshal family - the name itself means 'coin' from *tanka* - in Haja Patelni Pol, Ahmedabad).

<sup>96</sup> When the merchants of Diu held an important gathering, it took place in some of the houses of Panchvati road, as there was no separate guild hall for the purpose. Thus, new functions called forth no new architectural forms.

<sup>97</sup> Each *delo* family had to fend for itself and it could do so because of the urban security offered by the presence of the *thakur's* retainers.

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from the *parsal*. This entrance that was earlier from the exposed front verandah shifted. Finally, the stairs could also be removed from the rear verandah. This duplication was convenient for the partition the dwelling.

Before it came the *reveshi* or inner/rear verandah passage, which continued all round the *chowk*. The *chowk* also extended the full width of the house and where there were more than two *ordos* it became a very large open space. The kitchen (*rasodu*) and water storage room (*paniaru*) were on one side and an additional room, the *puja* room, appeared. The *khadki*-block either had a single space extending the full width of the house, or was divided in two. In that case one room became the entrance lobby and the other a storage room or office. The front verandah or *otlo* also extended the full width. However, there were two parts of the house, the yard and the *delo* which could not be partitioned. Instead of one single *ordo*, more could be placed adjacent to each other.

The first floor of the dwelling was nearly a duplication of the ground floor, except that the front room was larger since it now also extended over the verandah. The duplication made it possible to design a partitionable house. In this case, each width replicated all the elementary features of the central part of a single dwelling: the rooms, the passage/corridors, and the stairs. The front and back areas had originally been continuous spaces, but as partition had already taken place here, we find the intervening walls were extended to make four complete, independent dwellings. The verandah had not been partitioned, and the well was still used in common. Here it is interesting to see how the elementary urban house-plan is adhered to with great tenacity, and with no thought whatsoever to innovation.

All the spaces in the dwelling were strung out in a linear fashion with no nucleus for social gathering. The front and back, separated by a distance, had equal importance. Although the dwelling now had a double width, partitions were not placed in order to substantially widen each space and remained fixed to the structural system of columns. Accordingly, the width of the rooms was thus the same as the width of the circulation space. This could not be used for anything but circulation and the stairs were now shifted into it, with the space originally occupied by the stairs becoming an additional room. The kitchen shed was not repeated.

The first addition made to the dwelling was a loft (*mala*) at the rear. This was a spatial change that altered the previous interior space into one with a two-storey arrangement at the back and a high, central, single-storey space in the centre.<sup>98</sup> The loft was extended towards the front of the dwelling to cover both *parsal* and *otlo*, thus producing a first floor. This floor of the dwelling repeated the spaces of the ground floor, except that the central space now extended over the verandah. This floor developed out of the loft and retained inferior social status. The dwelling was partitioned horizontally, retaining common stairs and entry. The first floor was used the same way as the ground floor. No architectural provision was generally made for this.

Both parts of the house were connected by a covered passage. The passage was used as a kitchen (*rasodu*) and for water storage (*paniaru*). The kitchen, formerly in the rear *ordo*, was shifted to one corner of the inner verandah and closed off with partition walls had the entrance from within the *parsal* so that privacy was maintained. This enabled a woman to cook without being seen at all, plus it allowed smoke to escape out to the courtyard. This positioning of the kitchen became possible only with the introduction of the *chowk* as a barrier to strangers. This way to preserve privacy seems to be typically hindu and arose from the needs of the congested joint family. The portion of the *parsal* adjacent to the newly located kitchen became more clearly demarcated as a dining area and in some houses it had a slightly raised floor forming a platform giving it a ritual character. Deprived of its hearth, the *ordo* was now reduced to a store room and a womens sleeping area. On the same side, rooms were added along the courtyard and joining the two parts, one for water storage, the other for bathing and a well. Additions were made in order to link the two-part front and the three-part rear of the house separated by the *chowk*.

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<sup>98</sup> In the urban house it is precisely at this spot that the stairs are placed.



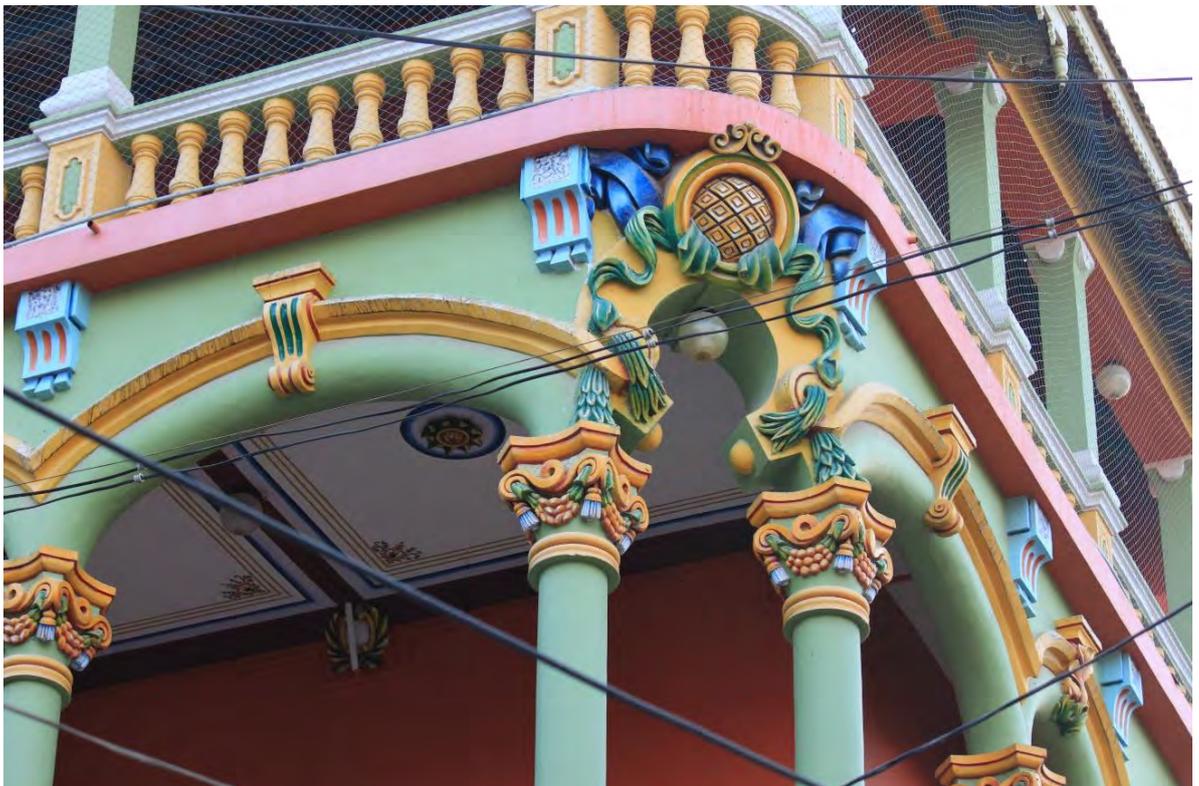
[Figure 4.13] *Nagareth Haveli*, Makata road, Diu, 2014.

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[Figure 4.14] Detail of *Nagarseth Haveli*, Makata road, Diu, 2014.

Before it, came the inner circulation and verandah or *reveshi* which continued all around the *chowk*. The *reveshi* became a general-purpose space and circulation area connecting the *parsal* and kitchen to the front of the dwelling via the side passage. The *chowk* also extended the full width of the house and where there were more than two *ordos* it became a large open space. The *chowk* was used by the women for cleaning, bathing, drying and became a valuable extension of the dwelling for the women. The men used the *chowk* for sleeping during dry weather (the women could use either the *reveshi* or the *parsal*), and in bad weather they could shift into the two-part front. Extra side rooms were added as a bathroom and a prayer room and a connecting passage on the opposite side. Again, island-rural life was adapted to urban situation. An additional feature, found only in some families, was the provision of a wall-niche where the domestic deities were kept and before which the head of the family would perform his daily prayers. This association of the *puja*<sup>99</sup> with the hearth/dining area is because they require purified and ritually protected areas. With these important functional changes, the urban house reached its stage of spatial development. The ground floor now had eight parts altogether: the three-part rear, the two-part front, the central *chowk*, and two extra rooms on one side of it. On the first floor the spaces of the three and two-part ground plan were repeated except for the verandahs which were incorporated. The two sides of the *chowk* had flat terraces which linked the front and the back.



[Figure 4.15] Detail of *Nagarseth Haveli*, Makata road, Diu, 2014.

<sup>99</sup> Prayer ritual performed by hindus to host, honour and worship one or more deities, or to spiritually celebrate an event. It may honour or celebrate the presence of special guest(s), or their memories after they pass away. In hinduism, the ritual is done on a variety of occasions, frequency and settings. It may include daily *puja* done in the home, to occasional temple ceremonies and annual festivals, to few lifetime events such as birth of a baby or a wedding, or to begin a new venture.

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The *havelis* occupied two to three times the urban plot, and some had three to four storeys, but the increase in size was not accomplished by any architectural innovation, but simply by duplicating the traditional parts of a common house in where we observe the persistence of a rural house plan even in the most aristocratic of urban buildings. Urbanization brought to the *haveli* an internal courtyard and a front *khadki*-block, introduced due to a need for domestic privacy from clients. The entrance gateway or *delo* was developed, enlarged and even made two-storeyed and served as a place for business, shop-keeping or artisanship. Thus, there was no formal provision for bringing clients into the house. What finally emerged was a block using the first floor as a small reception room for visitors.<sup>100</sup> Diu's feudal chieftains made a point of emphasizing their entrance *delos* as a status symbols. The solution found in the *haveli* for commercial usage appeared in buildings designed as shops without residential parts added to them. In this case, the *delo* was a gateway rather than as a place for clients. A space called *purja*, opposite to the *delo*, at the rear of the yard was added to the yard to receive visitors. It was used to accommodate the retainers employed by administrators.

The *kacheri* was a building closely linked with the residential dwelling, yet related with profession and administration. Revenue matters, legal cases and allied disputes were a common practice and made by a middle-man who collected fiscal revenue. To carry out the middle-man administrative duties an office and some personnel were required for the *kacheri*. Initially the *kacheri* was the revenue farmer's own front *khadki* room for legal cases and allied disputes, but as he became prosperous it was necessary to construct a separate building adjoining his house for the purpose. It appears that it generally followed quite different architectural principles from those which prevailed in the indigenous buildings. The *kacheri* rested on a high stone plinth and was a columned hall, repeated over two storeys, open to one side. The roof of the building was flat with one or two small pavilions. A striking feature of the *kacheri* was the paucity of carvings, normally an part of the indigenous architecture and present in profusion in the adjoining *haveli* of the same owner.

The difference between the *haveli* and the common urban house was one of degree, not of kind, i.e., quantitative, not qualitative. Nothing fundamentally new was added. The changes which did eventually occur were those derived from other places with Gujarati settlers in the rest of the Portuguese empire. Artisans concerned with architecture were restricted to a compass of experience and all they could do was to work more skilfully with solutions already codified and accepted. What was missing was the Gujarati capacity to innovate. Only the *divankhanu* underwent important change and among wealthy families it became splendidly decorated. The woodwork in such *havelis* was ornate and carvings were added to balconies, columns and struts, both in front and around the central courtyard. The effect was heightened by the colours applied to the woodwork and walls, and such decorative features, particularly around the courtyard, were striking. The themes employed in the carvings were figural and floral or geometrical. The figural work was hindu and comprised motifs which appeared repeatedly in hindu and jain houses.<sup>101</sup> The areas of maximum display were the street frontage, the courtyard and the *divankhanu*. The *parsal* was treated more modestly since it mainly received female visitors. Surprisingly, both the *ordo* and the front *khadki*-room had no decoration at all, revealing that the purely personal rooms (*ordos*) and place of business (*khadki*-room) were not considered important enough to warrant decoration. This proves that decoration was looked upon as being representational.

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<sup>100</sup>Identical to the *khadki*-gateway of North Gujarat.

<sup>101</sup> These include *apsaras* (water-spirits) playing musical instruments, composite beasts (part elephant, part lion, part bird, etc.) and rows of elephant heads interspersed with birds.

### **The Parsis in Diu**

The zoroastrians<sup>102</sup> of Diu (and India) came to be known as Parsis, i.e.,<sup>103</sup> ‘Persians’, inhabitants of the Iranian province of Persis (today Fars) and as their name implies, the sense of their ancestral past remains relevant. In fact, they fit all the other criteria of dispersal from an original homeland, a collective memory and myth about that homeland and its idealization, a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time, a solidarity with co-ethnic members and enriching host societies and last but not least a diasporic people and nation.<sup>104</sup>

The Parsis have always been part of Diu’s population until the end of the twentieth century. The Parsis traced their ancestry and religious identity to pre-islamic zoroastrian Iran (pre-651 C.E.). The zoroastrians migrated on the coast of north-west India probably as early as the eighth century, in face of islamic persecution after the Arab conquest of Iran in the seventh century. The zoroastrian presence in Diu goes back to the early days of their migration to India. The history of the Parsis from their arrival to Diu prior to their settlement in other places in India, a period of perhaps as much as a thousand years, was reinterpreted and downplayed by Portuguese historiography in comparison to the history of the Parsis during their heyday in the rest of India, particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Parsis in India pass through key phases that witness them develop from an insular group in Diu to a community of pluralistic outlook based in Mumbai. Their presence in Diu, with the exception of a few sparse references, is almost absent in Portuguese historiography of architecture and urbanism and continued tempered by forces that resisted homogeneity and a singular authoritarian ‘Western’ encoding of space. This could be due to the fact that the Parsis arrived in Diu with their own religious, cultural, and social norms. Over time, the Parsis’ religious, cultural, and social norms, would evolve to meet their specific requirements in Diu’s colonial setting while co-existing alongside with those of the colonial society.

The impact of colonialism on the Parsi people was not unique among Diu communities which could also be a reason for the Portuguese historiography discharge. However, it was unusual for the pronounced effect in shaping Diu’s identity and the understanding of that evolution. Therefore, the lack of knowledge on the Parsis, in part, accounts for a deserved reflection.<sup>105</sup> Colonialism shaped the representations of the Parsis to the world and reshaped Parsi self-perceptions. The pervading influence of colonialism on the Parsis was such that the appreciation of their historical development was altered. Therefore, we will examine and account for the ways in which the Parsis have historically sought to have existence in Diu. The work focuses on the architectural issues, themes and events that relate to the Parsis’ attempts to establish and shape an identity in Diu during Portuguese colonial presence. At the same time, underlying attempts to refer architectural and urban presence is the theme and process of continuity of historical process.

The account of the Persian refugees’ exodus from Iran and their arrival in Diu is almost entirely based on the *Qissa-yi Sanjān* or Story of Sanjan written in 1599, by the Parsi priest Behman Kaikobad Sanjana and the *Qissa-yi Zartushtian-I Hendustan*, written by the Parsi Shapurji Maneckji Sanjana in Navsari between 1765 and 1805. *The Qissa-yi Sanjān*,<sup>106</sup> a poetic composition of the time of emperor Akbar, narrating an oral history of the migration, mentions

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<sup>102</sup> Zoroastrianism is the religion associated with the teachings and revelation of the Iranian prophet Zarathustra, or Zoroaster as referred to by the ancient Greeks. Zarathustra and his religious message date from the second millennium B.C.E.

<sup>103</sup> The Parsis are the descendants of Iranian zoroastrians who migrated to and settled in India in order to preserve their zoroastrian religion.

<sup>104</sup> Cohen, Robin. 1997. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. 26.

<sup>105</sup> From the sixteenth century accounts of the Parsis appear, starting with: Orta, Garcia de (1499?-1568). 2011. *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India*. Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. See also, 1913. *Colloquies on the simples & drugs of India by García da Orta*. New ed. (Lisbon, 1895) Conde de Ficalho (ed. and annot.), Markham Clements (trans.). London: Henry Sotheran and Co.. About Diu, see: Azevedo, António do Carmo. 1995. “Diu: the Parsi connection.” in *Mare Liberum: Revista de História dos Mares* 9. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 31-39.

<sup>106</sup> ‘The Story of Sanjan’ (also *Qissa-i Sanjan* or *Kisse-i Sanjan*) is an account of the early years of zoroastrian settlers on the Indian subcontinent. In the absence of alternatives, the text is generally accepted to be the only narrative of the events described therein, and

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that after the muslim conquest of Iran, the zoroastrians dispersed in the mountains for a century before abandoning their homeland. The zoroastrians first migrated to Khurasan where they stayed for a century, and then migrated to Hormuz where they resided for some fifteen years. After fifteen years, they took the maritime route to India and landed in Diu, where they remained for nineteen years. From Diu, they left to Sanjan, in the western coast of India. The local ruler granted them permission to settle there and many more joined them, and together they lit the sacred Fire of Varhrām. The story contains a mixture of legendary tales and historical facts, but it is interesting that according to its account the first group of zoroastrians did not stay in Diu. Therefore, we must assume that the Parsi community in Diu was established sometime later. According to the Parsi records, they resided in the city for over four centuries. During fieldwork, we collected data that allows to conclude that Parsis left Diu in the late twentieth century after the annexation of 1961.

The Parsis professed loyalty to the various political administrations and regimes they ultimately found themselves under, whether the sultanate of Gujarat or the *Estado da Índia*. Under the Portuguese rule, the majority of the population of Diu was hindu, with a considerable number of *banyan* merchants, but there were also two large jain and muslim minorities, Portuguese catholics, catholics of both Portuguese and Indian descents, a prosperous zoroastrian community and even a few jewish families. Since 1961 the demographics of Diu have changed dramatically. The catholic community has shrunk to only a few dozen families and the Parsis have left the city, mostly towards Bombay. Since then, the Parsi neighbourhood became engaged and was occupied by hindus.

The arrival of the Parsis in Diu poses the question of how this minority would integrate itself into the city and into the new dominant social milieu while retaining the essence of its identity. The city was not unfamiliar to the zoroastrians, since their community started their migration from Iran between the eighth and tenth centuries and had made their way up the social ladder as successful traders and businessmen. Quite understandably, they were supportive of their co-religionists. The history of their architecture in Diu is that of their attempts to maintain their zoroastrian identity in the midst of accommodation to the city's milieu 'in-between' the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement. To cut a long story short, Parsis made their mark in Diu through trade and business. However, they also integrated themselves into the local political culture.

The Parsis inhabited a small neighbourhood in the northern part of Diu, the *Parsiwada*, between the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, the bazaar and the port. The affluence of the Parsi community is apparent from the grandness of their former dwellings. The Parsi houses are in a hybrid style unparalleled with other dwellings in Diu, with arched windows, doors and porticoes but some are in a 'neo-classical' style with a local version of classical columns [figure 4.15 and 4.16]. The height of the Parsi houses is significant and this makes the *Parsiwada* easily discerned when we look from a distance to the urban skyline of Diu [figure 5.6]. There is also the ornamental detail built at the top of the outside walls on the crown of the roof and distinctive verges. Some of these flourishing houses have now been subdivided and are occupied by several families.

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the epic poem is perceived to be an accurate account of their ancestors. The account begins in Greater Khorasan, and narrates the travel of the emigrants to Gujarat, on the west coast of present-day India. The question of whether Diu or Sanjan was the site of the first Parsi settlement in India is still discussed. See Bahman ibn Qayqubad ibn Hurmuzdyar Sanjani, 1964. *Qissa-e-sanjan: the story of migration of Zoroastrians from Iran to India/Bahman son of Kaykobad son of Ormazdyar Sanjani*. Hyderabad: Islamic Publications Society Printing Press. It is believed that the Parsis were in their initial migration in Diu from 766 until 785 A.C. ('The Story of Sanjan' verse 116).

The liminality of the zoroastrians in Iran increases as they are said to have moved from Kuhestān to Hormuz. They then leave Iran, by sea to reach a point which is, in symbolic terms again, a no-man's-land, namely the island 'Diu' that is neither Iran nor mainland India, but in the southern perimeter of Gujarat and close to India. In order to reach India proper, they must undergo the passage to India via a storm. It seems that their journey must cross the physical barrier of the natural elements in a storm at sea. The newcomers may have arrived physically on Indian soil at this point, but they are still stateless, homeless wanderers, and still literally 'liminal'. It is no coincidence that the passage of the 'The Story of Sanjan' which is best loved by the Parsi community, and which has been most elaborated upon in oral tradition, is imagined in Parsi memory as having taken place on a shore.



[Figure 4.16] Parsi house, *Parsiwada*, Diu, 2014.

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For the ones who migrated to Diu, the *Parsiwada* was the hereditary or ancestral home of their community in Diu. It is important to see here that an immigrant community constructs its own neighbourhood in Diu, which is at least partially imagined into being. Without physical structures, such as walls and gates, they nevertheless construct the boundaries of their quarter, and this construction is no less real without official recognition. There are many different ways of marking and constructing boundaries, and a boundary's particular meaning may be specific to a particular culture. For the Portuguese colonials, boundaries and boundary markers Diu, such as hedges and fences, were significant markers of ownership in the eighteenth century. Had *Parsiwada* had a wall or another form of boundary marker, it is to be expected that it would have been epitomized in official colonial cartography, and the colonial government probably would have negotiated with the Parsis before announcing the scheme. Even though the *Parsiwada* neighbourhood had no walls, it can be considered to be a veiled space whose very urban fabric with its narrow lanes and tall buildings with characteristic rooftops, allowed veiled Parsi women to walk freely within its boundaries in their everyday life, free from the gaze of Parsi men and strangers.

The growth of a Parsi priesthood in Diu, a hereditary occupational class following along the male line, established the city as a centre of traditional authority among the Parsis spread in Gujarat. The customs of the Parsis were left both undisturbed and free to change to meet their unique requirements. The early history of the Parsis in Diu illustrates the imperatives that prevailed upon the minority in safeguarding its existence in the colonial dominant social environment. The same norms that encouraged the Parsis' assimilation to Diu's Portuguese colonial setting also isolated the Parsis as a community and fostered their exclusiveness. Also, the caste customs and rules of purity and commensality practised in Diu's setting permitted the Parsis to remain apart from other communities in the city without incurring their displeasure.

A zoroastrian fire-temple - the Parsi *Agiyari* [figure 4.17 and 4.18] - was erected in Diu's *Parsiwada*, surrounded by a garden and enclosed within walls. The colonial social and religious milieu influenced the development and nature of Parsi temple worship, as the Parsis safeguarded their religious observance from the influence of the predominantly hindu environment around them. The fire-temples were reserved exclusively for the use of Parsis, and the building of fire-temples paralleled the dispersion of the zoroastrian cult outside the city of Diu. The nature of temple worship also became unique to the Parsis of India. The Parsis continued the Iranian practice of fire oblation accompanied by supplication prayer to fire performed five times a day by a priest. The last Parsi families are said to have left the island of Diu after the mid twentieth century, but their temple remained for over half a century without much alteration. The building would be donated to the Church and was converted to St Anne's convent, run by a group of nuns from the order of the Handmaids of Christ. In general form and in its structural elements the building is a product of Portuguese colonial architecture. The fire temple building has a simple plan layout consisting of two interconnected halls each with an arched portico and two domed chambers. The northern part of the building was for the use of the congregation with the small domed chamber in a central position housing the fire altar where the sacred fire was brought for worship. The fire was, however, kept alive permanently in the chamber with its adjoining rooms closed to the public, being used by the priests for keeping liturgical objects and fire-wood. This larger room was originally to house the fire altar where the sacred fire was brought for public worship, but, would not have been the main chamber where the fire was kept alive permanently. The northern chamber has been chosen to serve today as the chapel of the convent.



[Figure 4.17] Parsi house, *Parsiwada*, Diu, 2014.

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The building can be accessed by the two loggias or arched porticoes set at the east and the west, but the main entrance is at the western side where the portico opens to the main hall. The eastern portico is a mirror image of the western portico and opens to the smaller hall, which is connected to the main hall through a wide arch. To the north of the smaller hall is a small square domed chamber with a single entrance to the hall and two windows, one opening onto a hall and another at the opposite side opening onto the eastern portico. The northern part of the building consisting of this small domed chamber, the two halls and the porticoes, was for the use of the congregation with the domed chamber in a focal position. The exterior details with a specific display an effort to give it a neo-classical appearance. This has been achieved by designing arched porticoes in the form of loggias, corner pilasters with quasi-classical proportions and a raised podium or plinth, as well as cornices decorated with *cyma recta* moulding. The rest of the structure has a flat roof supported by wooden joists and rafters exposed on the interior.

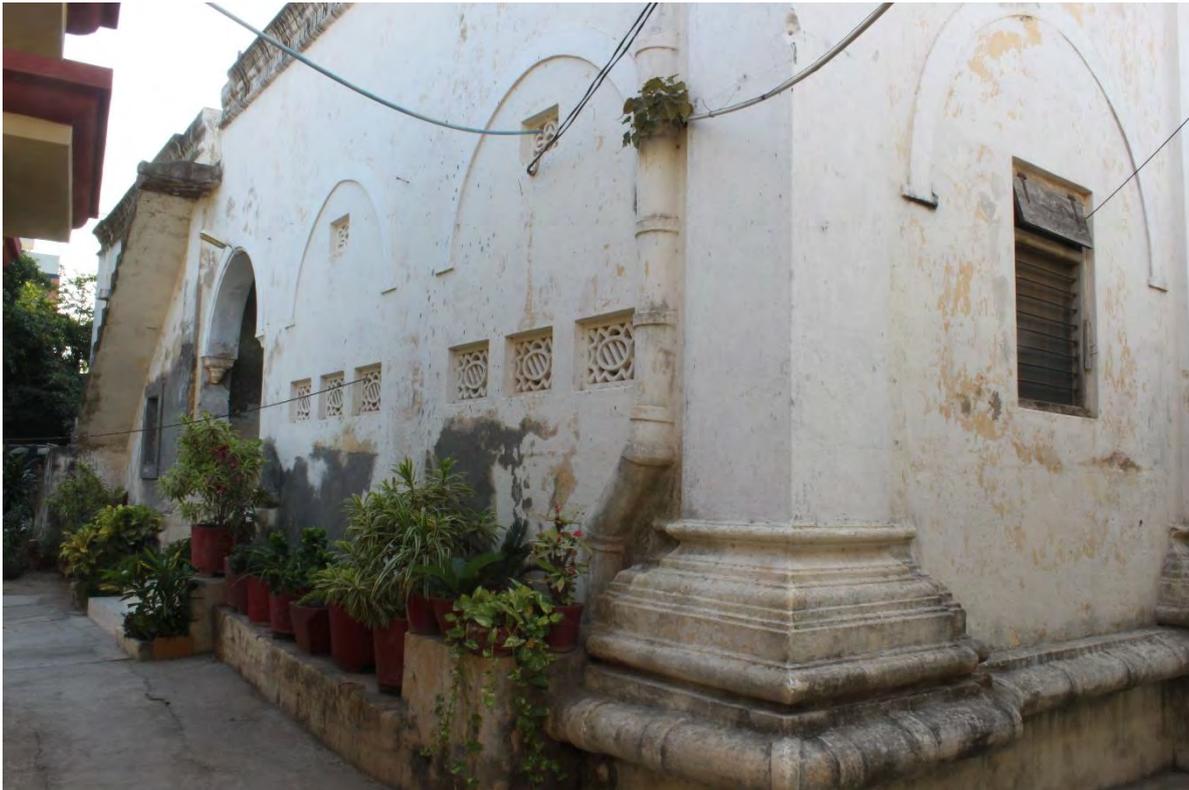
The form of the small chamber is designed to refer to the form of a *chahār-tāq*, a traditional pre-islamic Sasanian square domed chamber standing on four massive piers with open vaults or vaulted niches at each side, which occupied the centre of most ancient fire temples. The dome is raised on squinches, the arched elements at the corner of the wall functioning as transitional zone between the walls of the square chamber to the circular base of the dome. The summit of the dome rises over half a meter above the level of the roof and is concealed within a platform. The dome further recalls the pre-islamic fire temples in its hemispherical form and its semi-circular squinches, although in the ancient fire temples the profiles of the domes and arches are parabolic rather than semi-circular. There is no opening in the dome for ventilation but there are two circular flues opening on the exterior at the top of the north wall. This is to be expected as an opening directly to the sky, and is not seen in any historic or modern fire temple, for the sanctity of the fire should be protected. Although the layout is not suitable for circumambulation, the chamber itself is again large, leaving space around the altar for such a function.

The chamber in Diu is not very large, and it could accommodate a few members of the small community, who may have worshipped in this manner. Other features of the chamber are its location at the north side of the structure and the arrangement of the plan, which does not allow circumambulation around it. A fire temple orientation towards a cardinal point has never been a matter for consideration. In zoroastrian tradition, however, the focal point is the fire itself, which resides within the fire temple. Nevertheless, it seems that the Parsi community in India holds the view that the northern wall of the chamber should be blind, as in the chamber at Diu.

The southern part of the temple consists of four chambers and a corridor, which appears to have been for administration, for storing wood and for maintenance of the fire. This was probably not always open to the public, but could be entered from two doors, one at each of the porticoes leading to two rooms. Inside the main hall, two doors open onto a relatively large room which seems to have been for the use of the priests tending the fire. The southern domed chamber, slightly larger than that in the north, was for the permanent preservation of the fire. The chamber is flanked by rooms and can be accessed only by a corridor which opens onto these rooms. Apart from the indirect access through a door opening onto this corridor there are no other doors and windows to this chamber, protecting the fire from all probable pollution.



[Figure 4.18] Former zoroastrian temple, south chamber Parsi *agiyari*, Diu. 2014



[Figure 4.19] Former zoroastrian temple, small north chamber from Parsi *agiyari*, Diu. 2014

Unlike the northern chamber, the southern chamber has a grand dome which rises well above the roof level. There are a number of circular holes in the dome to allow ventilation and help discharge excess smoke. However, as the fire should not be exposed to the open sky the dome is concealed within a chamber constructed on the roof, and decorated on the exterior with a cornice similar to that of the main structure. Two windows at each of the three sides of the chamber provide ventilation, but there is no window at the southern side and no opening in the ceiling. The chamber in the roof serves no other purpose than to cover the dome, but aesthetically gives the building a sense of loftiness which apparently fits well with the intention to give an imposing character to an otherwise simple structure.

As far as the date of the building is concerned an inscription in Devanagari<sup>107</sup> above the entrance registers: Parsi fire temple established in *pa. ja.* 1198. (*pa. ja.* seems to refer to the Parsi calendar). On the top there is a coat of arms which might belong to the family of the patron who funded the construction where inside a date is given again in Devanagari characters in the christian calendar: *San* 1829. This date states the building as one of the earliest prototypes of the modern fire temples in India. The late scholar-priest Rashid Shahmardan who had access to the Parsi and the Iranian zoroastrian documents records in his book *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*<sup>108</sup> that the fire temple was consecrated in 1830. Shahmardan also notes that the building was built through the efforts of Dīnwar Mihr Jahāngīr Nasrawān Vādiyā, indicating that he paid for the building as well as for one of the towers of silence in Diu. The fire temple of Diu provides us with an opportunity to gain an insight into what are perceived as recent architectural traditions for Indian fire temples.

<sup>107</sup> Devanagari also called Nagari is an abugida alphabet of India and Nepal. The Nagari script has roots in the ancient Brahmi script family. Some of the earliest epigraphical evidence attesting to the developing Sanskrit Nagari script in ancient India, in a form similar to Devanagari, is from the 1st to 4th century CE inscriptions discovered in Gujarat.

<sup>108</sup> Shahmardān, Rashīd - *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, (Bamba'ī: Sāzmañ-i Javānān-i Zartushtī-i Bamba'ī, 1967, 234). 'Zoroastrian places of worship, 'available in School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) library (Level B stacks 91 – 100, PM295 /260953), London, UK.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

Zoroastrian funeral rites and disposing of the dead differ from those of other major religions. The exposure of the body to wild birds in a tower attracted the attention of the traveller Thomas Herbert (1606-1682)<sup>109</sup> in the seventeenth century, together with an engraving which is one of the oldest visual representations of such a tower in Gujarat:

“For variety’s sake turn we know to another sort of Gentiles in Surat and Gusurat called Parsees, who are a people descended out of Persia [...] They neither burn nor bury their dead, but, having first put the body into a winding-sheet, all the way as they pass [...] beat their breasts, but with little noise, till they come within 50 or 100 paces of the burial-place, where the Herbood (meaning the Zoroastrian priest) meets them [...] The necesselars (or bearers) carry the corpse upon an iron bier (for wood is forbidden, in that it is dedicated to the fire) to a little shed, where [...] they hoist it up to the top of a round building, some of which are twelve foot high and eighty in circuit: the entrance is most part at the north east side, where through a small grate they convey the carcass into a monument [...]: ‘tis flat above, open to the air, plastered with white loam, hard and smooth like that of Paris; in the midst thereof is a hole descending to the bottom, made to let in the putrefaction issuing from the melted bodies, which are thereupon laid naked [...] exposed to the sun’s rage and appetite of ravening birds, who spare not to devour the flesh of these carcasses [...] The dislike the Parsees expressed at my taking a view of this golgotha made it appear they do not delight that it should be seen by strangers.”<sup>110</sup>



[Figure 4.20] Zoroastrian Tower of Silence, the *dakhma*, island of Diu. 2014

<sup>109</sup> English soldier, traveller and antiquarian who travelled to Persia and India as a very junior member of an embassy under Sir Dodmore Cotton sent by Charles I to Shah Abbas I (‘Abbās; q.v.) in 1627. The purpose of the embassy was to establish formal trade and diplomatic relations with Persia, but unofficially it was also undertaken to exonerate the adventurer Sir Robert Sherley, who would be accompanying the mission, from charges that had been made against him by Naqd-‘Ali Beg, Abbas’s ambassador to England.

<sup>110</sup> Herbert, Thomas. 2005. *Travels in Persia: 1627-1629*. London & New York, Routledge. 37-38. [Original Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile Begunne Anno 1626 into Afrique and the Greater Asia*, London: William Stansby and Jacou Bloome, 1634); abridged and ed. W. Foster as *Travels in Persia, 1627-29*, London, 1928].



[Figure 4.21] Zoroastrian Tower of Silence, the *dakhma*, island of Diu. 2014

It seems as with most other Europeans, he had been shocked by what must have appeared to him unusual and perhaps repulsive.

The towers of silence, known to the Parsis as *dakhma*, are located in the southern coast of the island of Diu, in the vicinity of the village of Fudam,<sup>111</sup> and north of the hindu Gangeshwar shrine [figures 4.19 to 4.21]. The *dakhma* is a religious structure, with architectural cylindrical design with a central well surrounded by concentric slabs, roofless walled. It was built to consign the bodies of the deceased to be devoured by vultures and carrion crows or desiccated by the sun, as part of the zoroastrian practice of excarnation of the dead.

The north tower of silence is not well preserved, but the southern tower has kept all its original features. The first is about six metres in diameter from the inside with the walls about one metre narrowing slightly towards the top. The height of the tower on the outside is three and a half metres, but on the inside the floor is only about one metre above ground level, and the small entrance stands nearly a metre above the floor level inside. The original floor, however, has not survived and it seems that once the tower was deconsecrated parts of the floor and walls were demolished. The walls have now been rebuilt but there is no central ossuary in the tower, and it is likely that it was filled in with the rubble of the demolished floor. There is no ramp in front of the entrance to give access to the interior. Although on the ground outside the entrance there are traces of a probable ramp, it might have been a later addition as it seems that permanent ramps are a concept developed in India in later dates and earlier *dakhmas* were accessed by temporary light ramps, which could be removed after depositing the body inside. It should be noted that according to an old zoroastrian belief the rising sun should shine on the interior of a *dakhma* through the entrance. Without a permanent ramp, the entrance (above eye level) could be left without a door, but with the introduction of the permanent ramp in India, the entrance of the towers had to be fitted with metal doors kept locked at all times to prevent intrusive access.

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<sup>111</sup> Coordinates: 20°42'27"N 70°57'21"E



[Figure 4. 22] Zoroastrian Tower of Silence, the *dakhma*, island of Diu. 2014

## The city has a thousand faces. Negotiated spaces and the Heterogeneous city.

The south tower of silence was built in 1833 again by the efforts of Dīnwar Mihr Jahāngīr Nasrawān Vādiyā, as reported by Rashid Shahmardan. The *dakhma* is about four and a half metres high on the outside and nine metres in diameter on the interior with the upper wall about half a metre thick. The floor is about two metres above ground level sloping down slightly towards the central shaft. A permanent ramp leads to the entrance, but this ramp was built during the recent restoration. There may have been an earlier ramp, which has not survived. The small entrance to the tower, one and a half metres high, has no doors, but as with other nineteenth century *dakhmas* it might have had a metal door. Although the tower is constructed of porous local limestone, the floor is lined with stone of fine grain carved with a single row of receptacles of the same size with the exception of the two units at either sides of the door which are each divided into two sections and carved with smaller depressions for children, making altogether twenty-three spaces for adults and eight spaces for children. Each space has a narrow drainage channel carved from the middle of the receptacles across the lower pathway to allow rainwater into the central shaft and drain away into four pits through ducts built into the body of the tower and connected to covered ditches outside the tower. Between the two towers there is a large trough constructed of stone and lined with hard cement, used for depositing the shroud and the funeral garments of the corpse-bearers after the funeral, as nothing that has entered the *dakhma* should ever leave the site.

According to ancient zoroastrian traditions, the body is taken to a *dakhma* by the bearers while the priest, the relatives of the deceased and other mourners pay their respects at a certain distance from the tower. There are, of course, many *dakhmas* in India, functioning as the last resting place for members of the Parsi community. Afterwards they congregate for prayer in the *sāgrī*, a prayer hall or open enclosure [figure 4.22]. After some days when the flesh has been consumed by vultures and other birds the bearers re-enter the tower and deposit the bones with metal tongs into an ossuary which in the *dakhmas* of India is in the form of a shaft in the middle of the tower. The concept of leaving a body exposed on the hard and nonporous surface within the tower conforms to zoroastrian belief that the four elements should be kept free from all pollution including that caused by decomposing flesh. When a *dakhma* was filled or was to be abandoned, it would be partly or entirely demolished, as seems to be the case with the northern *dakhma* of Diu. According to the Holy Scripture, the *Vendīdād*, the body of the deceased turns truly to dust after the *dakhma* is destroyed and the person who demolishes it turns his sins to good.

The *sāgrī* is a long and narrow barrel-vaulted structure with buttresses on the exterior and massive arches on the interior [figure 4.22]. This structural form is unusual in Gujarat and consists of an almost square antechamber about three metres wide opening onto the main hall which is six metres long. The main door is on the south, but there are doors and windows set between the buttresses on the east and west and a large window on the north side. In the middle of the western wall of the hall and just below the roof is an opening, apparently for the smoke of the sacred fire burnt during funeral ceremonies. To the south-east of the *sāgrī* there is an old ruinous reservoir which seems to have been partly created as a quarry, probably for stones used in the building of the *dakhmas* or other nearby structures. The reservoir measuring roughly about fourteen by twenty-three metres, seems to have been in disuse for a long period of the life of the *dakhmas* and may have been used again as a quarry for later structures such as the south tower and the *sāgrī* or its extension. This may account for its irregular shape at the northern and eastern sides. The western and southern sides are more regular and at the eastern side a flight of ruinous steps led originally to the water level. Inside the reservoir, there is a well with a square shaft over three metres on each side. It is lined at the upper level with blocks of stone, but cut into the solid rock for most of its depth of well over twenty metres. The depth of the well indicates that it was intended to reach the permanent water table and if the shaft were cleared of debris the water supply might be restored.



[Figure 4.23] Zoroastrian prayer hall, the *sāgrī*, island of Diu. 2014

As the only material available about the *dakhma*, are anonymous, undated and unreferenced drawings that have been widely reproduced until today and that have influenced importantly the scholarly perception. Accordingly, the towers of silence of Diu provide a unique opportunity to study in depth the architectural terms of these religious structures. So far, the only information concerning the inside space are drawings of a *dakhma* two and a half times larger in diameter than the southern at Diu, with three rows of receptacles, and a somewhat different arrangement for drainage than our example. However, Diu's architectural structure is a small tower, different in design from the earlier published drawings, demonstrating that within the required standards there can be flexibility in design and variety in detail. There are, however, many other disused *dakhmas* both in Iran and in India, which have survived in various degrees of preservation.

### **Conclusion**

Traditionally, the architecture produced in imperial contexts has been interpreted as being more or less derivative in relation to its European counterparts and consequently almost unfailingly *retardataire*. More recently, however, reception theory, a critical revision of transfer models, and closer attention paid to extra-European, local dynamics has shown that aesthetic choices were often made not as mere reactions to changes in European fashion but rather as responses to local circumstances engendered by the colonial order as it developed.

To understand the major role which local inhabitants, play in making a colonial city, we must learn to recognize the many ways that they presented themselves and also acknowledge the processes by which their contributions were obscured. What was at stake was not only the varied processes of building, including obviously Western stylistic influences on local architecture, but that the colonial government had the power to selectively read the architectural and urban spatial cultures created by local inhabitants, rendering the landscapes of the latter as potentially inconsequential. Although other factors and players were important in shaping the city, we should look at vernacular architecture and urbanism to focus on the role of the local inhabitants in the construction of colonial Diu.

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Colonial Diu was the product of the fragmentation of two modes of urbanism: the colonial and the local. In this chapter we first highlighted the impact of the colonial government's selective reading of the local landscape by focusing on the two readings of the colonial landscape, both cartography (1783-1790) and text (1789). We then argued that, in contrast to the architectural regularity seen in colonial buildings, the coherence of "native urbanism" lay in the specific activity that took place in the space and in the community that dominated it. Following this, we suggested that the process of transculturation might be useful in helping us understand the Western influences on local architecture. We conclude by showing that only by taking vernacular architecture and urbanism into consideration can we refigure Diu, allowing us to see that it was not simply the product of the colonial regime but the result of varied processes of building and picturing the city.

The chapter addressed (but was not limited to) issues such as responses to political and economic structures pre-existing the arrival of the Europeans or created by the European presence, adjustments to local religious practices and beliefs expressed cartographically for the first time through a depiction code, or adaptations to specific cultural or social phenomena that stem from the colonial framework. It also covers heterogeneous temporalities of colonial cities today, tracing the continuities and discontinuities between the past and the present, from the proto-modern to the post-modern, from the 'West' to the rest.

Translation is a method that may allow us to acknowledge the world's intertwined histories by focusing on the global circulation of culture. Upon closer examination however, there is enough evidence to rewrite the past in a much more interconnected way by foregrounding the cross-geographical conversations, even though Europe and India have been perceived and constructed as separate entities in this continual hybridization process. Simultaneously, it seems necessary to think about concepts that will help us come to terms with these intertwined histories. The set of architecture in the colonial city of Diu, while still owing to European architectural tradition, is probably better understood in the context of local circumstances than within the framework of the global transfer of European and Gujarati architectural forms. It speculates that the bilateral colonial channel (e.g. Portuguese architecture in Asia), solely epitomized but one facet of a more multilayered and intertwined history. While architectural history still tends to divide the field according to the nineteenth century categories of Western and Islamic architecture, leaving little room for dealing with the ways in which artefacts from these regions interacted on a variety of levels, seeing such artefacts in the light of the ways that the visual was translated between and among cultures allows for new histories to emerge.



The city must be orderly.  
Diu and the epilogue of the Portuguese empire.

## CHAPTER FIVE

*The city must be orderly.*

*Diu and the epilogue of the Portuguese empire.*

“Towns and settlements grow, as empire too  
is seized by the urge to make a home of its territory.”<sup>1</sup>

“Feliz, ó celebre Dio, podes ser  
Se o regio braço te amparar  
Se Goa do letargo te tirar  
Se quem governar te conhecer. 1799.”<sup>2</sup>

**T**WO INTERTWINED THEMES DOMINATE THE nineteenth century: empire building and modernity. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Estado da Índia* was about to undergo several major changes. Whereas the revenue and authority, that accrued from the relationship between land and the state were essential to the formation of the early *Estado da Índia*, the steadily growing economic asset in imperial power propelled in particular by the joint stock arrangement of infrastructure projects - ‘modern’ enterprises by excellence - made it clear that things had to change. Trade - fundamental for the establishment of

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<sup>1</sup>“There is something uncanny about empire. The entity known by that name is in essence, mere territory. That is, a place constituted by the violence of conquest, the jurisdictions of law and ownership, the institutions of public order and use [...] As such it requires no home [...] Yet as history shows, empire is not reconciled for long to this abstracted condition. [...] Towns and settlements grow, as empire too is seized by the urge to make a home of its territory.” Guha, Ranajit. 1997. “Not at home in Empire.” In *Critical Enquiry*, 23: 482-484.

<sup>2</sup>“Oh famous Dio, you can be happy / If the royal arm supports you / If Goa gets you out of lethargy / If those who govern know you. 1799.” Epigraphy of Diu in the door of the vegetables bazaar of vegetables. Quote in Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 24.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

a Portuguese mercantile empire – and land tax would become important sources of revenue through the nineteenth century. It turns out to be clear, nevertheless, that the extractive colonial *Estado da Índia* was facing other challenges that required a new kind of imperium. Accordingly, imperial ambition and anxiety, moved to different levels and concerns. The project of modernization, which was crucial to the spread of colonial powers all over the world, has provided new conceptual frameworks in which both the colonizing and the colonized understand themselves and their actions.

This chapter examines the meaning of modernity,<sup>3</sup> whether in the context of Diu or from the perspective of a colonial city on the margins of the established narratives of colonial urbanism in India. The multiple declinations of the concept of ‘modern’ are one of the reasons why the question remains difficult and controversial. One simply cannot think of colonial architecture and urbanism during the nineteenth century, without these and other related concepts that were foundational in the course of the European Enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> One of the most debated issues appropriating the nineteenth century history and historiography of colonial architecture and urbanism was the ‘convergence’ or ‘harmonization’ between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ or as Kubler states about contamination of terms “late and early are perforce relative to a defined [...] point. They will inevitably remain as parameters until some absolute measure of visual position in time is devised.”<sup>5</sup> The architectural and urban modernity of Portugal in Diu was a product of both and was momentous for Western Europe’s colonization of Asia and Africa. Europe constructed itself in its colonial empires as the prototypical ‘modern’ subject. To be ‘modern’ was the prerogative of rulers who claimed the right to define its meaning and assert its architectural and urban spatial cultures. In the binary system of being ‘modern’ and ‘traditional,’ those that were not entirely one or the other were declared to be ‘modernizing’ towards a predetermined end. For those who esteem the architectural and urban spatial cultures of Europe’s modernity to be the only ones that are valid, all others were transitory, partial, derisory, or ‘traditional.’ The arbiters of culture in Portugal have asserted autonomy in the production of ‘modern’ architectural and institutional arrangements and the fundamental connections of economic, political, and cultural inter-dependencies across the world made modernity an essentially global project, a piece of global history of which an integral part is the story of Portuguese imperialism.<sup>6</sup>

It is a truism that the nineteenth century witnessed dramatic cultural upheaval and accordingly was pivotal for the history of the colonial city. Diu was no exception. A controversy goes back (at least) to the nineteenth century and was generated by the tendency to construct simplified theories concerning the change in architecture and in the city over time by assiduously inserting selected cultural evidence into the strata of their (assumed) evolution. Requirements are necessary to make this properly: first, the theoretical model of change must not then be treated as if it had been empirically derived over time; second, the dating sequence must be established rather unambiguously and, preferably, independently and, finally, there must be good and substantial reason to believe that the items being arranged on a continuum are all members of the same universe or ‘set.’<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Political modernity (rule by modern institutions of the state, bureaucracy, and capitalist enterprise), citizenship, the state, civil society, public sphere, human rights, equality before the law, the individual, distinctions between public and private, the idea of the subject, democracy, popular sovereignty, social justice, scientific rationality, and so on are concepts that all bear the burden of European thought and history. The concept of ‘modernity’ addressed here will be briefly discussed in the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> The Enlightenment (also known as the Age of Enlightenment) was an intellectual movement which dominated the world of ideas in Europe in the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment included a range of ideas centered on reason as the primary source of authority and legitimacy, and came to advance ideals such as liberty, progress, tolerance, fraternity, constitutional government, and separation of church and state.

<sup>5</sup> Kubler, George. 1962. *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1992. “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who speaks for “Indian” pasts?” In *Representations* 37, 21.

<sup>7</sup> See, Kubler, George. 1962. *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. *The Shape of Time* presented a radically new approach to the study of art history. Drawing upon new insights in fields such as anthropology and linguistics, George Kubler replaced the notion of style as the basis for histories of art with the concept of historical sequence and continuous change across time. Kubler’s classic work presents an approach to historical change which challenges the notion of style by placing the history of objects and images in a larger continuum. Kubler proposes new forms of historical sequencing where objects and

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It should be emphasised right from the start that the urban history of Diu is flawed (as this dissertation ‘almost, but not quite’ is), as it is exclusively based on the official documents prepared by Portuguese colonial administrators and therefore reflects the colonial viewpoint. Historians of Diu have relied heavily upon European sources, particularly on eighteenth and nineteenth century accounts of Portuguese colonial administrators. We try to rectify this bias by including some nineteenth century Gujarati materials in the discussion of, for instance, the self-image of the Gujarati subjects who patronized or built architecture in Diu. Pointless to say, that evolutionary progress always conveniently culminated in the form that happened to be prevalent in Western Europe at this time.<sup>8</sup> However, our interest is in the cross-cultural process of architectural and urban production. The emergent built forms, their use and meanings, though not identical to the ones idealized in Western Europe, were nevertheless ‘modern.’ This work therefore seeks to acknowledge the plural forms of modernity and to legitimize its many interpretations or as the social-cultural anthropologist and theorist in globalization studies Arjun Appadurai has reminded us, “modernity is decisively at large, irregularly self-conscious, and unevenly experienced – surely does not involve a general break with sorts of pasts”<sup>9</sup> or a break with all sorts of architectural and urban spatial cultures.

History of theoretical reflections on the nineteenth century urban processes<sup>10</sup> in the *Estado da Índia* took the shape of an experimental field for the the Portuguese colonial city.<sup>11</sup> The tremendous changes, prominently in economy and technology, affected all aspects of Diu in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The city became a site of governance and technocratic experimentation to address the problems brought by development and technology.<sup>12</sup> Ways of thinking the city applied to contexts and scales went hand in hand with practical

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images provide solutions to evolving problems. He lays out a perspective where processes of innovation, replication, and mutation are in continuous conversation through time.

<sup>8</sup> Nisbet, R. 1970. *Social Change and History*. London: Oxford University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 3.

<sup>10</sup> See, *inter alia*, urban historian Peter Hall’s narration of the role of Western civilization in shaping cities. Hall noted that history of other cultures and cities would be written ‘in due course’. Hall, Peter. 1998. *Cities in Civilization*. New York: Pantheon Books.

<sup>11</sup> We share with architectural historian Swati Chattopadhyay the interest about the city under colonialism shaped by local population. Chattopadhyay has an abiding concern with contested, mediated, and adapted modernity, as introduced to colonies. Her body of scholarship marks a shift from Eurocentric views on modernity and a focus on the dominant structures of colonialism to paradigms that consider the experiences of the colonizer alongside with the colonized. While bound by shared concerns, sympathetic projects (ours and Chattopadhyay’s) draw upon divergent methodologies and frameworks in part by necessity. The particularities of Diu’s history, culture and resources, as well as its significance in Portuguese (also particular) empire, ensured that urban change in colonial India was not a monolithic process. That Calcutta [Chattopadhyay’s object] was the capital of the Raj and a Presidency city, while Diu had been reduced to a colonial city in a *borderland* in western India during Portuguese rule, meant that their physical canvas developed differently. Moreover, as Chattopadhyay explained and as we will also try, that modernity as introduced through the colonial encounter was not drawn along simple lines of colonizer and colonized. Rather, local responses were shaped by a wide range of social and anthropological factors that we try to explain concerning Diu. Finally, Chattopadhyay dismantled the paradigmatic image of the racially partitioned colonial city as more a figure of political desire on the part of colonial administrators than an accurate description of urban cultural geography. [Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge]. On Chattopadhyay’s work, see also: Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. “Introduction: The subaltern and the popular”, in *Postcolonial studies: Culture, Politics, Economy*, 8/4, 357-363; 2012. “Urbanism. Colonialism and Subalternity.” In *Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities*, Edensor, Tim and Jayne, Mark, (eds.), New York: Routledge. 75-92; 2005. “Introduction: The subaltern and the popular.” In *Postcolonial studies: Culture, Politics, Economy*, 8/4, 357-363. For Diu and other colonial cities, see also chapter 7.

<sup>12</sup> About *Estado da Índia* colonial institutional history, see, *inter alia*: Lobo, Sandra Ataíde. 2013. “*O desassossego goês: cultura e política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonial*.” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

This is apparent, for the British empire in India, in the works of historians Thomas R. Metcalf or Christopher A. Bayly. Bayly argues that the ‘age of reform’ (1830s-1840s), though it often produced contradictory and ineffectual outcomes, the medium of the reformers was as important as their message and therefore the process of reform and improvement were critical in colonial governance. For colonial institutional history in the British empire, see *inter alia*, the works of Mark Harrison, David Arnold or Gauri Vishwanathan. Bayly, Christopher A. 1988. “Indian society and the making of the British Empire.” In series *The New Cambridge history of India II, 1*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 1996. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, c 1780-1870*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 212; Metcalf, Thomas R. 1994. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain’s Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tillotson, Giles H. R. 1989. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change Since 1850*. London: Yale University Press; Arnold, David. 2000. *Science, Technology, and Medicine in Colonial India*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Harrison, Mark. 1994. *Public*

propositions.<sup>13</sup> Modernizing projects aimed at changing Diu and geared to functional issues, brought together buildings and infrastructure (transportation networks, roads, sewage and water lines, lighting of public spaces, and urban landscaping).<sup>14</sup> Regardless of certain philosophical differences, urban planning was understood as an integrated and collective endeavour among administrators and technocrats from different fields.<sup>15</sup>

The *Estado da Índia* was willing to find a method that could produce useful and uniform knowledge for the Portuguese empire. Looking at this comprehensive picture reveals a daunting multiplicity and complicates notions of modernity,<sup>16</sup> singling out the concern for empire building and its most valid expression brought through the physicality of cities. The *Estado da Índia* urban settlements were partakers of the planning procedures and contributors of the frantic construction of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Ideas and models were shared, but the specific complexity of each settlement led to their reconsideration resulting in a diversity of urban planning experiments. Urbanistic and architectural conventions of the *Estado da Índia* displayed similarities in principles, but also some significant different outcomes. Accordingly, the relation between them sheds light on the nature as well as the changing policies in disparate cities of the same empire. The Portuguese of the nineteenth century preached the Enlightenment reason and individualism rather than tradition to the Indian and at the same time denied it in practice. While man's improvement, as they saw it, was manifest in all spheres - legal, political, moral, commercial, and technological - it was in the first place a progression of the human mind

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*Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive medicine 1859- 1914.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 1999. *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600- 1850.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Vishwanathan, Gauri. 2014. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India.* Columbia: Columbia University Press.

<sup>13</sup> As an urban typology characterized by segregation between functional and residential areas, people of different classes or social groups ('natives' and Europeans, elites and peasants), as well as specific patterns of urban form and governance. The British empire through colonial discourses of urbanism sought to exert control over labour and dwelling spaces in the city. Justification was produced with reference to the notion of 'public space,' and the prevailing colonial discourse on urbanism sought to normalize specific visions of how a city should be economically and administratively efficient and salubrious. See, *inter alia*: Brush, John. E. 1962. "The Morphology of Indian Cities." In Turner, Roy, ed., *India's Urban Future: Selected Studies from an International Conference sponsored by Kingsley Davis, Richard L. Park, and Catherine Bauer Wurster*, Berkeley: University of California. 57-70; and King, Anthony D. 1976. "Military Space: The Cantonment as a system of environmental control." In *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge. 97-122, and 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. London: Routledge.

<sup>14</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2012. *Unlearning the City: Infrastructure in a New Optical Field*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>15</sup> The transformation of Paris under Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann, the prefect, formed the model to which references were directed.

<sup>16</sup> Modernity is a series of 'global designs,' controlling and homogenizing projects that sought to remake the world in their own image from the early modern Christianity of the Portuguese and Spanish empires, through nineteenth century liberal and republican imperialism, to the neoliberal globalization of the twentieth century. Walter Mignolo engages about forms of modernity outside of controlling and homogenizing projects and specifically advocates the pursuit of diversity as a universal project. He begins by an argument regarding the relationship between European global imperialism and modernity: "Coloniality [...] is the hidden face of modernity and its very condition of possibility." Citing Sheldon Pollock on the Sanskrit cosmopolis as an example, he admits to the possibility of premodern cosmopolitanisms. Mignolo's argument, however, is that in modernity, cosmopolitanism is inextricably linked to coloniality. Mignolo, Walter D. 2000. "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism" *Public Culture* 12/3: 721-748. See also his 2000. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (he cites Pollock, Sheldon. 2000. "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History." In *Public Culture* 12/3. See also Pollock, Sheldon. 1998. "The Cosmopolitan Vernacular." In *Journal of Asian Studies* 57/1.

<sup>17</sup> Changes happened in *Estado da Índia* and in all the Portuguese empire throughout the eighteenth century. The loss of most of the Northern Province in 1740 and the conquest of territories around Goa (New Conquests) definitely contributed for this. These have enabled the expansion of the border of the territory up to the Gates mountains, making a natural border security. The Marquis of Pombal made reforms in Portuguese and colonial society (India): he expelled the Jesuits and made the reform of the Inquisition in Goa completed in 1774. He gave equal rights to citizens of the metropolis and natural citizens of the *Estado da Índia*. He also closed the Court of Appeal of Goa. On November 29, 1776, queen Maria I took the regency of Portugal because of the illness of king José I, who died in February of 1777. In March of this year, Maria I revoked the Marquis de Pombal's official charges in which he had already ceased to function since March 1776. See, *inter alia*: Almeida, Fortunato. 2003-2005. *História de Portugal*. Lisbon: Bertrand. vol. II, 486-587; Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires. 2006. "O Império Oriental, 1660-1820". In Marques, A.H. Oliveira and Serrão, Joel, dir., *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Estampa. vol. V, Tomo I, 17-123. See also Santos, Catarina Madeira. 1999. "Entre Velha Goa e Pangim: a capital do Estado da Índia e as Reformulações da política ultramarina". In Separata de *Revista Militar* 51: 119-157 and 1999. *Goa é a chave de toda a Índia: perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP).

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and the impact on mankind of nature (or Providence) that was driving the process.<sup>18</sup> Those notions concerning ‘progress,’ ‘improvement of society,’ and what one termed the ‘amelioration of the state of mankind’ were central to the Enlightenment. All the philosophical founders shared in generating this ‘revolutionary’ tendency in Western modernity and hence in forging the dramatically new way of viewing the world began with the more general cultural changes of the Enlightenment era. The reformation of ideas projected by the great thinkers of Enlightenment, however, offered the practical possibility of improvement of the colonized urban settlements in the *Estado da Índia*. Light and knowledge have been gaining ground, and human life at present compared with what it once was. In enlightened circles during the later eighteenth century, the concept of progress was broadly endorsed in Portugal and in the *Estado da Índia* and became the general view for the Portuguese imperial thought. The Enlightenment’s idea of ‘progress,’ was invariably conceived as being ‘philosophical,’ a revolution of the mind. In reality, Enlightenment progress breathed a vivid awareness of the great difficulty of spreading toleration, curbing religious fanaticism, and otherwise ameliorating human organization, orderliness, and the general state of health and was always impressively empirically based. But it was undoubtedly economic, technological, political, medical, and administrative as well, in addition to being legal, moral, educational, and aesthetic, i.e., architectural and urban. Enlightenment ‘progress’ was thus very wide-ranging and faceted with a great focus in architectural and urban spatial cultures.

We are interested in understanding how a single, dominant, intellectual and practical tradition - which can be called ‘modern’ urbanism - encountered the strange, the unfamiliar, and ‘newness’ more generally in the colonial city of Diu without entirely losing its coherence. We will argue in what follows, that the tradition of modern urbanism brought to *Estado da Índia* by Portuguese colonialism did not simply replace pre-existing practices and attitudes wholesale, creating everything anew in its own image. Rather, its protagonists and subjects had to demonstrate their relevance within, and establish effective articulations with, those ‘different,’ longer-standing, and sometimes incompatible practices and attitudes. Importantly, as the protocols of this new urban tradition reached deeper into local society, the protagonists and subjects of the colonial city in Diu increasingly came from both the Portuguese and Gujarati communities. As a by-product of modernity, the European colonial city in general and Diu in particular, took shape within the larger cultural context of Portuguese colonial expansion and Portuguese imperial crisis that happened during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the terms of this debate were anything but regional or localized, instead were reflective of much broader trends.

Diu as been always described since the early modernity as a city divided into Portuguese and Gujarati (hindu, muslim, jain and zoroastrian). This description rests on scant evidence, on a static reading of urban iconography and cartography (a reluctance to move between the city scale and the architectural scale), and on a lack of critical attention in reading the urban change over time.<sup>19</sup> The architectural and building ideas were appointed as imported from Portugal based on the ‘looks’ of the metropolitan buildings. No attempt was made to document and examine plans to explore the representation of the city, understood as description and narration as well as political symbol. Also, there has been little concern with social forms, spatial dynamics of colonial sites and

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<sup>18</sup> As Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) asserted in his essay “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophic Sketch” of 1795. Kant, Immanuel. 2010 [1795]. *Perpetual Peace*. Minneapolis: Filiquarian Publishing. See also: Bohman, James and Lutz-Bachmann, Matthias (ed.). 1997. *Perpetual peace: essays on Kant's cosmopolitan ideal*. Cambridge, Massachussets: MIT Press.

<sup>19</sup> The population estimates of the time are not reliable, but the commercial and administrative activity in the city had attracted approximately 200 catholic families, 2000 muslims, 4000 hindus and 1000 other inhabitants by the seventeenth century. Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha, (col.), 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Royal letter 5.II.1597, fasc. 3rd, 2nd Part, Nova Goa, 1861, 680. quoted by Bragança Pereira, A. B. de, art. and place, 403; Goa Historical Archive, Monções do Reino, n. 12, quoted by Bragança Pereira, A. B. de, art. and place, 403. Bragança Pereira, A. B. de. 1935. In *Os Portugueses em Diu*, Sep. *O Oriente Portuguez*. Nova Goa, Bastorá: National Press; and Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha, (col.), 1938. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, t. IV, vol. II, part II. Bastorá: National Press. 395.

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everyday use of space. To recapitulate and conclude the thought, the scholarship of the Portuguese colonial city in India until today has been rooted in positivist and evolutionist consensus theories that have historically characterized Western thought, without having a natural outgrowth of a historical analysis on production of space that remains crucial to the understanding of the relations and negotiations between the people and the colonial city. In attempting to question the apparent paradox between modern and postmodern accounts, let us refer to a classic description of the colonial 'public sphere':

The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. [...] The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity [...] No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous. The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone [...] The settlers' town is a well-fed town, an easy-going town [...].

The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill-fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire.<sup>20</sup>

The text comes from *The Wretched of the Earth*, written by influential thinker of postcolonial studies Frantz Fanon,<sup>21</sup> during anticolonial struggles in the past century. Fanon was closely aware of the social forms and spatial dynamics of colonial sites from Martinique to Algiers, and it is hard to believe that he was somehow duped into trumpeting a model of colonial dualism that did not exist (or, alternatively, that he was inventing it out of thin air). He undoubtedly tries here to capture a critical aspect of colonial experience, something that goes beyond the requirements of history.<sup>22</sup> This schema largely treats the colonial city as a creation of the colonizers, devaluing or dismissing indigenous agency, spatial practice, and social contestation.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Fanon, Frantz. 2004. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Sartre, Jean-Paul and Bhabha, Homi K. (comments). New York: Grove Press. 38-9.

<sup>21</sup> Antillean-born, French-educated physician practicing psychiatry in North Africa, philosopher and writer whose works are influential in the fields of post-colonial studies, critical theory, and Marxism. As an intellectual, Fanon was a political radical, Pan-Africanist, and Marxist humanist concerned with the psychopathology of colonization, and the human, social, and cultural consequences of decolonization. To his white European patients, Fanon is ineluctably black "the Negro doctor". To his black Algerian patients, Fanon is white: a French-educated, upper-middle-class professional who cannot speak the language. Identifying with both groups but accepted by neither, Fanon's shifting and contradictory subject positions keep identity perpetually at bay. It is precisely identity that is suspended or deferred by the work of identification, identity that remains in a state of internal exile. Put another way, Fanon's own identifications are in constant translation, caught in a system of cultural relays that make the assumption of racial identity both necessary and impossible.

<sup>22</sup> Ever since Said initiated the debate on *Orientalism* as a specifically western discourse about the Other in 1978, extending earlier, critical approaches to Western domination by authors such as Fanon and Aimé Césaire, postcolonial studies have fundamentally contributed to the development of concepts on trans-cultural interaction, creating influences across disciplines (for an overview see Gandhi, Leela. 2008. *Postcolonial theory. A critical introduction*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press). By articulating a critical perspective on the historic construction of empires and nation states, postcolonial theory contributed significantly to the theory production that informs EH. Proponents of postcolonial theory envisaged a concept of history that reflects on its own repressive, unequal and exclusionary foundations. This incredulous stance towards traditional history resulted from criticism against the hegemony of Eurocentric teleologies and models of developmental stages and modernization in European or World History writing that placed Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 'waiting-room' of history (see Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press). To understand the relational constitution of the modern world, it is, thus, imperative to consider its inherent power asymmetries often hidden in binary analytical frameworks.

<sup>23</sup> Yeoh, Brenda S. 1996. *Contesting Space: Power Relations and The Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3. This overemphasized European dominance was a marked feature of some of the earliest colonial city studies. See *inter alia*: Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); Fernandes, José Manuel. 1987. "O Lugar da Cidade Portuguesa." In *Povos e Culturas*. Lisbon: Centre for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture of the Catholic University of Lisbon. 2: 79-112 and 1999. "Urbanismo e Arquitectura no Estado da Índia (Índia Portuguesa): Alguns Temas e Exemplificações," In *Vasco da Gama and India: religious, cultural and art history, International Conference*, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998, Souza, Teotónio R. de, and Garcia, José Manuel, (org.). Lisbon & Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Vol. III, 271-293; Dias, Pedro. 2009. "Índia: urbanização e fortificação." In *A Arte de Portugal no Mundo*, vol. 9, Lisbon: Público; Horvath, Ronald J. 1969. "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City." In *East Lakes Geographer* 5: 68-82.

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Varied critiques carry implications for the study of colonial cities and especially for the widespread acceptance of 'dual' city forms in European scholarship, in general, and Portuguese scholarship, in particular.<sup>24</sup> This stark model of 'dominance-dependence' used to provide a crucial underpinning for dualistic urban models in the colonial context. However, colonial power relations "did not fit the Manichaean image of a morally unambiguous opposition between colonizing master and colonized victim, domination and powerlessness."<sup>25</sup> Having the

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<sup>24</sup> The historiographical tradition of colonial urbanism has often supported the 'dual cities' hypothesis, encouraging the study of European settlements that bordered, and even intruded upon, native settlements. Janet Abu-Lughod seems to have been the first to take up the topic of what she described as a widespread phenomenon in the middle of the last century (1960s): "The major metropolis in almost every newly industrializing nation is not a single unified city but, in fact, two quite different cities." Abu-Lughod, Redfield and Singer's discussion of 'heterogenetic' cities had obvious implications for colonial urbanism. See Redfield, Robert and Singer, Milton. 1954. "The Cultural Role of Cities." In *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3: 53-73. Ronald J. Horvath followed up with an early piece in 1969 [1969]. "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City." In *East Lakes Geographer* 5: 68-82], but the field began to focus with Anthony King's work in the mid-1970s [1976. *Colonial Urban Development*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul] and finally, Janet Abu-Lughod [1965. In "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7/4: 429-457]. From architectural circumstances she draws cultural conclusions. The two cities, despite physical proximity, "were miles apart socially and centuries apart technologically" (431).

This focus has often eschewed the more widespread and insidious means by which colonial influence pervaded the native urban landscape in places such as Algiers under French rule, where Çelik's states that behind the "clear message conveyed by the image of dual cities [there are] more complicated implications." Looking beneath the surface, she finds that the "architecture of colonialism reveals levels of ambivalence and hybridity while [...] maintaining [...] theme of difference." While Algiers had the form of a dual city, it also played host to housing and urban policies that blurred that divide. Çelik, Zeynep. 1997. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 5-6.

In colonial India see *inter alia*, Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press and 1989. "The Hybrid Metropolis: Western Influences in India." In Bourdier, Jean-Paul and Alsayyad, Nezar. *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: University Press of America. 425-49 (see n. 9); King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment*. London: Routledge; Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India, 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber; Sinha, Pradip. 1978. *Calcutta in Urban History*. Calcutta: Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd. Where sociospatial dualism seemed most marked - the Presidency cities of the East India Company - studies led to the formation of the 'black town/fort' paradigm, which became a central and defining element for colonial urban areas in the South Asian context. See *inter alia*, Dossal, Mariam. 1991. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 16-17; Neild-Basu, Susan M. 1979. "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." In *Modern Asian Studies* 13/2: 217-46; Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Towards the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 198; Metcalf, Thomas R. 2002. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Alsayyad, Nezar. 1995. "From Vernacularism to Globalism: The Temporal Reality of Traditional Settlements," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 7/1: 13-24. Marshall, P. J. "The White Town of Calcutta under the Rule of the East India Company." In *Modern Asian Studies* 34/2: 307-31; and Brown, Rebecca M. 2003. "The Cemeteries and the Suburbs: Patna's Challenges to the Colonial City in South Asia," *Journal of Urban History* 29/2: 151-72. Brown notes the pervasiveness of the dual city model in virtually all South Asian studies of the colonial city. See also: Yeoh, Brenda S. 1996. *Contesting Space: Power Relations and The Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, especially "Power relations and the Colonial Urban Built Environment," 16-28.

In the recent years, scholars have started to draw the lines of the colonial city somehow differently, emphasizing blurred and ambiguous boundaries. See, *inter alia* and especially, Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge; Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. London: Routledge; Glover, William J. 2007. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota; Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*. Aldershot: Ashgate; and Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell Publishing, are practical and historiographical anchors to this chapter. As we attempted to do with Diu, these accounts show that city space was not so neatly divided as colonial representations implied. Chattopadhyay's relates colonial ideologies and urban policies in a manner akin to Glover's approach. She argues that ideas about the black/native town developed in dialogue with colonial interventions. Rejects the dual 'white/black' town model as a useful empirical description of the city and elaborates its functions as a productive idea for colonial urbanism. While her overall concern is to 'problematize representation of the city' rather than to provide empirical description, nevertheless explores structures of power in colonial Calcutta. Glover presents cities as key structures for conditioning everyday experiences of empire and examines the relation between symbolic power over space and the continuing production of regimes of segregation in Lahore. His architectural history identifies the role of the built environment in shaping a colonial milieu that combined imperial domination with the ostensible improvement of the colonized population. Legg's book on the making of New Delhi, casts the colonial city as 'showcase of imperial sovereignty and modernity'. Viewing the city from the perspective of an increasingly embattled colonial state reveals how urban governance inscribed notions of hierarchy upon urban space. Hosagrahar's elucidates the colonial transformation of Delhi into a 'hybrid' city, one that juxtaposed both indigenous and extra local elements in paradoxical and unstable combinations. In her analysis, shows how local customs, spatial practices, and knowledge traditions in the city both changed and were changed by a modern form of urbanism and scientific rationality that she sees as having been imposed on the city by the British. Hosagrahar thus argues that Delhi's colonial urban forms were the result of local adaptations to Western ideals and were neither purely 'Indian' nor purely 'Western' creations. Instead, the products of colonial urban restructuring evinced 'the elusive, contradictory, tentative, negotiated, and fluid' through material juxtapositions of older and newer, local and foreign, elements.

<sup>25</sup> Bashkow, Ira. 2006. *The Meaning of Whitemen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 4.

capacity to create separate and divided cities implies that the Portuguese possessed the ability to command and shape space according to plan. Older accounts of colonialism, whether framed by modernization narratives or Marxist critiques,<sup>26</sup> have been moved by more ideological views predicated on notions of contingency, indeterminacy, and ambiguity.<sup>27</sup> Recent work in anthropology, history, and postcolonial studies has greatly complicated the sense of the colonial encounter and its consequences in the colonial city.<sup>28</sup>

Closing, we trace the shaping of an imperial iconography and cartography through the physical transformations in the built environment, concentrating in architecture, infrastructure, streets, and urban space. The chapter begins with interventions in the old urban fabrics, moves to the construction of the *extra-muros* settlement outside the citadel, and finally ends with the nineteenth century connected representations of Diu.

### **Pattern, patrimonialism<sup>29</sup> and patronage**

After the eighteenth century, the absence of military conflict in Diu was a key political feature of Diu. Since the sixteenth century, religious tolerance was also fully accepted in Diu by the *Estado da Índia*. Therefore, the *pax* inside the city and between the territory and the hinterland neighbouring states liberated the city from these constraints. The consequences of this opening were numerous. City plans were no longer conditioned by an imposed frontier that limited extension and difference in Diu. No attention anymore was necessary to adopt a wall as an architectural subject separating the city from the hinterland or to open a main street that had to pass

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<sup>26</sup> This debate reflects a tension that runs through the field of postcolonial studies. Marxist critiques are concerned with narratives of capitalism rather than the institutional structures and material effects of capitalism as a mode of production. Criticism of movements that essentialize subaltern subjects can also be read as an attack on the basic premise of Marxist politics, which privileges the proletariat as a group with shared, true interests that are produced by the capitalist system. Although some thinkers draw on both Marxism and poststructuralism, the two theories have different interests, methods, and assumptions. In the humanities, postcolonial theory tends to reflect the influence of poststructuralist thought, while theorists of decolonization focus on social history, economics, and political institutions. Whereas postcolonial theory is associated with the issues of hybridity, diaspora, representation, narrative, and knowledge/power, theories of decolonization are concerned with revolution, economic inequality, violence, and political identity.

<sup>27</sup> Comaroff suggests that instead of fixed identities, one increasingly hears of fluid subject positions, negotiated and shifting: “dialectics have given way to dialogics, political economy to poetics, class conflict to consumption, the violence of the gun to the violation of the text, world historical material processes to local struggles over signs and styles, European domination to post-Hegelian hybridity.” Comaroff, John L. 1998. “Reflections on the Colonial State, in South Africa and Elsewhere: Factions, Fragments, Facts and Fictions,” *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 4/3: 321-361.

<sup>28</sup> About social sciences and nineteenth century Portuguese colonial empire, see, *inter alia*: Roque, Ricardo. 2001. *Antropologia e Império: Fonseca Cardoso e a Expedição à Índia em 1895*. Lisbon: Social Sciences Press; Curto, Diogo Ramada. 2002. “O atraso historiográfico português.” In Boxer, Charles R. *Opera Minora*, vol. III - *Historiografia / Historiography*. Lisbon: Orient Foundation, VII-LXXXVII; Pereira, Rui Mateus. 2005. *Conhecer para Dominar. O Desenvolvimento do Conhecimento Antropológico na Política Colonial Portuguesa em Moçambique, 1926-1959*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Lisbon: FCSH - New University of Lisbon; Agoas, Frederico. 2012. “Estado, universidade e ciências sociais: A introdução da sociologia da Escola Superior Colonial (1952-1972).” In Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira, (org.). *O Império Colonial em questão (sécs. XIX-XX): poderes, saberes e instituições*. Lisbon: Edições 70. 317-348; Castelo, Cláudia. 2012. “Ciência, Estado e Desenvolvimento no Colonialismo Português Tardio.” In Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira, (org.), *O Império Colonial em questão (sécs. XIX-XX): poderes, saberes e instituições*. Lisbon: Edições 70. 349-388; Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira. 2010. *Almas Negras e Corpos Brancos*. Lisbon: Social Sciences Press; 2012. *O Império Colonial em questão (sécs. XIX-XX): poderes, saberes e instituições*. Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira, (org.), Lisbon: Edições 70; 2015. *Os passados do presente: internacionalismo, imperialismo e a construção do mundo contemporâneo*. Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira and Monteiro, José Pedro (org.). Coimbra: Almedina.

<sup>29</sup> Patrimonialism entails personalized authority premised in relationships of reciprocity between rule and ruled. Such ideas had a lengthy history in Diu, linked to the long-standing dynastic political structure of *Estado da Índia* and established ethical frameworks in Hindu-Muslim political discourse. Patrimonialism has usually been cast as part of an evolutionary transition between forms of authority. As such, patrimonialism (personalized authority) is viewed as an earlier stage in an inevitable transition to bureaucratic (depersonalized, normative) authority. On pre-modern patrimonialism see Barkey, Karen. 1994. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 9-17. For patrimonialism and South Asian sub-imperial states see: Rudolph, Susanne H., Rudolph, Lloyd I., and Singh, Mohan. 1975. “A Bureaucratic Lineage in Princely India: Elite Formation and Conflict in a Patrimonial System.” In *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34/3. 717-753; Pernau, Margrit. 2000. *The Passing of Patrimonialism: Politics and Political Culture in Hyderabad, 1911-1948*. New Delhi: Manohar. For South Asia see Blake, Stephen P. 1979. “The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 39/1: 77-94. For *Estado da Índia* see: Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. 1998. “A Estrutura Política e Administrativa do Estado da Índia no Século XVI”, In Thomaz, Luís Filipe Reis. *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel; Santos, Catarina Madeira. 1999. “Entre Velha Goa e Pangim: a capital do Estado da Índia e as Reformulações da política ultramarina.” In *Separata de Revista Militar* 51: 119-157 and 1999. *Goa é a chave de toda a Índia: perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); Xavier, Ângela Barreto. 2008. *A invenção de Goa: poder imperial e convenções culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisbon: ICS – Social Science Press.

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through the gates. This does, however, not mean that urban constraints ceased to exist: the orography remained, which meant there were slopes in the south of the city and island to skirt around; the hydrography remained, which meant there was the Chassis river to go alongside or to cross. Even so, this limitation of the physical constraints allowed Diu to have more easily a functional distribution and sprawl scattering outwards from a desired centrality: that of the great mosque and of the merchants' and craftsmen's neighbourhood. Paradoxically, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement which was often presented as anarchic accords well with its own functionality, setting an extremely dense commercial centre against a distended residential periphery. Once the 'Gujarat' urban settlement was liberated from its limits, it was also liberated from contiguity that was neither obligatory nor desired and the northern wall of the city was torn down.

The landscape of colonial Diu was (and still is) far too complex to be usefully described in terms of the duality 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements. The city consisted of overlapping territorialities and conceptions of space, both Gujarati/indigenous and Portuguese/foreign, that were always subject of negotiation and translation. The intersection of military objectives and commercial interests in Diu, however, produced a demand that the Portuguese should rethink the boundaries of Diu. The commerce that the citadel was meant to protect thwarted the full possibilities of the city design. The cannons of the citadel commanded the vast open field of the esplanade between the citadel and the city. This was not meant to be a place of gathering, but a *glacis* to protect the citadel. Such an open plan was predicated as much by advances in military technology as by a renewed confidence on the part of the Portuguese, who could now afford to have an open plan.

After the mid nineteenth century, the Portuguese understood the perpetuity of peace, and consequently, the idea of a totally walled Diu was voted to abandon. Therefore, the demolition of the northern riverine wall of Diu would become a grand gesture expectant with possibilities of imperial display. The *banyan* merchants who flourished at the time and since they were together under the *Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu*, did not consider it worthwhile to forego their rights to private property for 'public' imperial projects that would start from then. The spatial choices oscillated between a theatrical display of open plans and a proliferation of confining elements, elaborate compound walls and railings that spoke a calculated language of omission.

In 1833, was drawn one of the strongest paradigms of military cartography depicting Portuguese colonial presence in India during the nineteenth century: "*Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.*" [figure 5.1].<sup>30</sup> This map was authored by José Aniceto da Silva,<sup>31</sup> henceforth Aniceto da Silva, after request of the viceroy Manuel de Portugal e Castro (1787-1854).<sup>32</sup> It depicts a very exhaustive plan of Diu and comprehensive elevations on the margins, as for example, an elevation of the citadel taken from the church of Our Lady of Hope (*igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*) as well as several profiles of buildings and monuments. The noteworthy depiction was the result of an elaborate and accurate survey undertaken, revealing the systematic nature of the siting of the new buildings. It shows in great detail not just streets and buildings, but also trees, monuments, posts, sandbanks and even other fixtures of the cityscape. It has an explanation and legend with sheet items with letters "a, e, m and r" and numbers from one to 166. The cartography has three known copies with different sizes: 677 x 839 mm (1833), 615 x 926 mm (1838), 614 x 899mm (1840), and was drawn to a scale marked in *braças*.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon]. Coloured cartography. Size 615 x 926 mm. Scale 100 *braças* equals 85mm

<sup>31</sup> Captain of Infantry from the Portuguese army and military engineer. He produced cartography of Pangim, Daman, of the island of Diu (1833 and 1901), the city and citadel of Diu (1833).

<sup>32</sup> Governor from 1826 until 1830 and also viceroy of *Estado da Índia* from 1830 until 1835.

<sup>33</sup> One *braça* is 2.2 meters. In the drawing 100 *braças* equals 85mm.

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The formulaic presentation of buildings underlines the cumulative impact of the new structures on Diu's urban image. Four main collections of buildings were depicted. Within the walled city, the governors' palace, the civil court, the headquarters of the colonial administration, and the schools, occupied the north-eastern riverine area. Military barracks, ammunition depots, and food storage warehouses were in the north-western riverine area. The catholic churches and the Royal Hospital nearby, were drawn in a half circle of buildings from north to southwest. Inside the citadel, a large military complex included the offices of the commander in chief, barracks, stables, and gardens. The new buildings were described in a reductive vocabulary, which conveyed the message quickly and clearly, while enforcing it by repetition. An architecture that projected the modernity<sup>34</sup> of the Portuguese Empire was made regular, impressive in size and quality of materials, and ornamented in an appropriate manner. These buildings brought the nineteenth-century additions to the level of prominence given to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries historical anchors of urban fabrics by including them in the same lists to convey general descriptions of a particular Diu. Nevertheless, the nineteenth-century clustering of the public buildings helped differentiate them in their representative associations: imperial and modern.

During the early nineteenth century and matching the main goals of colonial occupation, Portuguese interventions in Diu followed a set of political rhetoric – that we call 'patrimonialism' – i.e., the colonial government (and the military engineers) 'took over' the city, appropriated some buildings, and cleared the urban fabric to create the spaces needed for the establishment of a colonial administrative hub in a sort of *Haussmannian* practice. In the light of the economic and military benefits to be gained from Diu's within the *Estado da Índia* urban network, it was not surprising that some of the earliest nineteenth century infrastructure projects targeted the regularization of waterfront facilities and the construction of specialized warehouses, breakwaters, piers, and embankments. Diu almost aimed to be 'port-city and *place d'armes* complex' with access to the city gates through its main urban axis: the riverine and the central spine roads. A consistent case for Diu's 'modernization' was a characteristic of colonial representations of the city in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>35</sup> Whether couched as praise or criticism, Diu was to be a 'modern' city with modern spaces and modern institutions, while retaining its major role in Kathiawar peninsula as a port of trade from the *Estado da Índia*.

The confrontation between the Portuguese imperial state and the pre-modern urban fabric, suggests a peculiar form of colonial anachronism. First, is the practice of public space under colonial authority; second, is the inquiry of 'public sphere' and its spatial correlates; and finally, is the question of 'translation' that we encounter in constructing the nineteenth-century 'public sphere' in Diu. The development of an intended 'modern' state in the *Estado da Índia* was not presumed to be simultaneous with the development of modern public and private spheres. This modernization, which assumed the arrangement of authority and system of technology by the Portuguese empire, was supposed to bear the burden of subjecting pre-modern Gujarat society to the discipline of modern life and to the regulations of the *Estado da Índia*. Once the spaces inhabited by the Portuguese could be 'translated' into a regulated space of 'experimentation,' colonial knowledge entered its own sphere of epistemological dominance. Here, apparently, Gujaratis could be made to speak about their social practices. In

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<sup>34</sup> Scholarship on colonial South Asia over the last few decades has emphasized the central role which colonial forms of knowledge - censuses, gazetteers, linguistic surveys, ethnographic descriptions of various communities, and historiography - played in the making of South Asia's political modernity the rule by modern institutions of the state, bureaucracy, and capitalist enterprise. See especially Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Dirks, Nicholas B. 2002. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, especially "The Ethnographic State," 125-228.

<sup>35</sup> See 1783 and 1833 cartography of Diu: *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria José Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].



Certeau's words, the non-discursive could be translated into a discursive mode of experimentation and theory.<sup>36</sup> However, the conflict was not merely present in the discursive and non-discursive practices, but also in the silent itineraries that work in architectural and urban spatial cultures, and in the performative strategies that balance the measured silences of Portuguese colonial discourse.

The emergence of a Gujarati 'public sphere' that challenged the assumption of an exclusive Portuguese colonial European 'public sphere' was, from the early seventeenth century, dominated by the Gujarati elite, and gave the spatial politics of Diu its peculiar configuration. Much of the nineteenth century Gujarati intellectual and political activity was directed towards erasing the hierarchical signification implied in the Portuguese view of public life. The term, Gujarati elite, in this context requires clarification. It is standard practice among historians to refer to the Gujarati elite as the *banyans* and Gujarati middle class as the landholders. The wealthiest Gujarati residents invariably had *havelis* and the most architectural complex dwellings in the city and very large landholdings in rural areas of the island, even if they were engaged in trade in the city. Those of middling ranks increasingly came to reside in the city with the hope of supplementing their modest income from the land with a professional income. Since the seventeenth century most of the commerce of the city was in the hands of Gujarat *banyans* who could rely on a trade and financial network that operated between Diu and the eastern coast of Africa. Most of these men had risen from a family status of traders in a matter of generations as they made fortunes by trading in cloth and ivory. They formed the *comprador* class that had directly or indirectly benefited from the quasi-feudal structure of revenue arrangement that had its origin under the 1686-1777 Diu *Banyans* Trading Company (*Companhia dos Baneanes de Diu*).<sup>37</sup>

For purposes of clarity and analysis, we are making a distinction between the two groups that formed this privileged class. That is, we are distinguishing between the *banyan* elite - the upper crust of the Gujarati landed gentry residing in the city that were routinely granted titles of *nagarseth* and *mahajan*, and the middling class of professionals - and those who came to occupy middle to low ranks in the colonial services. The respectable stratum typically consisted of the higher castes of hindu society, and were connected socially through kinship and, increasingly in the later part of the century, through professional relations. Considerable socio-economic and even caste mobility within this stratum meant that the social distinctions between the middling classes and those we are calling the elite were not static, and increasingly became blurred as the very conditions and signs of Gujarati respectability came under challenge in the last decades of the nineteenth century. And yet, to understand the production of urban space, we need to pay attention to the discrepant experience of the middling classes and the *banyan* elite in terms of their ability to own and control space.

The *banyan* elite of Diu were as much a fundamental part of Diu's economy as were the Portuguese: they were instrumental in establishing modern institutions in the city alongside their patronage of the architectural and urban life and the agendas of each were embedded in the processes of colonial production. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, part of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement (in Makata road, refurbishment of the city customs in 1767,<sup>38</sup> repairs on the northern city wall in front of the bazaar in 1726,<sup>39</sup> *Torres Novas* road in 1857, etc.) was structured and in great measure by the *banyan* elite who bought tracts of land, settled tenants, fostered a large number of dependents related by kinship and country connections and mainly, gained power by their close relation with the Portuguese colonial government. Most of these men had risen from a family status of traders

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<sup>36</sup> Certeau, Michel de. 1998. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 61.

<sup>37</sup> About the *Banyans* of Diu, see chapter 3.

<sup>38</sup> Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 41.

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that operated between between Diu and the eastern coast of Africa in a matter of a few generations. Many made fortunes by trading in cloth and ivory, but their extensive investment in landed property both inside and outside the city and the proximity with the Portuguese colonial government was the key to their rise. They took the occasion of the social order of Diu yet to be established, to move up in caste and status, by setting the profile of a social hierarchy with artisans, petty traders, and dependents which they controlled and by supporting elite patronage. Concluding, the premises for Diu's nineteenth century urban space were the result of the emergence of a Gujarati 'public sphere' during the early eighteenth century that challenged the assumption of an exclusive colonial Portuguese 'public sphere'.

Patronage for architectural activity and building urban space was a way to accommodate different social groups and ethnic communities within the framework of more than one set of relationships. Changes occurred related to newer perceptions and expectations for an urban environment. The city's elite was expected to patronize its life, and their actions were noted both within the Gujarati 'public sphere', as well as by Portuguese colonial government. As part of its civilizing mission, the colonial authorities, extended support to such endeavours in a sphere where conversation and negotiation occurred among equals, and simultaneously, among unequal's. The elite formed the locus of social activity and the most significant events took place under their patronage, and it was they who represented 'Gujarat' informed opinion to the colonial authorities. In their large and self-contained *havelis*, they acted as petty kings and lavish hosts to both the Portuguese and Gujarati communities and in the process gained political advantages they were otherwise denied. Therefore, these *havelis* incorporated a range of 'spaces' that became apparatuses for accumulating and demonstrating social power and instruments to trace a genealogy of Gujarati spatial practices through which notions of public and private space, or in other words publicness and privacy, were understood in Diu during the nineteenth century.

Diu witnessed the 'intermingling' of loyalty of officials to the ruler ('patrimonialism') with bureaucratized forms of political legitimization. Nineteenth century urban transformations, in addition to the initiatives of the Portuguese authorities, owed a great deal to 'patrimonialism' and to local power structures.<sup>40</sup> In 1857,<sup>41</sup> Diu citizens raised funds to patronize festivities commemorating the visit of the governor-general António César de Vasconcelos Correia (who incongruously never came to the island and to the city). This money was diverted for municipal improvement by holding a public collection.<sup>42</sup> The municipal administration responded to the

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<sup>40</sup> My contention here is that patrimonialism as a mode of political rhetoric had important stakes for legitimization of a wide variety of political projects and states. On the transition narrative dealing with modernity and the colonial encounter as a historiographical entity, see, *inter alia*, Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2007. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 30-37.

<sup>41</sup> In this same year (1857) (contrastingly to Diu's social status of tolerance between rulers and ruled), the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 took place in British colonial India. As it is known, this was arguably the most significant historical event in the British rule of India, whereby sepoys or Indian soldiers rose in revolt against the British authorities in the Cantonment. They were understood by the British colonial state as a singular revolt aimed at restoring to effective power the Mughal sovereign, who was still the nominal Emperor of India. It precipitated immense changes in governmental policies on varied fronts. The hardening of the boundaries that divided Europeans from Indians in the wake of these events is a well-documented historical development that also had a very direct bearing on public architecture.

See, *inter alia*: Ballhatchet, Kenneth. 1980. *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*. New York: St. Martin's Press; Metcalf, Thomas R. 1990. *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870*. New Delhi: Manohar, and 1997. *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 256; Bayly, Christopher A. 1988. *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 230; 2000. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, c 1780-1870*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 412; Bose, Sugata and Jalal, Ayesha. 2004. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. London: Routledge. 253, Ludden, David. 2002. *India and South Asia: A Short History*. Oxford: Oneworld. xii,306; Markovits, Claude, (ed.). 2004. *A History of Modern India 1480-1950*. London: Anthem. 607; Metcalf, Barbara D. and Metcalf, Thomas R. 2006. *A Concise History of Modern India*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 337; Anderson, Clare. 2007. *Indian Uprising of 1857-8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion*. New York: Anthem Press. 217.

<sup>42</sup> The needs of the public (who rarely speak but are always spoken for) are so common in modern statist discourses such as urban planning in this era that it can be spoken of as a universal feature of the emerging language of urbanism. One parallel example can be found in Zeynep Çelik's work on nineteenth century Istanbul, during which the urban fabric was 'regularized'. Streets were standardized

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submitted petition by defending the modernization of the city as a service to the general wellbeing of the community.<sup>43</sup> The success of the collection prompted the Committee to debate an issue for city improvements and the convenience and prosperity of its denizens, including the building of a road connecting the city to the citadel:

“It is for me a brilliant idea to convert in a public and acknowledged work the amount which the inhabitants of Diu had intended for [...] festivities during my [...] visit [...] to the city. And if anything relieves me from the guilt of not being able to make that visit, it is no doubt this decision, early evidence of a warm reception, which is waiting for me in the next year in that place of military glory [bringing up the sieges]. I feel no less recognized to the [...] perpetuation of the name of the *Torres Novas* viscount, associating me with a new road, as a testimony of my desire and commitment to promote improvements of the place, that his Majesty entrusted to my care, to which I incessantly contribute with my efforts [...] God save Your Excellency. Governors Palace in Pangim, Goa, 3 July 1857 – *Torres Novas* viscount – To the president of the Municipality of Diu.”

“... The City Hall of Diu is proud to bring to the reputable presence of Your Excellency the official document, a copy, and the subscription note, addressed in name of the inhabitants of this Municipality; rejoicing from being empowered to build a monument in this remote place by their constituents, that should perpetuate the memory of Your respectful and sympathetic [...] government [...] and is pleased to inform Your Excellency, that it enthusiastically accepted the task, and will try to satisfy Diu’s inhabitants the best way possible - and already published advertisements to auction the work. The Municipality takes this occasion, and dares to ask You on behalf of the people of Diu, to accept this humble testimony of gratitude and deference. God save Your Excellency. Diu’s Municipality building, 6 June 1857 - *Antonio Francisco Sales de Andrade*, President. *José Micael Ditoso Alexandre Mascarenhas*, Vice-President. - *Bernardo José Xavier Benevides - Morangi Rupchande Antonio - Manuel da Trindade.*”<sup>44</sup>

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and fire resistant buildings were constructed to “serve the public good.” Çelik, Zeynep. 1986. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California. 50.

Throughout the work of Alice Santiago Faria, *L’ Architecture Coloniale Portugaise a Goa. Le Département des Travaux Publics, 1840-1926*. unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Paris: Université Paris 1 - Pantheon-Sorbonne. 51-165, the main public buildings which can be seen in Goa were identified and the most basic facts were settled. The majority of the colonial public works are from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During this period, Portugal turned its colonial expansion towards Africa. Goa had no economic or strategic importance for Lisbon, maintaining only symbolic value and the persistence of a national bond. The author seeks to understand how the ‘Public Works Department’ and its works reflected this political and social situation, the ambiguity of Goan society and the various sides of the Portugal and the way Goa survived by itself on the fringe of the European empires in India.

As is the case in much historical scholarship on urban planning and architecture, however, these narratives, like many others, do not reveal even the slightest trace of contestation regarding the urban plans from the population at large. The reader has little choice but to assume that all residents of the neighbourhoods of nineteenth century that were being partially razed and reconstructed were in complete support of the urban projects.

<sup>43</sup> Even in New Delhi, there were various complex and local forces, other than the colonial state’s intended spatial schemes, shaping its spatial patterns. See e.g. Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. London: Routledge and Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi’s Urban Governmentalities*. Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell Publishing.

<sup>44</sup> “Illm.º Sr – He para mim sobre maneira agradável a lembrança de se converter n’uma obra de publica e reconhecida utilidade a quantia, que os habitantes de Diu haviam destinado para festejos e apparatus transitórios na ocasião da visita, que eu esperava fazer á mesma Praça. E se alguma cousa me allivia o sentimento de eu não ter podido verificar aquella visita, he sem duvida esta deliberação, prova adiantada do bom acolhimento, que naquelle celebre monumento da gloria Portugueza me espera no anno futuro. Fico não menos reconhecido á fineza de se perpetuar o nome de Visconde de Torres-Novas, vinculando-o ao da nova estrada, como testemunho do meu desejo e empenho de promover os melhoramentos materiaes do paiz, que Sua Magestade confiou a meus cuidados, para o que emprêgo incessantemente todos os meus esforços, e aproveito todos os meus recursos, que he possível.

O que communico a V. Sª. para que sirva de demonstração dos meus agradecimentos a essa Camara Municipal, e a todas as demais Authoridades e moradores de Diu.

Deos Guarde a V. Sª. Palacio do Governador Geral em Nova-Goa, 3 de Julho de 1857. – Visconde de Torres-Novas. – Illm.º Sr. Presidente da Camara Municipal de Diu.”

“Illm.º e Exm.º Sr. – A Camara Municipal do Concelho de Diu tem a honra de levar á respeitavel presença de V.Ex.ª, incluso por copia, o Officio e a nota de subscipção, que lhe foram dirigidos em nome dos habitantes deste Municipio; e folgando de se ver incumbida pelos seus constituintes da construção d’um monumento, que deve nestas remotas terras perpetuar a memoria do justo e munificente governo de V.Ex.ª que tanto respeito e sympathia ha ganhado no India Portugueza, tem o prazer de dizer a V.Ex.ª, que com boa vontade accitou a incumbência, ficando de satisfazer ás indicações dos mesmos habitantes do melhor modo possível, - e que já estão publicados annuncios para a arrematação da obra.

A Camara aproveita esta occasião, e ousa rogar a V.Ex.ª em nome dos povos de Diu, que se digne acceitar esse humilde testemunho da dua gratidão e accatamento.

Deos Guarde e V.Ex.ª Paços da Camara Municipal em Diu, 6 de Junho de 1857. – Illm.º e Exm.º Sr. Visconde de Torres-Novas. – Antonio Francisco Sales de Andrade, Presidente. – José Micael Ditoso Alexandre Mascarenhas, Vice-Presidente. - Bernardo José Xavier Benevides. - Morangi Rupchande Antonio. - Manuel da Trindade.”

“Illustrissima Camara Municipal.

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[Figure 5.2] Torres Novas road, dedication, 2014.

The *Torres Novas* road [figures 5.2 and 5.3] (today, Saint Paul's Church road),<sup>45</sup> was opened under the auspices of and named after António César de Vasconcelos Correia (1855-1864), Torres Novas viscount and 93<sup>rd</sup> governor-general of *Estado da Índia*, during the administration of Diu of the governor Romão José de Sousa. It is a straight southeast-northwest street, from the vicinity citadel to the borders of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and Parsi neighbourhood, from the vicinity of Saint Paul's church towards the periphery of the bazaar, parallel to the northern limit of the city on the northern shore of the island. The road was built in a specific part of the city, explicitly the Portuguese residential neighbourhood, and received a name that denoted the symbolic transfer of sentiment and the imagery of colonial hopes. The selection of a suitable street to honour an individual was a carefully calculated process aimed at ensuring that the length, location, and standing of the street were commensurate with the high reverence due to the person. Sometimes social practices and professional activities

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Uma subscrição voluntaria, levantada pelos habitantes desta Cidade, havia sido destinada a festejar a chegada aqui do Exm.º Visconde de Torres-Novas, Governador Geral deste Estado. Infelizmente incommodas de saude de S. Ex.ª privaram esta terra de ver o Varão, que preside aos destinos da Índia Portugueza: os beneficios, que lhe poderiam resultar da sua visita, ficaram talvez para mais tarde; e os habitantes tiveram a desventura de lhe não poderem fazer testemunhar o quanto os povos de Diu amam uma governação benefica.

Com todo o pensamento de dar a S.Ex.ª provas da sua sympathia e dedicação continuou vigoroso nos seus corações, e conhecendo o empenho de S.Ex.ª em promover os melhoramentos materiaes da terra, que governa, empregar o producto da subscrição na construção d'uma estrada, que da rua dos Christãos se dirija para o Portão do Bazar, e dar lhe o nome de = Visconde de Torres-Novas = com esperança de que se S.Ex.ª aceitará com bondade este monumento da affeição e respeito dos seus governados.

Os subscriptores entendendo que a Illustre Camara, que tão bem promove os interesses materiaes do seu Municipio, se não negaria a se incumbir d'uma obra util, para cuja consecução concorreram todos os seus Membros, e certos de que a sua posição social he a mais apropriada para obter que o monumento, destinado ao Chefe de Estado, seja possivelmente capaz, encarregaram a esta Comissão (que fôra nomeada para dirigir os festejos) de rogar a V.S.ª o favor de tomar seu cargo a construcção da mesma estrada, e de pedir confiados na muita bondade de V.S.ª, que se digne mandar (do modo que V.S.ª entender) pôr n'uma das columnas da estrada um inscripção, em que se declare, que a estrada he dedicada ao Exm.º Visconde de Torres-Novas. Governador Geral deste Estado, pelos habitante de Diu; e que esta inscripção seja posta em os tres de Novembro proximo vindouro, dia anniversario daquelle em que S. Exa. assumiu as reedes do governo da Índia. Segura pois esta Comissão de que V. Senhoria accederá aos desejos dos seus representados, toma a liberdade de levar à presença de V. Senhoria, e de remetter a inclusa relação dos Subscriptores com a nota da importancia liquida da quantia, e tambem esta.

Deus Guarde a V. Senhoria Diu, 25 de Maio de 1857. – Illm.ª Camara Municipal de Diu. – Antonio Francisco Sales d'Andrade – Antonio Anastacio Bruto da Costa – Call Curgi.

Está conforme com o proprio Officio. Secretaria da Camara Municipal em Diu, 5 de Junho de 1857. – O Escrivão da Camara Municipal, Sebastião Dias." Bulletin from *Estado da Índia* Government, 52, Nova-Goa, 7 July 1857.

<sup>45</sup> See also: Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. "Epigrafia de Diu," Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 45.

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resulted in neighbourhoods with related street names on a common theme. Although as in other European colonial cities in South Asia, residential segregation along racial lines did not happen in Diu, colonial streets (and street names) often indicated an unofficial dichotomy between Portuguese and Gujarati residential areas. The opening of this the *Torres Novas* road crossing the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement provided the basis of a street system that associated racial identity with a specific place in Diu, although the principle of residential separation since the seventeenth century did not survive in its entirety.

The 'matrix' system of Diu was that of a 'fan,' whereby a space is distributed from a central, or obligatory, point towards the urban margins, these matrices then being continued by roads. The bazaar and the mosque were close and depending to each other and this pairing constitutes the centre of the fan. The bazaar, as a space of retail and wholesale activity, displayed a clear socio-economic hierarchy: at the top were the big traders, merchants, and distributors, identified by their share of the bazaar, the financial resources they possess, and the political and social connections they hold in Diu. In the middle are mid-to-small sized retailers, who rake in a moderate living, while actively maintaining connections with the upper-tier of the bazaar. At the bottom is the bazaar's working class, which comprises the street vendors and cart-pushers, and the manual labour that works on daily wage. The mosque played an ancillary role in this grading and hierarchy. For starters, it provides a public space for interaction of people with each other, forge alliances, and pool in resources to influence the powers inside the city of Diu. This much is apparent given the degree to which the bazaar of Diu is organised. By creating strong, durable networks with each other and with political representatives (also found in the same public space), the trader/merchant elite was able to create channels for collective action that are helpful in staving off unfriendly state policies and actions in the realm of taxation and land usage. The second role played by the mosque (and by the ritualistic practice) was through the rewards granted by an outwardly Islamic attendance. By playing a role in patronizing (building or maintaining) a mosque, or engaging in very public acts, traders create an image of philanthropic piety, which helps them not only in attracting or retaining clients, but also in commanding the respect of other individuals (both traders and labourers) in the same economic space. Workers, many of whom were travellers or migrants, were often given sermons on their exact, ordained role in society, and how the travails and tribulations of poverty in the material world will be compensated for in the afterlife. Finally, the cultivation of a pious appearance by traders and merchants subsequently play a useful role for their own public and social image. This acquired moral authority gives them local legitimacy to act as intermediaries between parties.

The bazaar-mosque nexus is an example of how the economic relationship between the poor and the affluent is fortified by their participation in a shared moral framework. Also, the bazaar-mosque as inseparable twins, gives alliance and arena for a social basis of meeting, protest and ultimately conflict. This bazaar plus mosque is indeed a common physical feature in the history of urban forms, beginning from urban gates. The junction allows the directing of branch roads to the ends of a single street.

The 'matrix' feature became more complex in Diu, with two fans, one starting from the mosque-bazaar pairing, and another starting in the walls main gate providing a transverse link. As the bazaar and the citadel back on to a hill or a river, the fan spreads through 180 degrees to form the fully radiating system that we find around the mosque and bazaar. Because the road network is highly centralized, direct links between neighbourhoods which have a degree of autonomy were rare, and accordingly, the *Torres Novas* road would be the main urban development colonial proposal for the urbanism of Diu.

Diu's neighbourhoods were internally served by local roads, 'matrix' streets, and the rationale of their layouts is impossible to grasp without information of the parcelling. In fact, the formation of large irregular blocks is perhaps related to the previous existence of enclosures or neighbourhoods of parcels. There are direct short *cul-de-sacs* serving buildings set at a subordinate depth behind the buildings lining a street; long *cul-de-sacs* with recesses to

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[Figure 5.3] Torres Novas road, view southeast - northwest, 2014.

provide access to the core of large blocks of buildings; and finally, peripheral *cul-de-sacs* serving dead-end blocks of buildings. The series of ‘matrix’ streets, streets for local use and *cul-de-sacs* often forms a highly ramified system, branching out like a tree: concentrated at the centre and distended at the periphery.

The Torres Novas road, which would become the ‘central spine’ of Portuguese colonial Diu, cuts through the city from east to west and connects its most important urban parts: citadel, ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement, administrative and commercial nucleus and ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement. It started in the seventeenth century as a narrow Gujarati track that elevated its status from that of a horse path.<sup>46</sup> Through the open field between the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement and the citadel, it was opened in the vicinity of the market and port, took its path through the back of the governors’ palace and turned into the *Rua de Melo*, in the vicinity of Saint Thomas church, and further ended in *Largo de São Paulo* in front of Saint Paul’s church. The quasi-baroque of the vistas from the road are largely symbolic. It indeed represented a desire for order and spatial control but the street halted beyond the fringe of the ‘Gujarat’ urban settlement. In some way, the focus of Portuguese symbolic power turned from the citadel beyond the eastern and northern faces of the road to the Torres Novas Road itself. It formed an extension of the governors’ palace, providing space for ceremonial grandeur and a field for displaying imperial splendour in the colonial city of Diu. Significantly, these pieces retained isolated identities. No attempt was made to integrate these different elements within a singular urban formal arrangement.

<sup>46</sup> See chapter 2, figure 2.3: Bocarro, António. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descriçãos da Altura em que Estão, de de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Redimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Drawing by Pedro Barreto de Resende. Codex COD CXV. X-2. Biblioteca Pública de Évora (BPE).

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The establishment of a network of streets in Diu not only introduced order and differentiation into the originally amorphous urban landscape, but also reflects the mental image of the Portuguese dominant colonial culture. In Diu, the official act for assignment of the *Torres Novas* road was at the municipal meeting on the approval of the governor and governmental and municipal officials, but also through a Collection involving Diu's inhabitants. The naming process for the road was strongly dominated by the opinion of the governor, governmental and municipal officials and, eventually (or occasionally for other examples), those of influential property owners, but it was relatively impervious to the people who lived on or used the streets. Also street nomenclature, which was based on the official Portuguese perception of landscape ordering and urban functioning existed in the colonial Diu. Finally, it was an instrumental step in bringing an urban infrastructural lever to urbanity in the city. The road was supposed to become a presumed attribute of Diu's modernity. This almost 'perfect' street thus underlined the Portuguese imperial presence in Diu.

António Francisco Sales d'Andrade, head of the Municipality of Diu and influential member of the community, however, urged that efficiency should be the prime concern and comfort and beautification secondary. First and foremost, the goal for the opening of such a street in Diu was the connection between 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements, showing partiality towards the edges of the settlements. Second and also important and expected outcome, was the levelling of the terrain and improved drainage. No one, however, lost sight of the additional advantages of the road, namely, improved connection between the bazaar - *Portão do Bazar* - and Saint Paul's church which was an anchor religious building of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement. Contrastingly, another purpose of driving roads into the 'Gujarat' urban settlement could be the establishment of passages that were supposed to dilute the miasma rising from dense habitations. The route of road improvement crossed the city through the totally desolate and/or less densely populated areas, evicting the impoverished residents and opening the best way possible to connect the citadel of Diu with the existing dense urban fabric of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. The residual land increased in value affording the speculators in building an opportunity to obtain portions of grounds suitable to their purposes. This scheme, the committee argued, would create more agreeable neighbourhoods and be a pleasurable act to dedicate to the governor-general of the *Estado da Índia*.

### **Cutting and slicing**

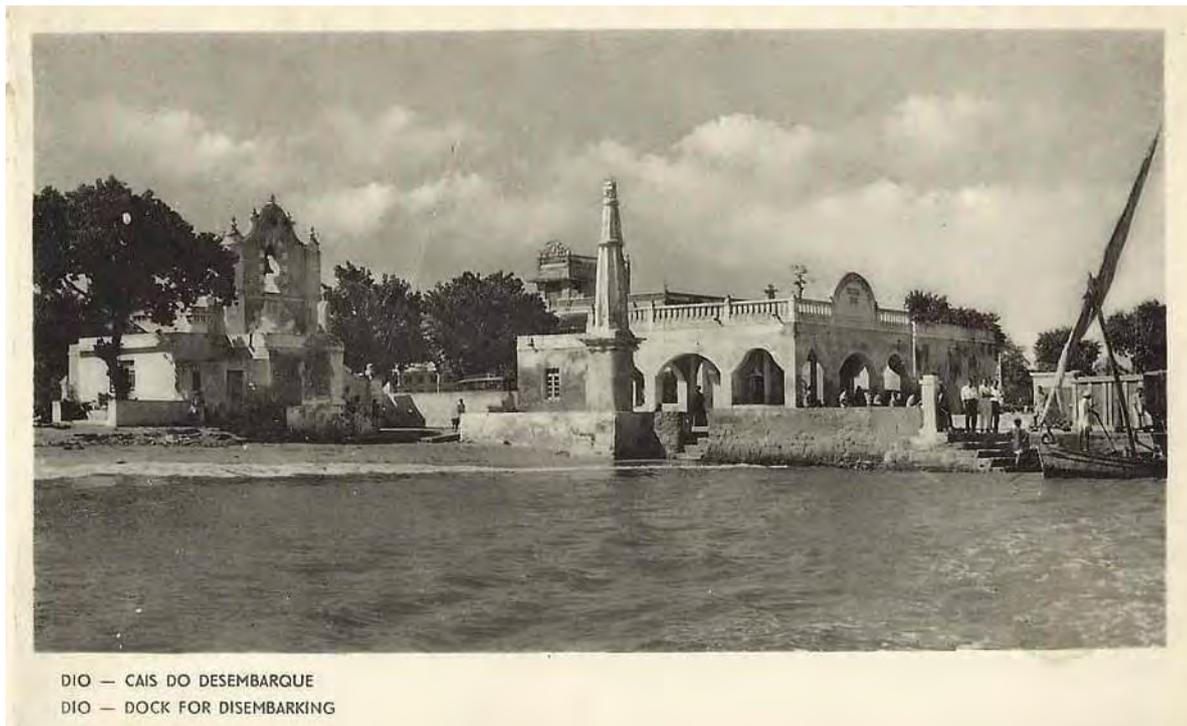
As Stoler and Cooper stated: "the tensions between the exclusionary practices and universalizing claims of bourgeois culture were crucial to shaping the age of empire."<sup>47</sup> To explore this tension, it is necessary to treat colony and metropole as "a single analytical field."<sup>48</sup> Portuguese political and economic interests in Diu responded enthusiastically, turning the history of infrastructure projects into a history of metropolitan and local enterprise in the empire. The main dilemma in the execution of the infrastructure projects stemmed from the feeble economic conditions of the *Estado da Índia*, more specifically the bankruptcy of the state, which had led to giving powers control over financial matters. But not having the resources to fund the ambitious projects, the *Estado da Índia* was forced to make concessions to Gujarati entrepreneurs in order to consolidate its own imperial programs

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<sup>47</sup> Stoler, Ann Laura and Cooper, Frederick. 1997. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 37.

<sup>48</sup> Stoler, Ann Laura and Cooper, Frederick. 1997. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 4.

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[Figure 5.4] Port of Diu, pier and crane. 1950's.

in Diu. The story of the decades long construction, operation, and maintenance of the port, bazaar and *Torres Novas* road, catalysts for a European, Portuguese and catholic city,<sup>49</sup> reduced to its bare essentials below, provide a glimpse into the fragmented processes and the labyrinthine interactions between the various actors, including their disappearance from one project and reappearance elsewhere. Despite the governing ambition to be comprehensive, the projects were not evenly distributed owing to the lack of centralized control - Goa received the lion's share - as well as the piecemeal nature of the construction processes.

Modern enterprises as infrastructure projects differed par excellence in their goals. Military, economic, social, and ideological concerns were their common denominator in Diu, but the specific emphasis placed on each aspect gave to the colonial city its own outlook and development process. An analytical overview of the aggressive building operations that irrevocably changed Diu's urban landscape, reveals some of the dynamic forces at work in empire building in the city. It will also help clarify the meaning of 'public works,' which sectors were targeted, and when and why, as well as the numerous power conflicts, constraints, negotiations, and 'translations' between political entities, Portuguese administration, companies, businesses and people. Still, some of the experiments

<sup>49</sup> Where the Portuguese and the Indian converts or *casados* lived, a social group that was a result of Portuguese arrival in India. See: Albuquerque, Afonso de. 1942. *Cartas para el-Rei D. Manuel I. Baião*, António (sel., preface and notes). Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1942; Boxer, Charles R. 1981. "Soldiers, settlers and vagabonds." In *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. Manchester & Lisbon: Carcanet Press Ltd & Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. 296-317 [1991. *O Império Marítimo Português 1415-1825*. Curto, Diogo Ramada (introd.). Lisboa: Edições 70. 287-306]; Boyajian, James C. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press; Couto, Dejanirah. 2007. "Alguns dados para um estudo ulterior sobre a sociedade espontânea no Estado da Índia na primeira metade do século XVI." In Borges, Charles S.J. & Pearson, Michael N. (coord.). *Metahistória. História questionando História*. Lisbon: Vega; Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires. 2004. "D. João III e a gênese da sociedade indo-portuguesa." In *D. João III e o império: actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento*. Lisbon: Centre for the Studies of Portuguese People and Culture and Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM). 417-32; Rodrigues, Victor Luís Gaspar. 2008. "O papel das tropas locais e dos casados no seio da organização militar portuguesa no Oriente (séc. XVI)." In *Futuro e História da Lusofonia Global*. Lisbon: Tropical and Scientific Research Institute (IICT). 64-72. [[http://www2.iict.pt/?idc=102&idi=12798#\\_ftn14](http://www2.iict.pt/?idc=102&idi=12798#_ftn14)]. Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. "The World of the *Casado*." *The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*. London: Wiley-Blackwell. 236-43.



[Figure 5.5] Sea gate and port of Diu. 2014.

carried out in Diu, set the tone for the Portuguese empire. Portuguese urbanism in the late eighteenth century, arrived in Diu with the carving of the port in 1782 [figure 5.4 and 5.5],<sup>50</sup> the widening of the main streets off the port dock for disembarking and the opening of a square in front of the governors' palace. The colonies were viewed by Portuguese architects as *tabulae rasae*, upon which they wrote large and with a free hand.<sup>51</sup>

Beyond their imperial mission, infrastructural projects since the late eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century played global roles. For example, Diu was the interface between East and West and a key port city for Portugal in western India. Creating an integrated infrastructural urban system meant developing the city, which would act as outlet to the Indian Ocean. Connecting land and sea would improve communication with Lisbon, Goa, Mozambique, and within the Portuguese empire, granting access between Diu and consequently the *Estado da Índia* and other centres on the shores of western and southern Gujarat, as far as Cambay or Surat.<sup>52</sup> Infrastructure, linked to a rational exploitation of places and to a 'civilising mission' that became the essence of the *mise-en-valuer*, i.e., the development of the natural and human resources of the island. Despite the governing ambition of the Portuguese to be comprehensive, the infrastructural projects were not evenly distributed owing

<sup>50</sup>“Governando esta Praça Vasco Luiz Carneiro de Souza e Faro se fez este guindaste e de novo este Caes. Anno de 1782” (Under the rule of Vasco Luiz de Souza Carneiro and Faro governor of Diu this crane was built and again this pier. Year of 1782).

See: Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 25, and figure 5.4 with the crane from Diu port.

<sup>51</sup> This contention was also developed by Gwendolyn Wright. She chronicles the translation of French urban reform ideals and colonization policies into city plans, architectural designs, and ultimately, the urban landscapes of Morocco, Indochina and Madagascar between 1890 and 1940. Wright believes that French government administrators and urban designers manipulated colonial built environments to benefit French interests, and explains how issues of power pervade the planning and design process. However, in our opinion, her analysis fails to follow through on a complete description of the initial urban and colonial attitudes, the construction of plans and policies, the formulation and reformulation of local cultures and landscapes, and finally the nativistic reactions against such pressures. The majority of responses cited are those of Europeans. Similarly, Wright's conclusion to the *outré-mer* as urban laboratory argument does not quite fulfil its promise. Wright, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>52</sup> Travel to the Gujarat hinterland became much easier when travellers could take a boat and later travel by road to Ahmedabad, Surat, Cambay and beyond.

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to the lack of centralized control in Goa as well as the piecemeal nature of the construction processes. Certain places at the peripheries were neglected. Diu was a glaring example.

The development of the port and pier with its crane, labour services and storage facilities in 1782, together with the land transportation networks, opened the shores of Diu and enabled trade and travel to the hinterland. It also facilitated European penetration into the provinces in multiple guises, including the commercial and technical. Its importance for communication within the Portuguese empire was equalled, if not overpowered, by its importance for Portuguese interest in the Northern Province. The region's centuries old trade pattern with India had shifted to Surat in the seventeenth century and, with considerable help from the development of navigation in the Indian Ocean, turned Diu into a regional financial and commercial centre for the Portuguese empire.

The *Estado da Índia* initiatives that would address its needs, meet the requirements of trade, reorganize the port and build new facilities goes back to the late eighteenth century. Accordingly, the cartography of Diu dated from 1783-1790<sup>53</sup> - that was surely a product of the infrastructural works in Diu - shows major harbour structures were breakwaters to protect the port from the north and west winds are indicated, defining a coastal area fronting the city and extending considerably towards the east. The design was not particularly imposing or costly and the facilities continued to be significantly modernized by fitting structures by the early nineteenth century. If not developed to the scale of other places in the city, the port of Diu was built up in increments to handle import and export trade. More would be achieved during the next century with interventions happening in the riverine part of the colonial city. In 1844, as shown by epigraphy, the quay and pier of the port would had more architectural refurbishment and improvement works. The project did not designate new architectural functions along the platforms and did not focus on their junctures with the city fabric, yet it still expressed the intention to endow Diu with a spacious and regular waterfront that would surpass merely practical commercial goals. The outcome of all these works was the production of a differentiated urban fabric and the catalysing of a new urban form, since the newly opened tissue facing the water contrasted with the tight fabric of the city proper,<sup>54</sup> on the borders of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement.

The embankment was envisioned as a large open space, most likely in order to give a 'corniche' effect, and was also embellished by prominent buildings that replaced the humble structures randomly scattered in the area. It was improved through the architectural program of an administration, a military headquarters,<sup>55</sup> and a sanitary office. It was given the most articulate treatment while retaining its use as the customs office of Diu (in the 1833 cartography from east to west, n. 58 and 60),<sup>56</sup> with buildings confined to the port area that foresaw a central and symmetrical axis to the sea gate of the wall of Diu, an evocation of the former islamic wall of Diu,<sup>57</sup> and at the same time a perpendicular axis to the urban fabric.<sup>58</sup> Architecturally, the new warehouses had two long facades to the city and to the sea, with two sections on a pier with a crane and divided by the customs offices, which was

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<sup>53</sup> See *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro Ioão Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)].

<sup>54</sup> On 'indigenous patterns' and 'European patterns' of urban development, see Brush, John. E. 1962. "The Morphology of Indian Cities." In Turner, Roy, ed., *India's Urban Future: Selected Studies from an International Conference sponsored by Kingsley Davis, Richard L. Park, and Catherine Bauer Wurster*, Berkeley: University of California. 57-70. For a typology of British colonial cities, see Metcalf, Robert T. 2001. "Imperial towns and cities." In Marshall, P. J. (ed.). *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 224-53 and Marshall, P. J. 2000. "The White Town of Calcutta under the Rule of the East India Company." In *Modern Asian Studies* 34: 307-3.

<sup>55</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* No. 59 from the map label [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>56</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.*

<sup>57</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* No. 56 from the map label [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>58</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* No. 55 from the map label [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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an unusual composition.<sup>59</sup> The customs had ‘traditional’ facades with a subdued, residential image (enhanced by the pitched roof), while the warehouses expressed their functions and interior structures by means of facades and fenestration below the roofline.

Later architectural developments of the port, were revealed in 1833 by the cartography produced by Aniceto da Silva. The pier was widened, and plans were devised to extend it. The area behind the customs would later be filled in by warehouses and buildings organized in a regular plan. Diu’s port functioned efficiently, as demonstrated by the commercial activity since during the 1850s of several dozen merchant ships visiting Diu annually. Finally, the extension in the twentieth century of the road to Una<sup>60</sup> to the waterfront and the construction of a terminal there, played a key role in facilitating the transport of persons and goods and in Diu’s commercial activities.



[Figure 5.6] Bazaar of Diu, north side. Parsi house in the background. 2014.

Portuguese and Gujarati commentaries noted the cosmopolitan nature of the main bazaar [figure 5.6]. It served not only Diu, but a larger territory beyond the city. Just as *Banyans* entrepreneurs sent consumer items from Diu to upcountry towns, middle and upper-class Gujarati households made a trip to Diu on many major social occasions. Not surprisingly these were the same sites that threatened the imagination of both Portuguese and Gujaratis in their mutually exclusive effort for a sovereign domain. To address problems such as these, nineteenth-

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<sup>59</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria José Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. No. 61 from the map label [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>60</sup> Closest important urban settlement to Diu in hinterland Gujarat.

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century colonial planners purged the urban fabric of undesirable elements on the one hand and emphasized efficient channels of trade on the other.

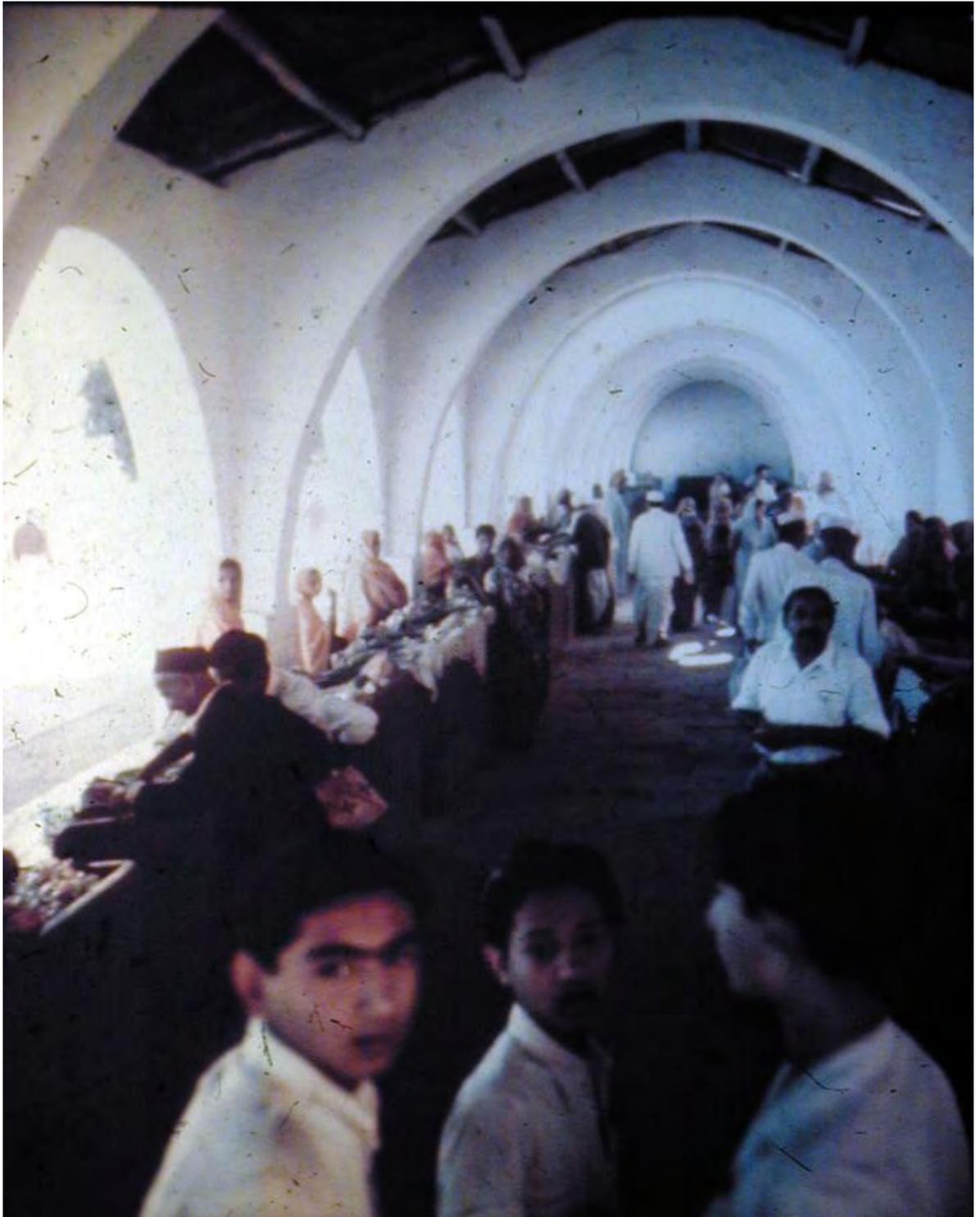
Most significantly, an open space in a critical location of Diu was meant to become a public bazaar. An overall bazaar was placed at the juncture of the pre-colonial and colonial cities. In 1799, a square was opened and a straight street was broadened by tearing down buildings to locate the main bazaar.<sup>61</sup> The architectural differences of the new bazaar underlined the modernity of the new order as opposed to the obsolete aptitude of the former. A street was enlarged and crossed the previous fabric, even though the old neighbourhoods were left to its residents, the shape of the pre-colonial city had to be transformed to enable easier access. The bazaar could be reached through commercial streets containing contiguous shops dealing with specialized commodities [figures 5.9 and 5.10]. These formed the outside edges of the blocks and developed mixed use with a preponderance of commercial activities, while the areas in the interior of the blocks became primarily residential. Although the bazaar formed the lifeblood of the inhabitants, it was also the site that contradicted the fundamentals of a Portuguese colonial culture and the place that most clearly blurred the architectural connections among classes, ethnic groups, and races.

This new bazaar was built to expand the common trade bazaars of the city, to gather some of the dispersed shops in the same place, and to put an end to the activity of some street sellers. An open bazaar square, a few buildings on the waterfront, and streets leading inland and towards the sea, which was much more than commercial purpose driven architecture. The bazaar square was closed on its northern side with a gallery, the novelty scheme, conceived as arcades in masonry, that would not act as obstacles to 'air circulation' [figure 5.6]. A straight arcaded artery was built [figure 5.7] with places to sell on both sides and its vista towards the sea was an unusual building type that synthesized the design principles of historic markets and European-type arcade avenues. The relentlessly straight street, opened, eased the heavy north-south circulation. The street network adhered to a hierarchy that took into account what was the intersection between the 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements. The three-story houses that lined the streets projected an image of metropolitan uniformity.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> "Feliz, ó celebre Dio, podes ser / Se o regio braço te amparar / Se Goa do letargo te tirar / Se quem governar te conhecer. 1799." (Oh famous Dio, you can be happy / If the royal arm supports you / If Goa gets you out of lethargy / If those who govern know you. 1799.) Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 24.

<sup>62</sup> Diz Candido José Mourão Garcez Palha Chefe de Divisão da Real Marinha no Departamento de Goa [...] Dio primeiro de Dezembro de mil oitocentos [...] Certificamos em Cumprimento da ordem assim do Illmo Senhor Castelão Governador terem se feito dentro desta Praça no espaço de dois anos incompletos em que o dito Senhor a Governa as obras seguintes. Dentro do Castello [...] Entre as portas do Segundo tranzito, deitou-se abaixo huma Capella por servir de Obstaculo a defeza da Porta do Castello [...] Poz se nas Cazas da Administração huma oficina de Fundação da Caza da Moeda [...] Obras fora do Castelo = [...] concertou-se o Baluarte da porta da Referida Praya onde se edificou huma torre em a qual se poz hum sino por onde se regulão as horas em toda a Cidade, Tribunaes, Arsenal e Funcoens Militares. Concertouse o Baluarte dos Marinheiros da mesma forma o de Sam Sebastião e o Armazem das Muniçoens; Concertou-se a Alfandiga, e aceouse o Tribunal; [...] Fez-se hum vazar ou mercado novo junto aos muros da Alfandega com huma estença alpendrada que pode accomodar duas mil pessoas entre vendedores e Compradores e junto a esta alpendrada se fez huma Praça endereitando-se o terreno enella se Construhio hum Pelorinho, cujo pavimento está alto sobre a sobradice (?) da mesma Praça Circulado de Escadaria com huma bemfeita balaustrada, no Centro do Referido pavimento se edificou huma coluna de obra Currentia com altura total de Sincoente pés e unido a ella hum lugar de Suplicio; no meyo da Coluna se pendurou hum farol, que alumia toda a Praça. Em um extremo do mencionado telheiro se fizerão quatro logeas de Confeitaria, mais huma temda e huma Caza de Almatãe o que tudo se acha receitado a Real Fazenda. Fez-se huma larga Rua perpendicular e contigua ao mesmo Vazar em que se achão construídas trenta e duas tendas pertencentes a diversos Mercadores em que se vendem os géneros percisos para o Vestuario, comestíveis do Povo e alem destas tendas se achão nas faces do referido Vazar outras novamente feitas para o mesmo ministério que tudo faz o numero de Sincoenta etres das quaes nove se vão agora principiar; tudo isto fica fechado por dois grandes arcos; o da porta do Mar ea sua fachada aberta em Relev e o da parte de terra he grande mas não he tão bem trabalhado [...]" (Candido Jose Mourao Garcez Palha chief of Division of Royal Navy in the Department of Goa [...] Dio 1 December 1800 [...] we hereby certify in compliance of Governor's order that during the last two years were made the following works. Inside the citadel [...] between the doors of the second wall, a chapel was torn down for serving as an obstacle to the citadel's defence [...] in the houses of city's administration a house to coin currency was built [...] Works outside the citadel = [...] the sea rampart was refurbished and a tower was built with a bell for the public functions of the city, the court, arsenal and military purposes. [...] the munitions warehouse, the customs and the court were also refurbished; [...] a bazaar or new market was built in the vicinity of the customs below a wide porch that can accommodate two thousand people from sellers to buyers and close to this porch a square was built by levelling the ground where a pillory was built, whose pavement is higher



[Figure 5.7] Bazaar of Diu, Diu, 1959.

Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU). Reference: AHU L 1691. "Goa tal como a vi". Box 14. Number 1183 "Mercado coberto de Diu, interior"

© Emile Marini.

Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU)

that the base of the square with steps with a well done balustrade. In the centre of the pavement a fifty-foot-high column was built which is a place for punishment; in the middle of the column a beacon was hung that lights the whole square. At one end of the mentioned shed four bakery stores were built, and one more place for one *Almataçe* as prescribed by the Royal Treasury. A broad perpendicular street adjoining the same bazaar was opened where thirty two tents were built belonging to several merchants where cloth and food are currently sold, and besides these tents on the bazaar fifty three more tents were made from which nine will open soon; all this is enclosed by two large arches; the one of the sea gate and its open relief facade and the big land gate not so well built [...] Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 337, n° antigo de maço 118, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1770-1832, s.n. 7 de Março 1806 and *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 470, s.n. 28 Dezembro 1824.

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[Figure 5.8] Woman selling at Diu bazaar, 2014.

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The cutting and slicing of the old and dense fabric, persisted throughout the last years of the eighteenth and first years of the nineteenth century. The 'rationalization' of the city was essentially commercial, working towards the development of an urban 'centrality'<sup>63</sup> by provisioning access, connection and association between the port and the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements. Not only most of the agricultural production of the island, but also a considerable amount of merchandise and people would take this path. Despite some concern for saving the 'Gujarat' urban settlement in a town where any exterior expansion was impossible [and] to maintain the military buildings, a great part of the city wall was torn down after the mid nineteenth century. This intervention changed the city along the riverine limit of Diu, by erasing streets and the urban fabric bordering them, and enabling the construction of Portuguese architecture: the 'Gujarat' urban settlement was embraced in between the Portuguese architecture and the wall. The built environment was reordered around elongated principal axes and the repetition of symmetrical elements. The 'cordon sanitaire' between the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement partitions the disciplined spaces of Diu, setting apart what appears as embodiments of radically different ideas, histories and perceptions of urban design, planning and sociality. Diu inscribed social and economic hierarchies upon altering urban terrain. The outcome of change in Diu throughout the whole nineteenth century was made out of overlapping designs, hybrid architecture and urban ambivalence.

Alterations, aiming to ease circulation and offer more ample public spaces in Diu also occurred. These events privileged the riverine side of the city turned to the hinterland. The most important was the demolition of the northern part of the city's wall, from the rampart *Ponta de Diamante Quebrada*<sup>64</sup> until de citadel. The *António da Silveira* avenue which became a *grande voirie* to the hinterland within the limits of Diu was one of the outcomes of this demolition. The *António da Silveira* avenue connected the citadel with the northern limit of the city wall in an unobstructed manner, also enabling the connection to the hinterland. It had a ceremonial urban space adjacent to the governors' palace comprising *Largo do Palácio*, *Largo Dom Nuno da Cunha* and *Largo de São Domingos*. Unlike the southern limit of the city, which was left almost untouched, the northern limit was pierced and predated by this avenue from one end to the other. The newly opened tissue contrasted with the tight fabric of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement,<sup>65</sup> and therefore granted to the urban landscape of Diu the paradigmatic image of the partitioned colonial city. The new streets stood out amid the urban fabric not only for their difference in scale but also for the character of the buildings that lined them with their European facades, fenestrated and decorated in sparse

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<sup>63</sup> Lefebvre postulates the 'right to the city' and 'centrality' to the inhabitants by accounting for their 'everyday life'. Lefebvre's description of centrality, can be produced neither by urban development campaigns nor by any particular kind of urban morphology, because it is overdetermined by a variety of factors: urban design, functional programming, practices of everyday life, legal regulations, mental maps, and scientific and mass media representations, including the representation of centrality itself. In this sense, centrality cannot be fully controlled by any particular agent of power: the state authority, the urban planner, or patronage. Cauvin, Colette and Reymond, Henri. 1985. *L'Espace des villes théorie des lieux centraux et analyse spectrale*, Paris: Éd. du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; Devisme, Laurent. 1998. *Actualité de la pensée d'Henri Lefebvre à propos de l'urbain la question de la centralité*, Tours: Maison des Sciences de la Ville, Université François-Rabelais, DL.

<sup>64</sup> See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47..* No. 69 from the map label [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>65</sup> To accommodate the eight-meter width necessary to allow the passing of carriages side by side, buildings had to be demolished entirely or in part on both sides of the roads.

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[Figure 5.9] Peripheral streets to Diu's baazar, containing contiguous shops dealing with specialized commodities. 2014.



[Figure 5.10] Peripheral streets to Diu's baazar, containing contiguous shops dealing with specialized commodities. 2014.

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neo-classical style, and arcades on the ground level, they introduced a new type of thoroughfare for Diu along the water that separated the island from the hinterland.

As well as in other places of the city, the Portuguese also aimed to regularize the 'Gujarat' urban settlement of Diu. Therefore, interventions to pierce Diu's fabric offered ways to fulfil this desideratum. One of the first steps taken was the re-building of military barracks in the *Porta do Campo* (1807),<sup>66</sup> with necessary regularisation and adaptation of all buildings (public and private) to qualify accessibility to the square. This happened simultaneously to infrastructural improvements related with the pluvial monsoon season, leading to increased storm water runoff of city streets and minimizing the risk of flooding.<sup>67</sup> One of the latest steps, happened in the *Porta do Campo* (*Zampa* gate) [figure 5.11], the walls gate and main access. During the 1950's, was newly opened a ceremonial and celebration entrance square to the city and also a new commercial space intended for the entrance of Diu with the authorship of the former governor Couceiro.<sup>68</sup> The square urban tissue showed that Diu was foci for imperial reorganization and control of social and political space. The square disciplined spaces of what appears as manifestations of different concepts of city by the contrast with the tight fabric of the surrounding urban tissue of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. This enforced physical and cultural incommensurability between two different ways to encapsulate a fixed material form or attributing unified instrumentality to the making of the city was reflected in the form, character and sociality of *Porta do Campo* (*Zampa* gate) square.

Although the easier resolution for the Portuguese administration, would be to build a new settlement that would cater their needs upon expanding urban terrain and inscribe social and economic hierarchies from the Gujarati population, it would not happen in Diu. Most significantly, some of the works alluded before provide crucial foundations were three open spaces in critical locations were named and elected to become urban public spaces in Diu: first, the entrance square in the city gate; second, the port square; finally, the market square and their locations that foretold a main road which would eventually connect them and divide the city in two. After these previous steps, the streets were cut in both directions through the old fabric of the city perpendicular to the connecting street and resulting in a network of quick connections. The most important step taken was open a wide and straight *Torres Novas* Road between the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, and the citadel. It was the first decisive step in ordering the water's edge of Diu between the citadel and the city proper, providing a direct vehicular route between the citadel, the churches, the colonial administration, the commercial establishments, the warehouses, and finally, the port. The fabric of the road was hollowed out, with narrow and tortuous streets giving way to a 'European type' artery. These initial moves resulted in a reverse topographical pattern with a 'Gujarat' western urban settlement and a 'Portuguese' eastern urban settlement which were a gradual modal shift in colonial disciplinary attitudes towards Diu.

The extension of the colonial city began in 1857 with the construction of this road, bordering the northern side of Diu. Related to maintaining a military presence, it played a foundational and enduring role in fixing colonial urban power and fortifications. Besides connecting a Diu of 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements, the siting of the road privileged the edges of Diu's old city and was supposed to lead to the city's

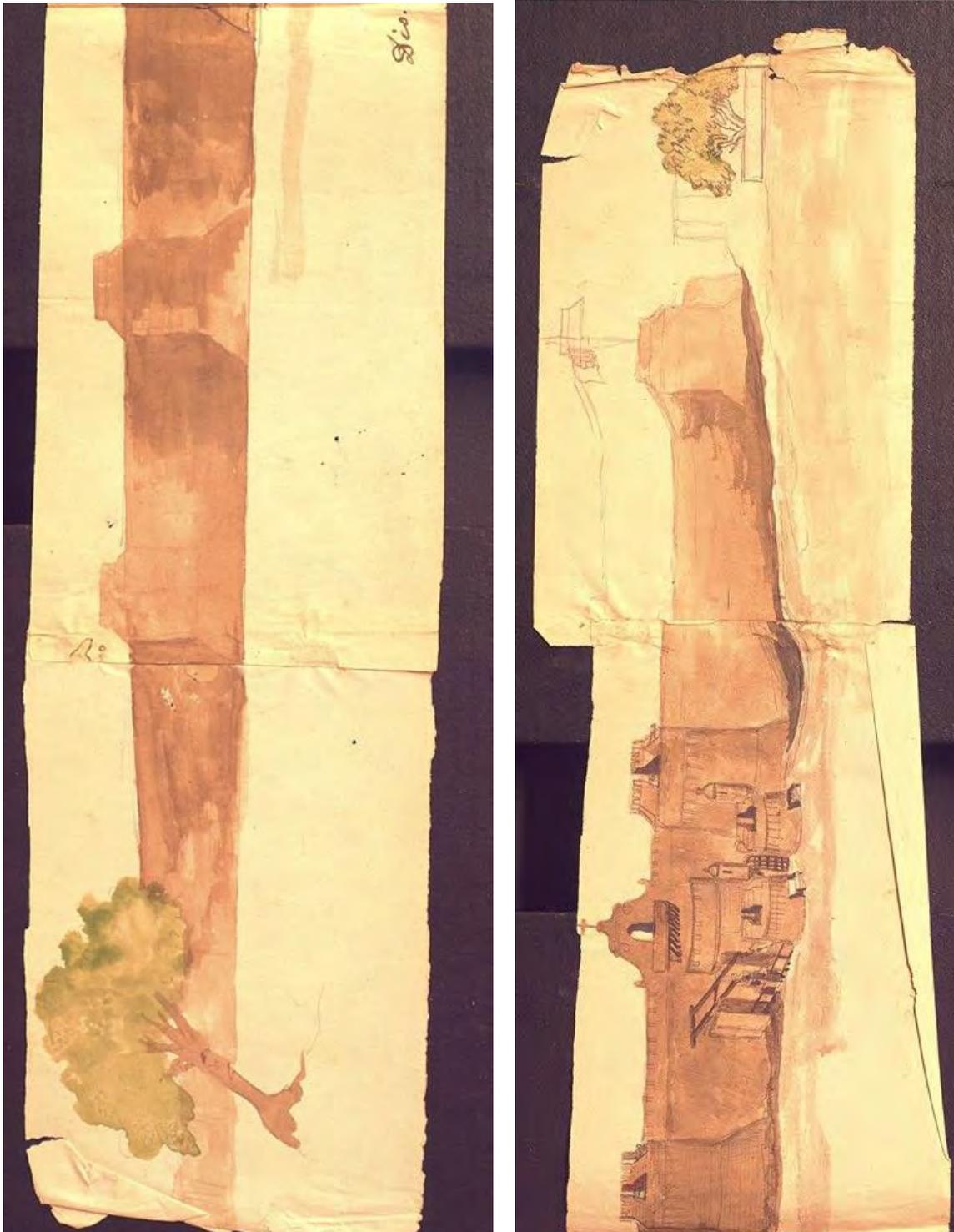
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<sup>66</sup> "Governando esta para João Pacheco de Sá mandou administração fazer este quartel em Julho de 1898 annos." (Under the rule of governor João Pacheco de Sá, the administration built these headquarters in July 1898). Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 27.

<sup>67</sup> "Fez-se de novo o corpo desta guarda com a reedificação do cano real para dar vasão as ruas das agoas do inverno, e lagiamento todo de dentro da guarda ate a ponte levadiça das portas. Anno de 1807." (The body of the guard was made again with the rebuilding of the pipe made again to give the runoff of winter street water, and pavement from the guard up the drawbridge door. Year 1807.) Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1865. *Inscrições de Dio. Trasladasdas das Proprias em Janeiro de 1859*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional. 27.

<sup>68</sup> Couceiro, Miguel Noronha de Paiva. 1969. *Diu e Eu*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 135-136.

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[Figure 5.11] Main gate of the wall of Diu. Porta do Campo (*Zampa* gate). Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE). 1850-1870. Reference: Armº III e IV, nº 39-1º.  
Courtesy: Évora Public Municipal Library (BPE).

development starting somewhere during the following decades of the second half of the nineteenth century by incorporating practices such as military occupation, the 'dual' city model and 'colonizer/colonized' architectural and urban spatial difference, discourses of planning and improvement projects, and urban policing, from the control of spaces to the regulation of bodies.

The 'large and regular' part of Diu was part of the bank of the river Chassis. Due to the placement of the city's prestigious buildings here, such as the palace of the governors,' the view towards the bank from the river was "beautiful and magnificent," even though the waterfront lacked regular and continuous quays. Set apart from the promiscuous mixture of street life along the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and bazaar, the *Torres Novas* road, with its terminus and close to Saint Paul's church was an argument, rendered in vivid forms and materials, that social promiscuity was superseded in the city by an orderly system of hierarchically related parts.

Both the governor and the municipal administration, however, had higher aspirations. Wide parallel streets at equal distances, to create a few cross streets of similar width, between the bazaar and the eastern edge of the city where the citadel were momentarily considered. These would delimit urban terrain which was to be further divided by in a bid to reorganize the landscape of northeast Diu. This scheme did not mirror any pattern from Diu since it would be the first effort to form a pattern of back-to-back lots that would remain largely unchanged until the end of the nineteenth century. The Municipality's plan would also have fractured the tight linear configuration of houses that thrived on mutual adjacency. Such a closely spaced plan seems less likely to have resulted from aesthetic prerogatives, than from concerns about producing a transparent colonial urban landscape convenient for scrutiny, which was aimed since the demolitions between the citadel and the city proper occurred in Diu since the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> The Municipality's ambitions were, however, curbed owing to the limited resources of *Estado da Índia* and the predictable resistance from the local community that would ensue from such an overhaul.

At the turn and during the course of the nineteenth century, more east-west arteries were created to connect the bazaar with the wholesale markets and the retail outlets located in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. The three-tiered commercial network of import-export, bazaar, and retail outlets created a mutually supportive commercial geography and streets network. Large houses and tents commanded substantial spaces and chose prime spots on the main thoroughfares to attract customers with the latest arrivals of goods from Europe. Because of the proximity to the port, to the offices of the colonial government, to the Parsi neighbourhood in the southeast corner of the bazaar, and to the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, this area became a sought-after locale for European and Parsi entrepreneurs. Concurrently, the north-west and south-west corners of the square in front of the port were claimed by the post office, the telegraph building [figure 5.12] and by the auction houses. It should not come as a surprise that some of these public buildings in the vicinity of the port boasted spaces large enough to accommodate people and constituted venues for public meetings.

Consequently, Gujarati men in addition to appropriating the committee rooms of the Diu Municipality, created alternate spaces for getting together mostly for their own benefit. The men who formed the public in such a 'public sphere' claimed to speak for the rest of the Gujarati community – hindus, jains and, often, muslims and zoroastrians as well. That is, they claimed themselves to be representative of the public per se. If the 'public sphere' in nineteenth-century Diu was necessarily fractured, hosting different notions of the legitimate and

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<sup>69</sup> Bocarro, António. 1992. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descrições da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e Despeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 3 vols. (fac simile from Codex COD. CXV/2-X Évora Public Library (BPE), 1635) and Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 219.

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qualified public, and incorporated a range of public spaces – exclusive on different bases and degrees, there was certainly no simple co-relation the physical spaces for people to get together. Gujarati men, mostly hindus from the upper castes of Diu's society, who made their presence known in the governors' palace, in the municipal committee meetings and subscribed to petitions to open streets such as the *Torres Novas* road, often worked against the structure of a colonial state that bestowed subject hood without citizenship. For the majority of Portuguese population of Diu, the only ones that mattered were the European community. If the Portuguese population in Diu, as elsewhere in *Estado da Índia*, formed a civil society, it was, however, not based on a strict separation from the colonial state. Rather than bracketing status and professional affiliation as was expected in the ideal bourgeois 'public sphere' in Portugal, one's social status measured in terms of location in the hierarchy of colonial service was the dominant premise for structuring social relations in this domain.



[Figure 5.12] Diu's post and telegraph building, Bandar chowk, Diu, 1959.

Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU). Reference: AHU L 1691. "Goa tal como a vi". Box 10. Number 755 "Ruas e casa de Diu"  
© Emile Marini.

Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU)

The physical spaces constructed to house these public gatherings were explicitly segregated to privileged Portuguese, Gujarati and lower-class Portuguese could only perform the role of servants, and even Portuguese women were only allowed provisionally. Consequently, Gujarati men in addition to appropriating the committee and decision rooms of Diu's Municipality, created alternate spaces for getting together mostly for their own benefit; these did not exclude Portuguese men, as much as they wished to exclude the lower classes and women.

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It is worth noting from the local point of view, that Diu was divided into a host of terms depicted in the 1833 cartography that were used to distinguish localities. Cognitively, the urban space constituted a territory, and derived a sense of identity from a physical feature, which could be a neighbourhood, or a bazaar, or a square. If the new bazaar, the port square and the *Torres Novas* road would facilitate urbanity in Diu, Gujaratis were shaping the landscape by a different agenda of power and social relations and would not be easily persuaded, despite the benefit they could reap as inhabitants from some of these urbanism. Not surprisingly, infrastructure projects in Diu were geared primarily to local people and the Portuguese were only marginally the recipients.

The projects to modernize Diu went further and catered to the entire community in an act of ideological unification that surpassed imperial boundaries. The squares that expressed the modernity of the Portuguese empire appeared at the edges of Diu's 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements and evolved over time, rather than as products of singular projects. In terms of their siting and their contrasting images, they recall the transitional role between the 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements. The incremental development of the square and the lack of a master plan for the city, shaped single standing structures, sometimes with architectural references to each other (post office and telegraph building and the port), sometimes not (as in the case of the governors' palace and the court). The squares opened in Diu offered a rich variety of experiments in siting, compositional principles, and imagery. In some manner, all these urban places expressed the presence of the colonial power by their design principles, their connected street systems, their buildings' architecture, their erected monuments/memorials and finally their chosen taxonomy. Their symbolism also paralleled other Portuguese public spaces in India, but the differences were significant, in great part stemming from the long-term islamic presence in Diu, its established practices of investment and intervention, and the broad sociocultural and religious unity. Diu was a case study of varying scales and its character displays the range and repertoire of the urban type within the Gujarat framework, as well as reference to the Portuguese colonial urbanism.

### **Official architecture and Oriental monumentality**

There was a political rationale for antagonistic spatial cultures in Diu. Portuguese colonial authorities were blatantly aware of the importance of space as an instrument of imperial domination. Setting apart tends to create "privileged enclaves of access, amenity and community."<sup>70</sup> Policies designed to promote urban space ultimately produced areas of enclaves with monumental architecture such as religious and colonial administrative buildings. Such architecture played a vital role in impressing on the Gujaratis that colonial authorities had an inordinate amount of resources, which could be tapped for use in pursuing colonial government objectives including but not limited to, curtailing any unruly or disruptive behaviour. Accordingly, the size and scale of such architecture could not be detached from Diu's Portuguese colonial discourse of ethnic, racial and religious antagonistic tolerance. Exaggerated physical scale dominates by belittling "the human subject as it signifies the power necessary to its production."<sup>71</sup> As architectural symbols of power, impressive examples of colonial administrative architecture that dramatize the difference between local and colonial buildings made up "a domineering and inviolable image of the imperial nation [...] [and] a visible expression of the universality of Western concepts of beauty and order."<sup>72</sup> This discourse is taken again from *The Wretched of the Earth* by Fanon, into a psychological realm contending that racially separated spaces in colonized territories are psychologically oppressive and amount to a form of violence against members of the indigenous population.

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<sup>70</sup> Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing places: Mediating power in built form*. New York: Routledge. 15.

<sup>71</sup> Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing places: Mediating power in built form*. New York: Routledge. 10.

<sup>72</sup> Cooper, Nicola. 2000. "Urban planning and architecture in colonial Indochina." In *French Cultural Studies*, 11/1, 77.

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Although Diu is a city that weaves a story rich in myths, historical places and mythical symbolism, references to early legends do indeed provide a useful means of accessing and assessing hints of an earlier architecture.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, it is a city where a modest, but still more distinct urban change, occurred during the nineteenth century. An administrative centre began to take shape on the river banks outside the city walls, with the building of a monumental governors' palace. It was the Portuguese equivalent to the 'new 'Indo-Saracenic''<sup>74</sup> architectural style' facing a modern, lined public square, surrounded by an elegant garden. Government palaces were the foremost signs of the *Estado da Índia* during the nineteenth century. The architectural ambition and range of experimentation in these prominently located buildings were great, regardless of the size and importance of their cities.

The Portuguese engaged in a comparable venture and expressed political agendas through Diu's governor palace. The governors' palace was built in 1866, according to Diu's epigraphy, and later modified.<sup>75</sup> The building imposed its redefined presence shaped by the post European Enlightenment urban developments in Diu with the help of a rich taxonomy of government office buildings scattered throughout all the European imperial architecture in India. After the nineteenth century, the building was the seat of the imperial administration in the island and was latter turned into court of justice and headquarters of the Portuguese civic and military affairs, in conformity with the role of the army as the overseer of civilian affairs during the Portuguese colonial presence.

The governors' palace was a marker for travellers in Diu's urban landscape [figure 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14]. Its monumental white-washed mass was elaborated with detail, endowing the riverine promenade of *António da Silveira* avenue and the square in front with 'oriental' flavours. The street right in front of the palace led directly to the gate of the fortifications of the pre-colonial settlement.<sup>76</sup> These same streets and views would be drawn by

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<sup>73</sup> About Diu historical places and mythical symbolism, see chapter 2.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf in his book first published in 1989, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, uses the term 'Saracenic' to talk about the Islamic influence on Indian architecture, as counterpoint of the Hindu architecture or of Hindu influence. He discusses precedents for the style in 'mixed' Indian styles that amalgamated Hindu and Muslim motifs. He shows instances of 'mixed,' 'fused,' or 'assimilated' styles. Giles H. R. Tillotson in his book from 1989, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture. Continuity, Change, and the Politics of Style since 1850*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, explains that Islamic elements used in India are not 'Saracens,' as the Arabs (because Muslims in India, were not Arabs, but they mainly from Afghanistan and Central Asia, which explains that Islamic elements used in India were not 'Saracens' (46). However, the link in the nineteenth century between the term 'Saracens' and Islam became so strong that the use of the term Saracen, to talk about the architecture of the Mogul Empire and its predecessors, was frequent, but still not quite correct. The same applies to the term 'Indo-Saracenic' which was the common in the nineteenth century to describe the architecture produced by Raj, who mixed the influences of Islamic and Hindu resulting in a 'Hindu Saracens' or 'Hindu-Saracenic.' (Metcalf). In fact, as pointed out by architectural historian Arindam Dutta, the long debate over the formulation of a style that could effectively represent the acutely imperial spirit of the late nineteenth century and the emergence of a body of work which culled European and 'Indian' elements of style known as the 'Indo-Saracenic' has in fact received some of the most intricate attention in the historiography of colonial architecture in India. Arindam Dutta. 2007. "Strangers Within the Gate: Public Works and Industrial Art Reform." In Scriver, Peter and Prakash, Vikramaditya, (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*. Abingdon: Routledge. 99-106.

If interdisciplinary fields of research and scholarship pertaining to geographical, national, or cultural regions, identified similar regionalist policy changes from cultural assimilation (direct transfer) to association (regional adaptation) for European colonies in Asia and Africa during the late nineteenth until the mid twentieth centuries, then the emerging 'neo-vernacular styles' in the colonies (such as the *Style indo-chinois* in French Indochina or the *neo-Mauresque* style in French North Africa, the *Indo-Saracenic Style* in British India, the *Indische Stijl* in the Dutch East Indies, or finally, the *Indo-Portuguese* in *Estado da Índia*), can be read as Non-European variants of 'regionalist styles' in the European nation states. This transcultural approach frames the diverse regionalist formations of *architectural styles and forms as one globally connected process*. Transnational approaches to set the different European colonial contexts within the first half of the twentieth century in relation to each other can also help to conceptualise the recent inter-related effects between globalisation and decentralisation where the notions of the global and the local are often enmeshed simultaneously in contemporary architecture.

<sup>75</sup> "Sendo Governador da Praça e Cidade de Diu o Capitão de Cavalaria D. Jorge Augusto de Mello se reconstruiu este edifício destinado para Paços da Câmara para Tribunal e para Conservatória em Diu. 1866." (During the time of the governor of the stronghold and city of Diu D. Jorge Augusto de Mello, cavalry captain, this building was rebuilt for Town Hall, Court and Registry in Diu. 1866). Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. "Epigrafia de Diu," Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 40.

<sup>76</sup> *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* / Eugene Cicéri lith. - Paris: Arthus Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre) : lithogr., en noir ; 19 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles. In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 12.



[Figure 5.13] The palace of the Governor, north façade, Diu. 1950's.  
Courtesy: Paiva Couceiro family.



[Figure 5.14] The palace of the Governor, north façade and east wing, Diu. 1950's.  
Courtesy: Paiva Couceiro family.

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future artists, sometimes from slightly different angles.<sup>77</sup> Placed within a cluster in the riverine regularized area or the extension of old 'Gujarat' urban settlement, the new palace presented a collective image: spread along the *António da Silveira* wide avenue, and giving form to a public square. Its cumulative effect resulted in a specialized neighbourhood of Diu, that represented the imperial rule over the secular and civic sphere, at the same time enhancing the message of modernity, interlinked to the larger image of the Portuguese empire.

The late nineteenth century interventions marked a break from past expressions of power through architecture. Portuguese construction activity in India was always consistent and significant since the sixteenth century. This practice was characterized by conformity to local architectural norms, with notable exceptions. The governors' palace of Diu gives further insight into a variety of architectural experiments. It addressed the vulnerable political situation in the region and made an imperial statement by the employment of local architectural references. The palace revealed a simple arrangement and architectural vocabulary between 'neo-classical' and 'neo-Moorish' style. It was a flamboyant building with its main facade on the north side, with a visual and spatial connection and turned towards the maritime entrance of the city and the hinterland.

This stripped down neo-classicism was represented by a similar scale and spatial organization: a flat longitudinal mass structure with a main facade divided vertically by a projecting central section at the main corpus and two end sections with neatly stacked arched windows. The scheme and mass of the governor's palace frontage was broken in two: one central plan with the coat of arms placed in a broken pediment on the roof level and a set-back plan where arches are cut and open into two lateral galleries with a generous use of balconies. The regular, symmetrical, and axial overall design stated a bold stylistic synthesis of medieval Renaissance and baroque elements.



[Figure 5.15] Collector's office and former palace of the Governor, north façade, Diu.2014.

<sup>77</sup> *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* / Eugene Cicéri lith. - Paris: Arthus Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre) : lithogr., en noir ; 19 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles. In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 12.

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Its architectural language combined the 'neo-classical' (symmetrical treatment of façades and stone basement) with the 'islamic' (stonework around the arched entries and windows in the second storey) and added a medieval roofline to lend a military touch. The neo-classical building conveyed a clear sense of prosperity, boasting an Orientalist aura thanks to its structural rhythm and rate of spans. The treatment of exterior and interior architectural details repeated local references. The more modest examples testify to free spirited variations on the theme.

The architectural solidity of the governors' palace should not mean rigidity. The 'colonizers' style was adopted in the most elaborately decorative building made in Diu during the nineteenth century. The architects opted for an extravaganza imported on a monumental scale from the metropole, and the 'imperial style' was adapted to a villa style. It was an elegant and 'fortified' building, firmly sealed from the outside except for the entrance portal, above which a flagpole was placed. The building was drawn with care, bringing out the important characteristics of the architecture: the tall, gleaming white colonnaded verandahs, windows with venetian blinds, spacious arched porticoes, open terraces, and with ample space around it for free circulation of air, arranged in neat rows. Yet, this defensive and introverted architecture related to the vernacular of Diu and to the climatic constraints, most likely in an attempt to be a part of a Portuguese imperial colonial Diu. Its facades articulated the official look of the Portuguese empire in its bare essentials: two storeys, separated by horizontal bands of a sculptural stone roofline, neatly stacked windows with stone trims, a more decorative treatment of first level fenestration and entrances, and tile covered pitched roofs. It made up for its modesty with the exaggerated height of the roof structure of both the central part and the side pavilions. The palace architecture was worthy of the governor of Diu: its columns, window details, doors, stairs and interiors, in short, everything about it reflected power and authority with an excellent 'architectural taste' and displayed harmony and sensitivity to scale. Later interventions created a representation of the Portuguese sovereignty<sup>78</sup> completely at odds with the irregular massing and blank facades of the palace.

Even though built in stone and in a new monumentality, the building's horizontal mass responded to its site on the banks of the Chassis by evoking the river's flow and acknowledged the local architecture in its height and its relative simplicity. Its most idiosyncratic feature was the roofline, which made references to crusader castles with its small towers recycling the sculptural baroque pediment placed on the projecting middle section of the main facade. A portico accentuated the entrance at the main and lateral corpus with arches. While the roof was covered by a terrace, a pediment broken in the middle by a plaque with imperial insignia endowed the palace with further monumentality. The decorative stone treatment of the windows and the corners contributed to the effect and repeated local references and the more modest examples testify to free spirited variations on the theme. Yet, much had changed in architectural practice around the turn of the century.

A governmental enclave with a riverine setting was formed in Diu in the immediate surrounding of the palace, with buildings of some imposing scale that included a court, a tax bureau, and military barracks between the port and the citadel. The main centres of the Portuguese administration in Diu, the governors' palace, and the headquarters for civil and military affairs, the court, were the 'acropolis' of the political apparatus for the colonial city of Diu. As the most visible and most monumental enclave in Diu's renewal, this cluster ambitious in scope, marvelously conceived, meticulously designed, and generously decorated acted as a reminder of Portuguese rule and competing with the citadel for the protagonism. Therefore, the governors' palace was a site of imperial expression, as evidenced by the buildings that made this governmental enclave and the iconographically charged monuments that adorned it. Aside from its symbolism and contribution to the remaking of the urban image, the

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<sup>78</sup> We use the term 'sovereignty' here in a strictly political sense: supreme and autonomous political authority of a state over a territory or place. On the historical emergence and contextual production of sovereignty see: Davis, Kathleen. 2008. *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

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building sheltered a new form of administration, a new bureaucracy based on 'scientific' systems of ordering, documentation, classification, and filing according to the agendas of centrality and modernity. Even if the execution of the reforms remained fragmented as happened in Diu, the idea of a central authority was a new concept in Portuguese governance, and architecture tried to convey the message effectively. In the case of the *Estado da Índia*, the repetition of similar buildings in disparate places reinforced the idea of connectedness between different places and spaces of the Portuguese empire.

In the vicinity of this governmental complex, an empty zone was chosen for a planned development, the before described *Torres Novas* road, the most eminent location in the city and the most convenient place where a 'prosperous' Portuguese and catholic neighbourhood could spread and express the Portuguese imperial power, honour and pride. Scattering out on two sides of the street that passed in the back of the governors' palace, the 'Portuguese/catholic' architectural pattern in *Torres Novas* road could be seen in rows of fine houses, from Saint Paul's church until the bazaar, while its counterpart, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, was seemingly situated somewhere beyond. The design principles, based on simplicity, practicality, and economy, followed officially imposed guidelines: symmetry and regularity that express the idea of an ensemble dominate. The facades aligned to create regular streets even when the terrain was irregular. There were no provisions for local residents. The goal was to keep them away from the armed forces and the Portuguese.

Even though reservations concerning the pattern of growth in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement emerged now and then because of the unequal conditions it created, rare glimpses into Gujarati self-evaluation regarding the consequences of developing new modern quarters at the expense of creating oppositional settlements point to a difference between Gujarati and Portuguese agendas, regardless of formal similarities. But while most agreed about the existence of these entities, few could concur on the presence of boundaries between these two domains.<sup>79</sup> Several types of architecture gave this area of Diu its image as the seat of imperial power, attesting to changes in the administrative, educational, and cultural spheres. The population distribution of ethnic groups in the various localities, undoubtedly shifted between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but any strict demarcation between these settlements was arbitrary. Such boundaries were fluid, and at no time did the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement form a homogeneous space of European inhabitants. In addition, the urban fabric in the so-called 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement did not follow the same pattern throughout. Architects and architectural historians have frequently pointed out that the most significant distinguishing feature of these 'towns' was the density of the urban fabric, sparsely distributed buildings of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement as opposed to the close knit fabric of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. This characterization, however, does not withstand close scrutiny.

The area of sparsely distributed single detached dwellings on the margins of *Torres Novas* road, typically seen as representative of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, was the exception, not the rule. Much of this settlement had a higher density and a closely knit urban fabric that embraced the limits of the street. In fact, this became the most desirable locale for those who wished to have the ambiance of country living and yet be close enough to the security of the citadel, to the governors' palace, to the heart of administration, and finally to the remaining urban facilities. Yet many more Portuguese people preferred to live near the bazaar square, next to the shops, and houses occupied by the less privileged. When *Torres Novas* Road became a prime locale in the mid-

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<sup>79</sup> In 1783 Dechermont drew Diu divided into two parts separated by a yellow line. Although it could be pointed out that a considerable part of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement was inhabited by Gujaratis, while very few catholics have their abode in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. However, a very clear and distinct 'separation' line would be drawn by him, a very peculiar and unusual feature of urban colonial representation.

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nineteenth century, the wealthy residential area retreated further inwards and to the west around Saint Paul's and Saint Thomas churches.

Again, developed over a considerable length of time, other places to the west of the governors' palace which inscribed the Portuguese imperial presence on the urban landscape, became the site of government buildings. Among the most prominent administrative buildings, was the post and telegraph building, which represented centralized supervision and unification of the empire through communication technology. All these institutions were in the edge of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement and close to the governors' palace, the home of Portuguese power and authority. Several educational institutions were spread out in the vicinity and included some schools. There were cafes and commercial establishments (including banks), and hotels that catered to Europeans and the upper echelons of Portuguese society. The incremental development of the squares and the lack of a master plan produced single standing structures, sometimes with architectural references to each other, sometimes not. Public spaces in Diu lacked a uniformity of design, but the city functioned nevertheless as the Portuguese imperial centre of Western India.

### **Cartographies of one or of two cities**

Diu from the river had a view that was the one that visitors enjoyed on arrival. Diu's built environment formed an ideal backdrop for the sight of sailors, merchants and adventurers arriving from the Indian Ocean and was embodied through Portuguese as well as by Gujarati representations. Starting in 1538 with Castro [figure 1.1],<sup>80</sup> it was drawn by many travellers and many times over the centuries. Since the beginning of Portuguese presence in Diu, the existence of two different and detached urban settlements was acknowledged and depicted. The city's visible and contemporary religious life was enough to reinforce this essentially heterogeneous nature of urban space and unchanging antiquity.

The riverine front of Diu was persistently epitomized as an Hindu space, although from inception its most prominent architecture was the *Jami Masjid* mosque rising among the houses and temples along the water bank [figure 5.16 to 5.19]. It always had a complex relationship with the minarets, where the various acts of building houses, palaces, churches and temples, symbolized persistent steps at enforcing a Gujarat identity for the city. It always had an intricate connection with the solid boundary of the city and citadel walls, so carefully designed from the pattern of European Renaissance architectural books, and providing security and privacy for the Portuguese, for the Gujarati, and finally for the everchanging population that made of Diu a city of trade mobility and social work, i.e. a city on the move.

Whether in maps, paintings, travelogues or official Portuguese colonial correspondence, the city's complex character and myriad elements persistently intruded on attempts at clear and unidimensional representations.<sup>81</sup> Efforts were consistently made during all Diu's history to impose a clear and exclusionary identity on the city as 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic', but its complex composition always intruded nowhere with greater poignancy than on the riverfront, where since Portuguese arrival to these waters, the minarets of the mosque were consistent reminders of a different past.

One of the enduring assumptions about Diu as a colonial city of the early modern era was that it worked on the basis of separation, a 'dual city'<sup>82</sup> divided into 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements. This idea of Gujarat and European settlements was seemingly based on the perception that the Portuguese occupants

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<sup>80</sup> In *Roteiro de Goa a Dio* by João de Castro. See chapter 1.

<sup>81</sup> See *inter alia*, *Tábuas dos roteiros da Índia de D. João de Castro*, [Tavoa dos lugares da costa da Índia] [manuscript], (c. 1538-39); *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento*. 1783; and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>82</sup> See previous note in this same chapter, where I address the historiography of the concept of 'dual city' in colonial urbanism.

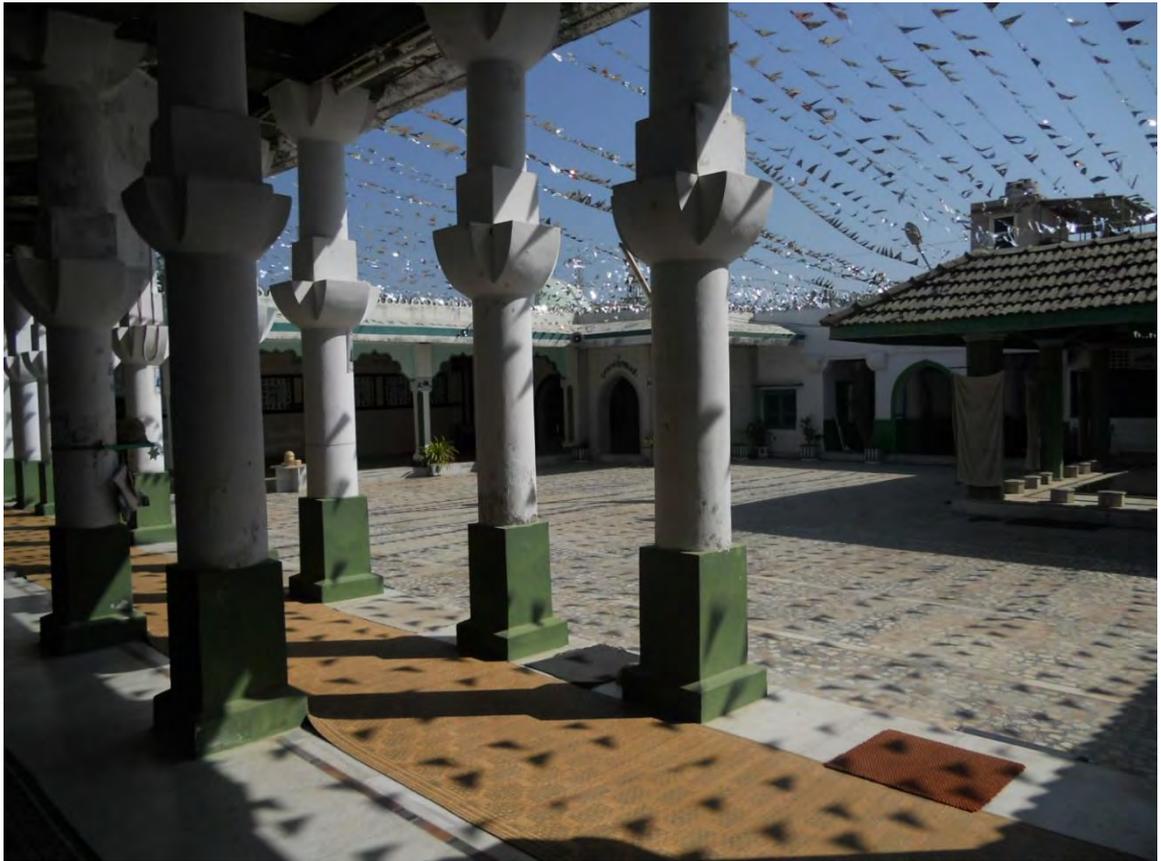
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[Figure 5.16] *Jami Masjid* (main mosque) of Diu. north façade. 2014.



[Figure 5.17] *Jami Masjid* (main mosque) of Diu. *Qiblah* wall, west façade. 2014.



[Figure 5.18] *Jami Masjid* (main mosque) of Diu, interior, 2014.

inhabited an area of the city, that in terms of layout, density, architecture, and everyday life was fundamentally different and divorced from that of the Gujarati/Indian denizens. Since the early sixteenth century, the written accounts of Diu replicated different urban entities, social configurations and anthropological landscapes, one as Portuguese and catholic and the other as Gujarat and ‘indigenous.’ In 1783-1790, a ‘curved yellow line’ drawn in a plan marked an early effort to discriminate the Christian white domain and the ‘threatening’ heathen Gujarati country that lay outside.<sup>83</sup> This plan also specified the catholic religious buildings, civic buildings and colonial infrastructural improvements of Diu. Not surprisingly, the cartography emphasized the author’s own interest and purpose of trade, mapping, surveying, revenue, and judicial administration, and only those issues of the Gujarati political and cultural landscape that were directly relevant to these interests, or those interpretations that suited such enterprise, found their way into the cartography. The panoptic eighteenth century vision that surveyed the town and the nature of efficiency (invoking segregation among the native population) that marked the process could only be possible when the city had been arrested out of its normal spatio-cultural mode. Obviously, the degree of detachment between Gujarat and Portuguese/European inhabitants varied according to the particularities of the city’s context.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Since Portuguese arrival in Diu, cartography (1538, 1635, 1783-1790, 1833) - especially after the 1783-1790 map - indicated the area around the citadel, a semi-circular strip south to north area as inhabited by Europeans including the religious buildings. Diu was depicted in the map divided into two distinct parts separated by a line, although it could be pointed out that a considerable part of the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement was inhabited by Gujaratis, chiefly hindus and some muslims, while very few Portuguese catholics have their abode in the Gujarati urban settlement.

<sup>84</sup> See, *inter alia*: Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber; King, Anthony D. 1985. “Colonial cities: Global Pivots of Change”, in *Colonial Cities: essays on Urbanism in a Colonial context*, Ross, Robert and Telkamp, Gerard

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However, the distinctiveness of the 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements should be emphasized, they were far from being autonomous entities. The economic, political, and social conditions of the colonial culture intertwined with the insularity of the urban settlements, although at different levels and to varying degrees. Also one could survey the growing settlement from different points along the edge of this vast field, not just from the river. New important public buildings were built during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in locations near this edge, and the military engineers used this open field as a formal device to generate a series of views that defined all that was important to these colonial subjects and their audience. The emergence of a neo-classical vocabulary in Diu until the mid nineteenth century, was seen as a rather straightforward transplantation of Portuguese architectural ideas to Diu's soil, attenuated or disfigured (depending on one's point of view) by vagaries of local labour and availability of building materials.<sup>85</sup>

An examination of the residential patterns of the urban settlements, demonstrates that often the story was more complicated.<sup>86</sup> One of the factors that contributed for this impediment was the discrepancy between the norm of residential living that the Portuguese expected to find in the city, and the ones that they met with. As the unfamiliar spatial rules reconfigured the Portuguese as subjects, they found it necessary to articulate their subjectivity as a new vocabulary. The description of colonial Diu as a city divided rests on scarce evidence, on a static reading of urban plans (a reluctance to move between the architectural scale and the city scale), and on an absence of critical attention in reading the change over time. For example, the notion that the building ideas were entirely imported from Portugal, is based on the neo-classical appearances/expressions of the buildings, with no attempt to document and examine plans and sections. Also, there has been little concern with civil architecture and everyday use of space.

The colonial architectural discourse is characterised by an inherent contradiction/ambivalence<sup>87</sup> which occurs in the process of constructing authority through the representation of colonised subjects. Colonial authority was primarily constituted on the one hand, *a priori*, either it needs no justification or its evidence comes from within itself (i.e. Portuguese architecture was considered 'superior' to the Gujarati one, because it was analysed using European methods of analysis) and on the other hand, authority was built through strategies of discrimination, that is, by establishing a difference between two parts in such a way that one emerges as superior (i.e. Portuguese

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(eds.), Boston & Leiden: Leiden University Press. 7-32; Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*, Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP).

<sup>85</sup> See *inter alia*, Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 48–51. For a reading of the 'unsuccessful' adoption of neo-classicism in Indian architecture see Tillotson, Giles H. R. 1989. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Controversy, Continuity and Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 12.

<sup>86</sup> The context is on hybrid forms when building ideas are carried from one region of the world to another. We use the term hybridity, revisited frequently throughout this dissertation, broadly to include the combination of designs, materials, or stylistic elements from two or more cultural traditions, even where these do not create a distinctive and enduring 'creolized' synthesis. See *inter alia*: Vlach, John Michael. 1984. "The Brazilian House in Nigeria: The Emergence of a Twentieth-century Vernacular House Type," *Journal of American Folklore*, 97/383: 3–23; Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. "The world in creolisation." *Africa* 57/4: 546-559; Evenson, Norma. 1989. "The hybrid metropolis: Western influences in India." In Bourdier, Jean-Paul, AlSayyad, Nezar, (eds.), *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: University Press of America. 425-49; Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1992. "Disappearing Dichotomies: First World-Third World; Traditional-Modern." In *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 3/2: 7–12; Harris, Richard. 2008. "Development and Hybridity made Concrete in the Colonies." In *Environment and Planning A*, 40: 6-14; Edwards, Jay D. 2001. "Architectural Creolisation: The Meaning of Colonial Architecture." In *Architectural Anthropology*, Amerlinck de Bontempo, Mari-Jose, (ed.). London & Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing. 86-120 and 2009. "Architectural Creolization." In Cohen, Robin (ed.). *The Creolization Reader: Social and Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 219-234. Alsayyad, Nezar, (ed.). 2001. *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*. London & Westport: Praeger; Mark, Peter. 2002. *Portuguese style and Luso-African identity: precolonial Senegambia, sixteenth-nineteenth centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Harris, Richard and Myers, Garth. 2007. "Hybrid Housing: Improvement and Control in Late Colonial Zanzibar." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 66/4: 476-493.

<sup>87</sup> Borrowed from Bhabha as "[...] ambivalence of cultural authority: the attempt to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy which is itself produced only in the moment of differentiation." Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "The Commitment to Theory," in *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 34. He resorts to theories of translation and to psychoanalysis in order to prove that languages, cultures and identities are fragmented, heterogeneous and ambivalent. For a more detailed discussion of ambivalence, see Conclusion.

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architecture is superior because it is civilised, appears in a definite way, and white and clear, while the Gujarati architecture is inferior because it is uncivilised, appears in an unsure way, and intricate and shadier). Clearly, these two modes of constructing architectural discourse were intertwined, although raising separate entities through cartography.

By emphasizing the effect of topography on architecture, authorities made indispensable to the colonial project the acts of surveying, mapping, exploring, and monitoring space. Since it is constituted *a priori*, the Portuguese take it as their duty to 'civilise' their subjects, make them into a double image of themselves. Yet, when colonised subjects attain a certain similarity (when they speak European languages, and have a 'western' discourse), they need to be discriminated against in order for the Portuguese to maintain their authority. They did so by stressing differences like ethnicity, accent on the drawing codes of colonised subjects, in cartographic surveys as well as the links between the ideational space of image, imagination, and production of subjectivity with the physical space of urban form, claim, and territoriality, as a response to the specific issues of Diu's urban identity. Then, Gujarati subjects, who were expected to become 'like' the Portuguese, were simultaneously differentiated or disavowed. The simultaneous operation of identification and disavowal was the basic form of ambivalence performed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries maps.

Keen to record the change in Diu, the late eighteenth-century mapmakers<sup>88</sup> (Sarmiento and Dechermont) found ways to impress the stamp of the colonizers on the maps, thus unabashedly projecting their biases.<sup>89</sup> The primary impulse behind Sarmiento/Dechermont surveying and mapping in Diu [figure 4.5] was to fix boundaries and territories, and to locate people and objects in fixed space.<sup>90</sup> This was seen as necessary both so that the colonial state could assess revenues, and for military and security needs. The late eighteenth-century cartography of Diu was rife with anxious representations on race duality 'christians/*gentiles*' in an urban milieu prone to discarding traditional modes of socio-spatial order.<sup>91</sup>

Later this desire for control led to the creation in 1833 of a new cartographic representation by Aniceto da Silva [figure 5.1], that sought to generate an elusive transparency. The noteworthy and elaborated surveys undertaken of Diu, resulted in a series of maps, showing in great detail not just every urban form, street, and building, but monuments, ramparts, docks, city gates, stairs, architectural details, caverns, trees and other fixtures of the cityscape. The transparency and authority of this cartography, however, foregrounded the paradox of its representative strategies. Not surprisingly, the line of demarcation between the 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements depicted in 1783-1790 disappeared in 1833. There was never an

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<sup>88</sup> See cartography of 1783, *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783*. [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)].

<sup>89</sup> The colonial mania for information in South Asia, and the extent to which knowing the cultural, political and physical terrain of the subcontinent was seen as a prerequisite to effectively ruling are well known also for other empires. See, *inter alia*, the foundational writings: Cohn, Bernard S. 1997. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press and Dirks, Nicholas B. 1987. *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Dirks makes the argument that in certain cases the ordering power of colonial knowledge was even more profound in the Princely states of the British empire. For an informed critique of Dirks and a re-examination of the same themes: Bayly, Christopher A. 1999. *Empire and Information: Intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>90</sup> The resemblances to developments in the presentation of colonial knowledge are known with other colonial cities. For discussions of the changing forms of knowledge in colonial South Asia see, *inter alia*, Cohn, Bernard S. 1997. "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia." In *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; Prakash, Gyan. 1999. *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press and essays by Arjun Appadurai "Number in the Colonial Imagination", Nicolas Dirks "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive" and David Ludden "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge" in Breckenridge, Carol A. and van der Veer, Peter (eds.). 1993. *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. See also, Bilgrami, Hossain, Willmott, C. (comp.). 1883-1884. *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*. Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, which corresponds closely to late nineteenth-century genres of 'scientific' and empirical writings on Indian society produced by the colonial state.

<sup>91</sup> See cartography of 1833, *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria José Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

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[Figure 5.19] *Jami Masjid* (main mosque) of Diu, detail in northeast corner, 2014.

insistence on strict demarcation as an imperial impulse for racial distinctions, a vestigial desire from the days of the early settlement when the walled city cordoned off the world of christian inhabitants, banishing the heathens from the privileged *Eden*. Contrastingly to other European colonial cities in India, no racial demarcation and social exclusion were features in the organization of space in Diu.

Portuguese settlement in colonial Diu and the import of colonial subjects did not result in the creation of a strict hierarchical society in which the Portuguese enjoyed privileges to the exclusion of the Gujaratis and therefore, the result was a more balanced map. In both cases (1783-1790 and 1833), transparency also implied recognition of the Other that was never depicted. What is, then, important to understand in these late eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries representations, is the shifting experience of the city, i.e., the manner in which the drawing gives code, scale, and nomenclature to encouraged colonial visions consistent with an increased desire for control, as well as the limits to such desire.

Three spatial features are apparent from the late eighteenth century cartography of Diu (Sarmiento/Dechermon, 1783-1790). It paid cautious attention the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement, mapping parcels of property around the churches and convents. Also, the port, the customs, the arsenal,<sup>92</sup> and northern wall of the city along the edge of the water; the ribbon development along the main arteries; and the governmental enclave between esplanade and the port were cautiously drawn. The network of narrow plots carved out along the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ urban settlement a confirmed to the city’s over-whelming commercial character and indicated the importance of having street-front property on these east-west commercial arteries that intersected the water channel, connecting the vast network of bazaars with the sea gate of *Portas da Praya*.<sup>93</sup> The purpose,

<sup>92</sup> Built from 1777 to 1778, by order of José Pedro da Gama, governor and captain of Diu. Pereira, A. B. de Bragança. 1935. “Epigrafia de Diu,” Separata de *O Oriente Português*. Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel. 11: 42.

<sup>93</sup> See cartography of 1783, *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmiento. 1783*. [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)]. Identified in the label as ‘b’.

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however, was not solely commercial. It is this tension between the tendency to homogenize space as commodity and the desire for monitoring over local territory that we need to keep in mind.

In opposition and juxtaposition, the mid nineteenth century cartography of Diu (Aniceto, 1833) provided the basis for a system of classification that associated racial identity with urban space, even though racial segregation was not applied in Diu as in other European colonial cities in India and some of its urban spaces did not gain protagonism and proposed streets did not materialize in paths. On balance, by the end of the nineteenth century, the endurance of streets invested with racial and cultural connotations testified to the tendency in colonial consciousness to order society by separating the populace into recognizable anthropological units (racial, ethnic and caste). Another category of places discernible from the cartography and accounting for a recognizable number, included those originating in physical features, landmarks or other material symbols. Finally, urban



Figure 5.20] Diu toponymy 1961, 2014.

places also offered information on early economic activities. These tended to persist (until today) even after the activity to which they alluded had ceased or been relocated. Practices that gave names to places of Diu and meaning to the built environment were likely to be part idiosyncratic and part socialized [figure 5.20]. Whereas Portuguese names of places primarily sought to identify the urban landscape with civic notions of appropriateness and ordering, Gujarati nomenclature was strongly anchored to local features, symbols, and activities that formed a noteworthy part in Diu's architectural and urban spaces [figure 5.19].

A few more inter-related issues for the understanding of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement raise from the mid nineteenth century cartography of Diu (Aniceto, 1833). First, the practice of public space under colonial authority; second, the question of 'public sphere' and its spatial correlates; and finally, the 'translation'<sup>94</sup> that came upon in constructing the 'public sphere' and the architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu. The author of the map was recalling a scenario that was clearly different from the everyday practice. The panoptic vision that

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<sup>94</sup> See also Introduction.

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surveyed the town and the nature of military efficiency (invoking fear among the Gujarati population) that marked the process could only be possible when the town had been 'arrested' out of its normal spatio-cultural mode. Aniceto's description of the urban fabric of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement as irrational was not a new strategy, but the claim that it could be understood, rationalized so easily, and erased at will, was new.<sup>95</sup> By insisting on a controlled condition, the author not only suggested the existence of an undisciplined topography,<sup>96</sup> but the impossibility of addressing it in the usual mode. Gujarat domestic space could be opened up to the inquiry of the *Estado da Índia* only when the city's public space had been wrested from the indigenous population. There may be little doubt that the existing urban fabric was problematic to the functioning of colonial administration. By the 1860s, there was already a contentious debate between Gujarati and Portuguese residents about the nature of the 'public' in Diu, and over the rights to represent the public, i.e. a confrontation between a modern state and the inhabitants of a pre-modern urban fabric, a rational mode of inquiry intervening in an irrational mode of cultural production.

Another important difference between these representations, layed in the accuracy with which the urban landscape was alienated and demarcated. The language of place provided a valuable tool to understand contrasting representations of Diu and uses of colonial urban landscape and its architectural artefacts and very significantly made evidence of clustering of settlements in this respect. Indeed, the idea of the separation of Gujarati and the Portuguese was more than a simple conceptual separation but also a physical one, demarcated by preferable but overlapping spatial cultures, both notional and real. Portuguese colonial street names labelled exact and clearly bounded urban places and Gujarat varieties tended to identify general locations relative to specific landmarks or distinguished by the presence of certain professional activities. For Portuguese colonial activities, clearly characterised and defined urban places were crucial to the governing and policing of the city. For the Gujarat communities, urban places served as signposts of daily activities. They were inseparable from the substance of everyday social practice but did not necessarily require the precision dictated by the Portuguese colonial project in Diu. The persistence of different systems of signification in Diu showed that Portuguese colonial representations did not command an unchallenged hegemony. The 'everyday experience' reinforced this separation.

### Diu through the nineteenth century European eye

From the outset, the European eye was unprepared to encounter such an utterly unexpected place as India. From the outset, the Portuguese eye was prepared to encounter such an utterly unexpected place as Diu. During the nineteenth century, the terms of engagement in representation were certainly different from those of the previous ones and were to change even more in the following ones, although India still remained an exotic world to be explored and from which exciting lives could start. The indefinite topographies of Diu mingled into a scene of misperception rather than a noticeable imperative. Written and visual depictions were part of a loosely aggregated body of knowledge that became important referents in the larger colonial discourse and imperial presence of the Portuguese in India.<sup>97</sup> The drawings of Diu were often thought of as metaphors for a mirrored image of reality, lying between facts and ideas. We will present that very nineteenth century drawn metaphor of Diu, and

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<sup>95</sup> In the cartography of 1833 the 'Gujarat' urban settlement is depicted as small rectangles scattered randomly close to Diu's wall. See *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>96</sup> In the sense of an art of memory that not exclusively employees 'places,' i.e., a topography, but also an architecture of memory. Fabian, Johannes. 2014. *Time and the other: how anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press. 111.

<sup>97</sup> Overall, this path-breaking scholarship sets a new agenda for debates in colonial and postcolonial studies. On Calcutta's example, see: Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge. 21-75.

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evocatively open up the discursive space of its nineteenth century modernity. We will focus on pictorial documents produced by French travellers and attempt to appreciate the ways in which the urban narration is assumed.

Diu demanded the learning of another architectural language and the obligation of another urban pattern, otherwise the landscape, the objects, and the people failed to resolve themselves into a clear and articulate order. We relate the complex interplay between Diu's architectural components as they were narrated in negotiations for the city, and the equally complex interplay between architectural display and performance in the making of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, against Orientalist representations of a quintessential 'Gujarat' urban settlement. Diu's nineteenth century drawings challenged the dominant motifs and discourses of space and time in the making and in the representation of the European colonial city in India on the eve of the end of the Portuguese colonial presence in India. By using the terms narration and depiction interchangeably, we suggest that the nineteenth century descriptions of Diu went beyond the function of recording interesting facts and peculiar features of the land. The nineteenth century descriptions of Diu entered the realm of narration.

The historian of modern India, Gyan Prakash, argued that "in the emergence of science in the late nineteenth century as a sign of Western power constituted the 'native' as an object of scientific discourse"<sup>98</sup> and further "if the re-presentation of objects [...] produced the signs of science going native, the ambivalence of this process could not but affect the projected conception of viewing and the response of the viewers."<sup>99</sup> The enactment of this process displaced the representation of colonial domination. Above all, it was a process of given inquiry. This inquisitive disposition was the single most important distinctive piece of the Portuguese thought from the 'illusory' thought of the Indians. Since these last could not have seen with objectivity, the seeing and recording had to be done by the Portuguese. In several centuries of colonial encounter, the Portuguese eye - a unique untainted European vision prevalent in the colonial descriptions of India - was not a point of view. Instead, it was a social appreciation of the (scientific) experience of travelling through India that could be deployed.<sup>100</sup>

The desire to produce a purely visual mastery of Diu was, nonetheless, both essential and derisory from the Portuguese conceptual, symbolic and rhetoric repertoire. Visual framing that attempted to settle the 'chaotic' 'Gujarat' urban settlement and bring it within colonial order, suppressed the multi-sensory experience on the environment only provisionally. The skill displayed in the large majority of Diu's portraits scrutinizing Portuguese

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<sup>98</sup> Prakash, Gyan. 1992. "Science 'Gone Native' in Colonial India." In *Representations*, 40: 153.

<sup>99</sup> Prakash, Gyan. 1992. "Science 'Gone Native' in Colonial India." In *Representations*, 40: 160.

<sup>100</sup> According to Fabian, the techniques used by ethnographers in their first period of studying other cultures are too "mapping settlements, counting households, and drawing up genealogies of the inhabitants." Visualism is "a cultural, ideological bias towards vision as the 'noblest sense' and toward geometry qua graphic-spatial conceptualization as the most 'exact' way of communicating knowledge." The ability to visualize aspects of another culture, such as their settlements or their social organization, is seen as the way to represent and understand that culture. Even when in certain anthropological theories cultures are seen as texts rather than pictures, the symbols of a culture's text are arranged according to a spatial model, as a 'cognitive map' that allows a culture to be approached as a structure of meaning-making devices. Visualism may take different directions, toward the mathematical-geometric or toward the pictorial-aesthetic. Fabian, Johannes. 2014. *Time and the other: how anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press. 105-106.

Bourdieu defines 'objectivism' as an intellectual orientation to the social world which seeks to construct the objective relations which structure practices and representations. It presupposes a break with immediate experience. Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 10-12. As Bourdieu summarizes: 'Objectivism constitutes the social as a spectacle presented to an observer who takes up a 'point of view' on the action, who stands back so as to observe it and transferring into the object, conceives of it as a totality intended for cognition alone, in which all interactions are reduced to symbolic exchanges.' Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 96.

In David Spurr's discussion of the idea of 'visualism' and concept of 'objectivism,' the colonial discourse is analysed by identifying the rhetorical features of that discourse and by studying the way in which they work. "How does the Western writer construct a coherent representation out of the strange and (to the writer) often incomprehensible realities confronted in the non-Western world?" Spurr insists that the same discursive forms recurred over more than a century in the diverse genres of writing. In a 'global system of representation,' it seems to make no difference whether the rhetoric is from one or another author, whether the text is a colonial report, a scholarly treatise, or a magazine article, or whether the place is nineteenth century Diu, early twentieth century Cape town or the contemporary Middle East. Spurr, David. 1993. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham: Duke University Press. 25-26.

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topography is difficult to conceive, unless they are inserted within the frame of the Portuguese imperial architectural representation. The repetition in visual and textual descriptions of comparable codes of spatial relationships indicates their matching function that served to enhance its suggestion effect. When it became necessary to propose the making and suggest the difficulties of an urban settlement for the Portuguese and catholic population, the heat, the sounds, and the smells that assailed vision could be retrieved.

The ultimate telos of Portuguese travellers, since they were merchants, accommodated both initial catholic evangelization, work of trade, and knowledge production. To ensure the distinction between the primary objectives and occupations, the eighteenth and nineteenth century authors of Diu's images relied on a symbolic and rhetoric repertoire of artistic disinterestedness that aligned them with the eighteenth century proponents of Oriental scholarship. This distinction within a rhetoric of continuity sustained an imperial innocence. Eighteenth and nineteenth century authors of drawings and maps were careful to distinguish their Indian adventure from that of earlier sixteenth century European travellers, merchants and adventurers although their primary objective was similar.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century maps and drawings, particularly surveys on Diu are read in narrowly functional terms, detached from the larger Portuguese imperial context, implying that if a particular representation, as profusely happened with Castro, Correa and Barros during the sixteenth century (see chapter 1) was not explicitly related to any political agenda it was faithful in its correspondence to reality and unaffected by political aims. The tropes of spoil, sacrilege and suppression were recoded with the positive eighteenth European Enlightenment values. Through these depictions, Diu as a compelled space was firmly grafted in the imaginary of the Portuguese empire. The visual and rhetorical drawing devices, motifs, clichés or codes that were consistently used in these architectural and urban representations of the colonial city, such as gloominess, illness and uninhabited nature, made a lasting impression on Portuguese and Gujaratis alike.

At the outset, Diu's history was described in pictorial terms as a progression of scenes so that the city could be likened to a stage set where Portuguese history happened with political connotations in the context of *Estado da Índia*.<sup>101</sup> The authors role was to capture, through drawings the story already in progress, and to explicate colonization in terms of political stance, material culture, and natural history (see also chapter 1). The abstract idea of India found in texts was to be made real by the traveller unveiling the face of the place by revealing Indian corporeality. There was a pattern, quite predictable in fact, in the choice of the 'picturesque' referents that made these representations appealing to the audience. Although the notion of the 'picturesque' was tied to the currency of ideas in the empire at that time, the authors gave visibility to a new vocabulary linked to the ideological function of representing empire, and therefore, demanded a special role for architectural and urban representation in colonial exploration. Art made the unseen visible, bringing to light those inhabitants of an ancient land until now jealously kept hidden. Art became an indispensable tool for enabling the Portuguese 'civilizing mission.'<sup>102</sup>

The sovereign eye of the Portuguese was, in fact, the sovereignty of discourse. The process of asserting authority over space worked at several levels. But before sovereignty could be claimed, its domains had to be demarcated and well-defined. That is why Portuguese so often previously appealed to the logic of novel encounter and to the inherent difference between Portuguese and the Gujaratis to structure their narratives about Diu. To justify one's claim and expertise, the city's colonial space had to be intellectually and materially 'invented',<sup>103</sup> i.e., seen

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<sup>101</sup> The *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, text and drawing, is the first tool to discuss Diu's early "European life". See chapter 1.

<sup>102</sup> For a similar argument consult W. J. T. Mitchell's "Imperial Landscape," and David Bunn's, "'Our Wattled Cot': Mercantile and Domestic Space in Thomas Pringle's African Landscapes," In Mitchell, W. J. T. (ed.). *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

<sup>103</sup> To see the city as artefact or, to put it another way to apply material-culture methods to the city would be to raise different questions about the relationship between the object and individual makers. See Upton, Dell. 1992. "The City as Material Culture." In *The Art and*

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through Portuguese eyes and organized through Portuguese expertise so that the land was transformed into 'landscape.' The authors of maps and drawings struggled to create a safe and familiar sphere in this unknown or unfamiliar land, a vantage of authority from which one could explore and explain the city (see also chapter 1). The newness of Diu could on occasion even pass as novelty. What irked the Portuguese most was not the unfamiliarity, but the suggestion of certain familiar practices in unexpected places. Although what made the landscape memorable was its pictorial portrayal, the analytic structure set up by language preceded and was seen through the filter of the Portuguese eyes.

The drawings depended on written accounts to create the world of meaning that enlivened the mild drawings. 'Pure' visualisation was scarce to create the needed redundancy for that colonial discourse to become often encountered or experienced. What was important in portraying the scenes truthfully was the aptitude to evaluate the significance of the elements that were to be inserted in the field, so they could be assigned suitable roles and adequate meaning and consequence. Connotation was to be imparted through the act of organizing, by the creation of a visual field in which predictable roles of subjection and authority were taken. And that was only possible if one had previous knowledge of what one was supposed to be seeing.

In the later part of the nineteenth century, these devices of empire were magnified by Portuguese residents and administrators to justify their view of the city and its people. Such justifications operated in a self-referential ideational space formed by writings, travelogues, administrative reports, and images made since the arrival of the Portuguese in Diu. The textual and visual representations created a space of Portuguese authority that claimed to be the urban and/or geographical space of Diu. The cartography of Diu, undertaken by Sarmento/Dechermont between 1783 and 1790 [figure 4.5],<sup>104</sup> was an early effort to mark the Portuguese and catholic 'domains' besides specifying Portuguese buildings and churches comprising the city. The cartography of Diu, undertaken by Aniceto in 1833 [figure 5.1],<sup>105</sup> exhibited distinct codified representations of the 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements and the river side elevation of the northern part of town.

The riverine side of Diu, with a citadel and several religious buildings was just such an ideal subject for an acknowledged vocabulary of essentially Indian drawing codes and suitable for portrayal of the Indian context and domain. This was the view that most visitors enjoyed on arrival, and that would be drawn during the following years. This 'picturesque' scenery always depicted the past rather than the present and was a vehicle through which the already rehearsed nature of the Indian people and landscape was to be revealed by representation. The 'picturesque' was intersected by an Orientalist viewpoint, and allowed artists to treat Gujarati subjects as exotic objects in an equally strange and exotic landscape, that had already been conceived as belonging to the past.<sup>106</sup> Most importantly, there was already an accredited terminology of painterly elements considered essentially Indian and suitable for depiction of the Gujarati domains in the 1833 map, that included a specific representation with randomly dispersed rectangles. The 'picturesque' was a vehicle through which the already studied, 'true' nature of Diu urban landscape and people was to be revealed. Colour coding - darker (black), lighter (white), and the troubling 'in-between' - established the requisite cultural signifiers of a narrative of imperial progress. Saliently

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*Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honour of James Deetz*, Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth and Beaudry, Mary C., (ed.). Boca Raton: CRC Press. 51-74; 1991. "Architectural History or Landscape History." In *Journal of Architectural Education* 44/4: 195-199.

<sup>104</sup> *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)].

<sup>105</sup> *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47.* [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon].

<sup>106</sup> Giles Tillotson understands the Indian picturesque as a phenomenon of European culture divorced from the issues of imperialism. See essay published for the exhibition catalogue at the National Portrait Gallery, London. See: Tillotson, Giles H. R. 1990. "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape painting, 1780-1800." In Bayly, Christopher A. (ed.). *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947*. London: National Portrait Gallery. 131-151.

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presented in the panoramic drawings and cartography produced between the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, such coding was reinforced in the architectural and urban cartography of the city.

We will now analyse the mid nineteenth century paintings of Diu in the context of contemporary colonial discourse. Three lithographs of Diu were made in 1846 [figure 5.21, 5.22 and 5.23] authored by Eugène Cicéri (1813-1890)<sup>107</sup> and by Jean Jacottet (1806-1880).<sup>108</sup> These were executed after an expedition to eastern Africa and western India under the command and expertise of Charles Guillain (1808-1875).<sup>109</sup> Interleaving geography and ethnography, the authors detailed maps and views of Diu and of other colonial cities in a pioneering series of lithographs based on daguerreotypes, which were among the first made about those places, and drawings taken from the sea by M.M. Caraguel, during the years of 1846, 1847 and 1848. The daguerreotype was an instrument meant to ensure an accurate recording of the landscape, unadulterated by fancy or the artist's emotional reaction to the scene. In a post-Copernican world, in which the all-seeing eye had vanished, and the landscape or the city revealed itself from multiple vantage points, the daguerreotype obscura became the metaphor for the most rational possibilities of a perceiver within the increasingly dynamic disorder of the world. It was claimed the presented the information in pure form, free from the intrusion of other senses, unifying the data received, with scientific accuracy as wished in modern times. However, the ideal of such a pure vision was inadequate both for the purpose of representing empire, and for the painting to become a work of art.

Cicéri and Jacottet, imbued with the European Enlightenment values, proposed classical Idealism and projected exotic Romanticism that was not opposed to reason through the association of their artistry with scientific discovery.<sup>110</sup> This notion of Romanticism was necessary to depict Portuguese colonial presence in Diu and was a Cicéri and Jacottet invention for Diu. Their contribution to this colonial scientific-aesthetic worldview was the proposal of the Indian picturesque as a set of pictorial codes that made the presence of the Portuguese in India natural and necessary, without the need to inscribe the colonizer's body in the paintings. The positive reception of their work in the nineteenth century in several places in Europe may be attributed to their success in deploying the colonial codes effectively. The drawings worked almost as maps, by evoking knowledge and mastery of geographical space without acknowledging the incompleteness and difficulty of such mastery.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Eugène Cicéri began his career as a designer of mural paintings, as well as theatre and stage sets. He was mainly active as a landscape painter, however, and in this field was influenced by the work of his uncle and teacher, Eugène Isabey. Cicéri exhibited paintings, gouaches and watercolour views at the Salons from 1851 onwards, and also showing lithographs in the 1870s and 1880s. Often drawn on a very small scale, his watercolours also included views from his extensive travels in Switzerland, Germany, England, Italy and North Africa.

<sup>108</sup> Perspective drawings (c. 1846), authored by Eugène Cicéri (1813-1890) and Jean Jacottet (1806-1880) (lith.) / Bayot (fig.) edited by Arthus Bertrand in 1857-1858.

One of these depictions takes its view from across the river, *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur*, the other from the top of the fort ramparts with figures of Europeans and one native Gujarati, *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle*, and the last *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur*, taken from the Governor's palace and recording the access to the citadel. All typical compositions for colonial period imagery of India. Both are available in the Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.

<sup>109</sup> Recovering from loss of empire following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the French sought to re-establish commerce and colonies in the Indian Ocean. The task fell to Charles Guillain, who led a French expedition to the Swahili coast of Eastern Africa in 1846-1848. The record of his travels is enshrined in a magisterial 3-volume work *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie, et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* and the accompanying atlas folio of engravings and maps, *Voyage à la côte orientale d'Afrique*. Guillain surveyed by order of the French Government, and published the results of his survey in 1857-1858, in which he brought forward a vast amount of historical facts. See Guillain, M. 1856. *Documents sur L' Histoire, La Géographie et le Commerce de L' Afrique Orientale*. Paris: Société de Géographie.

<sup>110</sup> See Dirks, Nicholas B. 1994. "Guiltless Spoliations: Picturesque Beauty, Colonial Knowledge, and Colin Mackenzie's Survey of India." In Asher, Catherine and Metcalf, Thomas R. (eds.). *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co.

<sup>111</sup> The Survey of India - in its trigonometric, topographical and cadastral wings - was one of the core procedures in the making of colonial knowledge and instrumental in British governance of South Asia. Carried out over the century between the establishment of formal colonial rule in 1765 and the end of the nineteenth century, the survey entailed painstaking, labour-intensive travels overland across the subcontinent by teams with instruments such as theodolites and leaden chains that were used to 'triangulate' geographical space in order to map the terrain. This data provided the foundation for the subsequent overlaying of these geographical maps with land revenue figures and ethnographic descriptions of various cultural groups. Surveying required the passage of teams into regions where

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The lithographs gave substance, through architectural and urban spatial representation, to European knowledge in the artworks and artistry of building in the *Estado da Índia*. A spatial visibility that remained beyond the reach of most of the Portuguese in their encounter of Diu's space was profusely represented. One critical aspect that bears relevance to these views of Diu was the way the authors made the organization of the visual field with human figures, buildings and landscape. The same stimulus can trigger more than one perception. The paintings were almost a guided tour of the 'picturesque' Diu and intended as such, in a sense they were like colonial maps of Diu's terrain. And yet in ignoring the colonial ideology of the paintings, in extolling their accuracy, and representing them as guides for the neo-colonial traveller to Diu, the authors unwittingly explained their accomplishment for the nineteenth-century viewer. The paintings were as much representations of Portuguese empire as pictorial guides to develop a colonial aesthetic. The depictions claimed not only to institute the vantage places from which Diu could be appropriately observed, but also the suggestion of the miscellany of sites and elements what or how one was to see, indeed how one was to feel about the urban landscape. Thus, the selection of sites and landscapes is architectural and urban 'instructive.'

The very location of the city as reliant on the water channel was always implicit in Diu's illustrations. The most important buildings were located near this edge, and the authors used this open field as a formal device to generate a series of panoramic views that defined all that was important to these painters and their audience. Elements in the urban landscape required to be given decipherable value through the consistent use of visual discourse. The form of the land could itself be taken by sketching the outlines of these images, but the meaning of both landscape and art clearly did not exist in the form's authenticity. It would be inherent in the figures, actions, and shadow washes in the lithograph. The flat landscape of Diu set the stage for unwholesome topographies and became associated with physical discomfort and ailments peculiarly tropical. Even though productive, these flats were just land to be urbane and had no ennobling quality to transform the whole island into 'landscape'. Meaningfully, the portrayal revealed a countryside that only hinted at the existence of people and the cultivated fields signified the presence of Gujarati locals. And yet the land unmarred by Indian presence was not enough to provide satisfaction to the European eye since it had nothing significant to rest on, no church spires, ruins of antiquity, or hills to punctuate the 'sameness' of the topography.

The lithographs favoured the symbols of the Portuguese presence and sovereignty, i.e. the citadel and the port of Diu. To secure the city and the citadel, the surviving houses around the citadel were cleared in 1635, to form an esplanade or firing field. Not only did this move, brought changes in the form of the city giving it a new physical definition, but also gave to the author's field of vision the enlargement demanded. The expansion of the esplanade, which would remain uncluttered until the late nineteenth century, provided an opportunity to obtain an distended prospect of the city. One could survey the fast-growing town from different points along the edge of this vast field, not just from the river.<sup>112</sup>

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they had no formal political status, often across sensitive borders. Matthew H. Edney states that 'cartographic culture' is the transplanting from Europe to India by the British elites of what he calls a 'spatial architecture rooted in non-Indian mathematics and structures'. See his discussion of 1997 of British India's survey and of the absence of representations of British surveyors in the field in India in *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 74–75. See also: Raj, Kapil. 2007. *Relocating Modern Science Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900*. New York: Palgrave & Macmillan. 60-94.

<sup>112</sup> See view west-east of the esplanade in: *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* / lith. Jacottet, Jean fig. par A. Bayot. - Paris: Bertrand, Arthus [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr., en noir ; 20,5 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.).

Authors: Jacottet, Jean; Bayot, A.; Guillain, Charles. In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 13

See view east-west of the esplanade in: *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* / Eugene Cicéri lith. - Paris: Arthus Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre) : lithogr., en noir ; 19 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.).

Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles.

In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 12.

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[Figure 5.21] *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* / lith. Jacottet, Jean fig. par A. Bayot. - Paris: Bertrand, Arthus [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr.; 20,5 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Jacottet, Jean; Bayot, A.; Guillain, Charles.  
In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 13.  
Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.



[Figure 5.22] *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur* / E. Cicéri lith. - Paris: A. Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre): lithogr.; 16,5 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.). Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles.  
In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 11  
Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.



[Figure 5.23] *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* / Eugene Cicéri lith. - Paris: Arthus Bertrand, [1856-1857]. - 1 est. (ill. de livre) : lithogr., en noir; 19 x 33,5 cm (im.), 33 x 52,5 cm (f.).

Authors: Cicéri, Eugene and Guillain, Charles.

In: "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale" / recueillis et rédigés par M. Guillain, vol. 4, atlas, pl. 12.  
Courtesy: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Lisbon.

The raised eye level gives an authoritative vantage to an often repeated depicting method. Also, in all the sketches the foreground is almost stretched to create a tableau of native life introduced in a wide space. The absence of raised up vantage points from which to survey the island suggested a restraint of mastering the territory through pictorial means. Accordingly, only if the island was marked by signs of Portuguese occupation could it please the European eye. Accordingly, Diu's Portuguese religious catholic architecture in the vicinity of the citadel was several times illustrated by Cicéri. The former church of Eleven Thousand Virgins, today's Saint Paul and Jesuit monastery of Holy Spirit (*colégio do Espírito Santo e igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição ou de São Paulo*), the church and monastery of Saint Dominic (*igreja e mosteiro de São Domingos*) and Saint Thomas church (*igreja de São Tomé*) were drawn in the *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* [figure 5.21]. The Royal Hospital and Saint John of God monastery (*Hospital Real e mosteiro de São João de Deus*)<sup>113</sup> and the church and monastery of Saint Dominic (*igreja e mosteiro São Domingos*) were drawn in the *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur* [figure 5.22]. And again, the northern side of the church and monastery of Saint Dominic (*igreja e mosteiro São Domingos*) and Saint Thomas citadel were drawn in the *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* [figure 5.23].

The representation of the buildings draws upon a detached wall that restrains the urban space of Diu in the island. The eye of the viewer in the *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* is led from the right side of the picture until the faraway hinterland on the left side making a 'wide-angle' move. The buildings are carefully drawn, and the viewer's eyes are focused between the background of the city further away and finally deep into the horizon and the foreground of Saint Thomas citadel. Similarly, the citadel and the churches, important buildings for the Portuguese of the city, but none of them specifically draws attention to itself.

<sup>113</sup> Also depicted in: *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783.* [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)]

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Therefore, the space created by the enclosure of the buildings becomes the stage which invites attention. There is, something quite exclusive and exceptional about the choice of station point of these sketches. Cicéri and Jacottet bore the responsibility of conveying an accurate topographical description of the colonial city. With Diu's flat terrain, the city did not easily comply with picturesque standards, and especially Cicéri attempted to represent Diu's urban landscape by incorporating it within the 'picturesque' tradition. However, the lithographs were not innocuous representations of Diu in which the artists documented bygone facts with fidelity. Nor were they straightforward translations of the European notion of the 'picturesque' into an exotic vocabulary. Adaptations depended in large part on a relatively accurate model of reality. This rendering of Diu's landscape drew upon a European tradition of topographical drawing which was supposed to be truthful and undistorted by fancy. In mediating the need for scientific accuracy and the aesthetic burden of the European picturesque, the authors carefully and intentionally 'constructed' a way of looking at Diu that played a key role in forming ideas about the town. Finally, the authors did not discount the artistic value of their drawings.

The most archetypal aspects of Diu's urban life were on Cicéri and Jacottet's stage. The action related to the setting was drawn in the view of Saint Paul's Church. Clearly the church grounds may very well be imagined to have been busy with people during services. However, the moment chosen for portrayal of the architecture was neither a time when there were few catholic worshippers present, nor does it show a ground flocked with catholic men and women going to or coming out of church. The Portuguese catholic believers and Gujarati catholic converts are implied by their noticeable absence, and their presence and authority not verified.<sup>114</sup> The Gujarati figures in fine clothing are crucial as is the depiction of the *Estado da Índia* grounds, in making the desired statement about the privileged Portuguese colonial status in India. The Gujarati figures not only supply the drawing with picturesque elements but offers the contrast against which to admire the church, an architectural symbol of the civilizing mission in a 'heathen' land. The citadel, the churches, as other public buildings that were drawn, are physical and architectural manifestations of colonial authority, while the drawn Gujarati figures constitute the realm over which such authority is extended. If the formers are symbols of an advanced civilization, the latter consist of that which needs civilizing. Seen as repositories of Indian 'antiquity,' Gujarati figures were interchangeable with architecture, and other features of colonial material culture. These figures are not afterthoughts or entourage. They are also the means through which Portuguese colonial authority over Diu is demonstrated.

Another critical aspect that bears relevance to Cicéri and Jacottet portrayals involving the representation of the Indian as the repository of unchanged Indian tradition is that the Gujarati figures were not drawn on site. Their use was to denote that the act of possession became a common representational technique in the lithographs. The Gujarati figures are not afterthoughts or entourage, but the vehicles through which authority over the colonial landscape was demonstrated. inserted these figures in each lithograph from their own menu and vocabulary of the Indian 'prototype.' The authors travelled with an entourage of servants and it was from these people that they derived their representations. Sketches of these attendants were made, but none of these delineations were about the individuals who acted as replicas. These natives were cast into types depending on their occupations which had a corresponding mark that was carefully rendered. This was in keeping with written narratives of India by Portuguese residents and travellers who meticulously noted the number of servants that were 'essential' in India, their job descriptions, and how to identify them. The occurrence in drawings of servants as 'typical' Indians or Indian 'prototypes' reinforces the idea that the main and ultimate role of the Gujarati population was to serve Europeans, and it is through the recognition of this relationship that European authority is validated.

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<sup>114</sup> At the time, the use of Indian figures to denote the act of possession was a common representational technique in drawings.

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No matter how actively the Portuguese enumerated imperial possessions, they amounted to nothing more than a directory of imperial belongings. This absence of landscape meant the Portuguese failure to impress on the surroundings a superior understanding of beauty and religion. From a religious standpoint, this was the result of Portuguese failed evangelical mission in Diu. A deliberate articulation of difference as the fundamental criteria of existence in an alien land had, in fact, worked against the objectives of establishing authority over the land. The signifying power of an absence, a privation of beauty, morality, colonial control, became the most pervasive theme in the Portuguese nineteenth century perception of Diu. The artists, military engineers and surveyors assured that the lack of different aspects was not to be lamented, as there was nothing to see beyond the line of the accepted Portuguese presence in Diu's territory. For European visitors, the description of the boundaries of colonial occupation was the first pace in describing their own practice, since it was necessary to block out the unseemly features that emerged on closer examination. Conceivably, it is not unexpected that the Gujaratis eulogised the virtues of the same Diu in its productive and aesthetic dimensions. If the Portuguese could project their social fantasies to construct the Portuguese ideal imperial landscape, such a projection could not be transferred to Diu because it would contradict the role played by the Gujaratis in the Portuguese colonial narrative. But such boundedness also produced constraints for the sovereign imagination.

A cursory look at these lithographs fails to indicate the emotions invoked through the power of association, based on the 'knowledge' created by the early history of Diu and the knowledge gathered from Portuguese travelogues. The positioning of architecture or landscape, rather than native bodies, assured that a nexus of colonial values would be correctly articulated across the space of the depictions to generate an aesthetic alliance between the artist's conception and the particularities of the viewer's experience of Diu. The travellers who followed in the footsteps of the authors and retraced their journeys were not disappointed. There was a careful balance between the Gujaratis, which suited late eighteenth and early nineteenth century tastes and the viewing of these as picturesque elements of the landscape. The 'picturesque' became, in both narratives - writings and drawings - a process of making accessible that which was not within comprehension. It was a manner of dispensing with the Portuguese anxiety of grasping India as the sublime, and deferring the feeling of empathy.

Diu could be comprehended and accurately represented using daguerreotype techniques. Just as the island was interspersed with depictions of civilized prospects, the lithographs did not simply involve Diu's rural landscape. They were interspersed with depictions of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, drawn in a manner that celebrated the pride of their inhabitants. The buildings of Diu were not drawn because they were 'picturesque,' contrastingly, they were carefully recorded to illustrate the city as colonial possession. In such a rendition, the 'picturesque' elements of the Indian landscape were used to highlight the difference between the degenerate state of the inhabitants and the Portuguese intervention. The rendering of the architecture of Portuguese empire required a vocabulary that looked onward, rather than backwards. In fact, it needed to be as little burdened with ruinous effect as possible. By using Gujarati elements as the part constituting the 'picturesque,' Cicéri and Jacottet could accurately express the fine regularity of the buildings architecture through the element of contrast. The ordered place making that proclaimed authority over Diu was juxtaposed with native scenes of ruins and chaos. The raised eye level in these drawings affords a commanding vantage, a method to repeated and something quite distinctive about the choice of station point.

The use of the aesthetic category of the 'picturesque' in these descriptions of Diu bears the trace of a barely masked tropical disquiet. Such disquiet appears when the slippages between desire and experience and between representational mastery and inadequacy of the representative strategy happen. And it is this sense of recognition and empathy, that marks the passage from 'picturesque' paintings to architectural and urban illustrations with scientific accuracy, as an unexpected outcome of the process of representation and not as an aesthetic strategy. In suggesting that the process of representation produces the effect of empathy, we also attend to a critical function

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of colonial representation: the repression of likeness, familiarity that may not be acknowledged.<sup>115</sup> Fundamental to this task of representation was the desire to rationalize the heterogeneity of the colonial landscape and the native body and the disquieting figure of the Gujarati subject.

The written narratives of 'picturesque' Gujarati subjects were just as liberally spotted with attempts to associate parts of the Indian landscape with the acquainted landscape of Portugal as it was shown by Castro, Correa and Barros, the sixteenth century authors of accounts and drawings of Diu.<sup>116</sup> Such associations were heartening reminders that this land would not remain entirely unfamiliar, it could be appropriated in some way with simplicity. The sites that evoked fond memories of home were safe havens from which to observe the exoticness. And in this tension between home(ness) and exotic(ness) lies a critical aspect of these metaphors, the contrast enabled the viewers and readers to see the two opposite characteristics of the landscape in a clearer light within the framework of the same narrative. Rather than erasing the emotive content of the Portuguese 'picturesque,' the colonial 'picturesque' in Diu bracketed the emotional content of the Portuguese landscape to foreground a colonial aesthetic.<sup>117</sup> A distinctive colonial subjectivity was developed between metropolitan and colonial space, metropolitan aesthetics and colonial aesthetics by this parenthetical connection.

### Conclusion

Modernity is central to both colonialism and city. Drawing on Foucault, it can be pointed out that "the reorganization of space is always a reorganization of the framework through which social power is expressed".<sup>118</sup> Colonial authorities could not govern without incorporating a segment of the colonised population into the ruling structures of power, and space was strategic in this regard.<sup>119</sup> "The assignment of place within a socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action, and access to power within the social order."<sup>120</sup> Such spatial assignments are evidenced in the moulding of the state and modernity in planning the city with regard to race, class, gender and other socially constructed categories, but it is also evidenced in the control over the space occupied by this body, and the way in which space relationship facilitates the social order.

Focusing on the nineteenth century, we analysed the impact of modern post-Enlightenment interventionism in the colonial city.<sup>121</sup> Architecture and urbanism as practiced in Diu was not simply transferred from West to East, but was also fashioned in response to local needs and Gujarat conditions. A key variable in such analyses of space was the capacity of some subjects to transform activities, to intervene in a given situation in order to alter it, or to impose one's will on some subjects by the potential or actual use of violence.<sup>122</sup> Yet this power does not go

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<sup>115</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2012. "Perspectives of World Art Research: form, recognition and empathy", *Opler Conference*, Oxford: Worcester College (unpublished).

<sup>116</sup> See written account of 1886 by Francisco Manuel de Melo Breyner (1837-1903), Count of Ficalho, referring to a visit of Garcia da Horta (c.1501-1568) to Diu, in chapter 3. Conde de Ficalho. 1886. *Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo*. Lisbon: National Press. 97.

<sup>117</sup> Mathew Edney relates how imperial Britain used modern survey techniques to not only create and define the spatial image of its empire, but also to legitimate its colonialist activities. I disagree with his suggestion that the "emotive elements of the Picturesque slowly disappeared as the British reconfigured India to be naturally Picturesque." My reading of the paintings does not suggest an emotional emptiness through naturalization, but the displacement of values about the European countryside with a set of values and emotions that worked to naturalize India for the colonizers. Edney, Mathew H. 1997. *Mapping an Empire, The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 74.

<sup>118</sup> Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Wiley - Basil Blackwell. 9.

<sup>119</sup> Yeoh, Brenda S. A. 1996. *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

<sup>120</sup> Harvey, David. 1990. "Between space and time: reflections on the geographical imagination," In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80: 419.

<sup>121</sup> For a theoretical approach about time and space and the European Enlightenment project, see Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Wiley - Basil Blackwell. 240-259.

<sup>122</sup> Giddens, Anthony. 1987. *The Nation-State and Violence: A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Vol. II, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge: Polity Press; Castells, Manuel. 1989. *The Informational City: Information, Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-regional Process*. Oxford: Wiley - Basil Blackwell.

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uncontested. Indigenisation of space is simultaneously a way of assuming a colonial subject position through the creation of new and hybridised cultural practices and spaces.

The Portuguese encoded the city's space through modern techniques of representation in their proposition for spatial comprehensive knowledge. Here we have an history of narratives and representations through writing, drawing, mapping and surveying, that came to be used for governing the city. Such narratives and representations were mediated between the Portuguese as 'subject' of history and the city as the 'object' of history, generating a necessary distance of space and time. A city that could only be assembled in sections was projected as a (Portuguese) composition with defined boundaries, discrete monuments, and clearly well-known dark and bright spaces. The reserve between 'subject' and 'object' detained the physical city and enabled Diu's colonial rulers to speak of the city's as representation of the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, a space to which it must aspire, must ceaselessly be compared, but never become. It is in that impracticality of becoming, the perpetual deferral of architectural and urban modernity actualized, that the Portuguese introduced themselves as spokesmen for Diu. This chronological inconsistency was produced through these representations and not the other way around.

The colonial chantiers may not have transformed the well-developed field of nineteenth-century Portuguese architectural theory with its own traditions and legacy, but they certainly brought a new flexibility to it, testing and expanding its boundaries. The exposure and adoption of norms and models that accompanied the post-European Enlightenment reforms in the Portuguese empire inevitably came with a re-evaluation of the colonial architectural past and attempts to find a synthesis between the two. Diu's late nineteenth century colonial architectural discourse expressed sensitivity towards regional expressions while searching for a modern language that would embrace the historic and geographic multiplicity of the Portuguese empire. It was a new genre, struggling with birth pains and dealing with difficult issues. It was considered a synthesis of Roman and Byzantine structural experiments (construction of domes and large arches) and Indian and Persian decorative ingenuity - the associations characteristically mirroring the European and Portuguese discourse. A scrutiny of Diu's architecture led to the conclusion that their overwhelming hybridity was nothing to be desired. Being neither European nor Indian, they exemplified an era completely lacking in character. The alternative was some kind of purity, dependent on local architecture.<sup>123</sup> Fragmented, repetitive, brief, incomplete, and often derivative, such arguments help explain the regionalism observed in Diu's public colonial architecture. In the search that gained momentum from the late 1800s on, the obvious references were to the 'classical' period of European architecture, that is, the great monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If the touch of neo-classicism introduced to simulate a sense of grandeur rendered the buildings in the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement a note of familiarity from the outside, for Portuguese inhabitants the familiarity disappeared on the inside.

In the epilogue of the Portuguese empire, an urban aesthetic was proposed connected to a more comprehensive approach of creation of an ordered city and setting up urban improvement. According to the Portuguese administration, an efficient rule of the city required orderly, balanced, and ultimately magnificent buildings and streets, that made difference between the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement. This aesthetic vision with its connection between efficiency and beauty was appreciated by administrators. The objects of efficiency, surveillance, and beautification<sup>124</sup> were brought together to create a more planned urban fabric and

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<sup>123</sup> We should retrieve the legacy of this 'colonial' architecture and to revive it in contemporary practice. There is a reductive European assumption that made no distinction between Persian, Arabic, and Indian art. The contradictions in the European discourse should be deconstructed in that they deny artistic creativity and originality to Indians on the one hand and on the other state that they were superior to Europeans in their artistic and scientific achievements. Regardless of these different standing places, European architects agreed on the derivative nature of Indian art. This was a major error, based on a general misunderstanding of all artistic formations, because the arts of all peoples developed in response to each other, revealing profound and continuous influences.

<sup>124</sup> For a detailed and authoritative account of the role of and European attitude to climate of India from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century in India, see Harrison, Mark. 1999. *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India*

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fostered in appropriately public spaces that would thwart the decay of the *Estado da Índia* since the late seventeenth century. The description of Diu bears no similarity to the indecipherable city described by the visitors' accounts. On closer inspection, the Portuguese and Gujarati architecture functioned according to different precedents, features and rules.

The streets of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement teeming with people were cleared to make way for colonial authority and the din has been silenced by all drawn descriptions. A transparent 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement where each house could be identified and numbered substitutes the devious structure of streets and fabric of houses. It appears that the private domain was revealed and made accessible by erasing the public domain. No argument disturbs the serenity of the operation, no words are wasted in the transaction, and no enunciatory difficulty troubles the knowledge. The apparent ease with which this spatial erasure is conducted suggests the absence of a legitimate and robust Gujarati sphere that might stand between the Portuguese colonial authority and the Gujarati domestic domain/space. Attempts to fix the signs of difference, in order to resist the effect of the hybrid, proved difficult, given the character of colonial architecture.

While the examples of neo-classical architecture in the 'Gujarat' urban settlement were understood as hybrid and dismissed as inauthentic, the Portuguese refused to see how the houses in which they resided in the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement were culturally-mixed connections that went beyond stylistic ambivalence. There were no locks or bolts on the doors, indicating too plainly that Indian doors were not supposed to be shut. Without the possibility of closing off rooms, the boundary between the house and the external outside world became ineffective. This blurring of boundaries, and the consequent lack of interiority, became one of the more disconcerting features of colonial life, reminding the Portuguese that the locus of a hybrid culture was in their midst. The 'pleasures' of imperialism did not solely require Gujarati presence but were determined and besieged by Gujarati practices of Diu's life.

Going through the (more) refined architectural scale, the problem did not lie in the nineteenth century neo-classical proportion of the façade, the rhythm of the columns, or the dimensions of the entablature, it was something more fundamental, more immediately felt when using the space. There were more parallels and correspondences between the buildings in the 'Gujarat' and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements of Diu than was ordinarily acknowledged. Having lived in colonial houses, the nineteenth century Portuguese inhabitants were acquainted with the fact that hybridity did not simply reside in the foreign body and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement but, rather, it was that troubling presence in the formation of their own identity, an ambivalent space that they themselves occupied and whose impact they deeply felt. The difficulty resided in not only generating a "reality *coincident* with the emergence of an imperialist narrative and history, its discourse *nondialogic*, its enunciation *unitary*, unmarked by the trace of difference."<sup>125</sup>

What was disturbing the 'reality' effect was not a distant Other, but the everyday practices that inflected their own behaviour and their ability to sustain a narrative of superior difference. The open-endedness of spatial meaning unsettled dearly held ideas of public and private, self and Other, by denying the Portuguese a sense of safe confines within which to construct an imperial self. That is what made Diu problematic and necessitated the

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1600–1850. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Harrison has discussed in particular detail the impact of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 on the perceived relationship between health of European soldiers and Indian geo-climatic conditions; Chang, Jiat-Hwee and King, Anthony D. 2011. "Towards a genealogy of tropical architecture: Historical fragments of power-knowledge, built environment and climate in the British colonial territories." In *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 32. 283–300; Metcalf, Thomas R. 1984. "Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910." In *Representations* 6, 37-65. For the Portuguese empire, see especially: Bastos, Cristiana. 2007. "Medicina, império e processos locais em Goa, século XIX." In *Análise Social*, vol. XLII/182. 99-122 and 2014. "'No género de construções cafreais: o hospital-palhota como projecto colonial.'" In *Etnográfica*, 18/1: 185-208.

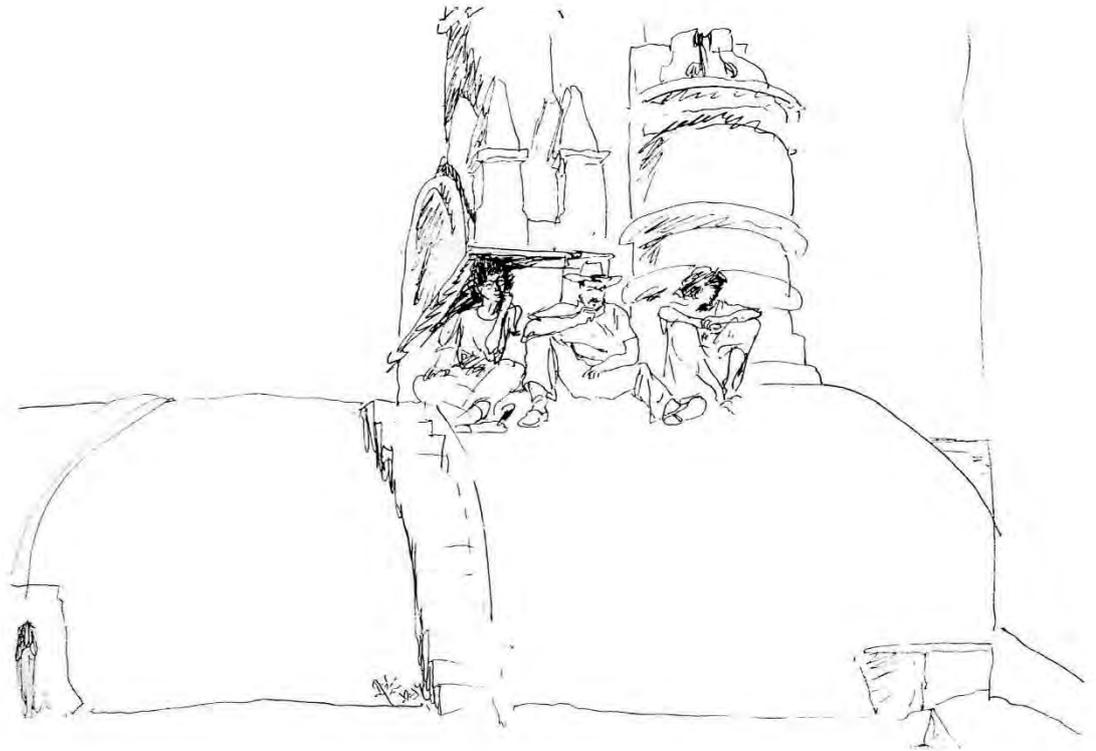
<sup>125</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1985. "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817." *Critical Inquiry*, 12/1: 157. Also published in Jencks, Chris (ed.). 2004. *Urban Culture, Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge. Vol. III, 16. Italics from the author.

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obsessive articulation of delimiting practices, even when recognized that such territorial markings inhibited the colonial desire for a sovereign space and, in fact, the boundaries did little to prevent permeability.

Finally, we take conclusions from the very modes of representation of Diu that claimed to produce transparency, however, were underscored by a disquiet around the opaqueness of the object of inquiry. This paradox of vision in Portuguese imperial representations was greeted by Gujaratis by challenging modern representations seriously and re-encoded these modes by founding them in the study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation by the immediate community. The most powerful starts from Portuguese modes of representation were geared to strategically redistribute the opaqueness that could not be accessed through Western modes of representation over a larger area. This opaqueness is shaped by significance, is personified in signs, and practiced as rituals. The redistribution was guided by rules of recognition that bestowed new meaning upon artefacts of domesticity, upon ideas of public and private, upon the construction of the self. While the Portuguese and the Gujarati representations shared an acknowledgement of the power of vision, the Portuguese anxiety of not being able to see through spaces was paralleled in Gujarati discourse by a deep distrust of the merely visible. This was the conflict between two very different modes of vision, description, and spatial practice.





## CHAPTER SIX

*The city must pray.*  
*Ritual, performance and display.*

“que o povo gentílico poção usar  
e gozar de seus ritos e costumes e casamentos.  
Efestas”<sup>1</sup>

**I**N *THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE*, the social and political historian and philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883) speaks of moments of crisis at which human beings “anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service” times when “the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living.”<sup>2</sup>

This chapter is about rituals and display in religion as part of the cosmopolitan process through which the colonial city of Diu has been forged. We take inspiration on a ethnohistorical framework by making an interpretation of

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<sup>1</sup> “that the *gentiles* are allowed to use and enjoy their rituals, habits, weddings and festivals.” Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maço 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Essay written by Karl Marx between 1851 and 1852, and originally published in 1852 in *Die Revolution*, a German monthly magazine published in New York City and established by Joseph Weydemeyer. It discusses the French coup of 1851 in which Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte assumed dictatorial powers. It shows Marx treating actual historical events from the viewpoint of his materialist conception of history. Marx, Karl (1818-1883). 1972. *The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. 10.

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urban spatial culture of Diu through the politics of worship. We use the methods and concepts of both cultural anthropology and social history to construct a model of spatial change in Diu under colonial rule. Focusing on the problem of authority as a cultural concept and as a managerial reality, we consider some classic problems of deference, sumptuary symbolism, and religious organization. In addition, we address such issues as the nature of conflict under a hybrid colonial legal system, the political implications of religious disputes, and the structure of relations between polity and religion in Diu.<sup>3</sup>

In his dealing about hindu and muslim religious identities in India and the formation of 'religious nationalism' van der Veer<sup>4</sup> draws on Taylor's<sup>5</sup> notion that self-awareness emerges through interaction with others in order to emphasize the importance of ritual communication in the formation of identity. A sense of identity, van der Veer argues, answers the questions of 'Who am I?' and 'What do I do?' and is often found in community. While, in Diu, the muslim community forms what is by far the largest religious minority, there are also a small number of catholics who make up about five percent of the total population. The Indian Roman catholics in Diu face the problem of defining a self-image that is both Indian and catholic in a country where christianity is largely perceived to be a product of the West. If social organization of hindu, jain, muslim and zoroastrian religious communities in Diu was altered by colonial presence to answer to Portuguese presence and rules, the Portuguese also had to adapt themselves to local Diu reality. This was manifested in architecture and urbanism in what was colonial material culture. Communal identities, and the histories that support them, are therefore 'imagined,' or 'invented,'<sup>6</sup> a term employed by Wagner, Hobsbawm and Ranger.<sup>7</sup> To suggest that identities are 'invented' is therefore not to imply that they are inauthentic, the conscious and wholly inaccurate manipulations of self-interested minds, but simply to assert that they are not based on fixed, unfiltered, or 'objective' realities.

Religious rituals are important for hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics<sup>8</sup> and constitute intensive interaction and tension between diverse social and religious groups that have come to Diu. Virtually every culture or religion is synthetic; they have all changed over time, adopting and incorporating exogenous elements and ideas along the way. As the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz and others have suggested, creolization, hybridization, interculturalization, or whatever one wishes to call it, has become the rule not the exception.<sup>9</sup> In a very broad sense, it conveys the idea of land utilization and development by people, and it is important to realize that, for example, religious beliefs are crucial in the direction and accomplishment of this process. In turn, architectural and urban spatial cultures affect the development of religious beliefs.

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<sup>3</sup> See the approach of the integrated anthropological framework about temples in South Indian society and history. Appadurai interprets the politics of worship in the Sri Partasarati Svami Temple, a famous ancient Sri Vaisnava shrine in India. Appadurai, Arjun. 2007. *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: a South Indian Case*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>4</sup> van der Veer, Peter (ed.). 2015. *Handbook of Religion and the Asian City: Aspiration and Urbanization in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press; 2011. *Imperial Encounters: Religion, Nation, and Empire*. Delhi: Permanent Black; 1997. "The Enigma of Arrival: Hybridity and Authenticity in the Global Space." In Werbner, Pnina and Modood, Tariq (eds.). *Debating Cultural Hybridity*. London: Zed Press. 90-106; 1996. *Conversion to Modernities. The Globalization of Christianity*. New York: Routledge. 1-21; 1994. *Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, Charles. 1999. "Two theories of Modernity," *Public Culture* 11/1: 153-174.

<sup>6</sup> See Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence, (eds.) 2012. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [1983] and Wagner, Roy. 1975. *The Invention of Culture*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall. Discussions of the differences between these two views and those who have appropriated them, see Karlsson, Bengt. 2000. *Contested Belonging: An Indigenous People's Struggle for Forest and Identity in Sub-Himalayan Bengal*. Richmond: Curzon. 241 ff.

<sup>7</sup> However, whereas Wagner understands all cultures to be 'invented' (spontaneously and unconsciously), Hobsbawm and Ranger appear to suggest that the 'invention' of culture is a deliberate, conscious, and politically motivated act.

<sup>8</sup> We use 'hindu,' 'muslim,' 'zoroastrian,' 'christian' and 'catholic' (especially in this chapter), firstly to refer to a hereditary religious identity and secondly to refer to indigenous religious and ritual practices. The latter does not imply a clearly defined system of doctrine, belief and practice equivalent to christianity. See: Fuller, Christopher J. 1992. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. "The world in creolization." In *Africa* 57: 546-59. We would only add that it has probably been this way for a very long time, not just since colonization or the emergence of global capitalism. The notion of a pure tradition is only an ideal but, like the notion of a pure architectural and urban spatial culture, a potentially dangerous one.

## The city must pray. Ritual, performance and display.

There are four collections of architectural and urban spatial cultures in Diu which have dealt with religion: one deals with the effect of religion on the built environment; another studies the religious structures, their locations, sites and orientations and designs; the third considers the demographic issues such as the distribution of religious groups, and the last, attempts theoretical arguments which seek to define the concerns of the geography of the religions existing in Diu. Each religion is supposed to have its own public arena<sup>10</sup> to celebrate its cult. Rituals and places of display are reproduced with strong emphasis in Diu as part of the day-to-day religious life of the city.

The encounter of non-Western societies with christianity is often viewed as inextricably bound up with the spread of colonial power and is apparent in colonial architecture and colonial cities. Catholic converts are perceived as living firmly within the orbit of the religious influence, decultured and disaffected from their cultural and religious ancestries. The statement that christianity will supplant local systems of belief and ritual is part of a wider view of colonial experience which portrays subject groups as progressively immersed into the culture arriving from Europe. Local ritual systems serve often very different agendas and it is at this point that the particularities of the ethnography of hindu, jain, muslim, zoroastrian and catholic encounter in Diu become visible. From the outset, these particularities emerge from the complexity of the city in which, as we have seen, the transgression of the conventional boundary<sup>11</sup> between the religious communities, and the assertion of this boundary, go literally hand in hand and cannot be separated from each other. Furthermore, we have seen that it is fairly common among hindus and jains of all castes and classes in Diu to pay ritual homage and invoke the divine or saintly powers that formally belong to the other religious practice, tradition and community.

This chapter takes Diu's repeated religious space rituals: first, the most noteworthy catholic ritual of Diu which is the procession that celebrates the apparition of the Virgin Mary; second, the Muharram muslim pilgrimage (circumambulation/procession in urban contexts), whose echoes ring deeply throughout the Portuguese colonial period in India, resonating with the fascinations, repulsions, and desires of the Portuguese colonizer in the city, in Gujarat and in the subcontinent;<sup>12</sup> and finally, the staging of hinduism (a 'substitute' for pilgrimages which includes shrines or areas that 'replace' a circuit). There could be no doubt that all these rituals referred are about display, public space and domination in the colonial city of Diu.<sup>13</sup> Certainly, sacred space is defined visually and materially through urban landscape, but it is also constituted of soundscapes and timescapes, as the aural and temporal also contribute to the marking out of sacred space. Religion, to that extent, is an integrative institution, and religious experience may be best understood as a wholly integrated one.

The underlying hypothesis of the chapter is that religious synthesis (coexistence and syncretism) in Diu are, to a large extent, conditioned and facilitated by the ways that Diu inhabitants conceptualize and organize their

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<sup>10</sup> Freitag has introduced the concept of a 'public arena', that she defines as a "world of ritual, theatre and symbol," where hierarchy and conflict could be expressed among unequals. This is also an arena that was "tied closely to the social and political contexts of its local and hence accommodates and reflects change". Freitag, Sandra B. 1989. *Collective Action and Community: Public arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. 19.

<sup>11</sup> We use the term 'boundary' as a spatial metaphor transformed into a social one.

<sup>12</sup> There are several types of religious journeys in urban space to be found in India. Horstmann (2008) distinguishes for example the categories: circumambulation (parikramā), journey to sacred places (tīrthayātrā), march (padyātrā), journey of splendour (Sobhayātrā) and procession with sacred object (rathayātrā) and delineates specific differences of each movement in space, at the same time stressing that these types and terms tend to overlap in many ways. Horstmann, Monika. 2008. "An Indian Sacred Journey." In Horstmann, Monika, Gengnagel, Jörg & Schwedler, Gerald (ed.). *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche. Bewegung zwischen Religion und Politik in Europa und Asien seit dem Mittelalter*. Köln: Böhlau. 336-360.

<sup>13</sup> The Kumbh Mela in Prayag is the largest gathering of people in one place for a common purpose in the world. The high point of the festival is the procession of ascetics to the sacred place where the rivers Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati meet, where they bathe in the sacred waters. The ascetic organizations in the procession are asserted in order of prestige. The most famous processions of hindu ascetics in India is the Kumbha Melā. In earlier times the Kumbha Melā were violent events and one important function of the procession was to establish rank among the ascetic orders. In the Kumbha Melās and Saivites and Vaizxavites often clashed in conflicts over precedence in the procession. The Kumbha Melā and processions function to confirm, establish and display hierarchy, they are sources of prestige and therefore can be expressions of or causes of disputes. Mehrotra, Rahul. 2013. *Kumbh Mela: Mapping the Ephemeral Mega City*. Boston: Harvard University and Hatje Cantz.

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communities and perceive their urban space. After establishing the importance for colonial discourse of religious rituals, performance and staging between hindus, muslims, and catholics, we examine the ways in which that discourse produced a particular urban image of Diu. We discuss the manner in which the religious rituals, performance and staging, during Portuguese presence in Diu embodied the religious ceremonies as transgressive events which mark the city, mapping it in threatening and yet fascinating colours regarding their claims to public space, processional route and sequence, usage and managing of objects and representation, and timing. In the final section, we turn to the fascination with rituals as demonstrated in symbols. We draw out a more complex relationship between colonial discourse and religion, one which moves beyond notions of control and transgression to incorporate colonial desire and fascination with ritual. In pursuing this argument, historical and ethnographic research suggests that the interrelations and intersections between hindu, muslim and catholic communities may be affected by the interplay of caste organization, economic redistribution, and a system of stratified ritual honours.<sup>14</sup> The question, then, will be - what is it about these rituals that is spatially ominous, and how does this play out within colonial discourse?

### **Roman catholic ritual**

Symbolized by its Portuguese style churches, western clerical dress and liturgy, catholicism in Diu has also been judged as a legacy of the colonial past. Catholic thinking in Diu today within the Roman catholic church share the concern about cultural detachment and are anxious to free the church from its colonial heritage and missionary paternalism, and to develop a truly rooted form of catholic faith, spirituality and worship. Such thinking also reflects wider changes in the church that endorse and encourage moves to indigenize or 'inculturate' theology, worship, liturgy or architecture and to initiate inter-faith dialogue.

Also, the assumption that christianity would displace Diu's systems of belief and ritual is part of a broader assessment of colonial experience as 'modern,' which depicts subject groups as progressively absorbed into prevailing colonial cultures. The image of Diu passive proselyte was replaced with a view of converts as active creators and manipulators of symbolic and ritual systems which serve indigenous social and political ends. Rather than transforming local practice the preacher was, through complex exchanges, often unwittingly drawn into hindu and muslim systems. Therefore, there will be description of context and examination of space by which local ritual systems were used on different plans.

We will examine change and transformation in Diu's Catholic ritual system in colonial context, by focusing on the example of the of a Roman Catholic procession. Our concern will be to examine the role of changing relations of power in shaping ritual synthesis manifested in two ways: first, is that the nature of religious authority, which the church has constructed for itself and exerted, has changed during precolonial, colonial and postcolonial times, for example, in practices which are tolerable expressions of Indian culture, have been later redefined as heterodox compromises; finally, and perhaps more important, is the fact that in Diu's relations of power and authority are themselves often voiced through religion, since religious institutions and their festivals have long been central to the exercise of dominance and control in local and regional political systems. Here then is a culture in which religion and politics have not historically been separable domains of human action.

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<sup>14</sup> Appadurai, Arjun, and C. Appadurai Breckenridge. 1976. "The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honor and Redistribution." In *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 10/2: 187–209; Axelrod, P., and M. A. Fuerch. 1998. "Portuguese Orientalism and the Making of the Village Communities of Goa." In *Ethnohistory* 45/3: 439–476; Kaufmann, S. B. 1982. "A Christian Caste in Hindu Society: Religious Leadership and Social Conflict among the Paravas in Southern Tamil Nadu." In *Modern Asian Studies* 15/2: 203–245; Mosse, David. 1994. "The Politics of Religious Synthesis: Roman Catholicism and Hindu Village Society in Tamil Nadu, India." In Stewart, Charles and Shaw, Rosalind (eds.). *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London & New York: Routledge. 79–100; 1997. "Honour, Caste and Conflict: The Ethnohistory of a Catholic Festival in Rural Tamil Nadu (1730–1990)." In *Altérité et identité: Islam et Christianisme en Inde*, edited by Assayag J. and Tarabout, G. 71–120. Paris: Édition Ehes; Axelrod, Paul, and Fuerch, Michelle A. 1998. "Portuguese Orientalism and the Making of the Village Communities of Goa." *Ethnohistory* 45 (3): 439–476.

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Religious processions are participant displays of the city's 'public sphere' that lay claim to public space.<sup>15</sup> Ascetic rituals offer an opportunity for displaying oneself as a devout. Processions by their very visibility, foreground the relationships between the secular and the sacred, while contributing to a construction of identity and community, and simultaneously surfacing fractures therein delineating each religion's territory. Religious processions form an important part of the religious life of Diu's Roman catholic population. Catholic communities frequently hold a public procession to mark religious holidays and festivals. Despite the minority status of catholics in Diu, such public expressions of catholic faith are not only tolerated by all communities, but numerous non-catholics actively participate in the processions. Nonetheless, processions do not create the notion of *communitas*, where social difference is abbreviated. On the contrary, as we will demonstrate, rank, status and tribute are often on show in the processions, they create or exhibit boundaries, and frequently function to display one community to another and emphasize the role of processions is confirming social structures and their competitive aspect. These most often affirm or create margins, which distinguish insiders from outsiders and provide structures for the display of status and hierarchy.

Notwithstanding the diverse forms processions take at different locations, five basic features may be identified as constituents of Diu's catholic processions. Firstly, every procession makes use of and occupies public space, in a geographic sense as well as in a metaphorical sense. The path on which the parade is conducted not only connects Diu churches (shrine and objects of cult) with the built environment, but it also marks a territory to which the religious community involved has a singular and particular relationship (e.g. their quarters and neighbourhoods). Prayers, evangelisation, music, illumination, and crackers are applied as a prerogative for more space and convey a religious message beyond the catholic community and beyond the territory. Secondly, the objects of veneration and cult taken to the street are characteristic of a catholic procession. In each, the saints are decorated and taken in procession around the village on decorated platforms and chariots resembling those at hindu temples. Foreexample, the effigy relevant of the Virgin Mary is assigned the most significant place in the procession. Adorned with costly cloth and garlands, it is placed on a chariot and drawn through the streets by devotees; alternatively, it is carried on a palanquin. Often the main item of veneration is accompanied by objects of minor importance (e.g. statues of other saints or angels, and crosses). Additionally, royal paraphernalia such as flags, umbrellas, or incense are taken in the procession to assert the supreme status of the venerated objects. Thirdly, the path of the movement is equally characteristic. The circumambulatory movement of the crowd walks on a 'circular' path in Diu, thus marking an area of public space specific between Saint Francis church, Saint Paul's church, and Saint Thomas church. This is sometimes interrupted when the main object of the parade is halted for an act of reverence, for example in front of the residence of an eminent member of the community. In a reciprocal act the person's pays homage to the sacred object and in turn receives the holy blessing. Fourthly, related with the path and manner of the procession is the sequence in which the participants walk in it. The place next to the cult object is regarded as the most prestigious, and is assigned to the leaders of the community conducting the procession or if more than one group is involved the representatives of the most respected community. Fifth and finally, the processions are not spontaneous acts, but are placed in a time frame. Marking particular holidays and

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<sup>15</sup>Habermas has defined the 'public sphere' as being constituted through participation in a universal culture of opinion formation. In his seminal work he argued that, in the eighteenth century, private individuals assembled into a public body began to discuss openly and critically the exercise of political power by the state. These citizens had free access to information and expressed their opinion in a rational and domination-free manner. Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Formation of the Public Sphere*. Burger, Thomas (trans.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press & Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. 2-3. See also Eickelman, D. and Anderson, J. (eds.). 1999. "Redefining Muslim Publics." In *New Media in the Muslim World: the Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 95-111, Calhoun, Craig (ed.). 1992. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press and Veer, Peter van der. 2002. "Religion in South Asia." In *Annual Rev. Anthropology* 31:177-180.



[Figure 6.1] Catholic procession in Diu passing through Saint Paul's church and wayside cross, Diu, 2014.

processions offer the devotees a frame to regularly display and re-enact festivals, they are determined by the liturgical calendar or by regional conventions. Like other rituals, catholic The Blessed Virgin procession<sup>16</sup> [figure 6.1], the carrying of the Eucharist across town is a local variation of pilgrimages, such as circumambulations and processions in urban contexts, which was a medieval catholic ceremony first appeared in the context of mid thirteenth century Europe and later brought to Portuguese colonial places in Asia in fulfilment of the context of evangelization. The part of the rite which did not have to be enacted within a church was performed out-of-doors as a public ritual.<sup>17</sup> During the nineteenth century, the devotion was still alive throughout the catholic world, but was frequently under attack because anti-religious feelings amongst European ruling elites saw the ceremony as a danger to prosperity. Remarking that elsewhere in the empire such events were constantly hindered by disbelievers (as in Diu), the proud procession of the Blessed Virgin in Diu was recounted to the Portuguese coreligionists as an indication of increased tolerance of Diu in the wide imperial domains of the *Estado da Índia*.

The emergence of the Blessed Virgin procession corresponded to a critical period in the history of non-catholic communities. The Portuguese imperial rescript, which constituted the legal basis for a series of religious reforms, sought to redefine relations between the local religious groups and the Portuguese authorities.<sup>18</sup> These definitions called into question the nature and terms of plural religious coexistence in Diu. Hindus, muslims and zoroastrians had been considered differently and controlled by their own religious and internal organizations. In the pre-reform period, the Portuguese organized the heterogeneity of the population on a confessional basis. Yet even though hindus, jains, muslims and zoroastrians had enjoyed a great degree of autonomy and non-antagonism in Diu (contrastingly to what happened during the same period in Goa) and within their nations and had been allowed

<sup>16</sup> This procession happens twice a year, in May and in October.

<sup>17</sup> Rubin, Miri. 1991. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 243.

<sup>18</sup> See Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. "News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's gentiles and also Muslims that inhabit there." In *Arquivo Português Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from Fr. António da Trindade of 20 Jan 1707, Documentos do século XVIII, Fasc. 2., 180.

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to practice their religions freely, they had still been subject to discriminatory rules which had legally placed them under a ruling hierarchy.<sup>19</sup> These restrictions were applied to various spheres of the day-to-day life of the city, ranging from judicial, political and economic matters to purely ecclesiastical ones.

In an attempt to end the aspirations to autonomy of non-catholic communities, the Portuguese empire ruled in Diu against distinctions. A political community was promoted based on the idea of uniform citizenship. This represented a new way of thinking, elevating hindu, jain, muslim and zoroastrian individuals to a more levelled status, considering them nevertheless, members of subject communities. Granting this to all Portuguese subjects did not eliminate, however, the ability of each community to express their religious and ethnic differences.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, it provided these communities with an opportunity to enact these differences more publicly. As groups had freedom, they were not hesitant to practice their rituals in public. The Blessed Virgin celebration was simply one more instance of the general freedom to carry communal differences to Diu's public realm.

If we take a comparative look at core elements of temple processions performed by Diu's hindu communities, their similarity to the features just described of catholic processions is striking. Regarding their claims to public space, handling of sacred objects, direction, processional sequence, and timing, catholic and hindu practices in Diu resemble each other quite closely. It would, however, be very wrong to conclude that catholics imitate an hindu model, because Portuguese catholic processions were similarly structured. Rather than being a replica of the hindu ritual, it is appropriate to consider Diu's catholic processions a creative conjunction of Portuguese resolutions brought by clerics and missionaries and practices developed in the hindu traditions. The course of the procession was modelled on the daily evening processions carried out at the metropolitan Marian shrines. There is no explicitly verbalized mention of this in Diu's procession. The reference to the practice known lies in the use of candles, a special hymn (a local version of the Portuguese hymn) and the collective carrying of the lit candles by the participants while the hymn is sung.

The Blessed Virgin procession linked catholic religious institutions symbolically and physically, whether churches, colleges or wayside crosses. To create a seamless catholic space, the itinerary sewed together selective parts of the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement. Although most of the stops on the route consisted of religious institutions, they were not exclusively so. Curiously, the itinerary included the governor's palace which is a secular institution. If some places were reinvented as catholic, others were clearly edited out to bring the itinerary into conformity with catholic ideas. The *Torres Novas* road epitomized in many ways the diversity of Diu and it lent itself to multiple representations. Yet even though the street embodies Diu's history and connection with the Portuguese empire and with the larger network of streets of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, it was neither a grand nor a wide thoroughfare that crossed the whole city. However, it was the symbolic connection between both urban settlements, 'Portuguese/Catholic' and 'Gujarat', and between religious communities, catholic and non-catholic. The three most important churches of Diu, Saint Thomas adjacent to it on a hill top with privileged access and Saint Paul's in its end, and, further down Saint Francis were also to be found along the same urban settlement, 'Portuguese/Catholic,' and several wayside crosses were scenario for this catholic ritual of procession.

Portuguese intervention was indeed secured through performance. At one level, the Blessed Virgin procession provided a tool for local catholics to position themselves *vis-à-vis* the local non-catholic communities and the

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<sup>19</sup> There were social emblems, such as restrictions on type of clothing they could wear and on the colour.

<sup>20</sup> "E fazendo queixa ao povo de Vossa Majestade [...] justiça eclesiástica a não veixação ao povo gentílico vaçalo [...] a seus pagodes misquitas serimonias como consta [...] em tudo faça conservar e não deribar as casas de seus pagodes sob pena de suspensão de seus officios." (And complaining to the people of His Majesty [...] ecclesiastical justice should not harass the subject Gentile people [...] to their temples, mosques and ceremonies as stated [...] all should be done to preserve and not tear down their temples under penalty of suspension of their religious practice). Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maçõ 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110, 9 April 1612.

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hinterland Gujaratis. On one side was the Portuguese governor, walking in the footsteps of the priest, representing the metropolitan power, Portugal, and of course, the other catholic nations of Europe. On the other was the watchful gaze of Portuguese authorities. The parade organized and mediated this dual allegiance. The parade was performed before a population of catholics, hindus, muslims, and zoroastrians. Its visibility and diverse audience suggested that it represented more than an incidental display of religious tolerance in Diu. The presence of a guard of honour at the disposal of the priest, the participation of the governor as representative of the Portuguese crown and of the 'catholic world,' and the pride in having an all-inclusive audience further revealed the effort by the catholic community to assert itself in relation to other groups in the city. The ambivalent position of the governor as civic and religious leader was important to this balance, because it diffused any direct threat towards the Portuguese authorities. The governor's involvement and the participation of the Portuguese population confirmed and reinforced the position of Gujarati catholics as equal citizens of the Portuguese empire free to practice their religion. On another level, the Blessed Virgin procession allowed catholics to position themselves in relation to other religious communities in Diu.

Individuals associated with various cultural forms combined religious and secular practices to deal with the circumstances that stirred their social world. The choice of *Torres Novas* road, *Largo da Conceição*, *De Melo* street, *Largo São Paulo* and *António da Silveira* Avenue as a procession route was not random: it was the most public area in the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement of the city since the nineteenth century. Social and cultural interaction was most explicit in the vicinity of these roads in Diu. The layout of Diu, in very broad lines, followed an organization defined by colonial and religious differences. Localized networks of institutions such as temples, mosques or churches reinforced a spatial sense of collective identity. The geography of neighbourhoods, however, neither confined nor totally defined the lives of inhabitants of Diu.

By marching the itinerary of the Blessed Virgin procession, along roads between churches on the main arteries along which were located the city's catholic institutions, a symbolic sphere of influence was traced by claiming this socially mixed area as an exclusively catholic space. The procession demarcated the *Torres Novas* road (Saint Paul's church road) as an almost exclusively catholic domain,<sup>21</sup> excluding the *Parsiwada* or zoroastrian neighbourhood. The *Torres Novas* road began at the western edge of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, close to the port and to the bazaar and contained, as its name implies, most of the city's Portuguese establishments. Portuguese merchant houses were located within the area bounded by the road and the shoreline as well as the governor's palace. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the *Torres Novas* road and its vicinity had been occupied mainly by people of Portuguese descent. However, by the end of the nineteenth century there was no catholic neighbourhood proper, and, in fact, no exact separation of architecture along ethnic/religious lines. Although the place kept its name, its residential area stretched between the 'Gujarati' urban settlement and the churches. The public emergence of the procession correspondingly had implications beyond its initial routine, because it opened a precedent for the catholic community to perform an event in the city - twice a year - and on a regular basis. The *Torres Novas* road delineated catholic territory, linked particular religious institutions, positioned participants and observers and periodically bordered the road neighbourhood as 'catholic.' At the same time, the road was an urban reference that publicly verified religious tolerance and guaranteed reverence for devotional objects between the celebrating catholic community and other communities establishing harmonious relations between people of different faiths. On such processional occasions, not only was the route carefully selected, but it was also prepared in advance. Walls of buildings along the way were covered with tapestries, cloths and banners, and decorated with pictures, foliage, lanterns and small statues. Altars or statues of the Blessed Virgin, adorned with flowers and lights, were placed at street corners, and cloth was stretched between houses to provide shade.

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<sup>21</sup>Avoiding Eurocentric connotations of "territory" based on international law, cadastral surveys, printed maps and boundary-markers, here I use the term "domain" to suggest the incorporation of land in a centrally oriented polity.

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Meanwhile the chanted hymns and smell of incense spread during the procession gave a church-like quality to the space of the street. Such visual and auditory effects inscribe a distinctive spatiality onto the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement, raising temporary claims of authority over it.

The main actors, the priest, the Portuguese and the Gujarati catholics and institutions, such as the Franciscans (church and monastery of Saint Francis (*igreja e mosteiro de São Francisco*)), the Jesuits (former church of Eleven Thousand Virgins, today's Saint Paul and Jesuit monastery of Holy Spirit (*colégio do Espírito Santo e igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição ou de São Paulo*)), the Dominicans (church and monastery Saint Dominic (*igreja e mosteiro de São Domingos*)), the Hospitallers (Royal Hospital and Saint John of God monastery (*Hospital Real e mosteiro de São João de Deus*) all with its own surrounding monastery garden), Saint Thomas church (*igreja de São Tomé*) and the church of our Lady of Hope (*igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*), Saint Anne's shelter (*Recolhimento de Santa Ana*), also portrayed the catholic presence in town. Although these actors and institutions were an intimate part of the everyday social, religious and educational life of Diu,<sup>22</sup> functioning generally in a more ecumenical way for the event of the Blessed Virgin procession, they were recast as places of ultimate catholicism.

In addition, the Blessed Virgin procession opened a political space to carry communal events into the public realm. Appropriating established religious occasions for identity purposes was another way of making new loyalties visible. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, catholic rituals provided an important channel for the public display of emerging allegiances between social groups in Diu. Public displays of symbols were tangible manifestations of identity. Public procession was an ephemeral moment. Its brevity facilitated official recognition, but did not diminish its significance in mediating emerging political aspirations and relations of power. These performances established temporal territorialities over more widely shared public spaces. During processions the *Torres Novas* road (Saint Paul's church road) was transformed into a symbolic charged stage, and provided a critical site for local communities and Portuguese authorities to reconfigure their relations with one another in the changing urbanity of Diu.

The structural and functional similarities of their processions cannot obscure the fundamental differences between hindu, jain, muslim, zoroastrian and catholic religious traditions. On the contrary, the similarity of the form of expression makes the dividing line even more visible:

the sharing of a common idiom like the *ter* [chariot], rather than blurring the distinctions between the gods who ride these divine chariots, serves to stress difference [...] There must be a common idiom for dialogue, an accepted grammar in which to pose debate. Yet at the same time, this common public religious idiom, if it is to function commonly, does not negate difference. It matters very much that Mary, dressed in a sari but in Her colour of white and gold, rides atop the palanquin, and not the Goddess Parvati.<sup>23</sup>

Accordingly, in Diu and due to this common form, hindus frequently join processions conducted by catholic communities, and vice versa and contrastingly to other places no catholic clerics try to prevent the participation of their flock in hindu parades. The common idiom provides a basis for mutual exchange and competitive negotiation between hindus and christians.

One finds a new and 'modern' configuration in Diu that allows citizens to follow different religions without immediately raising the question of political loyalty. Loyalty to one's king and state follows not from one's religious affiliation, but from one's national identity, of which religion is one ingredient among others. The

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<sup>22</sup> The Jesuits college thought catholics and not only Portuguese, but also the Gujaratis, whether hindu or Parsi. Similarly, the *Recolhimento de Santa Ana* was regularly praised for its benevolent work, which aimed at helping people regardless of class or religious difference.

<sup>23</sup> Waghorne, J. P. 2002. "Chariots of the Gods: Riding the Line Between Hindu and Christian." In Raj, S. J. and Dempsey, C. G. (eds.), *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 16.

colonial state in Diu and since the seventeenth century deliberately attempted not to interfere with native religions; it also did much to disavow any connection to the missionary project and to christianity as such.

### **Martyrdom and Performance**

Muharram, a commemorative muslim ritual to mourn the martyrdom of the sons of Ali, prophet of Islam, also plays a central role in Diu's religious life.<sup>24</sup> After establishing the importance of Muharram for colonial discourse, we examine the ways in which that discourse produced a particular image of Diu's Muharram rituals. Here, we discuss the manner in which the image of Muharram embodied in text and painting presents the ceremonies as transgressive events which mark the city. Finally, we turn to the rituals of Muharram as demonstrated in narratives, the patterns of policing, and various representations of the processions. We draw out a more complex relationship between colonial discourse and Muharram, one which moves beyond notions of control and transgression to incorporate colonial desire and fascination with the mourning ritual. Both the fascination with Muharram and the horror engendered by this ritual are examined as seen within colonial discourse.<sup>25</sup> The images take part in the production of a limited vision of Muharram, one produced to counter the fear, threat, and horror embodied in Muharram for colonial discourse.<sup>26</sup>

We will not address Muharram in its practice, or Muharram as it is construed by its participants, but the Muharram as it is constructed by colonial discourse. This is itself mutually constructed by both the Gujaratis and the Portuguese. Certainly, no analysis of the development of Muharram as one of the major religious observances in the pre-modern Diu can ignore the geo-political decisions of two centuries of muslim rulers in Gujarat. Shiism had been openly and, at times, assiduously promoted by the muslim sultans of Gujarat. The shi'a communities of Diu in the mid-seventeenth century were the Bohras and the Khojas.<sup>27</sup> The negotiation and contestation over the Muharram occurred among not only those who also observed the ritual<sup>28</sup> but also those who did not (zoroastrians

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<sup>24</sup> About Muharram rituals, see *inter alia*: Zahab, Mariam Abou. 2008. "Yeh matam kayse ruk jae?" ('How could this *matam* ever cease?'): Muharram processions in Pakistani Punjab." In Jacoben, Knut A. (ed.), *South Asian Religions on Display. Religious processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*. London & New York: Routledge. 104-114; Madsen, Stig Toft and Hassan Muhammad. 2008. "Moderating Muharram", In Jacoben, Knut A. (ed.), *South Asian Religions on Display. Religious processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*. London & New York: Routledge. 115-125; Skyhawk, Hugh Van. 2008. "Muharram processions and the ethnicization of hero cults in the pre-modern Deccan", In Jacoben, Knut A. (ed.), *South Asian Religions on Display. Religious processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*. London & New York: Routledge. 126-139. As a comparable example and over the past centuries, the Muharram ritual is a part of the cosmopolitan process through which Mumbai has been forged. See Nejad, Reza Masoudi. 2015. "The Muharram Procession of Mumbai: From Seafront to Cemetery". In *Handbook of Religion and the Asian City: Aspiration and Urbanization in the Twenty-first Century*, Peter van der Veer, Peter, (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 89-109.

<sup>25</sup> In order to accomplish this, we turn to the psychoanalytic theory of the poststructuralist thinker, Julia Kristeva, whose conception of the abject, a space of horror and distancing, allows for the consideration of the complexities involved in the fascination and horror evident in colonial imagery of Muharram. Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror, an essay on abjection*. Roudiez, Leon S. (trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

<sup>26</sup> Without comparing the representations to some 'true' experience of Muharram which is necessarily unavailable to a twentieth first century observer of the muslim ritual, we explore the discourse that surrounds, delineates, and defines what Muharram in Diu for the Portuguese.

<sup>27</sup> Singh, K. S. (ed.). 1994. "People of India: Daman and Diu." Bombay: Popular Prakashan PVT. Ltd. 37-43 and 93-97.

<sup>28</sup> For religious tolerance on Diu, see *inter alia*: "News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's gentiles and also muslims that inhabit there." in Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. In *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from Fr. António da Trindade of 20 Jan 1707. Documentos do século XVIII. Fasc 2. 180; and Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), Conselho Ultramarino, Índia, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maço 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110, 9 April 1612

Contrastingly to what happened in Diu, Portuguese/Catholics during the second half of the sixteenth century, launched an iconoclastic campaign against hindu culture in India that seemed to bring an end to all ambiguities and confusions regarding the identities of gentiles and christians. It was directed primarily against Hindu temples and images, and affected above all India's western coast. The severest damage was done to Goa, as well as Bassein, Bombay, Daman, and Chaul, its so-called *Northern Provinces*. From the outset, the campaign looked like a war against images driven by the old Judeo-Christian hostility against 'idolatry' and provided a perfect theological justification for colonial conquest. In Goa, in a little more than two decades, between 1540 and 1560, these actions led to the destruction or removal of all Hindu temples, shrines, and images. A 1550 order entitled "Provision of Dom João de Castro to Tear Down the Temples on Order of the King" shows that the campaign targeted the destruction of hindu idols and images. It further banned the celebration of all hindu festivals, ceremonies, and rites, and prohibited the Hindus remaining from using the services of Brahmanical priests from the adjacent mainland not under Portuguese control. The order reads as follows: "I, the King, send you many greetings. As

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and the colonial authorities). In fact, based on the eighteenth century proclamation, the Portuguese guaranteed that they would not interfere with religious customs in Diu.<sup>29</sup>

To understand the significance of Diu's Muharram mourning rituals referred to collectively as *azadari* and particularly of the processions (*julus*), which are at the heart of shiite piety, it is necessary to put them in their historical context.<sup>30</sup> Muharram processions were introduced in India during the sixteenth century by Iranian immigrants, where the popular classes developed creative ways of mourning the wronged family of the prophet.<sup>31</sup> They are documented at the time of the Buyid dynasty (932–1055) in Iraq.<sup>32</sup> Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273) observed and criticized a Muharram procession before the gates of Aleppo,<sup>33</sup> but it was during the Safavid period (1501–1722) that mourning rituals developed in Iran.

After the prophet Muhammad's death, those who followed the muslim faith struggled with the issue of his succession. The most serious moment in the struggle, the battle at Karbala, remains central for muslim culture centuries after. The battle cemented divisions within muslim practice and belief which have become crucial in the re-enactment of the events each year. Shi'i muslims, who believe in the importance of the prophet's son-in-law, Ali, in addition to accepting the role of the Qur'an within Islam, consider participation in the Muharram ritual an important facet of their identities. Hasan and Hussein, the prophet's two grandsons, in commemoration of the deaths at Karbala of each year made several days of mourning, performances, and sermons take place in almost all muslim communities.

Diu is no exception, although it is a place of religious tolerance and cultural ambivalence. Other muslims and non-muslims also participate in the celebrations, each with their own beliefs and motivations.<sup>34</sup> As a statement of muslim identity, the ceremonies connected with Muharram serve to gather and bring together those who follow the Shi'i muslim path. The period of mourning during the Muharram serves as a public display of muslim practice and faith, one which shapes and changes each urban area it encompasses. Traditionally, these rituals include re-telling of the Karbala story by leaders in the community, or *Majales-e Ara* (mourning assemblies which are also referred to as *majlis*). The recitations include the interweaving of current political and moral issues with the story of the battle itself, capturing the addressees emotionally with the story of martyrdom and politically with messages relating to contemporary concerns. Usually, become much more than mere repetition of the same events since orators move the audience to embrace the sorrows and sacrifice of those who died, inciting tears of grief as well as self-flagellation and additional reminders of mourning (*matam*).

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you know, idolatry is such a great offense against God that I will not tolerate it to exist in these countries [India] that are under my Lordship and, because I have been informed that there exist in the Ilhas de Goa some idols, in public and in hiding, which have done such great harm to Our Lord, ... I strongly recommend to You and order that from now on, ... You assert that there will not be any of the said idols, neither in public nor hidden, in the said island of Goa and that no craftsmen shall make them from stone, or wood, or copper, or any other metal. And likewise, that in the entire island there should be no Gentile festivals in public, nor should its inhabitants bring Brahman priests from the mainland; and [I] order that the houses of all Brahmins and Gentiles, which are suspected to have the said images, are searched, and the proper enactment of all these issues should be asserted by severe penalties." See Wicki, José, (ed.). 1969. *O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos: Edição crítica anotada*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos. 162 ff. The *Livro do Pai dos Cristãos*, a compendium of royal laws and decrees issued 'to promote Christianity' in Goa.

<sup>29</sup> "the Gentiles live in our lands divided on a neighbourhood or place with freedom to use it their heathen rites".

"News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's gentiles and also Muslims that inhabit there." In Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from the Viceroy Caetano de Mello e Castro of 20 Jan 1707. Documentos do século XVIII. Fasc .2. 179.

<sup>30</sup> On the history of Shiism in India and the development of rituals, see Cole, J. R. I. 1988. *Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq. Religion and State in Awadh, 1722–1859*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>31</sup> Halm, H. 1997. *Shi'a Islam: From Religion to Revolution*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers. 24.

<sup>32</sup> The Shiites in Baghdad were allowed to commemorate publicly in 963 the events of Karbala. Halm, H. 1997. *Shi'a Islam: From Religion to Revolution*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers. 43.

<sup>33</sup> Halm, H. 1997. *Shi'a Islam: From Religion to Revolution*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Schubel, Vernon J. 1993. *Religious Performance in Contemporary Islam: Shi'i Devotional Rituals in South Asia*. Charleston: University of South Carolina Press. Schubel's approach to Muharram stems from Victor Turner's methodological use of liminality. Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

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The architectural space where these assemblies occur, the *imambara*, also houses what is called *ta'ziyeh* (also *tazia*), which are replicas of the tombs of Hasan and Hussein.<sup>35</sup> Various speeches and processions took place, carrying these representations of the tombs of Hassan and Hussein. Drinking posts and dramatic reenactments were provided along the route, mediating the atmosphere that was both mournful and celebratory. These are generally ephemeral (made of paper and wood) and some can be quite elaborate (silver and jewels). The more precious and permanent *ta'ziyeh* are called *zarih*, and each *imambara* usually houses at least one example. Both vary in size, and are carried during Muharram in procession through a great part of Diu. These elements of the Muharram ritual make up the basic frame of the ceremonies. Different *majlises* take place each day and evening of the ten-day event, and the procession incorporates a variety of participants carrying *ta'ziyeh* and other symbols related to Muharram. Over time and in different regions, different parts of the ritual have been emphasized; throughout, these basic elements remain relatively constant.

Clearly, the observation of Muharram involves a disruption of the day-to-day life of Diu.<sup>36</sup> Daily *majlises* and processions through the streets break down the distinctions between public and private, religious and secular, shi'a and sunni muslims, hindu, jain, zoroastrian or catholic inhabitants. They also exacerbate tensions among those groups, solidifying the lines of difference defining themselves. The combination of the historical power of the martyrdom of the two of the very flesh and blood of the prophet, with the ritual demonstration of solidarity within the shi'i community has created tensions throughout the history of these muslim observances. This tension expands in the Diu context, where the shi'i population makes up only a small portion of the overall number of contributors and accomplices in the rituals. On the other hand, the participation of sunnis, hindus, jain, zoroastrians and catholics can also create an atmosphere of shared commonality among residents of Diu rather than necessarily promoting antagonisms between these religious groups. In some cases, the identities demonstrated through Muharram focus less on religious alliances and more on caste, occupation or profession.<sup>37</sup> In Diu, the Muharram became a distinctive event that marked the difference between the Portuguese and a broader Indian identity. Nevertheless, the ritual retained its connection to Islam, and stood as one of several Indian rituals from different religions. As one of the most public of the muslim yearly celebrations, Muharram became emblematic for the Portuguese of an Islamic Indian presence in colonial cities; the number of images of Muharram demonstrates a colonial fascination with this ritual.

### **Muharram in Diu**

In chapter 2, we discussed Diu via its historically shifting spatial makeup, drawing out relationships between the city, the icons and the events of the sieges of Diu. Muharram, and especially the processions connected with it, serves here as alternative axis along which to examine questions of ambiguous definitions of architectural and urban space. Having elaborated some generalities of the ritual performances and spatial transgressions associated with Muharram, we turn now to Diu and outline the way the ritual operate in one specific setting. In chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5, we examined the spatial urban ambiguities of Diu which lies in the various cross-over spaces of this

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<sup>35</sup> The term shifts meaning. In Iran, *ta'ziyeh* refers to the theatrical performance of the battle at Karbala as well as the theatre where this performance takes place. For several different analyses, see *inter alia* Chelkowski, Peter J. (ed.). 1979. *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*. New York: New York University Press. See also: Fuccaro, Nelida; Freitag, Ulrike; Ghrawi, Claudia and Lafi, Nora (eds.). 2015. *Urban Violence in the Middle East: Changing Cityscapes in the Transition from Empire to Nation State*. New York & London: Berghahn. 91-111.

<sup>36</sup> Couceiro, governor of Diu from 1948 until 1950, refers to Muharram in Diu in his book: Couceiro, Miguel Noronha de Paiva. *Diu e Eu*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 125.

<sup>37</sup> See Freitag, Sandria B. (ed.). 1989. *Culture and Power in Banaras: Community, Performance, and Environment, 1800-1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Especially, "Introduction: The History and Political Economy of Banaras," (1-25) which examines the identities delineated through the ceremonies and Nita Kumar "Work and Leisure in the Formation of Identity: Muslim Weavers in a Hindu City," (147-170) for an analysis of the Benares weavers' participation in Muharram.



[Figure 6.2] Main gate of the wall of Diu. Porta do Campo (*Zampa* gate), 1950's.

Portuguese/Gujarati dichotomous division, historically founded in its form before the sixteenth century. These spaces break down the assumed starkness of the cultural and political distinctions within the city, and they call into question the very pervasiveness of the division in the first place. The ambiguity created in Diu, both historically and spatially, indicates the conflicted atmosphere and rhetoric found in the discourse of the colonial *Estado da Índia*.

Muharram, as the commemoration of a martyred, archaic figure in the muslim founding history of Diu, takes on a deeper and more nuanced threat than simple encroachment of spaces or gathering in one place at one time. For a brief ten day period, the ritual forced the notion that neither had a claim to pure separation between Portuguese catholics and Gujarati muslims. In reading Muharram imagery, one finds that (rather than a separation) it allows for an exploration of the manner in which colonial discourse produced 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati' within the context of a voyeuristic fascination with Muharram, and the need to defuse the horror and fear associated with the breaking down of boundaries. A big part of Diu's population turns out for both the procession and the depositing of *ta'ziyehs* in the *Porta do Campo* (*Zampa*), the square of the city wall's main gate. Muslims, hindus, jains and catholics witness the ceremony, and great respect is paid to the catholics in the audience, on account of their position within the balance of powers in the city.

The mention of the spaces where the Muharram rituals occur, details the groups of people who witness the event, and underlines its community wide appeal. The procession involves the infringement of many routine daily boundaries of Diu. In addition, catholic observation of the festival (and the Muslim desire to include Diu catholic spectators) can be seen as the method of confirmation of the notion that Muharram is an event which presents Islam to non-muslims. Finally, the move to the tension of the event examines it in terms of intra-muslim conflict, characterizing the muslims of Diu as unbiased. This generalization turns into a broader statement of the degeneration of the population (including non-muslim residents of Diu) because of wealth, in which muslims are contrasted with the eminently governable and 'mild' hindus.

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This reiterates the identification of muslims with this festival on multiple levels, and focuses on the contested relationship between shi'a and sunni during the procession. The distinctions between hindus and muslims reflects an overall Portuguese distancing of the two, indicating that the hindu population that they govern falls into the traditional mild, emasculated, lazy Oriental stereotype whereas the muslims do not. However, the opening picturesque description of muslim culture serves to incorporate muslims into this feminization, to a different degree than the common stereotyping of the hindu. Rather than seeing muslims themselves as effeminate, they are placed within a specifically picturesque realm, one which from its inception has been coeval with the feminine.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, the Muharram offers an opportunity to outline some observations and assumptions. First, Muharram allows for its participants to come together and identify themselves as muslim. Moreover, this is done in direct view of the public of the city, as the processions comprise a very visible part of the ten day ritual. This identification also takes place on other levels, so that some may identify themselves as specifically shi'a or as part of a neighbourhood or professional group as well as identifying themselves with a larger muslim community and legacy. Lastly, the procession through the city moves through a variety of neighbourhoods, causing friction and encroaching upon regular boundaries. In a colonial context, this friction has often meant the intervention of local authorities to avert impending and sometimes overly-anticipated bloodshed or disaster.

Many of Muharram's ritual events interfere in the everyday life of Diu, especially the procession. Referring to this only as a procession is somewhat misleading, as generally, several different groups begin within different neighbourhoods and converge on a central point, the former *Porta do Campo* and today's *Zampa* square. Hence, the procession, or *julu*, involves multiple routes and multiple groups of people, each with a number of tomb-replicas (*ta'ziyehs*), animals, banners, and other paraphernalia. Since in Diu, multiple religious' communities coexist, predictably the penetration of the *julu* into hindu and catholic areas of the city causes a heightened tension among hindus, muslims, jains, zoroastrians, and, in colonial time, catholic communities.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the focus of Portuguese intervention in Muharram lies in policing this tension and the resultant conflicts. By the early eighteenth century, the policing of such rituals and celebrations had become a codified part of the Portuguese government's role in India.<sup>40</sup>

The path through Diu of the main Muharram procession can be traced and examines the relationship between its definitional spaces. First, the route includes the 'old' city of Diu, with its the main muslim buildings of Diu, passing by one of the main Shi'i mosques of the city, built during the sultanate sovereignty over the island and before Portuguese presence. The procession starts at the *Zampa* square. It turns north along the city wall and proceeds east through the road from wall to citadel (former *Estrada de Lacerda* and *Rua do Bazar*), which runs parallel to the Chassis river along the total length of the city. It passes through the 'Gujarat' urban settlement (especially *Raberi*, the muslim neighbourhood), turning east in *Vora chowk* and passing in front of the Shi'i mosque of the city, *Karwa Masjid*. It makes its way to the old mosque, *Karao Jami Masjid*, passes in the vicinity of the market (*bazaar*) and port (*bunder*) and turns south towards the city core. Following this, it passes in front of the governors' palace, the colonial authority main architectural example. After, the *julus* turns west to the central axis of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement on the way to the fishermen's neighbourhood (*Koliwada*), making its way through

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<sup>38</sup> The beginnings of the picturesque are gloomy, to say the least, as is its definition. Nonetheless, a constant in attempts to define the picturesque has been its feminine and feminizing qualities.

<sup>39</sup> Most evidence of Muharram relates to tension associated with the various ceremonies and processions. As this tends to make newsworthy material, peaceful Muharram observances are not widely reported, except as foils for the 'normal' tension-filled celebrations.

<sup>40</sup> In a certain sense, this policing had become an integral part of the ritual itself. "News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's gentiles and also muslims that inhabit there" in Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from the Viceroy Caetano de Mello e Castro of 20 Jan 1707. Documentos do século XVIII. Fasc .2. 179.

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Hadmatia Road (former *Rua da Porta do Campo*), with the finale at the place where it started, the square of the main city gate.

Whereas the *majlises* take place at *imambaras* and at locations within the muslim community, the procession moves into a publicly visible space, taking over the main street and tracing a path through different areas of the city covering almost every place. The procession works its way through the Portuguese neighbourhoods and long-time catholic stronghold. This *imambara* houses one of the permanent replicas of the martyrs' tomb, a *zarih*, and is one of only a few *imambaras* in the city. The movement of the procession through the city creates areas of encroachment which, both politically and socially define some communities as separate from others. In the context of the policing and othering taking place under the colonial regime, these transgressions also take on a rebellious and threatening tone.

Diu includes one *dargah* or saint's tomb. The *dargah* anchors the muslim topography of the city and incorporates a *madrassa*, or school, with the tomb itself: a square domed tomb, flanked by several smaller square domed tombs, which lies within a walled area, on one side of which is a *qibla* wall giving indications to Mecca. This compound of *madrassa*, tomb, and mosque is itself set within a larger area where Muslim graves lie. Devout Muslims wished to be buried in proximity of great spiritual leaders; the connection to a respected leader of the community and the sacred, holy site of his burial combined to encourage this practice. The cemetery's location outside the main areas of habitation also echoes traditional muslim practice, which places graveyards where possible outside urban areas. The entire site lies on a slight rise above the surrounding streets and entering from either the east or west involves a similar, although not quite as marked, rise. This graveyard, which lies inside the city walls and off the main road to the west, marks a centralizing point for the scattered muslim neighbourhoods within Diu. Its location outside of the oldest populated areas echoes the placement of similar shrines across India.<sup>41</sup> The isolation of the site serves to reinforce the idea of the required pilgrimage taken to visit it and its otherworldliness. Its use as a graveyard after its foundation follows the overall pattern around the subcontinent. Some families have grave plots within the compounds of their houses, and the two mosques of Diu will also incorporate small areas for graves, but in the case of a cemetery, the preferred site lies outside of the city.<sup>42</sup>

The *julu* serves as a form of pilgrimage which each participant makes during the ten-day ritual from his or her own community to a space of association with those who died at Karbala. It is one aspect of the entire Muharram ritual - the *majlises* and demonstrations of physical hardship also contribute to the crossing of this temporal and spatial barrier for participants. Hence, the relationships between the replicas of tombs carried through Diu, the deaths of the descendants of the prophet at Karbala, and the *dargah* surrounded by graves makes the entire procession one connected with the submission of one's life to serving God through Islam. Images of death abound and the spiritual and historical connection to Karbala collides here with the site of the larger graveyards in Diu.

The procession brings together the Muslim population both in terms of the path that the *ta'zیهs* took through the city as in terms of their destination which was a sacred space acknowledged by all muslims (shi'a and sunni). The aspects of competition and identification with a professional or *mohalla* group arise in the spatial encroachments which take place along the procession route and in the displays of community seen in the ritual objects carried in the procession. As discussed, each community would have its own *ta'zیهh*, and, in Diu, each would also carry *sipars*, which are large shield-shaped objects held aloft on long sticks. These decorated *sipars* make reference to the military struggles that the entire ceremony commemorates.

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<sup>41</sup> Nazimuddin Auliya's tomb in Delhi, for example, lies outside of the main city core.

<sup>42</sup> See another chapter for the discussion of this practice.

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This connection to a variety of death imagery and sites of death plays into the notion of transgression in terms of the sociological and political elements of Muharram.<sup>43</sup> Here, the religious motivation for the procession also involves moving across the boundaries of life and death, participating in the sacrifice that the founders of Shi'ism made, and coalescing their world with the everyday streets of Diu.

One of the major threats to peaceful Muharram observances was the increased presence of Shi'i newcomers. These incorporated different elements into the ceremony, including a horse procession (in honour of Hussein's mount) that involved shouting abuse at those who did not participate with the Shi'i group. As this clashed with the mid nineteenth century customary practice of carrying *ta'ziyehs* in procession, the horse processions were banned in order to alleviate the tension.

Later, the different forms of Muharram were separated in order to preserve the religious harmony and coexistence, while the government policed that division. This policing meant both the physical presence of officers in the streets as well as governmental intervention on the legislative level. Laws banned certain practices perceived as dangerous, and certain customs continued to the detriment of others.<sup>44</sup>

The infringement of borders illustrates the underlying point that Muharram is both a religious and a social ritual.<sup>45</sup> This could mean crossing boundaries between two neighbouring muslim *mohallas*, or alternatively, crossing European areas on the way to the terminus of the procession. The crowds and excitement combine with the spiritual purpose of mourning to create an ambiguous and shifting series of events.<sup>46</sup>

### **Muharram representations**

The combination of this spiritual devotion to the memory of martyrdom and the social transgression of spaces of the city through procession plays a major role in the representations of Muharram in painting and in literature. We turn now to these images in order to read them with the discussion of Muharram in Diu outlined here. Muharram images - processions, *majlises*, and vignettes of individual participants - usually include representations of some other Indian festivals as well. For the purposes of the study of the images which represent Muharram, we would like to examine the ways in which the images introduced resist a categorization as *representations* of Muharram. These seem to insist on their own objectivity, in terms of detailed depictions of 'native custom' and sterile views in one-point perspective, and they also resist the idea that they might be mirrors of reality, and in slipping out of the real, they speak to the colonizers at Diu's sight of Muharram.

The representations of Muharram fall into two different collections: first, the works made thorough image in a hybrid style by Gujaratis and second, written and oral descriptions. These items indicate the interwoven relationship between the colonial discourse and the fascination with Muharram. Prior to the nineteenth century, imagery depicting Muharram only appears in a few scattered examples of imagery of the Karbala battle itself, not the *julu* or *ta'ziyeh*. Images of Muharram are rare within the context of ritual painting as a whole. Diu's standing in focus of the production of these images has a more obscure relationship with the city's status within Portuguese

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<sup>43</sup> In an article delving into the complexities of the Muharram in Bombay during colonial domination, Masselos addresses this question. See Masselos, James. 1982. "Change and Custom in the Format of the Bombay Mohurrum During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *South Asia* 5/2: 47-67.

<sup>44</sup> Masselos addresses the issue of policing along with the crucial transgressive aspect of the procession both for Bombay. Masselos also touches on the transgression of space involved in the processions. He makes clear that the movement through the city did not carve out sacred space but invaded and territorially controlled space not normally given to the group in question. See Masselos, James. 1982. "Change and Custom in the Format of the Bombay Mohurrum During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *South Asia* 5/2: 47-67.

<sup>45</sup> The separation of religious rituals from social rituals derives in part from western models of religion as separate from everyday life. In India and elsewhere (including the so-called western world) this distinction is artificial.

<sup>46</sup> "If [Muharram] is to be seen analytically as a single event, then it is the event as an umbrella. It provided situations for diverse groups to assert themselves in various ways and to express different things. Mohurrum is ambiguous, ambiguous in situation, in interpretation and practice. In its ambiguity lay its strength, its popularity and its continuity. ... Mohurrum then was the span of a multiple but contradictory and ambiguous universe." Masselos, James. 1982. "Change and Custom in the Format of the Bombay Mohurrum During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *South Asia* 5/2: 64.

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India. Since the early sixteenth century, Diu as a border place of the *Estado da Índia* served the Portuguese much more as a trade and commercial centre than a political one and its relationship to Gujarat rested primarily on a variety of collects shipped through the city. Perhaps because of this commercial prominence, Portuguese officers and the merchants who lived in Diu could patronize Indian artists there.<sup>47</sup> Extant images of Muharram can be attributed to a handful of Indian artists known during the nineteenth century.

Muslim subjects were often depicted with a heavy emphasis on perspectival recession into space and an enclosed perimeter, focusing the attention only on the event at hand. These images become codified into this compositional framework, and most of the representations of indoor events at festivals are depicted in this manner. One finds the same iconographic patterning in the processional images of Muharram. The composition isolates the procession from any surrounding context, focusing instead on the splendour of the *ta'ziyehs*, *sipars*, *flags*, and *'alams* carried in the procession as well as the elephants and musicians involved. The solemnity of the event is shown in the slow movement of the crowd; they inch forward, away from the viewer, some of them pausing to look back at the *ta'ziyehs* behind. This format seems to be the consensual iconographical pattern for the Muharram procession.

In the images of the *majlis* and processions, some fundamentals of Muharram are notably absent. Most clearly, the practice of *matam*, a major part of both the processions and the *majlises*, plays no role in representations. It roughly translates to physical acts of mourning, and takes different forms within the Muharram ceremonies. Fire-walking, self-flagellation with knives, and other forms of physical suffering with a major impact on the viewer, hold a place within Muharram observances. The impact of *matam* on non-shi'a viewers and the absence of a depiction of this through images relates directly to horror and denial, the self-flagellation and fire-walking could not be incorporated here because they must be denied.

If the Muharram imagery possesses and causes the production of a 'Portuguese' over against an 'Indian', then *matam* cannot take part in that Muharram imagery, for to do so would articulate clearly that the Portuguese derives directly from that horror. In order to maintain the boundaries of the symbolic, the colonial visual discourse requires this denial. As the most unrepresentable portion of the experience, *matam* is marked only by its lack within this iconography. Its absence underscores the notion that these representations of Muharram themselves re-create and re-locate Muharram in a space comfortable for the colonial discourse; no longer object, Muharram can be collected and enjoyed in depictions.

The *imambara* was a building specifically designed for and given over to Muharram observances, with a *majlis* taking place. The *imambara* is a three-bayed structure (likely the same structure, as the architectural elements are relatively similar in both works), with chandeliers hanging inside, and the traditional Muharram ritual objects displayed on the interior as well. These include the *'alam*, or representations of the shield of Hussein mounted on a staff, which flank the central aisle of the building, and the *zarih*, or permanent model of the tomb of Hussein which is housed in the *imambara* year-round, and unveiled for the ten days of the ritual. The *zarih* is a large structure standing against the back wall of the *imambara*. During the commemorative rituals, the *imambara* is expanded with the canopy, lit by festive lanterns installed for the occasion.

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<sup>47</sup> These images belong to locals which did not allow me any register. Sometimes these artists were not muslim. This raises questions about authorship, patronage, and cultural specificity which cannot be fully explored here. Also the authorship of most painting lies in the hands of hindu artists, but in the context of representations of muslim festivals, one must ask whether this adds another layer of Othering into the discursive production of the muslim Other in colonial India. Might the predominance of hindu artists working for the Portuguese have taken part in the production of hindu/muslim conflict? These hindu artists share the creation of these images of Muharram and their participation in the production of this discourse raises interesting questions for the definitions and delimitations of culture, religious community, and artist/patron relations. One of the more interesting results of this type of questioning may lie in the contemporary and historical reality that religious affiliation in no way limited the type of commissions usually accepted. For example, hindus and muslims alike have participated in the building of mosques and temples throughout the history of Indian architecture.

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Historiographically, it is clear that since the beginning of Portuguese arrival in Diu, the colonial discourse produced a separation between hindus and muslims in terms of religion, caste, history, and ritual practice. Divisions of Diu's past into hindu and muslim periods normalized the discursive isolation of religious groups.<sup>48</sup> The self-identification incorporated within the Muharram observances is recognized and reinforced in the Portuguese representation of these rituals as defining moments in the religious and cultural identity of the participants, as the governor of Diu himself.<sup>49</sup> These rituals are depicted outside of any specific context, with little indication of a city or of individuals within the community participating in the scene. They serve as generic images of generic muslim participants, created for the gaze of a Portuguese colonial public which consumed these works as reflections of muslim identity. The introduction of this new subject matter clearly relates to the importance of the new patrons for the subcontinent. Requesting that Indian painters represent the various unusual and exciting festivals that took place in most Indian cities throughout the year, collectors placed these images alongside more typically ethnographic images of individual craftsmen or women getting water at the river. They figure prominently in sets of festivals as well, indicating their importance for detailing Indian life.<sup>50</sup> The colourful and attractive nature of these images also helped their popularity. Aside from a few images of muslim worship at saints' tombs, or an unusual image of a muslim wedding or funeral, Muharram stood as the prominent muslim festival within this patronage context.<sup>51</sup> Textual representations of the Muharram were similar to depictional ones. Ethnographic descriptions tend toward an enumeration of the events and the various people involved from a safe distance. In more literary recounting of the events, some interesting interconnections between the marking of muslim identity and the historical presence of muslims in India take place.

An embedded fascination with this ritual adds another dimension here. This fascination can clearly be seen in the multiple codified ways for representing Muharram within Indian depicting tradition. Not only were these images widely popular, but also their manner of distancing Muharram and its participants from the gaze of the colonizer participated in discursive separation of the Other. The prominence of Muharram within the description of Diu<sup>52</sup> also points toward the centrality of Muharram for Portuguese colonial discursive constructions of the colonized and, concurrently, the colonizer. The distancing found within narrative and compositionally of Muharram parallels a Portuguese fascination, by identifying Muharram as a unifying muslim ritual, it thus takes part in the production of the muslim Other in India through the tension between separation and fixation.<sup>53</sup>

### **Threat and fascination**

The descriptions of Diu's Muharram take part in a wider colonial discursive construction of the homogeneous categories 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati.' What was discussed so far was framed within the context of the representation of the Muharram ritual for colonial discourse. We would like to delve into this construction by examining more closely what this 'fascination' with Muharram might entail. Building from the notion that the representations of Muharram are both produced by and take part in the production of colonial discourse, this section probes the psychic levels of fascination, horror, and fear as embodied in these representations.

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<sup>48</sup> Mill, James. 1975. *The History of British India*, by William Thomas (intro.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [1820, 2nd edition].

<sup>49</sup> Couceiro, governor of Diu from 1948 until 1950, refers to his seat in the Muharram in Diu: Couceiro, Miguel Noronha de Paiva. *Diu e Eu*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar. 126.

<sup>50</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum, London, holds sets of eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings which relate to Muharram.

<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, while representations of Muharram are relatively common, *Eid*, another major public festival in the muslim tradition, is rarely represented. This distinction seems to underscore the argument, in that both ceremonies and celebrations are public, yet only the one connected with martyrdom, death, and horror is depicted.

<sup>52</sup> The importance of the description of religious rituals lies in the entire work. The intervening chapter focus on social issues, religious practice, and Indian culture.

<sup>53</sup> This Other also takes place on a broader level, unifying Indians in general as Other, especially in light of the similarity of these Muharram images to representations of Hindu festivals of the same patronage and period.

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The approach will incorporate the concept of the abject: that which borders and marks the boundaries between a heterogeneous subject and its heterogeneous other.<sup>54</sup> Abjection literally, means to cast off, or out and hence, presupposes and produces a domain of agency from which it is differentiated. We borrow this concept of abjection from Julia Kristeva, henceforth Kristeva, presented in *Powers of Horror: an essay on Abjection*, a theory of 'abjection'. It is an analysis of the different social and cultural practices that function to protect the symbolic order and the subject from the dissolution of the difference between self and other, inside and outside, subject and object. Kristeva describes the abject as a "narcissistic crisis" that consumes the subject with the "violence of mourning for an 'object' that has always already been lost [...] It takes the ego back to its source on the abominable limits from which, in order to be, the ego has broken away – it assigns it a source in the non-ego, drive and death."<sup>55</sup>

During Muharram, the *taz'iyeh*, a symbolic corpse and an assimilated object in the form of a tomb-replica, is carried through Diu, encroaching on various spaces and commanding the awareness of the city as one sole piece. The threat that Muharram posed to Portuguese discursive power was acknowledged in the ritual's transgressive spatial movement within Diu itself. The procession moved outside of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, passed through the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement, until it reached its end in the square of the *Zampa* gate. While not directly passing through the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement, the procession 'threatens' that space. As a limit that has encroached upon everything, this reminder of mortality and the concurrent introjection of the border across the space of the city, possesses the muslim viewer and commands the gaze of the Portuguese. In the imagery which describes Muharram, the threat is diffused, but its presence resonates in the isolation of the image from the city itself for the Portuguese. If Muharram is placed back in the city, the threat is evident. Also the Portuguese policing institution in Diu was threatened by the Muharram ceremonies, enough so that legislation and monitoring played major roles in its attitude of control towards the ritual. The Muharram procession was separated from its context in descriptions and its conflict flattened in representations. The threat evident in legislation and policing thus becomes suppressed in the verbal and visual discourse of Muharram.

As an echo of what at one time was an experience of abjection, descriptions of Muharram allow a view into the threats posed by the commemoration of muslim martyrs in colonial Diu. Hence, this procession with its foregrounding of the tomb makes visible the vulnerability and correlation of the discursive construction of Muharram (and Portuguese). It begins to uncover the weakness of the representations produced by colonial discourse. The threat was bound up with the notion that Muharram united a large group of the muslims increasing the potential for political or military antagonism. The threat embodied in Muharram existed on additional planes of psychic disturbance, that might be labelled as threats to the symbolic order of the city.

Hand-in-hand with threat and horror goes fascination. The creation of a Muharram iconography for the nineteenth century colonial visual discourse indicates a fascination with the yearly rituals. Fascination and visual imagery

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<sup>54</sup> Kristeva probes the notion of the abject in her work. Abjection is the inability to assume with sufficient strength the imperative act of delete abject things. We use this concept in order to explore the coupled fascination and horror of the descriptions of Muharram. Kristeva draws from both Freud's and Lacan's readings of the subject and explores the semiotic side of the psyche without complete reliance on the symbolic (this separates her from both Lacan and Freud). Kristeva's discussion of the abject pertains directly to the semiotic, as the abject itself involves the crossing-over *between* the semiotic and the symbolic. The abject not only marks a crossing-over and a border, but it also embodies the instability of these two seemingly separate and stable parts of the psyche. This instability leads to the reaction of horror when faced with the abject; it also incites the fascination. Kristeva uses common examples (the corpse, menstrual blood, etc.), to illuminate her discussion of the psychic borderland and the process of destabilizing the self.

The notion of abjection is also used by Judith Butler. She describes "those 'unlivable' and 'uninhabitable' zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject." The abject constitutes precisely this excess considered as waste by a system that can find an economy with it. Living the unlivable, inhabiting the uninhabitable constitute the refusal of processes of subjectivation as those "able" terms are precisely attributed by the normative system served by these same processes. Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies that Matter: on the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. New York & London: Routledge.

<sup>55</sup> Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror, an essay on abjection*. Roudiez, Leon S. (trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

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combine to become voyeurism.<sup>56</sup> Since a key component of voyeurism lies in its visual, seeing element, this relates directly to the relationship of sight and the (non-) representation of the abject.<sup>57</sup> In many ways, the imagery of Muharram can be read as a voyeuristic peek into the Other. In order to represent the unrepresentable (horror, denial), colonial discourse produces these images, which serve to diffuse the threat and horror of the collapse of the symbolic order. These images, in their display of fascination for the ritual, reinforce the discursive power of colonialism to assert and to produce a *limited* vision of Muharram.

Opening up the question of threat, horror, and fascination, the Muharram images produced and codified under colonial rule allow for an examination of the psychic underpinnings of the discursive framework of colonial India, a framework which, through the catalysts of fascination, threat, and horror, produced a precisely delimited imagery of Muharram in order, partially, to reify a solid and limited vision of the colonizer in the fact of that threat. That one can read this discursive construction in the representations of Diu reframes the city as a direct participant in that colonial discourse.

The exploration of the workings of colonial discourse as it circumscribed the threat and fear of Muharram through fixation, fascination, and distancing reveals and foreshadows several underlying issues. First, the contradiction and tension within colonial discursive constructions of Muharram echoes other disjunctions in discursive frames discussed in this dissertation. In this case, this reading of the imaging of Muharram suggests a voyeuristic fascination with the Other while holding the horrifying aspects of that Other outside of the realm of representation. Muharram is thus produced in colonial discourse through its abjection, and as such, constitutes the Other as desired/rejected while defining the Self as fixated/horrified. This leads to the second major issue underlying this and other chapters: the mutually constituted and constituting production of colonial discourse, both 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati' are delineated and separated through this discursive production of Muharram, but that relationship itself denies the possibility of separation between the two. This tension undergirds not only the tensions within the discursive construction of Muharram but also those contradictions and tensions found within Diu as a whole as it is imaged through Muharram.

### **Hindu stage and display**

Since the Portuguese arrival in Diu, the citadel and the mosques were the most prominent edifices in the city, and in the sixteenth century sources Diu was described as a besieged hindu city. To a certain extent, such divisions predated the advent of colonialism in Diu. At the same time, the colonial encounter further crystallized these categories both within the colonial as well as indigenous discourses. The nature of these narratives shaped the colonial city around this juxtaposition.

The term hindu is derived from Sanskrit *sindhu* and refers to the people who live near the great river Indus. The notion of hindu was not a unifying label in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead, there is evidence that the various religious traditions and practices followed by the different ethnic groups, sects and castes were subsumed only much later under the generic notions of hindu. Hinduism gained currency in the Orientalist discourse of the European Orientalism<sup>58</sup> of the eighteenth century that systematized knowledge about India and

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<sup>56</sup> This connection has been made powerfully by Griselda Pollock in her discussion of the images of women in late-nineteenth century French painting. See: Pollock, Griselda. 1988. "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity." In *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*. New York: Routledge. 50-90.

<sup>57</sup> "Voyeurism is a structural necessity in the constitution of object relation, showing up every time the object shifts towards the abject [...] Voyeurism accompanies the writing of abjection." Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror, an essay on abjection*. Roudiez, Leon S. (trans.). New York: Columbia University Press. 46.

In addition to Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, Kristeva's theory is also indebted to her reading of Mikhail Bakhtin. See "Word, Dialogue and Novel" in Kristeva, Julia. 1980. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Roudiez S. Leon, (ed.), New York: Columbia University Press. 64-91.

<sup>58</sup> Thappar, Romila. 1989. "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity," *Modern Asian Studies*. Cambridge, UK. 23/2: 209-231.

their beliefs and practices into an integrated, coherent religion. The term used in the early European accounts about India was *gentoo* (Latin: gentiles) or heathen.<sup>59</sup> It has often been noted how difficult it is to speak of a religion called hinduism.

Far ahead the term Hindustan, again a geographical designation, came into vogue in architectural and urban history. This was part of a larger, empirical enterprise to map the subcontinent and its inhabitants, an initiative bordered in metropolitan theoretical concerns. It is often avowed that hinduism, as such, does not exist, but that there is instead a variety of practices of a devotional and ritual nature as well as of metaphysical schools that were lumped together in the early nineteenth century under the term hinduism.

This section borrows and develops *Convivencia*,<sup>60</sup> the concept of competitive sharing to explain how sacred sites have been shared in Diu by members of hindu, muslim, and catholic religious communities and may even exhibit syncretic mixtures of the practices. This competitive sharing is matched with the passive meaning of 'tolerance'<sup>61</sup> as non-interference but mismatched with the significance of tolerance as embrace between the Portuguese and the Gujarati. An early example of Diu's religious tolerance during the Portuguese empire can be located in the second half of the years 1660s when António de Mello e Castro (1662-1667)<sup>62</sup> was forced to arbitrate in Diu after the inquisitors tried to submit the Gujarati to the catholic education under the Jesuits, as it was customary and happened in Goa:

We took an orphan in Diu that, and as in that city, that has greater privileges, and in Diu the introduction of the Inquisitors was a new thing, and we wondered how in the next morning they would wake up in the land of the Moors, more than three thousand inhabitants and others are preventing to make the same. It was known and they were there to deal with this, assuring that by sending them to Goa, the

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<sup>59</sup> The term refers to the universe of individuals who did not profess one of the three religions of the Book, namely the christian, jewish and muslims. In the Asian context, it applied mainly to hindus.

<sup>60</sup> The model of *La Convivencia* refers to coexistence in Muslim Spain. We are not therefore seeking to reconstitute a syncretism without conflict or a "*Convivencia* on Gujarat." Shahid Amin talked about disjunction between historians' history and peoples' construction of the past, i. e., memory, in recent times in India. [Glick, Thomas F. 1992. "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, Glick, Thomas F., Mann, Vivian B. and Dodds, Jerilyn D. (eds.). New York: Jewish Museum/Georges Braziller. 1-9]. Syncretism, Shahid Amin said, is a process and this process has very often been a process of conquest, i.e., there is a relation between syncretism and conquest. [Amin, Shadid. 2002. "On Retelling the Muslim Conquest of North India." In Chatterjee, Partha and Ghosh, Anjan (eds.). In *History and the Present*. New Delhi: Permanent Black. 30].

For a period of almost four centuries, when medieval Spain was ruled by the Moors, the believers in judaism, christianity, and islam lived together. The year 1492 marked the destruction of an unprecedented form of coexistence between the jews, muslims, and christians in Al-Andalus, a state that had thrived since the eleventh century.

Arguably, political factors were most influential in facilitating the *Convivencia* process. There were two key political figures present in the upper echelons of muslim rule in Al-Andalus in the tenth century which directly impacted upon the birth of the amicable coexistence. Rulers conducted their policies of reconciliation of the Berbers, Arabs, Jews and Christians of the Iberio-Hispanic population.

Furthermore, the jews and christians could practice religion without harassment or persecution. The law was an effective legal instrument which regulated the practice of all three religions. [Lewis, Bernard. 1984. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press]. Consequently, this led to the creation of an educational structure that encouraged the importance of Greek philosophy, particularly the works of Aristotle. This political manoeuvring had social manifestations and consequently, the Jews shared the same model and Arab vernacular was also shared with the Christians and the muslims. This further inaugurated the social unification among the three faith-communities of the peninsula [Hillenbrand, Robert. 1992. "The Ornament of the World, Medieval Cordoba as a Culture Centre" in Jayyusi, Salma Khadra (ed.). *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Leiden: Brill Publications. 112-135].

A more remote layer, compounding this mythos of *Convivencia* is the presence of ever-undulating, overwhelming architecture in Andalusia. Rothstein states that this idealism led to a form of architectural mysticism through the creation of monumental buildings such as the Alhambra and the Great Mosque of Cordoba. Rothstein claims that such overwhelming architecture declares mystery which allowed this historical idealism to achieve its physical manifestation. He claims that the "position or status of the individual is the focus, [not the individual itself]." This is quite different from the humane ideal so often attached to *Convivencia*. The outcome is not a version of tolerance as she claims that the viewer is absorbed into a world that overwhelms, inspiring awe with intricacies in architecture of monumental proportions that seem beyond comprehension. This perpetuates the retrospective utopianism in its more tangible manifestation. [Rothstein, Edward. 2003. *Was the Islam of Old Spain Truly Tolerant?* New York, NY: New York Times. 9]. See also Glick, Thomas F. 1979. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; 1992. "Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of *Convivencia*." In Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerilyn D. Dodds, eds., New York: Jewish Museum/Georges Braziller, 83-111.

<sup>61</sup> Hayden, Robert M. 2002. "Antagonistic Tolerance. Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans." In *Current Anthropology*, 43/2: 205-31.

<sup>62</sup> Viceroy of *Estado da Índia* from 1661 to 1666.

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problem would be solved. Twelve people were sent to town with this complaint and the factory captain, ombudsman, the priest, and the same Inquisition officer, and therefore all should be given adequate answer, to keep that fortress, which is only supported with the small revenue that yielded the Customs, that came from those people, and their loans when revenue was missing. I wrote to the inquisitors and as shall be seen in my letter, if copied faithfully, and they will answer me, sending me a provision of viceroy, Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas, which followed the law of king Dom Sebastião, as if the minister had more power than what was given to him, and I less than the other V. Rey. However, an order will be sent to Dio to put and end to the Commissioner's pretension, and we all are quiet. [...] 9 October 1664. António de Melo e Castro.<sup>63</sup>

Rather than try to avoid this uncomfortable conclusion, this section assumes that 'tolerance' in Diu had a formal major consequence to the city which was the building and rebuilding of hindu temples and shrines in its public spaces. A discomfiting conclusion follows that syncretism is actually endangered by equality between the groups and may be fostered by inequality. Diu over time got not only several catholic churches and hindu temples but also myriad wayside shrines and other tokens of catholic saints and hindu deities.<sup>64</sup> Notably, this resumption of hinduism affected the religious monuments of catholic communities as they became more or less numerically balanced. In order to appreciate the significance of the iconic agency of the hindu monuments and images by replicating the details of their territorial distribution and spatial association in Diu, it is important to recall 'the phenomenon of localization' in hindu religiosity,<sup>65</sup> that is, the eminent manifestation in space of divinity and sainthood in hindu mythology and praxis.

Most hindu gods are associated with mountains or rivers, embodied in landscapes, regions, and many times identified with settlements and wards. This spatial manifestation of hindu divinity takes a most complex form in the urban realm. Every place is associated with one or several gods, who are commonly seen as founders, ancestors, protectors, and members of the settlement and settlement community.<sup>66</sup> Also catholic crosses, shrines, and monuments appear on and liminal locations, marketplaces, borders, gates and crossroads that did not demarcate hindu religion. It is against the background of a composite manifestation and distribution in space of hindu divinity in early-modern Portuguese (and catholic) that the effects of the religious policy of need to be assessed.

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<sup>63</sup> "Succedeo tomarse em Dio hum órfão, e como naquela cidade, há maiores preuilegios, e nella era cousa nova esta introdução dos Inquisidores, fez tamanho espanto, que ao outro dia amanhecerão na terra dos Mouros, tres mil a tantos moradores, e os demais se estalão prevenindo para fazerem o mesmo. Soubesse, e acodioso, a este desmancho; segurando lhes que mandando a Goa, se lhes daria remedio. Enuioume a cidade doze pessoas com esta queixa e me escreuerão o capitão feioe, ouuidor, Pay dos christãos, e o mesmo comissario do Sancto Officio, que conuinha que fossem bem respondidos, porque se não perdesse aquella fortaleza, que só se sustentaua com o pouco que rendia a Alfandega, que vinha do trato desta gente, e com os seus empréstimos, quando faltaua. Escreuy aos Inquisidores o referido com bom termo e modo, que se uerá na minha carta, se for tresladada fielmente, e elles me responderão, mandando me mostrar huma provisão do V. Rey, Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas, que se derogaua a Ley do Senhor Dom Sebastião, como se o ministro tiuesse mais poder, que quem lho dera, e eu menos que o outro V. Rey. Com tudo mandarão a Dio ordem para que o Commissario não continuasse, com o que ficámos todos sossegados. [...] 9 de Outubro de 1664. António de Melo e Castro." António, 1949. *A Inquisição de Goa. Tentativa de História da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção (Introdução à Correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia 1569-1630)*. Lisbon: Sciences Academy of Lisbon. Vol. 1. 105 and the following.

<sup>64</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 23, n° antigo de maço 14, n°s vermelhos 118, datas extremas 1640-1643, doc. 110, 9 April 1612.

<sup>65</sup> Erndl, M. Kathleen. 1993. *Victory to the Mother: The Hindu Goddess of Northwest India in Myth, Ritual, and Symbol*. New York: Oxford University Press. 60.

<sup>66</sup> The most palpable expression of the intimate connection between the god and the settlements is certainly the idea that the body of the goddess constitutes the soil of the settlement itself.



[Figure 6.3] The *Gangeshwar Temple*<sup>67</sup> of Diu, island of Diu, 2014.

When trying to account for the parallelism in the spatial association and distribution of hindu and catholic monuments in Diu's urban space, it is important to consider that iconoclastic placement may not be its only background or rationale. Similar to the notion of 'localization' in hindu mythology and practice, 'localistic religiosity'<sup>68</sup> in early-modern catholicism can be addressed. By this term is meant religious objects and practices that were closely related with locations or spaces generating a distinct religious marking and mapping of the catholic urban landscape of Diu. These phenomena, since the sixteenth-century, were no novelty.<sup>69</sup> The significance of such religious gifting derives from the central role played by hindu shrines (which catholic churches came to resemble) in the precolonial political system. Recent historical research has shown that the endowment of temples was an important means of extending political control into new areas for the south Indian kings and warrior chiefs of the Vijayanagar period (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries). As the historian Burton Stein points out, this involved an exchange in which rulers gave material resources and in return received from the temples not only ritualized communal 'honours' but also political constituencies from religious leaders.<sup>70</sup> In Diu, these constituencies included significant catholic populations who, together with hindus, participated in popular regional saint cults and festivals.

<sup>67</sup>The Gangeshwar temple finds its name in mythology as the temple where the five Pandavas worshipped Lord Shiva during their exile. The most remarkable feature of the Gangeshwar Temple are the five shivlings set amidst the rocks. The shivlings get washed by the waves of the sea, exposing only the tip of the lingams during high tides. The cave temple exudes powerful energy and is much revered by devotees of the mighty Lord Shiva from around the world.

<sup>68</sup>Christian, William, Jr. 1989. *Local Religion in Sixteenth Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 20.

<sup>69</sup>Marking the landscape with religion has roots in Christian Europe and can be traced back to late antiquity. This was when families began to patronize the tombs of saints that became pilgrim places. These were essential for the spread of Christianity in medieval Europe. There were two contexts in particular in which images emerged as geographical landmarks. One was the association of villages or towns with patron saints. These associations stood for the spiritual protection of the settlements and also became a source of social prestige and political power. Hence, local families, religious brotherhoods, and, sometimes, guilds of merchants and artisans were competing over the patronage and control of the local saints' cults, something that found expression in the local rivalries of who could assert for themselves the right to carry and display the saintly paraphernalia in public ceremonies and processions.

<sup>70</sup>Stein, Burton. 1980. *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 469.

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Explicit forms in Diu of this religious double-occupancy are hindu-catholic twin shrines that can be found in close spatial proximity, side by side or back to back. A variation of twin shrines consists of shrines that shelter icons or images of both religious traditions under one roof. Cases of adjacent, contiguous, or twin hindu-catholic shrines abound in Diu and obviously attract devotional attention and practices from members of both religious communities. Not only we can reconstruct in Diu that each and every hindu goddess and god was not replaced by a catholic symbol, but also the ubiquitous distribution of catholic crosses, saints' images, and shrines also indicates that the replacement did not happen in minor deity and tutelary beings in the city.

The early-modern Portuguese metropolitan situation suggests that the systematic marking of the colonial city with catholic images and monuments was the result of a genuine similarity of hindu and catholic concepts and practices regarding the manifestation and distribution of the divine and holy in space.<sup>71</sup> The insightful classic work of the historian Robert Frykenberg's on the 'invention of hinduism'<sup>72</sup> provides useful examples of the way in which new public spaces were significant for the development of religious identities. For example, a development that stimulated syncretistic practices in Diu was the erection of hindu and catholic images, shrines, and monuments in close proximity to the 'Portuguese/Catholic' urban settlement and landscape.

Our argument so far suggests that the space for the public representation of religion is an arena of contestation between different social groups, despite the rather more low-handed existence and intervention of the *Estado da Índia* in Diu. The determination of the Portuguese from the early sixteenth century until the mid-seventeenth century to adopt sovereignty and a ruling position did not lead to its implication in the conduct of temple practices. As pressure developed from the metropolis to dissociate the government from the conduct of such heathen practices, it began gradually to retreat from this position. In its place, a new layer of independent, lay-led religious organizations emerged.

Since the metropolitan government did not permit the destruction of mosques, they supported the construction of temples, as well as the repair of mosques, creating sites of tension in the revival of Diu's urban geography. Since collective catholic memory was focused on prominent temples as previous sites of churches as happened in Goa, the 'neutral' policy adopted by the Portuguese implied and eventual juxtaposition of the two. The colonial government minutely managed these precincts, as well as the objects within. Despite their convictions regarding the legitimacy of hindu claims to Diu, the Portuguese were determined to maintain the *status quo* where relations between hindus, muslims and catholics were concerned. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the three religions were patronized by the commissioning of newly built temples as well as commissioning of mosque repairs.

The map of Diu of 1783-1790 was one of the earlier attempts to gather information on religious land 'ownership' in Diu. It is a valuable document since besides presenting other information, it lays out the claims and controversies that surrounded the ethnic and religious map of the city. However, with practical considerations in mind, the Portuguese depicted and labelled in this map the churches and omitted the temples and mosques. At the same time, the author stakes a claim to urban space of catholics and of non-catholics. Reinforcing the rivalries that were focused in it. This survey is distinct from a religious pilgrimage map, since it is about the reality of the urban territory on the ground, rather than an idealized vision of a hindu religious landscape.

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<sup>71</sup> Contrastingly to Goa, the effect of the iconoclastic replacement of hindu images and monuments and the systematic spatial duplication of hindu monuments and images by catholic ones, did not happen in a place of 'antagonistic tolerance' such as Diu.

<sup>72</sup> Frykenberg, Robert E. (ed.). 2003. "Christians in India: An Historical Overview of Their Complex Origins." In *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication since 1500*. London: Erdmann. 1–32.



[Figure 6.4] The Mahalaxmi temple of Diu, Diu, 2014.

However, the map of Diu by Sarmiento and Chermont is inconsistent in terms of the story regarding the corporeality of hindu temples and shrines. This inconsistency regarding precise location and antiquity was to remain an abiding feature of the hindu ritual places of Diu. The colonial government of the city, informed by Portuguese orientalist as well as Gujarati indigenous opinion, did not permit the dismantling of mosques and hindu claims were never completely denied within colonial policy. In this late eighteenth century conjectural reconstruction of Diu, the plan of the temples does not appear (not even as a dotted line), thereby reinforcing catholic claims to the precinct. Thus, colonial representations were not entwined with indigenous. Although tolerance was the status the heathen presence in the city was marginalized.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, hinduism was conceptualized as a monolithic belief system. Religious boundaries became more sharply defined especially in the juxtaposition of shrines in the city. The colonial government was also concerned with addressing either side of the boundary equitably. Representations by indigenous authors were underscored by a desire to connect the city from colonial modernity with its *puranic* lineage. Descriptions of specific hindu shrines were accompanied by their corresponding myths from the *puranas*,<sup>73</sup> defining this sacred geography as ancient. This inevitably meant that much of Diu's material culture, as churches and mosques, had to be neglected. Indeed, as successive accounts in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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<sup>73</sup> The word Puranas is a genre of Indian literature about a wide range of topics particularly myths, legends and other traditional lore. Composed primarily in Sanskrit, but also in regional languages, several of these texts are named after major hindu deities such as Vishnu, Shiva and Devi. The Puranas genre of literature is found in both hinduism and jainism. Vyasa, the narrator of the Mahabharata, is hagiographically credited as the compiler of the Puranas.

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demonstrate, religious boundaries became increasingly dissolved and were explicitly claimed. The descriptions of the city's inhabitants, deities and festivals gloss over the real contestations that were being negotiated over its religious spaces, especially, its temples.

How were these configurations translated in terms of effective management of the urban spaces of Diu? Since the seventeenth century, the colonial administration saw itself in the role of patron of the city and its textual and religious traditions and colonial regulation has been influenced by concerns regarding relations between hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics. Religious tolerance was encouraged by the Estado da Índia that acted impartially and without interference with differing religious communities.<sup>74</sup> The colonial government tried to maintain the *status quo* between differing religious communities by managing the minutiae of religious objects and spaces in the city's precinct. All objects within had to be stationary and accounted for. The potential attempts to claim religious sites in the city remained a concern and the sites of hindu shrines were suspended and remained as so from tension of other religion claims.

The colonial administration rule of Diu by the city's own laws and customs endorsed and presided over this project to resurrect the city's sacred geography. However, in maintaining a balance between the city's religious communities, colonial rule exacerbated a tense geography of contention. Rival claims to sites were never purely the result of colonial constructions of communalism,<sup>75</sup> but already existed in the memory of religious interests in the city. At the same time, the creation of religious boundaries was not the purview of the colonial government of Diu alone, since they existed already to a degree.<sup>76</sup>

Representations of Diu's physical and social landscape in various memoirs and cartography intersected with the colonial attempt to catalogue the Diu's social landscape into exclusive categories imagined along social differences such as religion and caste. Hinduism was classified as "exemplifying a mind that is imaginative and passionate rather than rational and willful,"<sup>77</sup> and Diu was an repository of this belief system. The Portuguese colonials viewed themselves as 'neutral', and were concerned about not taking sides. However, by its very nature, this was an intrusive administration, based on the categorization of indigenous society; categories that were themselves viewed as unchanging. Separations were devised along religion and caste as predominant social differentiators, and the colonials were convinced that relations between what they saw as a monolithic hindu community and an equally monolithic muslim community were naturally strained. This rivalry loomed large in the colonial imagination, and clashes between castes or classes were often classified as occurring only among different religious groups.

Along with various other social and religious formations, the built environment was also catalogued as hindu or catholic. These religious rivalries predated the advent of colonialism as the caption of the 1783-1790 map clearly demonstrates with the 'line' separating christian from gentiles. By its very nature, the map reiterated the wrong idea of a city as exclusively catholic. By characterizing two parts of Diu as having a religious subtext, the Portuguese colonials sought to redefine the ways in which space was monitored used by the administration

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<sup>74</sup>"the Gentiles live in our lands divided on a neighbourhood or place with freedom to use it their heathen rites". See Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. "News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's Gentiles and also Muslims that inhabit there." In *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from the viceroy Caetano de Mello e Castro of 20 Jan 1707. Documentos do século XVIII. Fasc. 2. 179.

<sup>75</sup> Communalism, in a South Asian context, primarily perceives society as constituted of a number of ethno-religious communities and may be defined as the "consciousness which draws on a supposed religious identity and uses this as the basis for an ideology." At the heart of the communalist demand, lies a belief in the primordality of the ethno-religious community. Communalism merely essentializes inter-communal differences along colonial lines. Consequently rather than contrasting the primordality of communalism with modernity, it is argued here that, both should be considered as modern responses to the questions asked of indigenous society by colonial modernity. Thapar, Romila. 1989. "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity" *Modern Asian Studies*, 23, 2: 209.

<sup>76</sup>Bayly, Christopher A. 1985. "The Pre-history of 'communalism'? Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860." In *Modern Asian Studies* 19, 2: 177-203.

<sup>77</sup>Inden, Ronald. 2000. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 128.

The city must pray.  
Ritual, performance and display.



[Figure 6.5] The *Jagdish* Jain temple of Diu, Panchvati road, Diu, 2014.



[Figure 6.6] Detail from the *Jagdish* Jain temple of Diu, 2014.

and used by hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics. In this context, the 'silences' that such a map were as significant to understand their underlying politics.<sup>78</sup>

We can perceive the emergence of a new form of public space related to religion in the context of colonial modernity, in which emerging social classes could assert their position within society. This process led to the development of a new sense of 'public identity' structured around religion. The degree of ambiguity in the character of this public identity should be retained. There were no illusions about the existence of anything like a single 'majority community' and yet at the same time, many of the newly 'public' institutions which emerged were decidedly hindu in their religious manifestations. As is implied by the fight for control of temple endowments, the atmosphere of competition encouraged the vocalization of a range of approaches to the idea of a 'corporate' hinduism. While colonial acquiescence was freely granted for Diu's religious revival, their desire not to interfere and to treat hindus, jains, muslims and zoroastrians equitably, resulted in a geography of juxtaposition, where shrines were built adjacent to the city's prominent churches. Here, then, we see an exemplification of the twin processes of objectification and fragmentation noted before as significant in the development of modern religious identity. The 'antiquity' of the physical urban fabric was not pertinent here; rather the litany of destruction and rebuilding rendered that unnecessary, and was strategically employed to furnish proof for its timelessness.

In conclusion, the city's hindu resurrection was closely entwined with the processes of colonial modernization that took shape during the nineteenth century. From its earliest days, the Portuguese colonial administration attempted to introduce notions of 'public good' that were closely allied with their conceptions of 'public space.' Preventing or controlling public rituals, meant that the streets and lanes of Diu were defined as 'public space where the hindu display and ritual was decreed 'shameless.' Portuguese colonial reaction to Diu's ritual state was a manifestation of a larger concern rife in a colonial city, where hindu religion was seen as likely to directly affect the Portuguese colonial presence in Diu, but contrastingly, paralleled concerns in other Portuguese colonial cities (except Goa) would give more stride to Portuguese presence in Diu.

Enforcing regulation involved the application of certain technologies as well as defining and demarcating the nature and limits of 'public' religious space. It also involved the creation and sustenance of a 'public.' By characterizing the 'Gujarati' urban settlement as having a religious subtext, the Portuguese colonials sought to redefine the ways in which space was monitored used by the administration and used by the religious communities. Through strategies of non-compliance and outright resistance, the local population resisted these categories by building contiguous or twin hindu-catholic shrines in Diu and obviously attracted devotional attention and practices from members of more than one religious communities. The religious spaces and streets of Diu became an arena where social and political norms were negotiated between the Portuguese colonial government and the Gujarati indigenous population. Colonial regulation intersected the city's religious context in the imposition of its categories. The city was to have 'religious' syncretic space and its citizens to follow modes of multiple 'religious behaviour.'

### **Difference and coexistence**

Formal dramatizations such as the staging of Diu's landscape by hinduism, the Blessed Virgin procession and the Muharram ritual pointed to competing ways of performing community that emerged in Diu's context. These happenings worked within a milieu characterized by a complex system of political allegiances, and their spatial enactment showed an attempt to arbitrate multiple loyalties. These rituals sought to diffuse communal strain by

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<sup>78</sup> Harley, J. Brian. 1988. "Maps, Knowledge and Power." In *Iconography of Landscape*. Cosgrove, Denis and Daniels, Stephen (Ed.), Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 278.

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sustaining fluid and ambiguous boundaries between each community and other groups, or by provisionally rejecting social divides and inculcating an agreeable coexistence.

The intercommunal dynamic had been complicated before the eighteenth century,<sup>79</sup> and it was particularly charged at periods of religious observances. Hindu, muslim and catholic ritual agendas were observed at the same time. In addition, those agendas were not aligned, and contained a great number of holy (and saint's) days, many of which were kept as holidays. Seen through the eyes of a Portuguese subject accustomed to such a level of cultural plurality, these intertwined practices indicate, nonetheless, the coexistence of a myriad of religious observances. In the mid-nineteenth-century Diu, most of these rituals were still kept, and often the calendar cycle of hindu, muslim and catholic feasts coincided: either Ramadan coincided with Bairam, or the Holi was at Easter. When the Ramadan coincided with Easter, the entire month could be dedicated to celebrations.

Ritual and customary events worked within a complex social, political and anthropological landscape. They juxtaposed, within the same spaces, contradictory and differing social and political ambitions both the efforts of the Portuguese administration to promote a unified political identity, and the desires of the Gujarati to advance their religious differences and express growing political allegiances to outside nation-states.<sup>80</sup> Although this conflict was in part inherent with the *Estado da Índia* colonial reforms of the nineteenth century, it was amplified by the long-standing religious heterogeneity of Diu. Through their spatial and dramaturgical strategies, the religious performances discussed here opened a site to mediate and confront these multiple social and political tensions.

These spatial routines also pointed to the different ways in which issues of identity and difference were fought in Diu. Moments of staging and *mise-en-scène* offered one venue to enact religious difference and identity within and otherwise social environment. During processions and Muharram, celebrating groups appropriated particular spaces of Diu and inscribed them as their own. By refashioning everyday spaces, organizing participants, and targeting particular audiences, such groups not only performed their belonging to the religious community, but also advanced emerging political aspirations. Counteracting these performances of difference were state-sponsored (or at least tolerated) events aimed at constructing a unified populace out of socially diverse communities. On such imperial occasions, Portuguese authorities also employed spatial strategies to reclaim the space of the larger city and mark it with an image of sameness and unity. This was a way of dissolving traditional inequalities between subject people and a way to present a picture of social and political harmony.

However, the orchestration of public events was not the only way of playing out identity and difference in the city. Periods of ritual observance provided an opportunity to perform religious difference, yet in a more spontaneous and fierce way. Ritual seasons and times of religious excitement cyclically revived long-standing prejudices and anxieties among groups, and constituted a continuing potential for social tension. These periods corresponded to moments of enhanced awareness of religious difference and to an abrupt reconfiguration of social and spatial boundaries within Diu.

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<sup>79</sup> See "News of the freedom and exemption against Christians allowed to Diu's gentiles and also muslims that inhabit there" Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*. Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from Fr. António da Trindade of 20 Jan 1707. Documentos do século XVIII. Fasc 2. 180.

<sup>80</sup> The reflection proposed here is inspired by the discussions about the relationship between religion and politics and its role in the nation's constitution, as they were developed by Anderson, Benedict. 1994. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London & New York: Verso, and how they have been later discussed by van der Veer, Peter, (ed.). 1996. *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*. New York & London: Routledge; Viswanathan, Gauri. 1995. "Coping with (civil) Death: The Christian Convert's Rights of Passage in Colonial India." In Prakash, Gyan, *After Colonialism. Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Zupanov, Ines and Xavier, Ângela Barreto. 2015. *Catholic Orientalism. Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th centuries)*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, but also and above all, by Comaroff, Jean and John. 1991-96. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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In the face of socio-political changes and complex intercommunal relations, the particular issues to which we refer in this chapter, the staging of Diu's landscape by hinduism, the catholic Blessed Virgin procession and the Muslim Muharram ritual may be seen as an embodiment of how local groups performed a sense of community, drew temporary territorial boundaries, and forged alliances to claim a place of their own in the always plural landscape of Diu. Examining the social and the physical context of such public issues provides an important tool for understanding the terms of cultural plurality and coexistence that gave shape and meaning to Diu. It extends and complicates the history of non-catholic Portuguese communities, which is too often flattened by means of generic story lines that emphasize structural and top-down transformations. At the same time, such an inquiry into the spatiality of the performances allows a more nuanced understanding of urban spaces. The spatial strategies deployed through these issues opened up, and sometimes closed down, different ways of experiencing everyday urban spaces and provides a reminder that urban spaces are not uniform stages but multi-layered sites. Such spaces acknowledge different actors, aspirations, and relations of power and allow for different trajectories to coexist simultaneously.

### **Conclusion**

Identity can be produced through ritual but we should add a qualification to the argument that ritual construction of identity involves the demonization and subjugation on an Other, whether conceived of as external, in another community, or internal, in the form of emotions or inclinations that need to be controlled. The questions of 'Who am I?' and 'What do I do?' can be partially addressed through the additional queries of 'Where have I come from?' and 'Who have I been?'. Such questions about the past may find answers in images of, and interactions with, Others located in the present. The question of identity must always be answered, in part, with reference to the past, to tradition, to 'origins' and to 'Where we were?' Nevertheless, communal identities are not static, but are in fact constantly undergoing transformations of varied consequence and celerity. The past becomes useful as it undergirds visions of the future. Therefore, as a community undergoes change, so too must its 'history' or at least its interpretation of history.

The argument here is that the colonial period was imperative for the religion and, consequently, vital for the architectural and urban spatial cultures of Diu. This significance was presented not so much in terms of 'invention,'<sup>81</sup> as in terms of providing the conditions of possibility for the arrangement of traditional ideas, practices and objects in relation to a later emerging modern architectural discourse. In this sense, colonial control represents the dominant force in the development of an idea of modernity, an overlapping set of ecumenes and developing cross-societal bonds emerging out of interaction and mobility. As a facet of modernity, colonial control was particularly influential in creating religious architectural and urban spaces for the articulation of supra-local identities.

Diu is a place where religion became an instrumental (if not functional) expression of acquisition process and discursive construction of political and economic power. Recognition of the disparity of power relations precipitated by Portuguese colonial rule, is not the same as suggesting that the Portuguese simply imposed their ideas about religion onto a passive population. Despite the rhetoric persistence about ritual dimensions of the relationship between the sovereign and local authority structures,<sup>82</sup> the focus on political constitution of religious space in Diu tends to suggest a symmetrical inversion of the anthropologist Louis Dumont's frame of Indian

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<sup>81</sup> In the sense of what was altered in Diu's material culture by Portuguese colonial presence.

<sup>82</sup> Appadurai, Arjun. 2007. *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: a South Indian Case*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Dirks, Nicholas B. 1987. *The Hollow Crown: Ethno history of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, and Stein, Burton. 1990. *The New Cambridge History of India. Vijayanagara*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and 1999. *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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civilization as opposite of the West.<sup>83</sup> Diu is a place of particular interest for these matters, since the most visible material supports of the city's authority structure (control over people, land and capital) were not dismantled by colonial powers or appropriated by other local groups. The ritual process, rarely treated as such, therefore seems encompassed by the political and the language of power, emerging as an instrument of domination to be treated in the same plane as military conquest or economical dominance.

At the same time, however, none of the syncretistic expressions and practices is ever understood by its practitioners to challenge or even impact hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians or catholic religious identities. Instead, the people who appreciate syncretic expressions or engage in syncretistic practices, like anyone else, self-consciously and sometimes even anxiously assert their respective religious identities. Thus, religious communities jointly participating in religious festivities quite often take care to consciously mark their respective religious identities by, for instance, presenting different offerings, operating in distinct groups, or acting at diachronic times or in different spaces. Even more intriguingly, religious communities engaging in syncretistic practices may nourish animosities against each other that precisely allude to their different religious identities. Obviously, such seemingly paradoxical circumstances can prevail only because the people involved do not consider what we perceive as 'transgression' of boundaries to have any effect on their respective religious identities, and, conversely, what we perceive as 'assertion' of boundaries to have anything to do with their syncretistic practices. It is Diu's complex situation of people who not only assert and transgress religious identities but also deny that either one of these attitudes or actions has an impact on, or even relevance for, the respective other attitude or action that characterizes the syncretistic situation and justifies its distinction from other European colonial spaces. Therefore, this contention frequently happens in the very syncretistic contexts themselves. Assumptions and credits of 'syncretism'<sup>84</sup> to Diu are bound to have political motivations and consequences of which we must be aware, for they contextualize the usual examination of syncretism which proceeds from an objectivist position to describe the hybridity of rituals, cults and cosmologies.<sup>85</sup> This reveals that the exact nature of the hybrid may

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<sup>83</sup> Dumont's classic *Homo Hierarchicus* reduces Indian civilization to a cultural essence that marks the opposite of the culture of the West. The core of this essence in arguably the institution of caste, which is based on an ideology of purity and pollution and enacted through ritual and social practices, and is said to prevent all liberties and enfeeble all agency in India. The centre of the Indian sociological space is occupied by Caste, here understood as a hereditary institutionalization of inequality which contrasts with Western egalitarian ideology. Such inequalities are based on a wide range of religious precepts that frame the marked asymmetry between different groups in terms of an ideal or transcendent order; despite its marked regional differences, the relationship between the various castes in the sociological landscape of the subcontinent may be subject to Pan-Indian statutory gradations grounded in relative purity relations. This ritual, finally, is a linear order whose leading position is indisputably occupied by the Brahmin figure, here seen as an earthly manifestation of the ideals of ceremonial purity.

This assertion was framed theoretically for the first time by Louis Dumont and still influences a great part of the historiographical and ethnographical production about India.

See Dumont, Louis. 1979. *Homo hierarchicus, essai sur le système des castes*. Paris: Gallimard or 1980. *Homo hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*. Sainsbury, Mark, Gulati, Basia and Dumont, Louis (trans.). Chicago: Chicago University Press. Dumont theory was primarily addressed in a monography about the Pramalai Kallar from Tamil Nadu (1957. *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud: organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar*. Paris: Mouton) and later developed with David Pocock. Dumont, Louis e Pocock, David F. 1957. "Village Studies". *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1: 23-41; 1968. "A.M Hocart on Caste: Religion and Power". *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 2: 45-63; 1959. "Pure and Impure". *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 3: 9-39.

<sup>84</sup> Syncretism is a term used in Christian theology since at least the seventeenth century. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, it denotes an 'attempt to sink differences and effect union between sects or philosophical schools'. While syncretism thus sounds like a positive strategy to contain conflict and promote tolerance or, in recent parlance, at least 'dialogue', it is striking how pejoratively the term is often used. The term 'syncretism' is often used in anthropology and history as if it were a transparent, descriptive term, referring to the "borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation." Berling, Judith A. 1980. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-En*. New York: Columbia University Press. 9; Kamstra, Jacques H. 1970. *Synkretisme*, Leiden: E. J. Brill. See also Stewart, Charles and Shaw, Rosalind, (eds.). 1994. *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London & New York and especially the essay by Peter van der Veer "Syncretism, Multiculturalism and the Discourse of Tolerance" 196-211.

<sup>85</sup> Despite the fact that problems of cultural dynamics have for so long engaged the attention of scholars, we have been handicapped by the lack of precisely defined terms, differential concepts and systematic approach. Terms as 'culture change,' diffusion,' 'borrowing,' 'assimilation,' 'acculturation,' all are familiar, but as Herskovits shows have been used loosely (e.g. culture change as a synonym for acculturation, p. 90; acculturation as equivalent to education or the general process of socialization, p. 6). Attention of the author is

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depend on previously existing or baseline patterns in receiving and donating architectural and urban spatial cultures and on resemblances between them. Change in the complex may result from the continuing influence of these trends or from factors such as the influence of modernity on both architectural and urban spatial cultures.

As a place of ritual and prayer, Diu must be considered within a cultural basis of coordinates of person, text, and place and entail a religious complex that travels in space and time.<sup>86</sup> Therefore the city can be examined through the conception of cultural complexity,<sup>87</sup> which includes the flow of culture through various architectural and urban spatial frameworks and the interaction of subcultures that exhibits a hybrid label appealing to many. Even as contested colonial categories, hindus, muslims, zoroastrians and even catholic spaces were created by the Portuguese empire to advance their own agenda. From the mere fact of their having done so, it does not follow that they uncritically adopted colonial categories of identity. As they encountered modern influences, religious reformers and spokespersons reinterpreted their traditions to adjust themselves to a changing world. This informational action, even when it has condensed so-called bounded identities, can be viewed as part of an enduring critical enterprise, and not simply as an invention or imposition of the modern.

In a sense, catholic religious rituals and practices that happen in Diu are as much Portuguese as Gujarati. The important issue, however, is not their cultural origin, but the fact that the Portuguese catholic church was constituted as a ritual system (centring on the presiding saint) which was perceived by catholics and hindus in precisely the same way as an hindu temple, namely as a ceremonial context in which caste and relations of power could be symbolized and validated. Indeed, in ideological terms the services and honours of the churches, like those of local temples, actually constituted the local caste hierarchy, which was viewed ideally as an order of ritual service to the deity or the king.<sup>88</sup> Underlying this symbolism was a conception of divine power (of saints and deities) as localized, material and not clearly distinguished from the secular power of the king.<sup>89</sup>

Ultimately, with the passage of time, many religious local places and practices in Diu simply became naturalized as parts of the accepted catholic tradition of a particular place, region or country; thus, for example, the preponderance of hindu shrines in the city or the performance of Muharram. Whereas once they had been discerned as remnants of paganism, such sites and rituals and the beliefs surrounding them now became part and parcel of a validated catholic tradition. These examples suggest that time may dull the recognition of 'syncretism', and especially for those who practise the religion in question, everything becomes similarly traditional and inseparable. This cycle of conversion, accommodation and naturalization is then repeated as if a process of 'missionization' really occurred, with the variance that instead of the church denouncing divergent forms of 'superstition' while promulgating proper practice, we now hear charges of illicit 'syncretism' when the converted do not get the 'pure' form of catholicism. Homogeneity, boundedness, and continuity are not unbiased aspects of social life, but allegories from religious discourse in the construction of communities. Syncretism is a term within religious discourse which acknowledges the permeability and fluidity of social life, but is used to evaluate it. That evaluation depends on the context in which it is made. Syncretism can be seen, negatively, as a corruption or it can be seen as in Diu, positively, as a product of tolerance. In all these cases it has to be discursively identified.

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centred upon 'those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' See *inter alia* Herskovits, Melville J. 1938. *Acculturation: The study of Cultural Contact*. New York: J. J. Agustin Publisher. 10 and 1958. *Dahomean Narrative. A cross-cultural analysis*. Evanston: Northwest University Press.

<sup>86</sup> Eade, John and Sallnow, Michael J., (eds.). 1991. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London & New York: Routledge. 1-29.

<sup>87</sup> "To study culture is to study ideas, experiences, feelings, as well as the external forms that such internalities take as they are made public, available to the senses and thus truly social. For culture, in the anthropological view, is the meanings which people create, and which create people, as members of societies." Hannerz, Ulf. 1992. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press. 3-39; "The World in Creolisation." In *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 57/4: 546-559.

<sup>88</sup> Hocart, Arthur M. (1950) *Caste: A Comparative Study*. London: Methuen. 17.

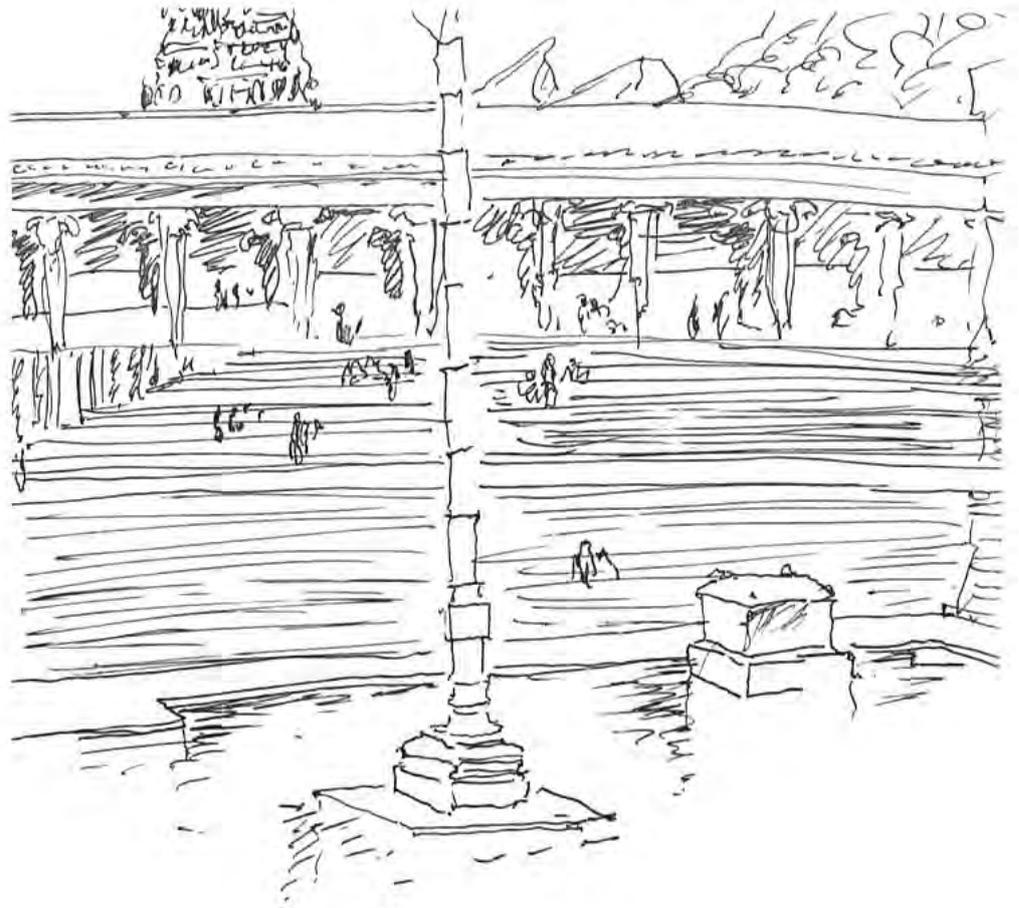
<sup>89</sup> Ludden, David. 1985. *Peasant History in South India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 30-1; Bayly, S. 1989. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 48.

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‘Multiculturalism’<sup>90</sup> appears to have replaced the term ‘syncretism’ in discourse about modern, secular society. What the debate about syncretism and that about multiculturalism seem to have in common is that they both try to give answers to situations of civil strife seemingly caused by insurmountable differences in religious or cultural identities. Both terms belong to a discourse of tolerance and communal harmony. This is also true in Diu’s case.

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<sup>90</sup> One of the myths of the Nationalist Portuguese historiography is that of the territories of Portuguese Asia as multicultural places. For mid-twentieth century historians, the miscegenation of people, communities, forms, was a fact throughout Portuguese Asia, as long as religion remained under the triumph without stain of catholicism. See for example, the historiographic production of Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960), an author with liberal convictions who published during the first Portuguese Republic (1910-1926) and the *Estado Novo* (the Salazar dictatorship) as the historian par excellence of Portuguese expansion. In the largest Portuguese History of the first half of the twentieth century, *História de Portugal*, by Damião Peres, (1933-37. Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 8 vol., see vol. 5: 336, 340, 356) or *Os Descobrimientos Portugueses*, (1960-62. Lisbon: Arcadia, 2 vols, see vol. 2: 358 and following pages). Cortesão praises the action of the religious orders in India, especially the Jesuits, for reasons we easily recognize today (for example, their interest in India) but also for a surprising reason, because they would have a “salutary effect” on the Portuguese of India that “gentilized until barbarism” (1960-62. *Os Descobrimientos Portugueses*. Lisbon: Arcadia. 358). By sharing the “black legend” of Portuguese India, Cortesão condemns the confluence of habits and Portuguese and oriental lifestyles, thus confirming the idea of miscegenation of cultures. (On the black legend of Portuguese India corrupt and decadent, see Winius, George. 1985. *The black legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, his contemporaries and the soldado prático: a contribution to the study of political corruption in the empires of early modern Europe*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company). The important and influential work from Damião Peres and Fortunato de Almeida, (1967-1971. *História da Igreja em Portugal*. Lisbon: Civilização), also contributes to the idea of miscegenation. For example, the authors appreciatively describe the behaviour of priests of various religious orders in India who devoted themselves to their assistance work “without distinction [...] Christians and Gentiles” (2: 299). Despite his obvious paternalism and even racism, the historiography of the first half of the 20th century clearly reinforces the idea of the existence of a harmonious Luso-Indian society. See also: Castelo, Cláudia. 1998. *O modo português de estar no mundo. O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)*. Lisbon: Afrontamento.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

*The city and the other cities.*  
*Diu and some European colonial cities.*

“To know was to name,  
identify, and compare”<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS CHAPTER TRIES TO HISTORICIZE different views of colonial urbanism by comparison. It extends over almost five centuries and compares colonial cities from the Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, French, and British empires.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, a single theoretical or analytical framework is inadequate and insufficient.

The study of Diu can help dismantle the paradigmatic reflection of the colonial city. In providing an explanation for imposition architecture and urban planning, as instruments of domination, subjugation, control,

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<sup>1</sup> “To know was to name, identify, and compare - this was the frame in which the question of understanding India entered the discourse of colonial science.” Prakash, Gyan. 1992. “Science “Gone Native” in Colonial India,” *Representations* 40: 155.

<sup>2</sup> We want to locate Diu within the shifting locations of architectural narratives.

Banister Fletcher’s classic *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896), its audience the subjects of the British Empire, taught that the universal narrative of architecture has a European trajectory. See: Fletcher, Banister Sir (1866-1953). 1938. *A history of architecture on the comparative method for students, craftsmen & amateurs*. London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd..

Despite the rise of post-World War II nationalisms, survey classes throughout the developed and post-colonial world continued to follow this Eurocentric tale. The recent globalization of academia has challenged this narrative and put into question the impact of different world orders - colonial empires, nation-states, or global unions - on the production of architectural knowledge.

and the discourses that accompanied such practices, the chapter draws on material from post-structuralism<sup>3</sup> and theories of dependent urbanism,<sup>4</sup> in particular, Foucault's treatise on discourse, power, knowledge, and architecture and Said's 'Orientalism'. Dualistic oppositions once dominated scholarly understandings of colonial cities, but in the last decade post-colonial visions of hybridity and ambivalence have come to the fore. Both of these strands of scholarship elaborate critical insights within the context of a largely colonized subcontinent and within many colonial cities built by different empires. More than shifts in academic paradigms are at stake; indeed, such different discourses encourage acute queries as to how we should interpret processes and forms in the colonial city and in urbanity and its participation of nation built in India.<sup>5</sup> Instead of championing either side, we seek to bring these ostensibly divergent perspectives together, arguing for a more integrated historical and analytic approach to urban landscapes. Rather than opposing colonial accounts and post-colonial narratives, materialism and discourse, social sciences and humanities, joining these agendas will help to understand the actual complexities of colonial urban dynamics.

In the face of the assortment of colonial cities, it is important to always keep in mind two quintessential topographies about European empires and agency: the first is that European empires (Portuguese, British, French and Danish) were different although intertwined and ambivalent<sup>6</sup> each in its own way, the second is that colonial spaces never conformed to a single or monolithic type. Stoler argued that "any effort to compare different imperial systems or even different parts of a single empire, raises questions about what it is we should be comparing:

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<sup>3</sup> Post-structuralist invokes concepts of oppositions, ambiguity, disruption, disjunction and disturbance. Post-structuralists trace the effects of a limit defined as difference. Here, 'difference' is not understood in the structuralist sense of difference between identifiable things, but in the sense of open variations (these are sometimes called processes of differentiation, at other times, pure differences). These effects are transformations, changes, revaluations. The work of the limit is to open up the core and to change our sense of its role as stable truth and value. What if life took on different patterns? What if our settled truths were otherwise? How can we make things different? Therefore, Post-structuralist in the sense that regards the problems of the location of the speaker, the problems of attempting to arrive at one 'correct' vision or account. Michel Foucault can be claimed for this debate and shows time and again how the establishment of knowledge is institutional, and how that institutional knowledge becomes institutional power, and how that complex of power/knowledge acts on people's minds and bodies. His method is primarily historical. He explores the emergence of new institutions and their new vocabularies and fields of knowledge, and in this way shows how many of the terms we feel are natural or inevitable are in fact not necessary but rather historical. Foucault's work has many dimensions and ramifications. Foucault's proposition that architecture has always been used to exercise domination, control, power and authority is also reflected in European relations to architecture in colonial context. One of the most enduringly influential uses of Foucault's approach to 'discourse' and 'power/knowledge' took the form of Edward Said's 1978 *Orientalism*, which many regard as a founding text of post-colonialism. The subtitle of Said's book is *Western Conceptions of the Orient*, and its primary argument is that Western 'discourse' about Asia has long been organised by a small set of stereotypical ideas, myths and fantasies about what 'the Orient' is like, but which bear no necessary relation to reality. Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon, [1969] 1972; 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books; Said, Edward W. 1995. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin.

<sup>4</sup> Manuel Castells' work was an empirical and theoretical exploration of dependent urban patterns, which argued that city growth and patterns, while differing in form and content in various parts of the developing world, must be understood as an expression of imperialist/neo-imperialist social dynamic, at the level of space. He postulated that urbanization in the former colonial empires was dependent on the 'core-periphery' relations thereby creating large primate cities linked directly to cities in their core areas. Anthony King added a new dimension by introducing the role of culture and power in dependent urbanization. King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Castells, Manuel. 1977. *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. London: Edward Arnold.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the most blatant example of defining urban South Asia as 'national' and 'colonial' is the discussion of public and private space in: Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. For a nuanced approach about Calcutta, see: Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2002. "Garbage, Modernity and the Public Sphere" *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Kaviraj, Suddipta. 1997. "Filth and the Public Sphere" *Public Culture* 10/1. All of these works, however, tend to nevertheless present the national and the colonial, the indigenous and the foreign, insofar as they are manifest in South Asian cities, as fundamentally discontinuous structures of understanding and modes of urban experience. Two major exceptions to this trend are: Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852-1928*. Berkeley: University of California Press; and Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London: Routledge. especially 101-154. which makes an account of the way nationalism played out in the formation of architectural identity in colonial Calcutta.

<sup>6</sup> Bhabha's terms of ambivalence shows that the colonisers are also internally in conflict between their wish to repeat themselves in the colonised (what Bhabha calls the 'narcissistic demand') and the anxiety of their disappearance as a result of the repetition; because if the Other turns into the same, difference is eliminated, as are the grounds to claim superiority over it. Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge. 85-92; Stoler, Ann Laura and Cooper, Frederick. 1997. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 3.

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similar chronologies across different colonial contexts, or disparate chronologies but similar patterns and rhythms of rule?<sup>7</sup> At the same time, common features between European empires laid out the distinctive patterns of colonial urbanism on a wider scale and indeed it proves difficult to find even a single account that does not echo in one form or another the finding of a widespread and deep consensus about the dualistic nature of colonial space and society.

Historical analysis has been obscured by the stereotype of Portugal as a backward but mild colonial power, more 'humane' than other European empires. This context entails an examination of perceptions and realities. The traditional idea of the European colonies as replicating essential virtues (and flaws) of the colonisers is at stake here. This pervasive essentialist attitude, developed by the European historians João de Barros (see chapter 1) or David Hume and accepted until the present day,<sup>8</sup> supposes that the European powers projected their laws, their manners and their ways of doing and thinking onto other continents without contradiction; another agency did not exist. This essentialist approach was coupled with national pride, a driving force of historiography. This vision finds in the vast and complex *Estado da Índia* a loud refutation, due to the obvious presence of Indian people's agency since the beginning of the colonial process, not to mention entirely different social formations, inter-ethnic relations and divergent paths. Contrastingly, the historian Niall Ferguson claims that the European colonial administration was remarkably inexpensive, proficient and principled.<sup>9</sup>

The colonial architecture of cities, reflecting ideological and religious constraints, has been thoroughly acknowledged.<sup>10</sup> Far less clear are the architectural and urban patterns and the motivations behind architectural and urban activities preceding the European empires. Yet no less important is the pre-imperial city, because it throws valuable light on the evolving patterns of urban development in European colonial cities in Asia, on the migration of European architectural practices to another part of the world, and on the ensuing interactions between Eastern and Western traditions. Whether in India or in Europe, very few cities had origins in conscious planning even though literature abounds in ideal geometrical designs. As opposed to organic urban growth, planned cities are rare in history.<sup>11</sup>

The assumption that the Indian cities developed organically whereas planned cities were a European innovation needs some consideration. Such ideals are to be found in Indian *Vastuśāstras*,<sup>12</sup> where perfect symmetry and strict orientations along the cardinal points were the architectural norm. Perhaps only once was this ideal ever realized. That was the eighteenth century city of Jaipur, where an avenue east to west is intersected by two main streets running north to south and dividing up the city into parts, as set by the *vastupurusa-mandala* system.<sup>13</sup> The ground plans of ancient Indian buildings, both secular and sacred, as well as of cities, were based on *mandalas*, or magic diagrams. Also in accordance with the architectural treatises, each caste or profession was assigned a quarter of the town, while the core, the *brahmasthana*, was reserved for the ruler.<sup>14</sup> Jaipur was founded by the Rajput Sawai

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<sup>7</sup> Stoler, Ann Laura and Cooper, Frederick. 1997. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>29</sup> For recent comparative efforts that pose in another way the problem of what to compare, see: Bayly, Christopher A. and Koldd, D. H. A. (eds.). 1986. *Two Colonial Empires*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff.

<sup>8</sup> Hume, David. 1993. "On National Characters" (1741). In Copley, Stephen and Edgar, Andrew, (eds.). *Selected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 113–25.

<sup>9</sup> Ferguson, Niall. 2003. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London: Penguin. 370.

<sup>10</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber.

<sup>11</sup> The traditional view that the Greeks had invented the gridiron system in the middle of the first millennium B.C. was questioned after the discovery of the grid plan cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa on the Indus basin in north-west India, built around 2150 B.C.

<sup>12</sup> Indian architectural treatises.

<sup>13</sup> Plan of all architectural of the hindus. The site-plan, the ground-plan, the horizontal and vertical sections are regulated by its norm. Originally and in practice the site-plan is laid out according to the *vastupurusa-mandala*.

<sup>14</sup> Volwarsen in his study of Jaipur as well as of Hindu buildings, brings out the importance of geometry and the gridiron in Hindu architecture. In fact, no distinction was made between town planning and temple building, for ground plans of both were based on sacred geometrical principles of the *vastupurusa-maundala* (symbolic ground plan). As the central space, the *brahmasthana* (sacred space

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Jai Singh, of the Kachchwa, in 1727.<sup>15</sup> The precursor to the founding of Jaipur was the relations of Mughal-Rajput interactions. He was acquainted with European science and scholars are divided as to which tradition was decisive in its design.<sup>16</sup>

The architectural historian Sten Nilsson in his *European Architecture in India*, claims that the colonial cities were based on strict symmetrical grid planning inspired by the European Renaissance urban ideal, unlike traditional 'organic' Indian cities. His accounts highlight the symmetry between relations of power and spatial arrangements and argue that European cities showed a "uniform lay-out of the houses within the walls, the uniform blocks and streets which intersect at right angles and make quick communication possible."<sup>17</sup> This generalization was wrongly based on the city of Daman. Allowing for some irregularities, the symmetrical, decagon, central-plan layout of Daman was mistakenly assumed - as urban historian Walter Rossa would demonstrate later - by European scholars<sup>18</sup> to derive from the Renaissance author Pietro Cataneo's ideal plan for a fortified town.<sup>19</sup>

Very little is known about the early history of the Indian parts of the colonial cities,<sup>20</sup> apart from their being marked on the map and from stray references by Europeans. So, in effect and until the 'subaltern studies' began its fundamental and grounding work for academia at the end of the 1970s,<sup>21</sup> the early history of the colonial cities is the history of their European parts. The paradigmatic image of the racially partitioned colonial city has been dismantled as more a figure of political desire on the part of colonial administrators than a precise account.<sup>22</sup>

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reserved for the divine) was marked by divine presence in a temple, so in the city it was reserved for the divine king. Volwahren, Andreas. 1970. *Living Architecture: Indian*. London: Macdonald. 46.

Jaipur was never completed and Michell suggests that either the six-square plan or the nine-square plan was adopted. See Michell, George. 1977. "Jaipur-Forms and Origins." In *Stadt und Ritual, Proceedings of an International Symposium on Urban History of South and East Asia*. Beiträge und Studienmaterialien der Fachgruppe Stadt, AARP, 11, Darmstadt. 78-81.

<sup>15</sup> Sachdev, Vibhuti, and Tillotson, Giles. 2002. *Building Jaipur. The making of an Indian City*. London: Reaktion Books LTD. 33.

<sup>16</sup> Even though Jai Singh's knowledge of European science and the existence of Hindu theoretical works on planned cities, Nilsson seems less convinced of their importance in Jaipur's urban design. Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber. 193. See also: Michell, George. 1977. "Jaipur-Forms and Origins." In *Stadt und Ritual, Proceedings of an International Symposium on Urban History of South and East Asia*. Beiträge und Studienmaterialien der Fachgruppe Stadt, AARP, 11, Darmstadt. 78-81.

<sup>17</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber. 19. On the development of cities and their typology, see Morris, Anthony E.J. 2003. *History of Urban Form. Before the Industrial Revolutions*. London & New York: Routledge; and Houghton-Evans, William. 1975. *Planning Cities. Legacy and Portent*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.

<sup>18</sup> Chicó, Mário Tavares. 1956. "A Cidade Ideal do Renascimento e as cidades portuguesas na Índia." Separata de *Garcia de Orta. Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar*. Special issue. 219-328.

<sup>19</sup> Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese Cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries, (CNCDP). 77-81.

<sup>20</sup> The focus on 'village India' long remained a staple of writings on Diu. Celebration of the rural as authentic essence, and derision of the urban as western imposition, dovetailed neatly with orientalist predilections that shaped early historical research on South Asia. With several notable exceptions, historical scholarship on Diu before the late 1990s inherited this legacy and displays a rural orientation that influenced later accounts. Brito, Raquel Soeiro de. 1966. *Goa e as Praças do Norte*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar; Noronha, José. 2001. "Diu: urban evolution", in Rossa, Walter; Araújo, Renata; Carita, Hélder (coord.), *Colóquio Internacional Universo Urbanístico Português: 1415-1822*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 213-221; Grancho, Nuno. 2001. *Diu: a ilha, a muralha, a fortaleza e as cidades*. Unpublished graduation thesis (prova final). Coimbra: University of Coimbra; Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. 1999. "Diu". In *Os Espaços de um Império: Estudos*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 149-159; 2014. "Urban Phenomena of Diu." In Sharma, Yogesh and Malekandathil, Pius (eds.). *Cities in Medieval India*. New Delhi: Primus Books. 777-788.

<sup>21</sup> In 1982, the three volumes of *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* were published in New Delhi. These appeared edited by the Indian historian Ranajit Guha. In the preface to the inaugural issue, Guha called for more academic work on subaltern themes and critiques of elitism. A school of research was established whose adherents came to be called 'subalterns.' *Selected Subaltern Studies*, seminal essays were published in 1988 by Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, with a foreword by Edward Said. By 1990, the historian Burton Stein cited the growing interest in Subaltern Studies as one sign that the 1980s were 'a decade of historical efflorescence' in 'South Asian studies.' In the 1990s 'Subaltern Studies' became a topic and an influence in several academic circles ranging across disciplines from history to anthropology, sociology, political science, literary criticism, cultural studies and finally architecture and urbanism.

<sup>22</sup> Several works provide material for considering the change of cities during the colonial period. Rather than describing a fixed material form or attributing unified instrumentality to the making of cities, they develop a thematic and descriptive trend that was fundamentally about spatial segregation that shaped cities in the colonial subcontinent. See especially Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge; Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. London & New York: Routledge; Glover, William J. 2007. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota; Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*. Aldershot: Ashgate; and Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. Malden: Blackwell.

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The colonial cities were essentially devoted to political and administrative functions. Also, they generally owed their existence to maritime trade and hence were usually port cities turned towards the sea. Finally, the rise of transoceanic trade led the colonial authorities of different nations to establish their respective control over major centres of production in the environs. When examined from the macro perspective, as distinct from the architecture of individual structures, early European settlements were rudimentary as trade was the primary function and still regulated by local politics and regimes.

The early European colonial settlements in India were meant to provide accommodation for agents and ‘factors’ working under them, whether they belonged to *Estado da Índia*, or to any European ‘East India Company.’ One particular feature of these early European factories, was that they were multinational. Even though trade was the main motivation, the European powers were prepared to pursue a liberal policy in order to encourage people of different creeds and colours to settle down, allowing freedom of worship in most of its settlements.<sup>23</sup> These urban settlements played a key role in transforming urban societies by becoming the nodal points of internal and external commercial linkages in India.

First and from their inception, these settlements took in a majority of Indian population, in addition to Europeans and mixed ‘Eurasian’ people.<sup>24</sup> As factories began to grow into cities, the European population tended to concentrate around the fortress, which formed the core of the city, while their Indian equals lay on the periphery. The Europeans laid great stress on architecture to display power and splendour over the local population. Segregation of Europeans from the local population led to the creation of the European ‘white town’ and Indian ‘black town’ in almost every European colonial city. Secondly, while the main architects in these cities were European, masons and builders were without exception local. To import European labour would have been prohibitively expensive. Finally, the construction posed no special problem to any Indian,<sup>25</sup> versed as he was for centuries in Islamic architecture.<sup>26</sup>

Defence was undoubtedly of paramount significance in the early building of architecture in colonial cities, as they were surrounded by hostile local powers on the one hand and by European rivals on the other. The importance of defence is further suggested by the placing of the fortress at the water’s edge and the subsequent urban development on a lateral basis following the contours of the coast, and with relatively little thrust into the interior. Also, the *Estado da Índia*, and the European ‘East India Companies’ were each increasingly drawn into their own political conflicts. As the founders and rulers of these cities were well aware, efficient military architecture was essential for defence against external opponents. When the impregnable character of fortification began to be undermined by the arrival of gunpowder, the Renaissance military theoreticians carried out defence innovations.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Apart from Armenians, Jews and Portuguese found in Cochin, there were Parsis and Gujaratis and Bengalis in Calcutta. Sinha, Pradip. 1978. *Calcutta in Urban History*. Calcutta: Firma KLM, and 1968. “Approaches to urban history: Calcutta (1750-1850).” In *Bengal Past and Present*, 87: 106-119.

<sup>24</sup> King, Anthony D. 1985. “Colonial cities: Global Pivots of Change”, in *Colonial Cities: essays on Urbanism in a Colonial context*, Ross, Robert and Telkamp, Gerard (eds.). Boston & Leiden: Leiden University Press. 7-32, especially 10-11.

<sup>25</sup> Especially of arches and domes for catholic churches.

<sup>26</sup> Indians employed beams or horizontal trabeation for buildings, rather than arches and vaulting, though the early use of corbel vaulting. The ‘true arch,’ used in Islamic and European medieval architecture, was introduced by Muslim rulers in India in the thirteenth century. Even the earliest mosques were built by local Indian masons. Arcuate buildings soon spread all over India.

<sup>27</sup> For an account of the modern fortification system developed during the Renaissance in Italy and its spread to other countries, see *inter alia*: Moreira, Rafael. 1981. *A arquitetura militar do Renascimento em Portugal*. Coimbra: Epartur; 1983. “Arquitetura” in *XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura - Os Descobrimentos Portugueses e a Europa do Renascimento*. Lisbon: Presidência do Conselho de Ministros; 1989. *Portugal no mundo: história das fortificações portuguesas no mundo*. Lisbon: Alfa; 1991. *A Arquitetura do Renascimento no Sul de Portugal: A Encomenda Régia entre o Moderno e o Romano*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon; 1995. “Arquitetura: Renascimento e Classicismo” in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, Pereira, Paulo (dir.). Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. 327-331; 2001. *A construção de Mazagão: cartas inéditas 1541-1542*. Lisbon: Portuguese Institute of Architectural Heritage (IPPAR); Dias, Pedro. 1996. “As Fortificações Portuguesas da Cidade Magrebina de Safi”, in *Fortalezas da Expansão Portuguesa, Oceanos* 28, (Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 10-22; 1998. *Fortificações Portuguesas, Além-mar, no Tempo de D. João II (1481-1495)*, Actas do Colóquio “A Arte na Península Ibérica ao Tempo do Tratado de Tordesilhas.” Lisbon:

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The *Estado da Índia* and British East India Company, unlike the French or the Dutch, did not have any motivated urban planning on part of their urban settlements.<sup>28</sup> When one analyses the ground plans of these cities, which show that defence considerations discouraged any symmetrical central planning, even though the streets were laid out in straight lines, this hypothesis is further strengthened. In the absence of a metropolitan planning code (such as the Spanish Royal Ordinance of 1573, *Laws of the Indies*),<sup>29</sup> the building projects proceeded from the growing urban requirements of these settlements. The projects themselves were elementary and defence naturally dominated building activities, mainly because these tiny enclaves were surrounded by hostile local and European powers. The growing needs of the inhabitants could not be neglected, however, so churches and hospitals came next in order of priority. On the other hand, the governors' houses were significant in all these cities as they were meant to be a symbol of authority and sovereignty. Not least interesting in these conurbations was the confluence of western and eastern building traditions, though it must be added that the predominant style tended to be European.

The Portuguese trading outposts were the first European settlements in India and were a requirement to sustain the Portuguese seaborne empire. Portuguese presence in these outposts transplanted two main institutions and forged another and their constitutional building types: factory, fortress and church. The first factory set up by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century along with a fortress was Cochin. Since trade was the primary motive for all early Europeans, trading outposts or factories with some fortification were all that was needed as a form of settlement. The main components of the factories were a warehouse, an office, living quarters, a chapel and common halls. Whenever possible, the Europeans tried to get permission for built fortification to protect the factory. Other Europeans such as the English, the Dutch, the French, and also the Danish, later started to build their factories. For those Europeans whose motivation shifted to monopolizing trade by force, territorial possession became a necessity.

Contrastingly, João III's imperial project developed during the sixteenth century showed that cities were *foci* for imperial reorganization and control of social and political space. Diu detailed the discourses and processes that constituted colonial urbanism as an integrative regime contrastingly to other later colonial segregative regimes. Like other European settlements, in the early seventeenth century Diu was a rudimentary, but fortified town,

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National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP); 1998. *História da Arte Portuguesa no Mundo (1415 - 1822). O Espaço do Índico*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores; 2000. *A Arquitectura dos Portugueses em Marrocos, 1415-1769*. Coimbra: Livraria Minerva Editora.

See also: Hughes, Quentin. 1974. *Military Architecture: The Art of Defence from Earliest Times to the Atlantic Wall*. London: Hugh Evelyn, chaps. 3 and 4, and Hogg, Ian V. 1981. *The History of Fortification*. London: Orbis Pub.

A point worth noting for our purposes is that in Europe it was in these few fortresses that the centrally planned gridiron layouts were used by designers, including Cataneo.

<sup>28</sup> Early records of the British East India Company cities are the *Home government* (correspondence between these settlements and the Company). In these records, the information on architectural projects is scanty in comparison with details about trade and relationship with other powers (indirectly points to the minor importance attached to building in these places). A collection of documents pertaining to Madras was published by Love, Henry Davison. 1913. *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800: traced from the East India Company's records preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from other sources* supplemented by *Records of Fort St George (Public Despatches to England, 4 vols., Public Despatches from England, 9 vols., and Diary and Consultation Book, 8 vols.)*. London: John Murray. For Bombay, Edwardes, Stephen M. 1900-1910. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*. Bombay: Government Central Press. For Calcutta, Hill, Samuel Charles (ed.). 1905. *Bengal in 1756-57, a selection of public and private papers dealing with the affairs of the British in Bengal during the reign of Siraj-Uddaula; with notes and an historical introduction*. London: John Murray. For Bombay and Madras, also important are the Sainsbury, E. (ed.). 1907. *Home Miscellaneous Series, the Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1635-1679*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Foster, William (ed.). 1906-1955. *The English factories in India, 1618-1669: a calendar of documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>29</sup> King Philip II of Spain promulgated, the *Laws of the Indies* in 1573, which provided Spanish colonies in the seventeenth century, an urbanistic code combining ideal Renaissance city plans with specific colonial experience (The dynastic union of Castile and Aragon in 1469, when Ferdinand II of Aragon wed Isabella of Castile, would eventually lead to the formal creation of Spain as a single entity in 1516 when their grandson Charles V assumed both thrones). See Reed, Robert. 1985. "The Foundation and Morphology of Hispanic Manila: Colonial Images and Philippine Realities." In Basu, Dilip K. (ed.). *Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*. London & Berkeley: Centre for South and Southeast Asia Studies & University of California Press. 197-205.

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erected before the Portuguese arrival in India.<sup>30</sup> In this cross cultural framework, Diu was one of the first Portuguese colonial urban laboratories of European presence in India and an exceptional one giving account to its citadel, the best example military architecture of European Renaissance in the East,<sup>31</sup> and to Saint Paul's church, the paradigm of Portuguese catholic architecture in the East,<sup>32</sup> both examples of military architecture of the European Renaissance, and of the Since the inception of the colonial city, discourses of security established clear demarcations between colonial areas. A 'Gujarat' urban settlement stood physically separated although not segregated from a 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, encircled by a wall and under the same European ruling power. Gujarat and European urban settlements in Diu, although part of the same city had a different predominance of social and economic functions.

This chapter addresses some aspects of these key questions, either by dealing specifically with methodological approaches that enhance, progress, and/or transform our understanding of European imperial and colonial city and architecture, or by exploring case studies that allow for these methodological concerns to be elaborated in specific contexts. It seeks to explore and debate the ways in which we write (and have written) the history of 'European architecture abroad,' particularly taking as reference Diu as a European imperial expansion or European colonial city. Through comparison, we will investigate considerations that governed examples of Portuguese, English, French and other colonial settlements in India and seek to answer the question of whether and to what extent the colonial city of Diu anticipated what would happen later in European colonial cities of India. We will start by drawing an historiographical outline that encloses some of the written work on Indian colonial cities. Further, we will consider Diu as a space of social hierarchy, tracing the ways in which *Estado da Índia* became the ruling power of the city establishing urban control over the city and its inhabitants.

### Historiography

For some thirty years now, the study of European imperial and colonial architecture has largely been refracted through the theoretical lens of post-structuralism, mainly appropriated from philosophy, literary and cultural studies, in the form of the 'Orientalist' critique of Said and other forms of Foucauldian discourse analysis, nominally referred to as post-colonial theory. In particular, Foucault's treatise on the nature and dynamics of discourse, power, knowledge, and architecture; Said's *Orientalism* and theories of dependent urbanism are relied upon.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber.

<sup>31</sup> Moreira, Rafael. 1999. "A Fortaleza de Diu e a Arquitetura Militar no Índico". In *Os Espaços de um Império: Estudos*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 139-147.

<sup>32</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2010. "Religious architecture." In Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)] vol. 3 Asia and Oceania. 125.

<sup>33</sup> About post-structuralism and colonial urbanism see, *inter alia*: Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon; 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books; Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books; King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1980. "Colonialism, and the Development of the Modern South Asian City: Theoretical Considerations." In *The City in South Asia: Pre-Modern and Modern*, Ballhatchet, Kenneth and Harrison, John (ed.). London: Curzon Press; 1980. "Exporting Planning: The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience." In *Shaping an Urban World: Planning in the Twentieth Century*. Gordon E. Cherry (ed.). New York: Saint Martin's Press; "Colonial cities: Global Pivots of Change", in *Colonial Cities: essays on Urbanism in a Colonial context*, Ross, Robert and Telkamp, Gerard (eds.). Boston & Leiden: Leiden University Press; 1990. *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London: Routledge; Castells, Manuel. 1977. *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. London: Edward Arnold; Racevskis, Karlis. 1983. *Michel Foucault and the Subversion of Intellect*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Rabinow, Paul. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press; 1992. "Colonialism, modernity, The French in Morocco", in *Forms of dominance: on the architecture and urbanism of the colonial enterprise*, AlSayyad, Nezar (ed.). Avebury, Aldershot; Wright, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; AlSayyad, Nezar. 1992. "Urbanism and the Dominance Equation: Reflections on Colonialism and National Identity," In AlSayyad, Nezar (ed.). *Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury; Çelik, Zeynep. 1997. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press;

As pointed out by Metcalf and Metcalf, the doings of the social elite have been the driving force for historical change.<sup>34</sup> Hence, exercise of domination and control cannot be ignored from the narrative, despite insights of post-colonial theories. These theories would urge us to look at the confrontation offered by the indigenous population against the imposition of foreign models of architecture and planning and negotiations that took place in shaping colonial urbanism. The works of post-colonial theorists such as Bhabha, Spivak, and Partha Chatterjee provide alternate explanations about the resistance and the negotiation.<sup>35</sup> As powerful and seductive as these modes of analysis may be, and useful in their opening of new ways of seeing and interpreting forms of cultural production such as architecture, they have become formulaic, predictable, and even orthodox. They have also received trenchant and sustained criticism for their inherent limitations.

The first approach on the historiography of the colonial city in India, considers that the population of the subcontinent was historically rural and therefore urban expansion that happened after the sixteenth century only asked for scholar attention in the last decades of the last century. This focus on a 'rural India' long stayed in scholarship as a post-colonial political discourse about India. With a few exceptions, historical scholarship from colonial cities, before the end of the twentieth century inherited this legacy and displays this 'village India' orientation.<sup>36</sup> The city often appeared as an inert setting where other subjects could be traced. Such scholarship focused not on cities *as such*, but viewed them as entities grounded in economic and political domination from metropolitan powers, anti-colonial and nationalist organization (especially after the nineteenth century),<sup>37</sup> or as ethnographic sites.

It was, however, in the three Presidency cities of the East India Company - Madras, Bombay and Calcutta – that socio-spatial dualism seemed most marked, defining colonial urbanism in South Asia. The hegemony of dualistic images is the root of the constraint blocking or masking other interpretive possibilities. The origins of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras<sup>38</sup> date back long before 1757, the date when the British empire was founded. These colonial cities began as trading outposts of the East India Company. Madras was founded in 1640, Bombay was ceded to

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Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge, and 2011. "Urbanism, colonialism, and subalternity." In *Urban Theory Beyond the West*. Edensor, Tim and Jayne, Mark (eds.). New York: Routledge; Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Architecture, Urbanism, and Colonialism in Delhi*. London and New York: Routledge; Glover, William J. 2008. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>34</sup> Metcalf, Barbara & Thomas. 2002. *A Concise History of India* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>35</sup> See *inter alia*: Guha, Ranajit (ed.). 1997. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Delhi: Oxford University Press-vol. I; Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. "Agrarian Relations and Communalism in Bengal, 1926-1935," in *Subaltern Studies; Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* London: Zed Books; 1993. "More on Modes of Power and the Peasantry," in *Selected Subaltern Studies and The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1985. "Can the Subaltern Speak? Speculations on Widow Sacrifice," *Wedge* 7/8: 120-30; 1985. "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory* 24/3: 247-72; "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 12/1: 243-61; 1988. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography." In Guha, Ranajit and Spivak, Gayatri; Said, Edward W. (foreword), *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3-35; and Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

<sup>36</sup> On the urban historical scholarship in India and its descriptive rather than analytical focus, see *inter alia*: Nair, Janaki. 2005. *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 4–8. On Indian cities as a subject of historical analysis, see Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890–1920*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 2–8. Earlier relevant works that consider different aspects of modern South Asian urban history: Gillion, Kenneth L. 1968. *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Gupta, Narayani. 1981. *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803–1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*. Delhi: Oxford India paperbacks; Dossal, Mariam. 1991. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845–1875*. Bombay: Oxford University Press; Grewal, J. S. and Banga, Indu (eds.). 1981. *Studies in Urban History Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University; and Spodek, Howard and Srinivisan, Doris M. (eds.). 1993. Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*. Washington: National Gallery of Art.

<sup>37</sup> Bayly, Christopher A. 1975. *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad, 1880–1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2012. *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770–1870*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Haynes, Douglas E. 1991. *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>38</sup> Until very recently, Mumbai was officially known as Bombay, Kolkata as Calcutta, and Chennai as Madras.

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the English by the Portuguese in 1664,<sup>39</sup> and Calcutta established in 1690. As the East India Company was transformed from a trading organization into a political force, so these so-called factories or trading stations grew into substantial conurbations, the history of which may be divided into two periods, pre-imperial and imperial, the British victory of 1757 serving as the watershed.

The architecture of the imperial period, reflecting clear ideological imperatives, has been documented.<sup>40</sup> Far less clear are the architectural and urban patterns and the motivations behind building activities in the period preceding the empire. These cities were, first and foremost, European in conception, design, and primary functions. The works of scholarship alluding to crucial foundations on studies located in urban spaces have shown how cities structured (and were themselves shaped by) conflicts, exchanges and movements that explored colonialism's implications for Indian urban history. They were meant to be, and in most cases were, European cities transplanted onto an unknown Asian territory. Later, the study of cities such as Bombay or Calcutta has uncovered the debate over the rule of culture in the making of colonial labour emerged from which were considered to be constrained in their urban history by the relations between production and markets.<sup>41</sup> However, the fulcral question is how far were they able to maintain their purely European character?

In the mid-1960s, Abu-Lughod first took note of what she described as a widespread phenomenon: "The major metropolis in almost every newly industrializing nation is not a single unified city but, in fact, two quite different cities."<sup>42</sup> Drawing on Cairo as her example, she argued that by the end of the nineteenth century, the city had been split into two zones, with separate but juxtaposed communities, cultures, and temporalities of development. "To the east lay the native city, still essentially pre-industrial in technology, social structure and way of life; to the west lay the 'colonial' city with its steam-powered techniques, its faster pace and wheeled traffic, and its European identification."<sup>43</sup> These cleavages were by no means restricted. Indeed, as the literature reflected, sharp spatial and social divisions were characteristic of colonial cities in the French domain as well.

Some pre-1990s works explicitly on urban history laid the foundations of a narrative. Sociologist and urban historian Anthony D. King described colonial cities as frameworks for organizing racially different groups into divided but interdependent zones. King illustrated this dual structure giving examples of military settlements (cantonments), civil stations (especially the prevalent imperial domestic form: the bungalow) and hill stations.<sup>44</sup> Permanent military stations – initially walled fortresses, later sprawling cantonments – were the classic forms of

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<sup>39</sup> About the treaty of cession of Bombay from Portugal to Great Britain, see: Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, Índia, nº atual de inventário 189, nº antigo de maço 35, nºs vermelhos 46, datas extremas 1630-1732, doc. 50A.

<sup>40</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber.

<sup>41</sup> About labour and industrial history, on Bombay see, Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan. 1994. *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1998. *Imperial Power and Popular Politics: Class, Resistance and the State in India, c. 1850–1950*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, and Morris, M. D. 1965. *The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India: A Study of the Bombay Cotton Mills, 1854–1947*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Grancho, Nuno. 2008. *Bombaim, a explosão urbana. Análise de assentamentos e vias*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Porto: University of Porto; on Calcutta, see Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1989. *Rethinking Working Class History: Bengal, 1890–1940*. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Fernandes, Leela. 1997. *Producing Workers: The Politics of Gender, Class, and Culture in the Calcutta Jute Mills*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; on Ahmedabad, see: Mehta, Makrand. 1982. *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry: Genesis and Growth*. Ahmedabad: New Order Book Co..

<sup>42</sup> Over a decade earlier, Redfield and Singer's discussion of 'heterogenetic' cities had obvious implications for colonial urbanism, but Janet Abu-Lughod seems to have been the first to take up the topic in a sustained way: Redfield, Robert and Singer, Milton. 1954. "The Cultural Role of Cities." In *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3: 53-73. Ronald Horvath followed up with an early piece in 1969 ("In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City." In *East Lakes Geographer* 5: 68-82), but the field began to gain focus in 1976 with *Colonial Urban Development* by Anthony D. King.

<sup>43</sup> Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1965. "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7: 429-30. What is especially interesting in Abu-Lughod's account is the way she jumps from material or architectural circumstances to draw sweeping cultural conclusions. Despite physical proximity, the two cities, she asserts, "were miles apart socially and centuries apart technologically."

<sup>44</sup> King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. On hill stations, see Kennedy, Dane. 1996. *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

spatial segregation under the Raj.<sup>45</sup> Military areas combined with civil stations for European residences and institutions to form what during the early colonial period was imagined as the inviolable 'white town'. Cantonments were nerve centres for instilling discipline and exercising control.<sup>46</sup> The scholarship considered before provided a loose framework for the history of modern Indian cities.

The view in in 'white town' and 'black town' debate was taken by King who enforced the physical and cultural impossibility of measuring or comparing between these towns that summarizes a powerful stereotype that turns the history of these places on a range, times and empires. The dual city model conceals much more than it actually reveals. King proposed a theory of colonial urbanism to explain the political, economic and cultural processes that gave rise to new cities in colonized territories.<sup>47</sup> According to him, colonial cities were sites of transfer of modern capitalist culture to the new worlds and operated as locations in the deployment of technologies of power, through which indigenous populations were categorized and controlled. Sign of this process could be seen in the architectural form and urbanism of such cities through the transfer of European architectural styles which mirrored European cities. Consequently, urbanism regulation became the mechanism by which colonial judgments of modernity were apprehended on the ground. Indeed, it was in the name of the ideal city that many of the most comprehensive colonial territorialisations and displacements occurred, and that the most rigid policies of segregation were implemented.

The architectural historian Rebecca Brown, henceforth Brown, noted the pervasiveness of the dual city model in virtually all South Asian studies of the colonial city. While the 'black town/fort' dichotomy might seem correct on the surface, it actually occludes critical features of colonial space. Brown focuses on 'ruptures' in the fabric of binary oppositions, such as Europeans who resided in the 'black' town, mixed graveyards, and intrusion of the suburbs in Patna. Her intention is not to destroy colonial dichotomies but instead, she seeks "a more nuanced approach, digging within that seemingly rigid and complete structure to find its interruptions, intrusions, and instabilities."<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Brown calls the 'black town/fort' paradigm, a "central and defining element for all studies of colonial urban areas."<sup>49</sup> This paradigm figures prominently in a host of studies on Indian architecture and urban planning. Most note the division between the European fort and an Indian quarter, or between the 'white town' and the 'black town,' separated by an open *maidan*.

The historian Mariam Dossal describes in Bombay that "two quarters represented spatially a highly unequal division of power, of dominant-dependent relationships that existed between colonizer and colonized, between the British and the Indians. It was a town divided and the cleavage ran through."<sup>50</sup> Segregation also permitted colonial authorities to at least symbolically assert colonial power by establishing a clear visual distinction between the rulers and the ruled. Policies designed to promote segregated space ultimately produced areas of privileged

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<sup>45</sup> I use 'Raj' as shorthand for the Government of British India and its constituent units (Bombay or Madras Presidency, Central Provinces, and so forth). This is not to deny the considerable internal fissures between and within colonial administrative units.

<sup>46</sup> See Oldenberg, Veena T. 2005. "The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877." In *The Lucknow Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Gupta, Narayani. 1971. "Military security and urban development: a case study of Delhi 1857-1912." *Modern Asian Studies*, V/1. 61-77; and Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. London & New York: Routledge, on the planning of military cantonments in the remaking of colonial Delhi. For a critique of the 'dual city' model, described as the 'black town/fort dichotomy,' based on an analysis of burial practices and suburbs in Patna, see Brown, Rebecca M. 2003. "The Cemeteries and the Suburbs: Patna's Challenges to the Colonial City in South Asia," *Journal of Urban History* 29/ 2: 151-72.

<sup>47</sup> King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

<sup>48</sup> Brown, Rebecca. 2003. "The Cemeteries and the Suburbs: Patna's Challenges to the Colonial City in South Asia," *Journal of Urban History* 29: 158.

<sup>49</sup> Brown, Rebecca. 2003. "The Cemeteries and the Suburbs: Patna's Challenges to the Colonial City in South Asia," *Journal of Urban History* 29: 151.

<sup>50</sup> Dossal, Mariam. 1991. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 16-17. For other accounts of the 'black town/fort' paradigm, see, *inter alia*: Marshall, P. J. 2000. "The White Town of Calcutta under the Rule of the East India Company." In *Modern Asian Studies* 34: 307-31; Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Towards the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Metcalf, Thomas R. 1989. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press; and Neild-Basu, Susan M. 1979. "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." In *Modern Asian Studies* 13: 217-46.

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enclaves with monumental structures (such as colonial administrative buildings). Such structures played a vital role in impressing on the natives that colonial authorities controlled an inordinate amount of resources, which can be tapped for use in pursuing colonial government objectives including but not limited to curtailing any unruly or disruptive behavior. Therefore, the size and scale of structures such as buildings cannot be divorced from the discourses on domination and intimidation.<sup>51</sup>

Calcutta was an example that illustrated segregation and racial division.<sup>52</sup> In architectural historian Swati Chattopadhyay's analysis of the limits of 'white town,' echoes and extends these arguments and writing on Calcutta claimed that colonial 'black town' and 'white town' were far from autonomous landscapes and that the economic, political and social conditions of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both towns. She starts out by noting the ubiquity of references to dual European and Indian cities, arguing that this perspective has obscured our understanding of colonial space. "By emphasizing the duality of black and white," she observes, "one misses the idea that the critical aspect of colonial cities resided not in the clarity of this duality, but in the tension of blurred boundaries between the two."<sup>53</sup> Calcutta was nothing if not heterogeneous, not only in terms of street layout but even at the level of individual structures. As she remarks, "The landscape of colonial Calcutta was too complex to be usefully described in terms of the duality of black and white towns. The city consisted of overlapping geographies and conceptions of space and territory, both indigenous and foreign, that were constantly negotiated. Not surprisingly, the line of demarcation between the black and white towns shifted depending on the context and the perception of the observer."<sup>54</sup> However, Chattopadhyay has also argued as King did, that colonial 'black' and 'white' towns were far from autonomous landscapes, and that the economic, political and social conditions of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both. Arguably, King's ideas have lacked an approach to reading place that can comprehend these indigenous and foreign overlapping geographies. A similar observation might be made with regard to mixed narratives of the present day, that are constantly being negotiated.

What such readings reverberate is the cultural concept of 'hybridity,' which has become a key within the post-colonial studies. Bhabha, a post-colonial theorist and a post-structuralist, which has developed a number of the field's neologisms and key concepts, is routinely cited within the context of India, as pointing to the importance of such identities. According to Bhabha, histories of place and identity must acknowledge other possibilities and must include contradictions and biases which undermine the ideal of a linear narrative of progress, and instead open up a view of history as disjointed and discontinuous. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha argued for a position which might escape the polarities of 'East' and 'West,' 'self' and 'other,' - a notion "which overcomes the given

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<sup>51</sup> Dovey, Kim. 1999. *Framing places: Mediating power in built form*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of how segregation worked in colonial cities from the British Empire in India see, *inter alia*: Mitter, Partha. 1986. "The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45/2: 102; Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge; Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Architecture, Urbanism, and Colonialism in Delhi*. London & New York: Routledge; Glover, William J. 2008. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press. For a discussion of how such segregation worked in other Indian cities from the French Empire see, *inter alia*: Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1980. *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 144-45; Wright, Gwendolyn. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 79-88; Rabinow, Paul. 1992. "Colonialism, modernity, The French in Morocco." In AlSayyad, Nezar (ed.). *Forms of dominance: on the architecture and urbanism of the colonial enterprise*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury. 167-182; and Çelik, Zeynep. 1997. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press. The discussion of how such segregation worked in Indian cities from the Portuguese Empire has not yet been made. Charles Boxer addressed the subject in a very light way in: Boxer, Charles R. 1988. *Relações raciais no império colonial português 1415-1825*. Porto: Afrontamento; Bethencourt, Francisco and Pearce Adrian (eds.). 2012. *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. London: Oxford University Press.

<sup>53</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2000. "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59/2: 154-79 (154).

<sup>54</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2000. "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59/2: (157).

grounds of opposition and opens up a space of translation: a place of hybridity.”<sup>55</sup> But it is within this framework that we will attempt here to relate colonial attitudes to the history of Diu.

### **‘Comparison’ between colonial cities**

After this, let us turn to the case of European colonial urbanism in India, and more specifically to a comparison between Diu, Daman, Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Pondicherry looking first at what they have in common, then at the major differences among them, and, finally, at some common processes (applied in variable degrees) which have led to the wide and very real differences we now find. The analysis will be highly tentative, for much work remains to be done. It will be highly general, since space does not permit a fuller explication.

Diu prior to European arrival and the sixteenth-century military events that happened in the city, makes a greater difference in the drafting of a spatial culture and in the history of the built environment than some of the cities mentioned, which were primarily constructed by and for the Europeans, with relatively separate Indian areas growing in tandem with the European presence. Likewise, Diu’s structure at this early stage of colonial presence differs from where the colonial government took a different, less prominent form than in Diu and other areas in the northwest of *Estado da Índia*. The value of Diu’s position within this array of colonial urban sites lies in its lack of grandiose central governmental patronage of architectural monuments or stately urban changes until the second half of the nineteenth century. While the massive shifts in, for example, Calcutta after the reestablishment of colonial rule in the late eighteenth century, or the changes in infrastructure after the 1857 Mutiny/Uprising<sup>56</sup> offer examples of wholesale colonial programs to change cities in India, in Diu, all the shifts were more subtle and less all-encompassing. The structure of the city itself, with its walled settlement, a single main street parallel to the northern shore of the city and the citadel, remained the same throughout Diu’s history. This street epitomizes the empty spaces of colonial discourse in a colonial settlement tangential to the major centres of colonialism in India, i.e. the gap between what the Portuguese colonial project aimed to be and how that plays out ‘on the ground’ in Diu.<sup>57</sup> This lapsus here serves as one example of the inconsistencies that we discussed throughout this thesis when referring to urban change in Diu, specially during the nineteenth century.

The monuments of Diu are fewer than those in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, or even Goa, where major imperial or colonial patrons decorated the city with large religious or political complexes. There the citadel was a walled building for military purposes, and the other only major long standing structures were religious edifices, temples, mosques, churches and monasterys, which make the architectural and urban story of Diu take a different form, because the desired stateliness of the city never really took shape. Instead, remains of buildings, locations of religious’ buildings, graveyard sites and their stories compose the core of the information for Diu’s early colonial architecture and urban history. This set of objects of inquiry demands a slightly different approach to this history making than in the case of major colonial cities, and as a result, the city’s history took a slightly different trajectory than others which deal with colonial Indian architecture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The previous chapters addressed the production of the colonial city in colonial discourse on two levels: architecture and urban space, and the imaging of that space. This chapter continues to negotiate the difficulties of the term ‘colonial city’ by examining Diu in the context of larger and more prominent colonial cities in India.

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<sup>55</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 2004 *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Called the Mutiny by the British, the 1857 Uprising began as a revolt of the sepoys, or Indian soldiers, in the British military service. Several British cantonment areas were held under siege for months during 1857 and into 1858. For a more detailed discussion of the Uprising and its aftermath, see *inter alia*: Metcalf, Thomas. 1964. *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

<sup>57</sup> Bhabha examines this lapsus which is the space of colonial mimicry. “[...] colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.” (Bhabha’s italics, 122). Bhabha’s discussion of ambiguity in this essay and elsewhere parallels our efforts within this dissertation: to uncover the slippages within colonialism and the multiple histories of the colonial. Bhabha, Homi K. 2004 *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge. 121-131.

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These cities connect to Diu through the central motivator for colonialism: commerce. One of the major reasons for the growth of Diu until the early seventeenth century was its trade. Commerce linked Diu to the Indian Ocean, via the gulf of Cambay, in a variety of ways encompassing commercial interests and extending to architectural and urban planning choices. The shape of Diu, and the manner in which it grew from the walled old city to a larger colonial urban area, relates directly to the ways that Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay changed as well. However, the differences between Diu and these larger colonial cities loom large, with the primary distinction lying in Diu's lack of a centralizing fortress to anchor the 'white town' as is the case in the other three cities. While some sort of military and commercial architectural defensive structure existed in Diu, the anchoring centrality of fort Saint George (Madras) or fort William (Calcutta) did not carry over into the cityscape of Diu. The discursive construction of the 'colonial city' in the context of Portuguese colonial presence in India leaves Diu behind Goa and parallel to Daman. By analysing the differences among these cities and their conformity to a constructed 'colonial city,' this chapter addresses and breaks down that construction head-on. Diu holds a central place in colonial commerce, but bears few of the markings bound up in the category 'colonial city.' Thus, it is undoubtedly bound up in colonialism and commerce but does not fall into the category 'colonial city' within scholarly literature or colonial discursive constructions of the colonial city. By reopening this question in the context of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, the *colonialness* of those cities (and even their existence as cities) begins to fray at the edges. To state this in a different way, the very notion that there might be a unified idea of what the phrase 'colonial city' indicates breaks down even in the face of traditionally 'obvious' examples of colonial cities. We therefore place Diu within the broad context of colonialisms, both in terms of various types of wider colonial commercial frames, represented here by the opium trade, and in terms of the construction of the 'colonial city' via Daman, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Pondicherry.

### Daman

Daman was a Portuguese colonial city in the western coast of India and mirrors Diu's location at the entrance of the gulf of Cambay. It is approximately half way between Bassein and Diu and the name itself embraces equally a city and a territory. Both Diu and Daman are privileged places to control the access to the gulf of Cambay and therefore the maritime transit to important Gujarat's trading posts as Surat or Cambay.<sup>58</sup>

The city is situated at the entrance of Damanganga river, separated by the mouth of the river into Nani (small) Daman to the north and Moti (big) Daman to the south. From its inception, it was a "flat place without any wall or stockade, it only has a small old fort that was of the Moors, with four bastions where the captain lives and a few years ago they started to wall the whole town around with many bastions through a tax that they put on goods at one per cent and on the supplies, that go outside and they are advancing this fortification with great haste on the orders of the city council."<sup>59</sup>

The Portuguese established their main settlement inside the fortress of Our Lady of Purification soon after the post was taken in 1559, to the south of the river built and facing the preexisting Muslim city which included the preexisting fortress, to the north of the river. Public buildings and religious complexes were erected respecting an existing regular layout. The Jesuits in the northwest corner of the fortress, the Agustinians at the far eastern

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<sup>58</sup> Godinho, Manuel, (c. 1630-1712). 1974. *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar, vindo da Índia para Portugal no ano de 1663*, Guerreiro, A. Machado (intro.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press. 35-38.

<sup>59</sup> Luz, Francisco Mendes da (ed.). 1952. "O Livro das Cidades, e Fortalezas, que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia, e das Capitánias, e mais cargos que nelas há, e da importância deles", c. 1582, Manuscript from unknown author. Coimbra: University Press. 41-42.

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end, the Franciscans close to the sea gate and the Dominicans at the western end. The Agustinians buildings remains still today. The Hospitallers also established themselves later and replaced the *Misericórdia*.<sup>60</sup>

The Saint Geronimo's fortress was built in the north bank of Damanganga river as a consequence of the Mughal's invasion of 1611. Its neighbourhoods were a maze of small streets and alleys flanked closely by two-storey residential buildings with red tile roofs. A number of roughly regular streets sometimes parallel or semicircular in concentric arcs were generally inhabited by groups specializing in specific trade or lines of merchandize. This 'black' town for native inhabitants led by trading communities who served as intermediaries for the Portuguese, grew up farther to the north of the river.

The chronology and urban morphology of Daman proves that the placement of the city was made almost simultaneously and contemporary to its limits. The city would later be walled. Therefore, it is relevant to conclude for the inapplicability to the city of the Renaissance city layout model set by the art historian Mário Tavares Chicó in 1956 and mistakenly corroborated by the architectural historian Sten Nilsson.<sup>61</sup> The lack of knowledge of previous urban history of the place as well as scarce comparison between tangible reality and cartography led to a mistaken assumption long-established.<sup>62</sup> Also the false assumption of Giovanni Batista Cairato's<sup>63</sup> presence in Daman before the city was established added an argument to this mistake. When Cairato started his work in India, the construction of the wall was already underway. Cairato's role as an urbanist in Daman was only as a guide, or at best, refiner of an already existing system. Despite this, the city inside the fortress is evidently result of a regular design with defined proportions and exact measures (370 palms): order, hierarchy, formal and functional clarity, a united concept of wall and urban space, etc. The intentional applicability of a systemic mathematical rule to the city's design is yet to be proven.<sup>64</sup> Beyond this intention, the city never had urban significance since only a few blocks were executed in its whole character. Even the Portuguese settled outside Moti Daman and the city inside the walls was left for civil and religious institutions.

Contrastingly to Diu, Daman is the example where a previous conception of city was applied to the Portuguese presence and occupation of a territory. In all the other places of Portuguese urban presence in India, either the city already existed (as in Diu) or the occupation was ongoing, i.e., ensuing the usual sequence of factory, fortress, entrenchment, public building that sometimes ended in a city (as Cochin, Bassein or Chaul). What would become an exception in Daman was the idea of a city's foundation from scratch following a uniform pattern.

There are still a few questions of similarities and differences between the urbanization process of Diu and Daman. The relatively exposed security environment of the city became apparent in 1611 when Daman was attacked. The installed Portuguese administration proceeded to strengthen the city's defenses building the Saint Geronimo fortress. These events prompted the building of the fortress according to a geometrical plan attributed to the chief engineer of the *Estado da Índia*, Júlio Simão with no esplanade surrounding it. During the process of fortress building, part of the old town was dismantled and the native population re-located north.

Accordingly, the two sieges (1538 and 1546) of Diu prompted the reconstruction of Saint Thomas fortress according to a polygonal plan and to the latest innovations of Renaissance military architecture. In this case, a free-fire zone or esplanade surrounded the fortress on the land ward side. During this process of fort remodeling

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<sup>60</sup> The missionary works of religious orders opened new fields for Christian charity and enlarged others already initiated by the hierarchy. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries the *Misericórdia* spread out to the Portuguese dominions overseas. In Asia there were more than 25, some of which still existed until the annexation of Diu in 1961, as for example Daman.

<sup>61</sup> Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber & Faber.

<sup>62</sup> This mistake was exposed and clarified by the urban historian Walter Rossa. See: Rossa, Walter. 1997. *Indo-Portuguese cities: a contribution to the study of Portuguese urbanism in the Western Hindustan*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP). 77-81.

<sup>63</sup> Chief engineer and Italian military architecture expert of *Estado da Índia* from 1583 until 1596.

<sup>64</sup> Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)] Vol. 3 Asia and Oceania. 103.

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part of the Gujarat town was dismantled<sup>65</sup> and the native population relocated. The fortress and the native neighborhood were separated by a strip of empty ground. A defensive wall encircling the whole city of Diu and Saint Thomas fortress was completed protecting the Gujarat town and fortress and the western fortress wall dominated the surrounding free-fire zone.

In Daman, the esplanade between the fortress and the native town was not necessary since both settlements were separated by the Damanganga river which was in itself a free-fire zone. Both settlements were separated in two diffuse and interspersed wings and specific streets within the wings became associated with religious and caste groups that established temples as the *foci* for their ritual life and engagement. With the attempt to settle a white neighborhood on Diu's central strip between the Gujarat settlement and Saint Thomas fortress and the northward shift of the port and bazaar from its original location, the Gujarat settlement became surrounded by Europeanized environs along with a Parsis neighborhood. The difference between Diu and Daman's urban situation was the encirclement of a 'mixed' Diu inside the wall under the same ruling government and authority that allowed the preservation of an older urbanity and the presence of a citadel strictly related to the city.

### Madras

Mistakenly, Madras begins all discussions of colonial cities on the Indian subcontinent.<sup>66</sup> As the first major British settlement, it certainly deserves some traditional historiographical primacy in this respect. Its form has thus become a type of paradigm, against which other colonial cities are measured; because it is the first, it becomes the basis for the understanding of the colonial city.

Defining Madras as a city at all, carries with it historical and colonial problems.<sup>67</sup> Travellers to the place seem unsure of both its status as a city and which parts of it might be termed 'Madras.' Thus, some visitors showed surprise in finding only a fortress, English residences, and a separated Indian town, known as 'black town.' Others called only the 'black town' Madras, while the fortress and scattered English garden houses did not constitute a unified city.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, working with the available urban fabric in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, scholars have studied Madras as a colonial city, looking to its 'white town' versus 'black town' distinction as a defining kernel of colonial urban space.<sup>69</sup> Despite acknowledgements that the 'white town' in Madras hardly appears unified over against a 'black town', this paradigm held not only for colonial discursive constructions of the colonial city, but also for scholarly discussions.

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<sup>65</sup> Dias, Pedro. 2004. "Diu em 1634. Documentos e Notas para um Retrato de uma Praça Portuguesa no Guzarate." In *Arte Indo-Portuguesa: capítulos da história*. Coimbra: Almedina. 246 - 257.

<sup>66</sup> Madras was not the first European colonial settlement on the subcontinent. As already stated in this chapter, Cochin, Goa and many other Portuguese urban settlements predates Madras by many years, as do a handful of other European colonies. Madras' continued existence as a major urban centre has certainly contributed to its status as a focus of research for colonial South Asia, while places such as Goa, Tranquebar, Surat, and Pondicherry have not enjoyed this status to the same extent. Norma Evenson's work, *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*, is the primary example of beginning with Madras and carrying the model through. Philip Davies' work also follows this model, and Thomas Metcalf's *An Imperial Vision*, while focusing on architecture rather than urban space *per se*, also works chronologically. Metcalf's work, however, focuses much more on post-1850 colonial India, bringing Madras into the introduction and later focusing on architecture of other urban centres. See, *inter alia*: Davies, Philip. 1985. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947*. London: John Murray; Metcalf, Thomas R. 1989. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Niell-Basu, Susan M. 1979. "Colonial urbanism: the development of Madras city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 13/2: 217-246.

<sup>67</sup> Lewandowski, Susan J. 1977. "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 11: 183-212.

<sup>68</sup> Basu, Susan Neil. 1993. "Madras in 1800: Perceiving the City," in Spodek, Howard and Srinivasan, Doris Meth, (eds.). *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art. 228-9.

<sup>69</sup> Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

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The founding of Madras dates to 1639, when the East India Company received a grant of land from the local Telugu ruler. Its initial naming is somewhat of a mystery, as the Telugu *nayaka* wished the town to be called Chennappa after his father. The name Madras seems to arise later, but it is unclear how it came to be the primary British name, and the Indians residing in the area have called the city 'Chennai' since 1996.

It is true that the 'white town' housed all the important public places and all the Company's servants, including the 'gentlemen' of the fort and the English free merchants who lived there.<sup>70</sup> Yet, it is also true that there was a larger Portuguese population within the 'white town' of Madras that prompts our concern here. The English 'invited hitherto' to live in the fortified 'white town' from their 'first' settlement the numerous Indo-Portuguese population. Several of them had even lent them money "to build [their houses] upon the open sand, under the protection of the guns, which by degrees has been walled in" in 1650s.<sup>71</sup> By the 1670s, John Fryer noted that the Portuguese population in Madras were "as many thousands." In 1678, out of 118 houses in the 'white town', 77 belonged to the Portuguese.<sup>72</sup> By 1688, they owned more than half of the total 128 private dwelling houses in the 'white town.'<sup>73</sup> In contrary to the scheme of colonial spatial division in the 'black town' into left and right hand caste settlements, there was no such spatial division within the 'white town' between the English and the Portuguese. The Portuguese of Madras were neither 'white' nor 'christian,' and not even 'European' in strict sense of the term; they were perceived to be the 'black, degenerate wretched race of the ancient Portuguese' whose religion, Roman catholic, had been dubbed as 'pagan' and was also proscribed in England, hence the term Indo-Portuguese.<sup>74</sup> This becomes significant especially when seen from the Protestant English perspective.

Madras' urban form is based on a dominant military and commercial fort Saint George, constructed and reconstructed throughout the eighteenth century as French and British militaries fought for control of the region. On the interior of the fortress, European residences, places of worship, commercial structures, and governmental buildings stood early on. The Indians who served these structures and the European colonizers lived some distance away, in the 'black town.'<sup>75</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century, Europeans built garden houses at some distance from the built up area of the fortress and the 'black town.' Sometimes several miles apart, these garden houses reflected some of the desire for the British to achieve wealth and prosperity in their quests in India; they echoed and replicated in both form and pretension garden houses from Britain. The distancing from the city stemmed not only from racial difference but also from a differentiation of residential and business spaces: a social distancing to create private, separate spaces for Europeans in pursuit of an ideal and ultimate refuge.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> It housed the town hall (that housed the Mayor's Court, Corporation and Prison of Debtors or the 'Crook-House'), St. Mary's church college, New House, Hospital, and governor's lodgings.

<sup>71</sup> Fryer, John. 1985. *A New account of East India and Persia: Nine Years Travels, 1672-1681*. William Crooke (1849-1923), (ed.). New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. Vol. I, 38.

<sup>72</sup> Love, Henry Davison. 1913. *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800: traced from the East India Company's records preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from other sources* supplemented by *Records of Fort St George (Public Despatches to England, 4 vols., Public Despatches from England, 9 vols., and Diary and Consultation Book, 8 vols.)*. London: John Murray. Vol. I, 444. In the 'black town' there were 72 houses owned by the Portuguese in 1678.

<sup>73</sup> Wheeler, James Talboys (1824-1897). 1993. *Madras in the Older Time: Being a History of the Presidency from The First Foundation to the Governorship of Thomas Pitt, 1639-1702. [1861-62]*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. 136-40.

<sup>74</sup> The presence of Portuguese in the 'white town' was noted by several accounts. See for instance, William Crooke (1849-1923), (ed.). 1977. *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier Travels in India*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. vol. I, 77 and vol. II, 220; Baldaeus, Philip. (1632-1672). (1672) 2000. *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also of the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent Kingdoms and Provinces*. New Delhi: J. Jetley. 653 [first published in Amsterdam, 1672]; "within which many Portugals are admitted to dwell" Bowrey, Thomas (ca. 1650-1713). 1993. *The Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 - 1679*, Temple, R.C., (ed.). New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. 3-4.

<sup>75</sup> The 'black town' was razed and relocated some distance from the fortress in the late-eighteenth century as a security measure for the Europeans. Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Archer, John. 1997. "Colonial Suburbs in South Asia, 1700-1850, and the Spaces of Modernity." In Silverstone, Roger, (ed.). *Visions of Suburbia*. London: Routledge.

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Until the turn of the nineteenth century, all business was conducted from within the fortress. The governor, Edward Clive (1754-1839),<sup>77</sup> ordered the transfer of the Customs House from fort Saint George to its present site outside of the fortress in 1798, after which some of the business was conducted in direct proximity to the beach and the exchange of goods. Other than those places of commerce, the city grew up as a group of scattered residential sites, religious structures, and the more densely populated 'black town' to the north of the fortress. The separation of the European residential area from the commercial fortress and customs house (as well as from 'black town') - rather than defusing the strength of the 'black town/white town' dichotomy - only consolidated the notion that the 'black town' was a dense, chaotic, Indian urban space in direct contrast to the wide-open spaces of the British residences and the organized, distinctly separated area of the fortress.

As the primary example of a colonial city, then, Madras is complex. Its status as a unified urban space in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is not clear from either those travelling through at the time or the shape of the city itself. Madras' role as the paradigmatic colonial city elides much of the complex workings of this urban area, and turns a blind eye to many of the inconsistencies in the urban fabric. When applying the discursive paradigm to Diu, one notes that Madras does not differ enough from the Diu model either to eliminate it from the running as a colonial city or to draw into question the very notion that a typical colonial city existed at all. Turning to Calcutta and Bombay, two other cities traditionally considered colonial, the inconsistencies mount.

### Calcutta

Why would one select Calcutta for study and comparison with Diu? First, the origins of Calcutta date back long before when the British Empire was founded in 1757. Second, Calcutta, like no other city in India, bears the stamp of the European imperial past. Third, both cities began as a trade settlement outposts of the *Estado da Índia* and the East India Company. Within a century, Calcutta grew into the most important town of what was to become the British Empire. Fourth, Diu and Calcutta thus became sites par excellence of the Portuguese and British imperial projects and Calcutta became a site of the Indian reaction against the British. Finally, Calcutta and Diu not only set the stage for a dual city but also housed the governmental apparatus of colonialism. It is against this historical backdrop that we try to sketch the city's history.

Calcutta grew out of a cluster of villages on the banks of the river Hooghly. It dates back to long before the British Empire, since the place was already inhabited by weaving castes and had attracted Armenian merchants.<sup>78</sup> No city (like Madras) existed along the river prior to Calcutta's colonial growth in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The colonial city was established in 1690 and began as a trading outpost of the British East India Company. As the Company was transformed from a trading organization into a political force, so these so-called factories or trading stations grew into substantial conurbations. Its history may be divided into two periods, pre-imperial and imperial, with the British victory in Plassey of 1757 serving as the watershed. In 1694 they began to fortify it and in 1698 the Company purchased *zamindari*<sup>79</sup> rights to a subordinate jurisdiction over three villages.

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<sup>77</sup> British politician and governor of Madras Presidency known as the Lord Clive between 1774 and 1804. He was the eldest son of Robert Clive, "Clive of India", Commander-in-Chief of British India, was a British officer and soldier of fortune who established the military and political supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal.

<sup>78</sup> Chatterjee, Suniti K. 1968. "Changing culture of Calcutta." In *Bengal Past and Present* 87. 4 - 6.

<sup>79</sup> Land-holder and tax-farmer; Land-owner in Bengal after the Permanent Settlement of 1793.

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The town was established as factory<sup>80</sup> by Job Charnock (c. 1630-1692/3)<sup>81</sup> in Sutanati in his third attempt to establish a permanent British settlement in Bengal.<sup>82</sup> Only after the conflict between the *Nawabs*<sup>83</sup> and the British East India Company at Hooghly in 1686 did the latter move to the villages which became Calcutta. For payment of a tribute they were allowed to trade from a factory. In 1696, the British had permission to defend themselves, resulting in a bastion and wall enclosure to be built in 1697. Subsequently, the construction of a fort began in 1699 and was completed in 1702, primarily to defend the Company's interests against various political upheavals in the eighteenth century. Although this English settlement grew outside the walls of the fort, it was still embryonic and incipient. The *Nawab* of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, Shiraj-ud Daulah (1733 – 1757),<sup>84</sup> ransacked the city in 1756, but the British were able to regain power of the city within six months. The decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757 for European presence in the subcontinent, was an unquestionable turning point in the urban development of Calcutta.

Initially, the fort contained the governor's residence, warehouses, workshops, and lodgings for the East India Company's workforces. Not all of the commercial structures existed within the fort walls, since many of the edifices used for commercial transaction lined Tank Square (Dalhousie Square), just outside the fort. From this urban core, Calcutta spread and Europeans built their houses to the south and east; the 'black town' lay to the north. Due to the threat from the Marathas in the eighteenth century, the Company began construction on a ditch which would surround Calcutta, protecting it from incursion. Only half of the ditch was ever completed, but the proposed line of the barrier marks the mid-eighteenth century extent of the city.

Social and political control did not become the primary motives for urban planning exercises in Calcutta, until the post Battle of Plassey<sup>85</sup> period. A new fort was erected and an open space or *non aedificandi* area was shaped in front of it to have a free view and firing space. Upon retaking the city in 1756, the Company began fort William which greatly expanded the scale of the earlier fort. British residents of Calcutta were encouraged and in some cases required to live within the new fort. Many did not, however, and 'country houses' sprang up in the southern areas of town. These were generally compounds with a major house in the centre surrounded by a wall. Servants' quarters lay at the perimeter of the compounds. The city outside of the new fort grew up as a series of these walled estates, such that streets followed no particular pattern, but rather facilitated access to individual homes.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Factory settlements in British India have been studied in the context of colonial urban development by a number of scholars. See, *inter alia*: Nilsson, Sten. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber; Mitter, Partha. 1986. "The early British port cities of India: their planning and architecture circa 1640-1757." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 45/2: 95-114; Kosambi, Meera and Brush, John E. 1988. "Three colonial port cities in India." *Geographical Review*, 78/1: 32 – 47; Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Towards The West*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>81</sup> Colonial administrator in the British East India Company who is credited with establishing a British trading post at what is today Kolkata. Arriving in India in 1655/56, Charnock was stationed first at Cossimbazar, north of present-day Kolkata, and then at Patna, in Bihar, eventually becoming chief agent of the East India Company at Hugli, on the Hugli (Hooghly) River, in 1686. The selection of Calcutta as the capital of British India was largely the result of his persistence.

<sup>82</sup> The description of early town planning practices in Calcutta is based on Blechynden, Kathleen. 1905. *Calcutta Past and Present*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. and Cotton, Evan A. 1907. *Calcutta Old and New: A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City*. Ray, Nisith Ranjaj, (ed.). Calcutta: W. Newman and Co..

<sup>83</sup> Governor (deputy) in charge of Mughal province.

<sup>84</sup> Mirza Muhammad Siraj ud-Daulah was the last independent Nawab of Bengal. The end of his reign marked the start of British East India Company rule over Bengal and later almost all of South Asia. Siraj succeeded his maternal grandfather, Alivardi Khan as the Nawab of Bengal in April 1756 at the age of 23. Siraj lost the Battle of Plassey on 23rd June 1757. The forces of the East India Company under Robert Clive triumphed and the administration of Bengal fell into the hands of the British East India Company.

<sup>85</sup> British rule in India is conventionally described as having begun in 1757. On June 23rd of that year, the battle took place at Palashi (anglicised version: Plassey) on the banks of the Bhagirathi River, about 150 kilometres north of Calcutta and south of Murshidabad, then capital of Bengal (now in Nadia district in West Bengal), the forces of the East India Company under Robert Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daulah, the *Nawab* of Bengal, and his French allies. The battle consolidated the Company's presence in Bengal, which later expanded to cover much of India over the next hundred years.

The battle was waged during the Seven Years' War (1756–63), and, in a mirror of their European rivalry, the French East India Company (*La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*) sent a small contingent to fight against the British.

<sup>86</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta. Modernity, nationalism and the colonial uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge. Chattopadhyay notes this construction of Calcutta through cumulative compounds.

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The removal of the fort to the south separated the European area of the city from the 'black town.' The European 'white town' came to consist of the East India Company's fort, its commercial buildings and offices, its churches (Armenian, 'Portuguese' catholic, and Anglican) and private houses. By 1742, there were said to be 121 *pucka*<sup>87</sup> masonry houses; in 1756 there were nearly 500.<sup>88</sup> By then the 'white town' covered an extensive area along the river frontage. This was, however, only a small part of the total spread of Calcutta by the middle of the eighteenth century. After 1756 the city's growth was noteworthy with elements of continuity between the previous trading town and the subsequent imperial capital and took place within the old 'white town', 'black town' and outer villages. Much of the expansion seems to have brought about by more intensive use of land already within the area of the town.

Calcutta appears similar to Diu for several reasons. First, a single major fort with its accompanying Indian area, at some point separated for exigencies of security. An area around the fort remained clear upon its reconstruction, so that an unobstructed line of sight existed for the defence of the structure. The area around the site of the old fort remained a space of business; the 'Writers Building' was erected in the seventeen-eighties in this area, and various residential structures also arose nearby, serving less affluent Europeans. Second, this area formed a sort of transitional zone between the fort and southern area and the northern 'black town.' Finally, the paradigm of 'black town/white town' thus carries over nicely into Calcutta, where Europeans rarely ventured north, and the southern areas were dominated by the fort and European housing.<sup>89</sup>

Racial segregation was the norm and the British differentiated the company occupied areas as 'white town' and the indigenous part of the city as 'black town.'<sup>90</sup> Despite the commonplace and accepted segregation, the allocation of 'white' versus 'black' settlements still had a blurry boundary line. As pointed out by Chattopadhyay, the boundaries between the 'white town' and 'black town' were quite fluid and at no point was the 'white town' a homogenous space for the Europeans.<sup>91</sup> At the same time, an inconsistency arises here in parallel with that seen in Madras. While discursively Calcutta divides neatly into 'white town' and 'black town', the spreading of southern Calcutta's European population into various neighbourhoods away from the fort and Tank Square defuses the unity of 'white town' such that only the discourse of 'black town's' congested streets upholds the dichotomy.

Calcutta's 'white town' was clearly demarcated from the 'black town' with the houses of Indians, including for the wealthier members of the community, together with shops and bazaars. In the sixteenth century, Barros addresses Diu thus: "[...] and much more foreign people from Arabians, Persian, Turks, and many renegaded from various nations, some of them paid and others coming in ships to deal with their merchandise"<sup>92</sup> which could also portray the streets of Calcutta two hundred years later. Calcutta's 'black town,' population was fragmented by ethnic origin, caste and occupation. A 'great multitude of the common people' lived in these areas.<sup>93</sup> Different groups set up their own quarters, according to the business or craft transacted in all these cities.

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<sup>87</sup> Solid.

<sup>88</sup> Ray, Atul K. 1902. "Calcutta Town and Suburbs." In *A short history of Calcutta, town and suburbs*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press. Part I, Vol. 7, 58.

<sup>89</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>90</sup> Archer, John. 2000. "Paras, Palaces, Pathogens; Frameworks for the Growth of Calcutta, 1800-1850." In *City and Society* 12/1: 19-54.

<sup>91</sup> Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2000. "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59/ 2: 154-179; 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London and New York: Routledge.

<sup>92</sup> "[...] ficava a gente da terra, de que a Cidade estava atulhada, e mais muita gente estrangeira de Arabios, Parseos, Turcos, e muitos arrenegados de varias nações, delles a soldo, e outros eram vindos a seus tratos de mercadoria em náos, que alli estavam." Barros, João de, (1496-1570). 1973-1975. *Da Ásia*. Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos. Decade III, bk. IV, chap. IX. 482-5.

<sup>93</sup> Wilson, Charles R. 1906. *Old Fort William in Bengal*. London: John Murray. Vol. 2, 169.

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Instead of exercising absolute spatial, political, and economic control over the city, the British in Calcutta as the Portuguese in Diu attempted to maximize profit by leaving indigenous systems of production, finance, and trade in the 'black town'.<sup>94</sup> Indigenous capital played a significant role in the rise of Calcutta, as the Bengali elite took up commercial activity, similarly to what happened in Diu with the *banyan* merchants.<sup>95</sup> As the East India Company's trade came to centre on Calcutta, merchants who specialized in contracting to procure its textiles seem to have found it increasingly attractive and convenient to live within the settlement. Eighteenth and nineteenth century cartography and maps point out noticeably and very fairly castes and occupations inside the cities of Diu<sup>96</sup> and Calcutta.<sup>97</sup> Who lived where, what was the occupation of each neighbourhood and which caste was predominant from the core of each of the cities to its outskirts could be easily traced as if an anthropological cartography was drawn by cartographers and military engineers from that time.

Similarly to the Portuguese, as the English also became large scale traders, they too drew Indian businessmen to Calcutta to become what were known as 'banyans' in the same way that happened with Diu *baneanes*. Both groups in each colonial city, became the 'native' commercial group in the eighteenth century: the servant, but in practice and more often the business partner of the Portuguese or the British. The Company used merchants less and less as intermediaries for its trade, but British private enterprise ramified in different directions requiring Indian capital and expertise. As the Company servants were drawn into the administration of Bengal, their 'banyans' also became deeply involved in revenue collecting, administering the customs system or operating the salt monopoly. Bribes, unauthorised levies, revenue farms and salt contracts all fell to the 'banyans' as well as to their masters.<sup>98</sup> Similarly to the *banyans* from Diu, these Indian entrepreneurs were of course deeply involved with Europeans, but they were not necessarily their subordinates and they seem to have been slow to adopt European business methods.

## **Bombay**

In Bombay, dividing lines through the urban space cannot be as starkly or easily drawn. The city began in a similar fashion as Bombay fort was founded in the mid-seventeenth century, after a treaty passed a land of a few fishing villages from the Portuguese to the British in 1661.<sup>99</sup> Almost all of the initial settlement existed within the walls of the fort, which itself had a smaller fort within.

After some fires and the competition of overcrowding, first Indians were required to relocate and subsequently Europeans moved outside of the fort walls. With the immigration of Parsi merchants from Diu and Sanjan, and the proximity of Goa, the social and ethnic makeup of the city proved quite different from that in Calcutta and

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<sup>94</sup> Ascher, John. 2000. "Paras, Palaces, Pathogens. Frameworks for the Growth of Calcutta, 1800-1850." In *City and Society* 12/1: 19-54.

<sup>95</sup> See, *inter alia*: Munshi, Sunil K. 1990. "Genesis of the Metropolis," In Racine, Jean (ed.). *Calcutta 1981: The City, Its Crisis and the Debate on Urban Planning and Development*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company; and Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2005. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>96</sup> See Diu's cartography: *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro Ioão Antonio Sarmiento. 1783*. [OPorto Public Municipal Library, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)] and *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e deenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833, Lat. 20.43.47*. [Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon]. Reference. Aniceto 1227-2A-24A-111.

<sup>97</sup> See Calcutta's cartography: *Plan of Fort William and the Black Town and its surroundings. belonging to the English*, by Laffitte de Brasier, 1779; *Calcutta*, Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1842 and Calcutta surveyed during the years 1887 - 1894. Published under the direction of Major General C. Strahan, Surveyor General of India, May 1897.

<sup>98</sup> See Marshal James, Peter. 1979. "Masters and Banyans in eighteenth century Calcutta." In Kling, B.B. and Pearson, Michael N. (eds.). *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. 191-214 and Basu, Dilip K. 1971. "The early Banian of Calcutta." In *Bengal past and Present* 90. 30-46. For a detailed study, see Nandy, S. C. 1978. *Life and Times of Cantoo Baboo. The Banian of Warren Hastings: 1742-1804, vol. 1: The career of Cantoo Baboo (1742-72) and His Trade in Salt and Silk*. Calcutta: Allied Publishers.

<sup>99</sup> Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon, (AHU), *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, n° atual de inventário 189, n° antigo de maço, n°s vermelhos 46, datas extremas 1730-1732, doc. 50A. Contains the text of the treaty. See also: Grancho, Nuno. 2008. *Bombaim, a explosão urbana. Análise de assentamentos e vias*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Porto: University of Porto.

## The city and the other cities. Diu and some European colonial cities.

Madras. Additionally, the geographic location of Bombay offered limited area for stark division and sprawl, since the city is located on a small peninsula, much of which was back filled in the nineteenth century and later.

Initially the city had a similar north-south divide, paralleling for example Diu, Calcutta or Madras: to the north, the 'black town', where Indians lived, and to the south, the European area. This pattern began within the fort itself prior to the movement outside of the walls. While the Indian population moved to the north, just across the open area known as the Esplanade, the European country houses were located in a variety of areas. The south was not available in the early nineteenth century, as the peninsula ended and only Colaba island lay south of the fort. Thus, the governor as well as a variety of Company servants built homes at Malabar Point, across the bay to the west, or farther north, leapfrogging the Black Town to settle in Parel, or neighbourhoods even beyond from the fort.

By the early part of the nineteenth century, despite the scattered nature of the initial move from the fort, the population and the infrastructure had grown such that the peninsula became a relatively cohesive urban area.<sup>100</sup> Parsi landlords, some of them with ancestors from Diu, rented houses to English Company servants and others, to the dismay of nineteenth century commentators. Parsi and Indian merchants and landowners established an integral presence on the landscape of Bombay from early on. Rather than upholding a discursive separation of the Indian and European communities (as white/black towns), the spatial interpenetration proves much greater in Bombay than in Calcutta or Madras. Bombay's fort served as the major residential, governmental, commercial, and military area for most of the eighteenth century; unlike Calcutta or Madras, the size of the fort in Bombay meant that it wasn't until relatively late that the Indian and European population moved to extra-mural locations. The ensuing urban shape of Bombay had more to do with the peninsula and its islands than concerns about separate spaces. The fort became a part of the urban fabric of the city; its walls remained until the nineteenth century, when it melded with the city completely. The notion of a 'black town' in Bombay remained through the mid-nineteenth century, despite the fact that Europeans had moved out of the fort and into outlying areas, thus eliminating a corresponding 'white town.' Discursively then, even in the face of the vast inconsistencies clearly evident in the city shape itself, Bombay was a clear example of the 'black town/white town' colonial city paradigm.

### **Pondicherry**

Pondicherry was a French colonial settlement located on the Coromandel Coast of south eastern India. It stretches across the two tributaries of Senji River and is favourably linked with places of production of cotton textiles and maritime trade routes. The role of administration was no doubt, crucial, as Pondicherry can be regarded among the most planned cities of that period. It thus owed its rise as much to its international trade linkages as to the favourable geopolitical factors. Its decline is yet another example of the effect of international political economy and internal political situation on European settlements. Unlike the Portuguese, racial segregation was a norm among the French, even from their early presence in India.

The European interest in Pondicherry started when the Portuguese established a factory there at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1673, the *French Compagnie des Indes* successfully acquired a trading post called Puducherry from Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of Valikondapuramin in the Carnatic.<sup>101</sup> Soon this small hamlet

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<sup>100</sup> Evenson, Norma. 1989. *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 36.

<sup>101</sup> The Carnatic is the region of South India lying between the eastern Ghats and the Coromandel Coast, in present-day states of Tamil Nadu, south eastern Karnataka, north eastern Kerala and southern Andhra Pradesh.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

developed into Pondicherry. Under the command of Francois Martin,<sup>102</sup> the French managed to set up a factory, to build a fort, to attract craftsmen, and succeeded in making of this place a fairly large and prosperous settlement. Along the seashore, a few French resided in houses inside *le fort barlong*. To protect the factory from incursions, the French built a brick fortress in 1689. It was a roughly rectangular structure with round towers, surrounded by an earthen embankment. Inside the enclosure, were the main buildings of the factory and the governor's residence. The Indians, living mostly in huts, were irregularly distributed to the north, and mostly comprised weavers and artisans of the five castes (*kammalar*),<sup>103</sup> carpenters, blacksmiths, bronze smiths, goldsmiths and stonemasons to the south, were trading castes and the Muslims, with two mosques and one graveyard near Baslieu street; at both extremities, were fishermen and outcastes; and on the western tract (the present Indian town), artisans were irregularly distributed. The eastern part could not yet be considered a 'white town' since it was mostly inhabited by Indians and in 1693, after two decades of French occupation, the streets or lanes followed an irregular pattern, without any shape or symmetry.

The Dutch occupied Pondicherry from 1693 to 1699. They planned a large new town on the western side of the factory, with a geometric layout of rectangular blocks of buildings divided by straight streets intersecting at right angles. In this new town, they also planned a functional distribution of the different Indian communities. Roughly, they planned to settle the weavers, craftsmen, and *brahmins* to the north of the Uppar river (*petit canal*) near their temple on the site of the Mission Press, and to the south, the merchants,<sup>104</sup> farmers<sup>105</sup> and craftsmen. This means that they had some knowledge of the Indian social system, especially since they mentioned the castes by their vernacular names. Therefore, the Dutch were behind the separation between *Ville noire* and *Ville blanche*, since they had the project to relocate the Indian community to a separate area, to the west of the settlement. When the Dutch left Pondicherry four years later, this urban project had not yet been fully implemented. Only the north-western part of the new town was occupied and the whole tract south of the *petit canal* was under cultivation.

Francois Martin, built a new pentagonal fort in 1706, *le fort Louis*, and improved the fortifications. Then, as the population increased (50 to 60 thousand people in 1710), the Company had to expand its urban area towards the south-west. The Muslims were the first to settle on the other side of the Uppar river (*grand canal*) and they did so in a diagonal way along the old road to Cuddalore. Local tradition has it that this was at the time that the body of the saint Maula Sahib was transferred to its tomb (*dargah*) at Muhammadia Palli. After the Muslims, craftsmen came and built their houses between the big garden of the Company and the *petit canal*.

The city had a gridiron layout with a waterway separating the French, 'white town', from the native town, 'black town.' It had four gates: the Madras gate on the northern side, the sea-gate on the eastern side, the Villiyanalur gate on the western side, and the Cuddalore gate on the southern side. Europeans lived in the 'white town' which was segregated from the rest of the city. Its major feature was the symmetrical plan which presented two grand

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<sup>102</sup> About town planning in Pondicherry, see *inter alia*: Sen, Sida P. 1947. *The French in India: First Establishment and Struggle*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta; Nilsson, Sten. 1969. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. London: Faber and Faber; and Chopra, Preeti. 1992. "Pondicherry: A French Enclave in India," in *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, AlSaiyad, Nezar (ed.). Aldershot: Avebury; Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria and Stephen, S. Jeyaseela (eds.). 1999. *Indo-French Relations*. New Delhi: Pragati Publications in association with Indian Council of Historical Research; Deloche, Jean. 2015. "Old Pondicherry (1673-1824): Revisited." In Sharma, Yogesh and Malekandathil, Pius (eds.). New Delhi: Primus Books. 645-58; Sinha, Arvin. 2015. "The city of Pondicherry and its Oscillating Fortune in the Eighteenth Century." In Sharma, Yogesh and Malekandathil, Pius (eds.). New Delhi: Primus Books. 659-85.

<sup>103</sup> The Vishwakarma community refer to themselves as the Viswabrahmin, and are sometimes described as an Indian caste. The community comprises five sub-groups - carpenters, blacksmiths, bronze smiths, goldsmiths and stonemasons - who believe that they are descendants of Vishvakarman, a hindu deity. Prior to the British imperial period, these communities were referred to names such as *Kammalar* in present-day Tamil Nadu and Kerala, *Panchalar* in Karnataka and *Panchanamuvuru* in Andhra Pradesh, while there are also medieval inscriptions that refer to them as the *Rathakarar* and *Kammala-Rathakarar*.

<sup>104</sup> Komuttis, Chettis and Kavarais.

<sup>105</sup> Reddis, Pallis and Vellalas.

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axes - one running parallel to the coast from north to south, dividing the 'white town' from the 'black town'.<sup>106</sup> The other ran perpendicular to the beach from east to west, thus dividing the city into four distinct parts. According to Le Gentil (1725-1792):<sup>107</sup>

[...] The streets are straight and cut across each other that produce the charming optical effect of several streets and even if one excludes the European areas, the rest of the streets are planted with trees on both sides with equal spacing: in the streets on which the weavers live, the trees there on both sides protect them from sun and enable them to work at any time of the noon.<sup>108</sup>

The first quarter of Saint Joseph towards the north-west was the old 'black' town that existed before the French. Here, each lane was inhabited by a different caste based on the occupation of each member. It had two temples, a big bazaar, and some missionaries and Jesuits. The quarter of Saint Louis in the north-east formed the northern part of the 'white town'. Despite being separate, it formed a remarkable geometrical continuity with the 'black town'. It housed the office of the French Company as well as the European and Christian cemeteries. On the other side of the fort towards the south-east was the third quarter, called Saint Laurent which formed the other half of the 'white town'.

By 1721, Pondicherry had almost reached the limits of the old Dutch plan. The French managed to carry out this plan by forcing people to build in rectangular blocks separated by straight streets, 'd'après l'ancien plan' (according to the old plan), except for the Muslim quarter, where the peculiar diagonal configuration of their streets could not be corrected. In 1724, the Company also started building a strong enclosure on the site of the present boulevards which took ten years to complete. During this period, thanks to the prosperity of the town, there was building activity in which individuals, religious orders, and the Company all took part. New churches were constructed and public buildings, such as the hospital, the Mint and the Government Palace inside Fort Louis, completed in 1752. The latter was a magnificent building with a frontage almost 80 meters long consisting of an elegant gallery.

Pondicherry reached its golden age under Marquis Joseph Duplex (1697-1763)<sup>109</sup> in the mid-eighteenth century. However, the destruction of the city by the British in 1761 had a significant impact on its built form. The 'white town' was completely destroyed and, for three years, the place was almost abandoned. After the city was returned to the French in 1763, it was reconstructed on a much more modest scale. The new government house, in neoclassical style, was nothing compared to its predecessor and reflected the financial lack of metropolitan support and the difficulties of the French. In 1777, the governor, Bellecombe, decided to make a survey of the lands to record and map the ownership of the land. It was a bold initiative and unprecedented as the first cadastre in France was carried out only during the Revolution in 1789. It shows that the local French society of Pondicherry was still a society of the *ancien régime* and the important place which Tamilians occupied in the 'white town' in 1777. Until 1761, the Company did not welcome the presence of Hindus in the European quarters. The British

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<sup>106</sup> Bérinstein, Valérie, Sandjivy, Claude and Tchakaloff, M. C. T. 1993. "Naissance d'un Style", in *Pondichéry, 1674-1761, l'échec d'un rêve d'empire*, Vincent, Rose (ed.). Paris: Editions Autrement. 164-175.

<sup>107</sup> French astronomer who went to Pondicherry to work in 1761.

<sup>108</sup> Le Gentil cited in Labernadie, Marguerite V. 1936. *La Vieux Pondichery 1673-1815, Histoire d'une Ville Coloniale Française*, Pondicherry: Bibliothèque Publique & Paris: Ernest Leroux. 331. According to S. Jeyaseela Stephen, the construction of the French fortress and the inevitable process of urbanization took place between 1702 and 1706, while the process of the acquisition of the surrounding villages continued till 1732. The restitution of the French territories by the English in 1765 provided a new opportunity to prepare a fresh plan for the entire town. He examines eleven plans for the development of Pondicherry. See: Stephen, S. Jeyaseela. 1999. "Urban Growth of Pondicherry and the French: A Study of Town Plans, 1702-1798." In *Indo-French Relations*, in Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria and Stephen, S. Jeyaseela (eds.), New Delhi: Pragati Publications in association with Indian Council of Historical Research. 109-23. On the theme of town planning, also see L'Hernault, Françoise. 1999. "Pondicherry in the Eighteenth Century: Town Planning, Streetscapes and Housescapes" In *Indo-French Relations*, in Mathew, Kuzhippalli Skaria and Stephen, S. Jeyaseela (eds.), New Delhi: Pragati Publications in association with Indian Council of Historical Research. 178-94.

<sup>109</sup> Governor-general of French India and rival of Robert Clive.

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again destroyed the fortifications, in 1778, and building activities were resumed in the 1790s, but Pondicherry never recalled its previous splendour.<sup>110</sup> It was again captured by the British for the third time in 1793 and finally returned to the French in 1816.

The pattern of urbanization of Pondicherry had certain distinctive features in terms of the land usage. The town was demarcated into residential, commercial, religious, gardens and parks, and port spaces. The urban plan of Pondicherry reflects dispersal of population on racial, religious, caste, and professional grounds. The urban plan consisted of combining the courtyard and a garden into a single space, however, the city's main buildings were usually located frontally between an entrance courtyard and a garden at the back. The houses in the 'white town' usually opened into a garden and not directly on to the street, were flat with terraced roofs, and not the sloping roofs and finally, brick was the main building material and not the stones. The quarter in the south-west was the new 'black town' housing small workshop-cum-residences of artisans, weavers, painters, dyers, etc. A large number of them were Muslims, and as such a mosque also existed. In the small bazaar of Pondicherry, the Indian merchants bought goods coming from the neighbouring towns of Madras and Tranquebar, and sold many goods such as shoes, leather, ornaments, perfumes, and cosmetics.<sup>111</sup>

The French houses in Pondicherry showed a deviation from the houses in France, according to Bérinstein, Sandjiv and Tchakaloff: "l'architecture pondichérienne est-elle cosmopolite. Les variations traversent le paysage, d'une architecture française de modèles exportés à une architecture tamoule traditionnelle, en passant par une architecture métisse situationnelle."<sup>112</sup> Similarly the Indian houses reflected cross-cultural influences and revealed European influence to some extent.

### **The paradigm is Diu. Diu is not paradigmatic. Diu is colonial**

Diu had an estuarine and maritime context which opened to seafarers a geomorphology that influenced the city:<sup>113</sup>

the viceroy, because of the information given by the Moors fantasized about the city's site, and river entrance, and on this he grounded his idea to attack the enemies, after seeing everything with his own eyes, he amended many things, for reasons such as for the city's site, and also the entrance of the river. [...] Because the river, which surrounded that piece of land, where the city was standing, had in the entrance one stone bank, with which made two channels: one from the northern part that ran along the city and where commonly the largest ships entered the port because it was deeper, was more dangerous: here the city was standing with presumption over the channel because it is located in high ground of living stone along the sea: From the other part of the south between the stone bank, everything was almost sand in a way that had no usefulness except for rowing boats [...].<sup>114</sup>

Locating a port city on the coast made complete economic sense. Furthermore, in the early period, when the Portuguese had no political control over the hinterland, the best defence was to have a quick escape route to the open seas, in case they were surprised from land as happened during the sieges of Diu in 1539 and 1546 and the sack by the Omanis in 1668. Gradually the population became informally segregated into European and Indian

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<sup>110</sup> Pichard, Pierre. 1990. "Indo-French Dialogue in Architecture: the case of Pondicherry," in *Indo-French Relations: History and Perspectives*. New Delhi & Paris: Seminar Proceedings. 180.

<sup>111</sup> Pillai, Anand Ranga. 1985. *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, 1736-1761*. Delhi: Asian Educational Services. vol. V, 302.

<sup>112</sup> Bérinstein, Valérie, Sandjiv, Claude and Tchakaloff, M. C. T. 1993. "Naissance d'un Style", in *Pondichéry, 1674-1761, l'échec d'un rêve d'empire*, Vincent, Rose (ed.). Paris: Editions Autrement. 167.

<sup>113</sup> Like almost all these cities.

<sup>114</sup> "O Viso-Rey, posto que per informação de Mouros trazia na fantasia figurado o sitio da Cidade, e entrada do rio, e sobre esta sua imaginação tinha assentado o modo de cometer os inimigos, depois que per sua propria vista vio tudo, emendou muitas cousas, assi por razão do sitio da cidade, como pela entrada do rio. [...] Porque o rio, que torneava aquelle pedaço de terra, em que a Cidade estava assentada, tinha na entrada huma lagea á maneira de banco, com que fazia dous canaes: O que era da parte do Norte, e corria ao longo da povoação, per onde communmente as náos de grande porte entravam por ter fundo pera isso, este era mais perigoso: cá ficava a Cidade mui soberba sobre elle por estar situada sobre hum morro alto de pedra viva ao longo do mar: Da outra parte do Sul per entre a lagea, e a terra quasi tudo era parcel de arêa de maneira, que não tinha serventia pera mais, que barcos de remo [...]." Barros, João de, 1496-1570, *Décadas da Asia*, (Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973-1975), Década II, Liv. III. Cap. V, 295.

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quarters, but no such formal distinction existed in Diu. There, the Gujarati population lived a few hundred metres away from the citadel in the same city and encircled by a wall inside the same urban space. In Madras, segregation was formalized by a dividing wall in 1661.<sup>115</sup> In Calcutta, Indians simply lived to the north of fort William. On the other hand, no such distinction could be enforced in Bombay. Because Bombay consisted of a discontinuous series of islands, European and Indian populations were scattered all over the city. In Diu, the absence of segregation may in part be attributed to the proximity to the hinterland where another sovereign power ruled, the sultanate of Gujarat and later the British East India Company, and in other part to the presence of the Parsis, who had much closer relations with Europeans.

Thus far, a picture of the discursive construction of the colonial city arises from these colonial cities on the Indian subcontinent. Any scholar of Indian urban history, when asked to name major colonial cities, would include some of these among the top, likely with Delhi as an example also.<sup>116</sup> Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay are paradigmatic in British colonial urbanism, Pondicherry in French colonial urbanism and finally, Daman in Portuguese colonial urbanism in India. All of these cities are much quoted examples in European colonial historiography, provide easy information on colonial architecture and history<sup>117</sup> and each includes a particular era and style of colonial architecture.<sup>118</sup>

And yet, each city fails to fall into any clear-cut dichotomous 'black/white towns' division. This dualistic manner of constructing the colonial city in India stems from colonial discourse, but continues into current characterizations.<sup>119</sup> This dichotomous structure stems from a conception of power in which the power-wielding Europeans dominate the powerless Indians - a conception of power as an object to be held. The 'black/white towns' distinction simply carries out the logical conclusion of the dichotomous power structure sub-consciously assumed by architectural and urban historians. We can question the dichotomies, point out where they do not apply, or diversify our notion of their overlapping areas and intersections.<sup>120</sup> However, until the underlying model

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<sup>115</sup> In Madras, segregation was formalized by a dividing wall in 1661. Love, Henry Davison. 1913. *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800: traced from the East India Company's records preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from other sources* supplemented by *Records of Fort St George (Public Despatches to England, 4 vols., Public Despatches from England, 9 vols., and Diary and Consultation Book, 8 vols.)*. London: John Murray. I, 206 and 387.

<sup>116</sup> Delhi's colonial transformation took place in the early twentieth-century, so I have skipped over it here. Many of the contradictions outlined for Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay apply to Delhi's *colonialness* as well.

<sup>117</sup> In the Indian context, this would include Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and to a certain extent towards the end of the colonial period, Delhi, along with a host of other smaller, more provincial cities such as Agra, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Amritsar, Chittagong, Dhaka, Karachi, Kanpur, Lahore, Lucknow, Madurai, Patna, Pune, Surat, Thiruchirappalli and Varanasi. All were major colonial cities of India and were significantly remade in the course of colonial rule. Nevertheless, an optic focusing exclusively on colonialism and nationalist resistance will of necessity miss out on numerous crucial elements of the emergence of urban South Asia. The point is that cities such as Diu - along with other cities such as Goa, Daman, Pondicherry, Travancore, Bangalore, Srinagar, Jaipur, Bhopal, Gawlior, Indore, Baroda, Mysore, Aurangabad and Trivandrum - were beyond the realm of formal colonial rule. In addition, one could effectively argue that it is necessary to look beyond the categories of colonialism and nationalism to understand urban developments in other post-colonial cities of Portuguese and other empires (ranging from Hong Kong and Singapore to Cairo and Algiers to Lagos and Maputo, to Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires to Jakarta and Saigon). For an insightful discussion of the limiting constraints under which scholarship of Indian cities operates, see: Prakash, Gyan. 2002. "The Urban Turn" in *The Cities of Everyday Life: Sarai Reader 02*. New Delhi & Amsterdam: Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and Society for Old and New Media. 2-7.

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Metcalf's take on three cities, as well as Delhi, suggests an organization similar to this. Metcalf's formulation is much more nuanced than this short generalization. See Metcalf, Thomas R. - *An Imperial Vision, Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>119</sup> In large measure this continuation relies on the more embedded dichotomy of British/Indian assumed in most historical and art historical studies of colonial India.

<sup>120</sup> About questioning the 'black town / white town' colonial urban paradigm, see, *inter alia*: Hosagrahar, Jyoti - *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), on the planning of military cantonments in the remaking of colonial Delhi; Brown, Rebecca M. - "The cemeteries and the suburbs", *Journal of Urban History*, XXIX, 2 (2003), 151-72. Chattopadhyay, Swati, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); Glover, William J., *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

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of power-as-object is addressed, the dichotomous structure will remain a discursive gift from colonial relations of power.<sup>121</sup>

If the cities exemplified before do not match up with a paradigm of colonial city, then where does Diu lie? While the imagery of Diu participates in visual colonial discourse, the fabric of the city does not live up to the same promise. Much like these other cities, the discursive construction of Diu undermines easy categorization in colonial urbanism. In what follows, we argue that Diu is a colonial city, and in falling into that 'category,' simultaneously anticipates by two hundred years a rupture in its study.

### **The fort and the factory**

One of the key similarities between Diu and all these cities was the existence of a fort and walls. The urban narratives of Daman, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay all begin with the fort, and it is the fort that anchors the discursive construction (if not the physicality) of the 'white town.' Walls surrounded the city and not only did the walls offer some separation and fortification from the rest of the island and hinterland, but also the bastion and high embankment offered security from any riverine threat.

However, several other urban structures of varying importance over the course of the late sixteenth and until the early nineteenth century were built in Diu and contributed to the colonial economy of *Estado da Índia*. Still none as much as the port, located in the northern shore of the island. It became not only the centre for the activity but also a centre of business and social contact among those residing in Diu and visitors from outside. The port and the bazaar sits in the 'contact zone' between the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, a few miles away from the citadel walls at a bend in the main road and to the Parsi neighbourhood. The site overlooks to the gulf of Cambay, the access to the entrance of the island and beyond.

The importance of the citadel, the port [figure 5.4] and the bazaar [figures 5.6 to 5.9], became paramount Diu's economics and politics. Its location and architecture at this point take on a high significance within the colonial discursive construction of Diu. In order to address that construction, we turn now to images and read them for their participation in a wider colonial visual discourse. The cavernous spaces of these images makes the viewer's relationship to the depictions somewhat precarious: one feels as if the space could envelop the viewer, pulling us into its depths. The monumentality of the space reasserts the import of the activities which take place in the depictions. At the same time, this reinforces the mystery and danger of the Orient and, in the case of the images, suggests the colonizing control over such an overwhelming and large space.

Based on sketches from the mid-nineteenth century, the lithographs 'Perspectiva da Praça de Dio, vista da Barra, ao rumo de N. Nordeste' and 'Perspectiva da Praça de Dio Tirada Pelo Major Aniceto da Silva, vista de fora da Barra do rumo de Lest-sueste em 1833' [figure 7.1] give a good idea of the space within the port of Diu, the status of the workers and the magnitude of trade in Diu. The images generally take a view down the longitudinal length of the northern shore of the city, enabling the artist to depict a sense of large, open spaces with the use of deep, cavernous perspective. This series of images corroborate this grand spatiality, falling away into cavernous spaces and highlighting with directed light the extent of the port, the presence of religious buildings and the desolation of Diu's urban landscape. The depth and space depicted here echo the spatiality of several images of colonial India of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>122</sup>

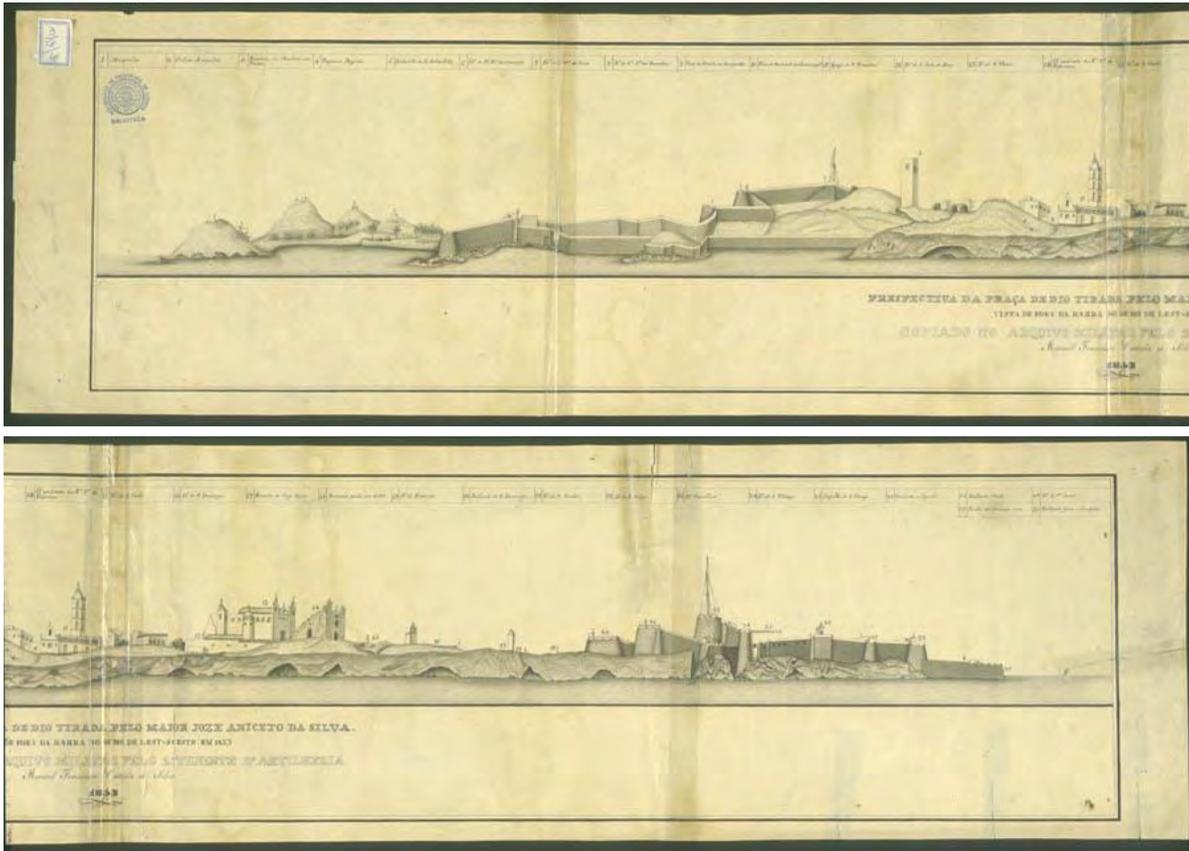
Rather than glorifying and reinforcing the relation of the Portuguese between the island and the subcontinent (Gujarati/British) through diplomatic action, these images glorify the commercial prowess of the colonizer and

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<sup>121</sup> See the introduction for a brief discussion of the discursive model of power and Foucaultian relations of power.

<sup>122</sup> See chapter 5.

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Diu and some European colonial cities.



[Figure 7.1] *Perspectiva da Praça de Dio Tirada Pelo Major Aniceto da Silva, vista de fora da Barra do rumo de Lest-sueste em 1833.*

Courtesy: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon Geographical Society). Reference: 3/G/L

their ability to control trade. In Diu, work takes place, money changes hands, and profit accrues to the city. The discursive work of these images involves the projection of all-encompassing commercial interests and the suggestion that this success comes relatively easily. The organization of the most important buildings, given in some detail in these images, also reflects the organizational colonizing discourse, which strove to control and pigeonhole the subcontinent. Thus, the spatial monumentality of the images only draws in greater scale the message of control and precise organization given in the geometric symmetry and logic of the city.

What becomes crucial within this representation of Diu is its ability to elide differences in time and space. Some of the spaces of the city resonate with those in the mid-nineteenth century representations, and at the same time, these images do not give any hint as to the location of this space: the city is generic, and therefore can easily be transmuted into a discursive generalization about the colonial city itself. Like the imagery of the colonial city, the city here becomes a paradigmatic city, one where Indians are busy workers and the Portuguese serenely administrate it all.

The imagery of the city did not solely construct an image of Diu's *colonialness*. The shape of the urban fabric, as well, contributes to our understanding of the colonial discursive construction of the colonial city, in terms of which aspects of Diu's geography are emphasized and which are not. The citadel and the port served as the starting point for many travellers' experiences of Diu. They also served as the hub for the extremely lucrative business, especially until the seventeenth century. Diu's status as a colonial city seems to be secure in the images of the city; or, at the very least, Diu seems to produce a reasonable façade of colonial trade. How does this fit into a wider pattern of urban space in Diu and does that pattern line up with the discursive construction of the colonial city seen in Daman, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay?

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

The plans for the city include a large citadel structure, religious buildings (churches, temple and mosque), processing buildings (weighing house, manufactory), and other nondescript structures. Elevations of the buildings indicate that the façades included rounded archways on the second story, square openings on the ground floor, and in some cases, a projecting porch into the courtyard. Mapping the placement of these buildings in Diu, each share a few characteristics with buildings from other cities. First, they all take advantage of the river and easily accessible transportation along the riverine situation. This also carries over into security concerns, as many of these lie on a bluff considerably above the water. Second, based on the textual evidence and extant plans, many of them incorporated walls into their construction, both to protect the goods and to serve as military defences. Third, none was built within the walls of the older settlement, except for Diu.

When Europeans such as the Dutch, the Danes, the French, and the English reached the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century through maritime routes, another situation had been already shaped on the Indian coast by the Portuguese. The western coast of India came under the control of the Portuguese and after them most of the European trading companies began to acquire trading posts on the eastern coasts of India on Coromandel and Bengal. Each European power, be it Portuguese, English, Dutch or French, secured some land to establish trading factories. These trading settlements gradually transformed into what the urban historian Susan Lewandowski called 'the colonial port cities.'<sup>123</sup> This made each city distinctive, influencing the nature and scale of their mercantile activities, and the form of power structures, the level of economy, demographic strength, and the pattern of life of the city-dwellers, but at the same time accommodating cultural and religious traditions and practices of the populace.

From the late sixteenth century, the factory of Diu was inside the walled city. Factories existed on the coast of India and almost all layd outside the walls. Immediately adjacent to the wall of the city, and near a river, the factories served as a storehouse for a variety of goods. The compound, surrounded by walls, included several storehouses, a 'laboratory,' and a guardhouse. One might think that this would be more convenient for the Gujaratis needing to visit the factory. While this may be true for any businessmen, farmers likely travelled into Diu from outside and a location on the edges of the city would have served them better.

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<sup>123</sup> The concept of port city was first developed in the early 1960s after the economic studies of Karl Polanyi (he called it 'port of trade'). The crucial element was the operation on a basis of freedom, where merchants were encouraged to call: the very existence of free markets, which were precisely not embedded in any political system but rather operated free from political interference. Merchants paid taxes in return for the facilities provided, not as protection rent. According to Polanyi, markets cannot be disembedded from social relations. Polanyi, Karl. 1963. "Ports of Trade in Early Societies." In *The Journal of Economic History* 23/1: 30-45; Polanyi, Karl, Arensberg, Conrad M. and Pearson, Harry M. (eds). 1957. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economics in History and Theory*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

The quote is from: Lewandowski, Susan J. 1977. "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras." In *Modern Asian Studies* 11: 183-212. For other accounts of port cities in India, see *inter alia*: Ballhatchet, Kenneth and Harrison, John (ed.). 1980. *The City in South Asia: Pre-Modern and Modern*. London: Curzon Press Limited; Basu, Dilip K. (ed.). 1985. *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*. New York: Roman and Littlefield; Broeze, Frank (ed.). 1989. *Brides of the Sea, Port Cities of Asia from the 16th-20th Centuries*. Kensington: University of Hawai Press; and Banga, Indu (ed.). 1991. *Ports and their Hinterlands in India, 1700-1950*. Delhi: Manohar.

European companies' policies in the matter of the fortification of their settlements are discussed *inter alia* in: Prakash, Om. 1975. "The Sobha Singh Revolt: Dutch policy and response." In *Bengal Past and Present*, 94 and Watson, L. B. 1980. "Fortifications and the 'idea' of force in early English East India Company relations with India." In *Past and Present*, 88; Love, Henry Davison. 1913. *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800: traced from the East India Company's records preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from other sources* supplemented by *Records of Fort St George (Public Despatches to England, 4 vols., Public Despatches from England, 9 vols., and Diary and Consultation Book, 8 vols.)*. London: John Murray; Richards, John F. 1975. "European city states on the Coromandel coast", in Joshi, P. M. and Nayeem, M. A. (ed.). *Studies in the Foreign Relationships of India: Prof. H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*. Hyderabad: State Archives. 508-521; Niold-Basu, Susan 1979. "Colonial urbanism: the development of Madras city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 13/2: 217-246, and of course Susan Lewandowski. Important on western and eastern India are, *inter alia*: Chaudhuri, K.N. and Israel, Jonathan I. 1991. "The English and Dutch East India Companies and the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9." In Israel, Jonathan I. (ed.). *The Anglo-Dutch Moment, Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Marshall, P. J. 1985. "Eighteenth century Calcutta." In Ross, Robert and Telkamp, G. J. (eds.), *Colonial Cities, Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context*. Leiden: Springer and Hasan, Farhat. 1992. "Indigenous cooperation and the birth of a colonial city: Calcutta c. 1698-1750." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 26/1: 65-82.

## The city and the other cities. Diu and some European colonial cities.

The policies related to maintaining a military existence played a foundational and enduring role in fixing colonial urban power in Diu. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese built their empire and during the seventeenth century the Portuguese consolidated it. The establishment of garrisons represented the primary repetition of the process or utterance of establishment of Portuguese colonial urban settlements. Diu was organized to enable military intervention whenever was compulsory, to preserve the needs and ensure the discipline of a military garrison. While people and ideas constantly transgressed the permeable sections of the split colonial city of Diu, its division was decisive for both ideology and day to day life. The Portuguese were inside the citadel and the Gujaratis were outside living their lives at the distance of the esplanade, *in-between* an almost empty zone and a port and a hub of commerce. Both communities and all this was circumscribed inside the wall of Diu under the same authority and clear zoning between the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and the 'Gujarat' urban settlement.

The citadel in Diu, then, did not lie in a physically separated area, completely outside of the Indian city as happened in other European colonial cities. The location of the citadel and its participation in the shaping of the city space parallels in many ways the discursive work done in the lithographs by Ciceri and Jacottet. One of these famous drawings of Diu takes its view from across the river, *Vue de la partie Est et la forteresse de l'île de Diou, prise du mouillage extérieur* [figure 5.23], the other from the top of the fortress ramparts with human figures of Europeans and one native Gujarati, *Vue d'une partie de la ville de Diou, prise des remparts de la Citadelle* [figure 5.22], and the last *Vue de la forteresse de Diou, prise de la maison du Gouverneur* [figure 5.24], three typical compositions for colonial period imagery of India (see chapter 5).<sup>124</sup> The churches, some large, overwhelming installation of buildings [figure 5.23 and 7.1], dating back to the seventeenth century, situated in proximity to the older suburbs of Diu, and impinging on the landscape with their high walls and classical orderly façades, interrupt the potential for a dichotomous 'black town/white town' construction of Diu. As in the drawings, these buildings continually reemphasize their size and difference from the surrounding Indian landscape. They are orderly, neat, organized, controlled, and above all, large and omnipresent.

But, unlike the drawings, the port and bazaar lies outside of the traditional Portuguese/catholic spaces of the colonial city, in close proximity and potentially wholly interrupting the Indian spaces of the town. No fort in Daman, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, or Bombay did that, either discursively or physically. All were marked the separation between 'black town' and 'white town'. The buildings of the port and bazaar bring into question the city wall as a boundary between old city and European city, 'Gujarat' urban settlement and 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement. The port and bazaar were the centre for commerce in Diu, but were distant from the centre for colonial residence or for Diu's construction as a colonial city. As indicated before, the economic and commercial portion of the city was markedly physically separated from the site where the Portuguese lived their lives. This separation arises in the verbal descriptions of Diu as well, which (with a few exceptions) begin from the water, and take the citadel as their starting point. This means that the city begins not from the colonizers' economic strength but from the 'Gujarat' settlement, and the most important political and economic site, the port, becomes discursively elided. Its location just beyond the western edge of the old city contradicts its discursive construction as a part of the European, Portuguese, not indigenous town.

In order to create a somewhat unified vision of Diu's *colonialness*, the separation between the Portuguese and Gujaratis was not complete. Mention of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement was rarely made in travellers' accounts; its placement far from the sixteenth century 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement inside the citadel and the nineteenth-century Portuguese/catholic dwellings built alongside *Estrada de Torres Novas* facilitates this absence.

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<sup>124</sup> Goa, Bombay, Benares, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Dhaka have all been represented in this manner.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

From the late nineteenth century, the conceptual architecture of bounded zones began to emerge from urban planning and improvement projects as a European neighbourhood appeared to design a 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement for the Portuguese inhabitants of Diu who left the citadel to mingle in the city and start an urban life outside the citadel walls. However, some hierarchies defined by class and occupation were present in Diu, which in part roughly replicated Portuguese-Gujarati racial boundaries maintained across space through discourses of bodily regulation. These were deployed in the name of the planning measures undertaken in Diu that can only be understood when placed in the crossfire of differing opinions harboured by different groups inhabiting the city in order to contain or restrain others within certain spaces of the city. Thus symbolic forms of power were increasingly inscribed upon the built form of cities.

Looking at what is clearly the most important colonial commercial venture for Diu, trade, and reading its architecture through the construction of a 'Gujarat' and a 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements ('black town/white town') delineated before leads only to a further exacerbation of the problems which arise in Daman, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and in many other colonial cities in South Asia. In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were one of several groups of foreign that was given the right to trade. They shared the mercantile riches and prosperities with Dutch, British, French, Armenian, and especially Indian merchants. The locus of the construction of Diu for its colonizers did not lie with the European dwellings, but with the existent citadel and the surrogate port and bazaar. When examined closely, then, the dichotomy of 'black' versus 'white' breaks down. Pulled between focusing on the citadel and focusing on the 'Gujarat' urban settlement at a distance and both enclosed by the city wall, a reading which looks for the 'black' and 'white' beginning at the fort/factory that happened in other European colonial settlements exemplified in this chapter fails to find such a clean distinction. Diu fulfils 'antagonistic tolerance.'<sup>125</sup> Diu has no religious segregation. Diu does not fit the colonial paradigm. Diu is colonial.

### **Conclusion**

It is clear from the preceding discussion that insights from multiple analytical and theoretical frameworks are more appropriate for explaining almost five centuries of European colonial architecture and urbanism in India. Post-structuralist theories such as Foucault's treatise on nature and dynamics of discourse, power, knowledge, and architecture and Said's 'Orientalism' helps us understand the imposition of architecture and urbanism as instruments of domination, subjugation and control, and the discourses that accompanied such practices. As discussed in Foucault's terms, since the late fifteenth century, the logic of most European powers architecture and cities in India was that of spectacle and surveillance. Especially, the use to monumental western architecture to impress their power on the Indians through their built structures. Such architecture blended the ideology of creating a permanent gulf of contempt and fear between the ruler and the ruled.

The importance of discourse, as a source of power, was revealed in the way the Europeans undermined indigenous architecture since the mid-sixteenth century. 'Orientalism' provides insights on how the Europeans made authoritative statements about Indian architecture and culture and manipulated indigenous design elements.<sup>126</sup> Viewed from the post-colonial theoretical perspective, an important feature of this discourse was to vilify Indian architecture on the basis of race, and construct the 'colonized Indians', who are entirely knowable and visible. This concept of Otherness was also used in colonial discourse to distinguish between the 'black town' and the 'white town'. Such discourse not only led to the segregation between the European and the indigenous city but also legitimized the lack of planning in these native parts of the city.

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<sup>125</sup> Hayden, Robert M. 2002. "Antagonistic Tolerance. Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans." In *Current Anthropology*, 43/2: 205-31.

<sup>126</sup> For example, in Diu's hybrid European religious architecture and in British Indo-Sarracenic architecture.

## The city and the other cities. Diu and some European colonial cities.

The architecture promoted by the Portuguese in Diu was Foucault's architecture of surveillance. Citadel and settlement were encircled inside the same wall and within the same island separated a few hundred meters from the mainland. Citadel and settlement can not be considered (as happens in Daman, the other Portuguese example cited here) distinct entities.<sup>127</sup> Diu was a veritable laboratory in which policies of capitalist exploitation and state control were tested before being implemented, albeit usually in milder ways, as happened with religion. In addition to these extensive impacts, colonialism mobilized a series of discursive strategies through which space was claimed, contributing to a distorted geographical knowledge, the impacts of which continue to persist in contemporary imaginaries. The Portuguese, in their own way, variously aestheticized, classified, conceived as debased or ethereally insubstantial, idealized, naturalized and eroticized architectural and urban spatial cultures. As to the physical, spatial (and social) form which the city developed, several possibilities affected the outcome of Diu.

Thus, where an indigenous settlement already existed, the colonists had the following choices, depending on their intentions, numbers, requirement and the stage of colonisation: the site and accommodation is occupied with little or no modifications (Diu); the site and accommodation is occupied but modified and enlarged (as with many small inland colonial urban centres); the existing settlement is razed and built over; the site and accommodation are incorporated into a new planned settlement (Batavia and Colombo); the new settlement is built separate from but close to the existing one (Daman, Cochin, Cannanore and New Delhi); the existing settlement is ignored and a new one is built at a distance from it (Pondicherry). Where there was no previous indigenous settlement, the new foundation can be built for the colonists only; non-colonists (i.e. indigenous inhabitants or 'intervening groups') remain outside, providing their own settlement and accommodation; no other settlement by non-colonial groups is permitted; for the colonists but with separate location and accommodation for indigenous and intervening groups; for colonists and all (or some) of the intervening and indigenous groups in the same area.

Post-colonial theory offers an explanation of the ability of Indians to respond to this architectural imperialism in a deviant fashion. This explains how the Gujaratis were able to selectively choose European elements and resist others in their hybrid architectural choices and urban patterns in all these colonial places. The physical distance (not separation) was conspicuous, through exclusion of selected undesirable populations in the city. Post-colonial theory also explains the failure of the colonial administration in imposing control and order in the walled city and the settlements that developed spontaneously outside it.

Nonetheless, post-colonial theory provides an explanation for compromises that were made in the architectural styles and urban patterns. To move in this direction, an acknowledgement of the colonial discursive construction of 'Portuguese/catholic' versus 'Gujarat' urban settlements must be made. From the mid-sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries, the terms used in accounts, maps, and descriptions of Diu, instead of utilizing them to further ofuscate the colonial construction of urban spaces, analysing and revealing them head-on facilitated an understanding of the very concept of a 'colonial city' and its repercussions for contemporary scholarship on urban space in Diu.

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<sup>127</sup> Gomes, Paulo Varela. "Dans les villes de l'Asie Portugaise: frontieres religieuses." *14,5 Ensaio de História da Arquitectura*. Coimbra: Nova Almedina, 2007, 213.



# EPILOGUE <sup>1</sup>

“a boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing.”<sup>2</sup>

**I**T IS THE EXTRAORDINARILY EARLY BEGINNING and long duration of Portuguese rule and domination in India (1505-1961) and religious tolerance and non-proselytism in Diu, that made of the city an subject for the study on architecture, urbanism, religion, colonialism, and modernity in the *Estado da Índia*. Along with Daman and Goa, the two other enduring Portuguese territorial enclaves further east on the western coast of India, Diu marks today the territory of the longest-held European colony on the South Asian subcontinent. The history of Diu states it as early and long-lasting colonial domination, from 1514 until the last moments of 18 December 1961,<sup>3</sup> which subdued the region for almost half a millennium under Portuguese rule and catholic tolerance.

This study charted out the contours of the history of Diu, the Portuguese colonial city, its spatial cultures and its people from the mid-sixteenth until the mid-twentieth century, since the relations between space and history are

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<sup>1</sup> This conclusion also takes provision from the fictional book *Passos Perdidos* by Paulo Varela Gomes, published in February 2016. When addressing Diu, he refers to the history-writing during the colonial period and addresses historical consciousness of individuals on living in a colonial city located on an island based on solid empirical grounding. Paulo Varela Gomes epitomizes the ‘genius loci’ of Diu.

<sup>2</sup> Originally published as in *Building and Dwelling* [Bauen und Wohnen], Führ, Eduard (ed.), 2000. Munich, Germany: Waxmann Verlag GmbH; New York: Waxmann. Heidegger, Martin. 1971. *Poetry, Language, Thought*. Hofstadter, Albert (trans.). New York: Harper Colophon Books.

<sup>3</sup> Dates of the establishment of a factory in the island and annexation of the territory.

dialogical and reciprocal.<sup>4</sup> Far-reaching transformations marked Portuguese extended period of foreign rule and religious impact in Diu. These included not only the complex changes in society and technology but also the nature of knowledge to which we refer today as the transition from the medieval to the modern era. Each epoch, as Lefebvre notices, produces its own space, imposing a communality of use.<sup>5</sup> Our task here was to recognize the historical patterns of spatial sensitivity and its reflection in city forms and functions. In order to do that, we assimilated an elaborate set of terms related to the city which reflect spatial dimensions. On the one hand, was considered the larger urban entity created in Diu around Portuguese colonial governance, and on the other, was considered the micro-level of the architecture of the ‘Portuguese/catholic’ and ‘Gujarat’ urban settlements and its associated foundings.

As we sought to demonstrate, Diu has been regularly seen and cast as a marginal or frozen space, which is apparently inert and resistant to change.<sup>6</sup> The reasons behind this misconception, we would like to argue, are the hitherto lack of in-depth investigation and the fact that Diu has been marginalised by a colonial historiography dominated by excessive focus on the more obvious and especially accessible sites of colonial power and sites of colonial discourse. The study of Diu has generally been given over to the discussions which took place since the sixteenth century in many writings about military choreographies<sup>7</sup> and trade history<sup>8</sup>, rather than the architectural and urban change.<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly, the dissertation also related to other sites of European colonial cities in India, the urban and architectural study and at the level of domestic and public spaces, which, in effect, constituted a complex network of spaces acted upon by a range of actors. Questions which deal with these latter issues, have fallen to those individuals working with Goa, Delhi and the major Presidency cities (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay). In these places, the wealth of colonial architecture and records for those early building projects allows for a rare glimpse into the machinations of colonialism on the level of urban planning and architectural patronage. The resources for Diu are not as rich, and as a consequence, the study of the city in terms of architectural choices or artistic symbol has not been undertaken prior to this point. Moreover, the lack of extant structures in Diu from the modern period means that Calcutta, rich in colonial architecture dating from the early nineteenth century, or Madras, with edifices dating from the late eighteenth century, serve as primary research sites for many scholars interested in these questions.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Obviously, we took from Foucault, both the title and the inspiration for the dissertation. Therefore, *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*, represents one of the three parts of a threefold engagement with the philosophy and history of spatiality of the colonial city in India. The first part dealt with the hermeneutic ontology of spatiality and was laid in *Diu: a ilha, a muralha, a fortaleza e as cidades* (2001). The second was about the politics of urban life in the colonial city of Mumbai undergoing rapid transformation in (2009). This third part marks the fuller reflexion of the space-power and power-knowledge of architectural and urban colonial spatial practices in Diu.

<sup>5</sup>“Change life! Change Society! These ideas lose completely their meaning without producing an appropriate space. A lesson to be learned from soviet constructivists from the 1920s and 30s, and of their failure, is that new social relations demand a new space, and vice-versa.” Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Nicholson-Smith, Donald (trans.). Oxford: Blackwell. 59.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter 1: “Diu thus became the ‘ugly duckling’ of this frame and was assumed to have had only minimal development over time.”

<sup>7</sup> About the first siege of Diu, see chapter 2 and *inter alia*: Coutinho, Lopo de Sousa (1515-1577). 1890. *História do cerco de Diu*. Lisbon: Typ. do Commercio de Portugal; *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, Albuquerque, Luís de (dir.). Lisbon: Alfa; Dames, M. Longworth - “The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century,” in *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. 1921/1, 1-28; Couto, Dejanirah. 1999. “Les Ottomans et l’Inde Portugaise,” in: *Vasco da Gama and India: religious, cultural and art history*, International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998, Souza, Teotónio R. de, and Garcia, José Manuel, (org.). Lisbon and Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Vol. 1, 181–200; Casale, Giancarlo. 2010. *The Ottoman age of exploration*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 56–63.

<sup>8</sup> Matos, Artur Teodoro de. 1999. *O tombo de Diu 1592*. Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemorations of Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) / Damão de Góis Studies Centre.

<sup>9</sup> Except for: Grancho, Nuno and Rossa, Walter. 2010. “Diu: urbanism, military architecture and religious architecture.” In Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)] Vol. 3 Asia Oceania. 112-125.

<sup>10</sup> Among these scholars who have paved the way for my own research and continue to offer insights into this material are Susan Nield Basu, John Archer and Thomas R. Metcalf. See bibliography for their works.

For its actual conclusions, the dissertation makes a case for rethinking the conceptual and methodological device through which the roles of Diu were recovered within architectural and urban colonial historiography, owing to its concurrents commitment with larger normative processes of design as well as on a local micro scale. This is where the empirical field-work (mapping architectural and urban history through personal observation, local accounts, oral histories, life histories) and a built methodology (using tools from disciplines such as spatial studies, historical studies, cultural anthropology or cultural studies) delivered the grounds for the study. In fact, such an approach did not serve as a mere tool, but as the very ideological basis for the study. While this study developed clear conceptual concerns to look at how space was imagined, produced, modified and semantically received or re-created within architecture and urbanism of Diu, it attempted to do so through its own specific methodological apparatus.

This dissertation has exposed as a replacement a far more unstable idea of the larger process of territorialisation of colonial cities. As perceived in this work, Diu came into existence in the context of the decline of certain types of existing urban settlements, formed under indigenous as well as European patronage, whether pre-colonial or early-colonial. Conversely, even then these cities were, in terms of their actual physical or territorial base, hardly ever founded on a 'blank slate'. One of the essential facets that come into question through this dissertation was the notion that colonial cities invariably represented clear-cut grounds of dominance, where hegemonic and controlling frameworks were unmistakably constructed and made legible in material form. A typical channel through which such arguments are postulated is, for example, the latent idea of these cities being an untouched location, allowing the unhindered inscribing of authoritarian frameworks in the vicinity of, but clearly distinct from, any native settlement.<sup>11</sup> Diu drew upon a pre-existing centre, and hence pre-colonial and early-colonial spatial patterns. The prevailing outline was to a certain or significant extent the consumption of existing physical locations and systems such as centres of military, administrative and/or commercial control. Diu also consistently delimited, confined or was related to other existing settlements and more importantly to hinterland Gujarat within proximity, which more often than not came to influence the colonial city, and which alternated with other Portuguese colonial urban settlements in this role. Diu ranged in size from a small colonial urban settlement with restricted communities to a large, consolidated and enduring colonial city.

This exceptionally diverse under-layer was in fact a foremost source of Diu's many backgrounds that would be considered to have the architectural quality of heterogeneity and the cultural coding of hybridity, and stood in the way of any attempt of just one authoritarian encoding of space.<sup>12</sup> Appraisals of such heterogeneity, though, should not underestimate the fact of the colonial process of stabilising colonial cities in the *Estado da Índia* being deliberate or purposive. Choice of sites for colonial cities seem to be a very considered decision on part of the colonial governance, strategic in political, economic, commercial and administrative terms, as well as in territorial terms. Until the mid-eighteenth century the sites were clearly provided and chosen, first by strategic and military judgments and later, by economic, commercial and infrastructural matters. After the late eighteenth century, the sites were clearly referenced with respect to seats of existing local rulers, activity and implementation of revenue governance, conduct and control of justice, and territorial conditions of the place. There also appears to have been connection between these site-selection procedures and other colonial projects such as land surveys. The former thus seems to have benefited from a growing corpus of colonial knowledge about climate, topography and infrastructure. Nevertheless, both in terms of understanding of territorial networks and strategic choreographies,

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<sup>11</sup> The building of New Delhi on a freshly identified tract segregated from the 'old city', have typically served for such arguments. In reality, however, cases like New Delhi, though immensely significant in symbolic and operational terms, were a minority within the overall colonialism in India. See Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* Oxford: Blackwell; Hosagrahar, Jyoti. 2005. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. London: Routledge.

<sup>12</sup> See analysis to ethnic and religious borders in Portuguese colonial urban settlements in India made by Paulo Varela Gomes in 2007. "Dans les villes de l'Asie Portugaise: frontières religieuses." *14,5 Ensaios de História da Arquitetura*. Coimbra: Nova Almedina. 201-226.

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there were obviously considerable failures and gaps in getting a full standard to have effective control over the situation. Claiming the best plot within the town for colonial governmental institutions was also subject to negotiation with local elites, the *banyans*, and it not infrequently required settling for compromise alternatives. With the gradual understanding that the physical stability of colonial administration was a fundamental scaffold for the larger apparatus of colonial governance, efforts towards land management was thus a continuous and problematic aspect of the development of Diu in the nineteenth century.

By the analysis and comparison made in the dissertation between Diu and other European colonial cities in India, it seems clear that, at the least, colonial urban planning saw changing steps of success and acceptance by locals as happened with the collective 'subscription' of Diu's *Estrada de Torres Novas*. There were thus large breaches between the idea of the colonial city of Diu in the nineteenth century and its governance, and the way it was then actually used and appropriated such that its semantic content was changed or subverted by the population. All this also destabilises assumptions of colonial inhabitation and its spatial practices as being definite, assured and authoritative. In its place, the pattern in Diu seems to suggest susceptibilities, disputes and *ad-hoc* choices being acted upon in a 'trial and error' method by a range of local powers. But it was precisely this that also rented to Diu's spatial culture its character and distinctiveness. These aspects were also fundamentally fuelled by the political ideological philosophies of colonial governance after the Enlightenment in the *Estado da India*, increasingly pre-occupied with the 'improvement' of an 'uncivilised' people from 1830s onwards. Based on the ideas of the Enlightenment - progress and rationalism - discrimination is merely a means to bring betterment to the Gujaratis. In other words, Enlightenment ideas justify both colonialism and disavowal.<sup>13</sup> This attitude gained maximum drive during the planning era that started in the 1850s with the establishment of local self-governments. Such actions go along with the change of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century conceptions of mere salubrity to the late nineteenth century idea of the functional and aesthetic ordering of urban landscape.

An extremely significant dimension of Diu revealed by the dissertation is the split perceptions, contradictions and inconsistencies, which is arguably the fundamental aspect for understanding Diu's spatial cultures, the Gujarati and the Portuguese. It appears to have operated at many a position on a real or imaginary scale of amount, quantity, extent, or quality, between the imagined and experienced interpretations, between European and Gujarati knowledge, or between the reference calibrations for such readings (such as rural-urban scale). Diu was clearly seen as rural, urban, or rural and urban at the same time.<sup>14</sup> This was a perception that appears to have been shared both by the Portuguese officers as well as the Gujarati middle and upper-middle class population, albeit from rather different premises.<sup>15</sup> Such an image was also pursued at varying scales from urban-level landscape schemes to the model of individual houses.

One of the foundational subjects that the study reveals is the role of Diu within an inter-dependent system of colonial topography, embracing a built landscape between rural and urban locations, whereby the core of the city came to epitomise and act as a key 'in-between'<sup>16</sup> space. It played a precarious part between extremities of urban-

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<sup>13</sup> In his essay 'Of Mimicry and Man', Bhabha develops an argument about the purpose and procedures of the 'colonial' civilising mission of Europeans under the concept of mimicry. For Bhabha, 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*'. (Bhabha's italics). Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 86.

<sup>14</sup> See: Brito, Raquel Soeiro de. 1966. *Goa e as Praças do Norte*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar and Gomes, Paulo Varela. 2016. *Passos Perdidos*. Lisbon: Tinta da China.

<sup>15</sup> See the ideas developed Paulo Varela Gomes about recognition and empathy in: Gomes Paulo Varela. 2012. "Perspectives of World Art Research: form, recognition and empathy" paper presented at the *Opler Conference*, Worcester College, Oxford, March 29-31. Unpublished.

<sup>16</sup> "The stairwell as liminal space, 'in-between' the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy." Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The location of culture*. London & New York: Routledge, 3-4. In an effort to deal with these

rural hierarchies and polarities. This was the foremost lead behind the spatial formation of the split-identity, which in turn manifested itself at different scale levels (e.g. building typology to urban form), as well as in various domains of functioning (e.g. home, work and public life). The core of this curiously schizophrenic space was occupied by the core of Diu constituted by the mosque, the port and the bazaar, which provided the locus around which such a plural and 'in-between' spatial culture developed after the Portuguese arrival in the city. On one hand, for the Portuguese population, it was a result of an image and visualization of Diu, depicted by nineteenth century artists, as representing a place in the 'country' and the association of local life in India with land and resources usually available only back in Portugal. On the other hand, for the Gujarati middle and upper-middle class population, the city inside the walls of Diu represented a move to the 'town' and stood for an advantageous trade-off between several features. On one hand, such a move offered the profitable and utilitarian assets derived from trade and the cultural and intellectual capital derived from formal institutions. On the other hand, it still offered, albeit in a modified form, the social capital derived from the hereditary and kinship networks that were invariably drawn into the town.<sup>17</sup> But significantly, the middle-class Gujarati ingenuity of a tree-filled town and their own houses was deeply rooted in a search for autonomy of space, one that could be custom-made to individual needs for expression of identity and a sensory aesthetic, space standards, including but going beyond the realm of the material. Also, the perception of the urban dwelling was associated with emergent conjectural ideas that one's inner beauty shared an adjoining space with the outer materiality of one's immediate environment. Mutually these desires, the pursuit of (inner) beauty and the pursuit of autonomy by architecture, seem to have been products of a colonial modernity that the intermediate location of Diu mobilised within eclectic nineteenth century notions. Though, despite their different foundation, there was a certain similitude in the perception of Diu, they attempted to construct it as a unified and entity, through a search by Portuguese and Gujarati elites.

Notwithstanding Diu's heterogeneous social and economic base, the colonial architectural and urban composite did come to act as its nerve centre and of its urbanity right from the sixteenth and into the twentieth century. It was in the vicinity of this node that the larger sphere of governmental, domestic and public spaces of the city was built. In that sense, the 'riverine neighbourhood' - port, market, governors' palace, civil court - provided the resilient functional and symbolic layer for the city. The development and use of the 'picturesque' in the representations of Diu, situates the colonial city within the contexts of the *Estado da Índia* and of the European colonial cities in India and how this connects to the development in Europe at that time. Correspondingly, links between the spatial cultures of domesticity in the *Estado da Índia* and in Portugal during the nineteenth century could be studied in a comparative and inter-connected format, since colony and metropole are a single analytical field.<sup>18</sup> The use of the aesthetic category of the picturesque in descriptions of Diu (and to some extent of colonial India as well) bears the trace of a barely concealed tropical anxiety. Such anxiety appears at the moment of slippage

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'in-between' categories of competing cultural differences, Bhabha attempts to shed light upon the 'liminal' negotiation of cultural identity across differences of race, class, gender, and cultural traditions. Bhabha emphasizes what he describes as culture's 'in-between,' for instance, the interstitial spaces within and among individuals and cultures, which do not maintain a single position but form identities in an on-going process. See also, Bhabha, Homi K. 2011. "Culture's In-Between," In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Hall, Stuart and Gay du, Paul, (eds.). London: Sage Publications. 53-60.

<sup>17</sup>I take here Pierre Bourdieu's construction of capital beyond economic, physical or human, to the larger domains of social, cultural and symbolic capital: 'a general science of the economy of practices that does not artificially limit itself to those practices that are socially recognised as economic must endeavour to grasp capital, that 'energy of social physics' [...] in all of its different form [...] I have shown that capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital.' He goes on to define social capital as follows: '[...] social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.' Bourdieu, Pierre, and Wacquant, Loic J. D. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>18</sup>Stoler, Ann and Frederick Cooper. 1997. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 4.

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between desire and experience, between depictive mastery and inadequacy of the illustrative strategy, and takes the form of an unexpected outcome of the process of representation, that marks the passage from picturesque paintings to cartography.

This dissertation also brings to light how the 'riverine neighbourhood' was equally intensively dependent for governance on other urban domains - official and social, formal and informal, governmental and private - and on spatial networks extending right into rural areas. It thus operated as the heart of a larger, dispersed, even now and then diffuse, system of buildings and spaces which ranged from subsidiary institutions of governance like post offices, educational, leisure, entertainment and civic institutions - bazaars, temples, and mosques; other extended sites of governance and work such as the governors' palace and administration offices - all of which sustained well the infrastructure of Diu's colonial administration. This, sequentially, brings us to important questions on the larger subject of spatial classification of the modern colonial state and governance per se. Modern states have typically been understood in terms of consolidated and consistent spatial patterns and practices, which, the findings of this dissertation actively de-stabilise such readings being particularly heightened in the analysis of colonial spatiality of Diu.

In addition to spatial mechanisms of ethnic, racial and gender variation, the most common concern of the 'builders' of Diu was their confrontation with the local building traditions and the 'translation' to the urban tissue of the colonized city. In this regard, Diu's architectural tradition was examined in relation to Diu's own specific history. Examples of large-scale demolition of existing urban fabric, conservation according to Western values of preservation, and buildings designed as replicas of architectural styles in the mother country or imitations of local styles as a means to gain the sympathy of the colonized are too diverse to generalize in neatly fixed patterns. Nonetheless, Diu's colonial architecture is perhaps one of the best examples in *Estado da Índia* through which one realizes the limits of architects in sustaining critical building practice within the Portuguese hegemonic setting. Although an overview of domestic spaces and urban houses was presented in chapter 4, public and institutional buildings likewise offer value and object for full-fledged research work.

As understood in chapters 4 and 5, residential and institutional buildings in public mixed or 'contact' zones or in Gujarati areas were often and repeatedly characterised by an arrangement between neo-classical or islamic and hindu architectures on their exterior, while their plans tended to be based on a structure/façade matrix or else a courtyard format. The structure/façade matrix form however was very much a product of the colonial era with layering of work and home spaces. The courtyard matrix form in this context clearly had a pre-colonial and rural lineage. But irrespective of its origins, what is critical is the fact that the matrix was a paradigm that served virtually as a 'universal' typology, shared across functional domains, and between Portuguese and Gujarati ownership. These hybrid, adaptable and mixed architectural paradigms found particularly profuse use in institutional buildings. Most institutional buildings, were modelled on extroverted forms with vast open spaces attached. On the other hand, again undermining any singular designs, catholic religious institutions were to be located in the midst of 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement and to use structure/façade matrix typological hybrids of introverted courtyard and extroverted forms to play their role of symbolic icons in the urban landscape.<sup>19</sup> Diu's catholic religious architecture, sometimes built under Gujarati patronage, repeatedly became eclectic in its ideological basis as well as its typological and aesthetic character, and as such enthusiastically played a part in delivering in an equal and reciprocal relationship the modern colonial 'public sphere'. Briefly, as is apparent from this study, a range of paradigms grew and proliferated in Diu, and pure categories could only rarely be sustained within the city's spatial milieu.

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<sup>19</sup> Gomes Varela, Paulo. 2011. *Whitewash, Red stone. A history of church architecture in Goa*. New Delhi: Yoda Press. 18-23.

As traced in chapter 5, much of Diu's organisational structure and the segmentation of its functions and spaces (e.g. military, treasury, customs, records, etc.) was remotely rooted through the early Portuguese commercial 'factory.' However, the study argues that it also represented a fundamental shift from the 'factory' in the way it needed to gear up operationally and spatially for revenue collection in Diu, compared with the initial defensive and introverted trading post until the late seventeenth century, whereby a far greater open colonial city was required. The architecture was characteristically spread over locations in a particularly loose establishment, and the buildings were punctured by openings. Accordingly, this created a system of elastic, nebulous and unformulated spaces within and between buildings, where social networks were fluid and spilled over beyond the boundaries of limited buildings. Such spatiality that has no fixed shape and yielded easily to external pressure, naturally lent itself to being taken in a number of ways by traders, travellers, clerks and lower-level staff, informal service providers many of whom did not otherwise have organised spatial provision. It also raised a hazardous and uncertain combination of exposure and secrecy which fostered a wide band of happenings dependent on trade. These oscillated between non-official sustenance facilities that backed up the official functions, social clustering, and informal interactions that often undermined the formal frameworks of Diu's administration.

This dissertation points out some shifts in the conception of architectural designs during the nineteenth century (also an indicator of a trend in the overall governmental design culture during the period in Portuguese empire in general and in Diu in particular). One of the findings of the study is that, on the whole, in terms of its design and the process by which colonial architecture was built, it moved from rather flexible formats to increasingly deterministic ones over the course of the nineteenth century. The study also establishes that there were breaches between such conceptions in agency on the one hand and their actual reception, use and appropriation by users and providers on the other hand. Concomitantly, the innate system of ordering and homogenisation that this demanded bore symbolic value as well. But it was only after the mid-nineteenth century that Diu's colonial architecture really took a publicly symbolic and representational turn, as demonstrated in chapters 2 and 5, attempting to articulate it as part of a larger, authoritative, structure of *Estado da Índia*, as enacted out through an architectural stylistic shift. This was made possible thanks to the 'Indo-Portuguese' imperial architectural style that developed from the mid sixteenth century onwards, accompanied by attempts to unify governmental buildings into single and comprehensive structures. The standardisation of design from the mid nineteenth century appears to have had little to do with symbolic representation of Empire and more to do with economy, simplification and rationalisation as a ubiquitous value base for modernisation.

As mentioned before, this study identifies one of the key factors affecting the spatial culture of Diu as being the fluid connections between these different spheres and spaces. Due to the fact that colonial cities had a history of combined home (residential) and public (offices and religious) spaces, even its later official architecture was rooted in residential forms. All these paradigms operated simultaneously within the fluid and ambiguous space of city functions. The governors' palace was the core of Diu for a larger network of extended sites of governance, and domestic and public spaces, all intricately tied to colonial administration. This acts as a product of Diu's location, which allowed generous overlaps between the domains, and which operated at many different levels. The first of these was the culture of shared work and home spaces. As revealed, the governor practised architectural functional overlap, as 'office-home' and 'home-office' respectively. The overlap induced a fluid relationship between space, time and function. Finally, the overlap was a degree of typological non fixity and inter changeability. Such functional and temporal overlap, and typological inter changeability, was all the more evident in spaces where work, home and leisure were intricately juxtaposed as the northern riverine side of Diu. In addition, the same architectural unit often doubled or trebled up for different functions such as the neighbourhood, living quarters and dwelling. This was largely possible because the different functions shared common typological formats whereby interchange was easy.

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This dissertation also identifies rural-urban relationships as being another catalyst of the spatial culture of Diu. Colonial urbanisation fundamentally involved a rural/urban split along with a differential development of privilege/provision. But correspondingly, these varied locations - city, settlement or village - continued to remain intrinsically connected, since most inhabitants of Diu retained strong links with the places from the rest of the island while enjoying the susceptibility of urban living. One of the most visible spheres where an urban/rural dialectic was shaped was in the Gujarati domestic spaces, which replicated multiple rural features as seen in chapter 4. This was done, first, in the incremental nature of the urban dwelling; and second, in its exterior-interior delineations, pursuing the cohesive accumulation of rurality in the inner sphere and the extroverted publicness of urban life in the outer sphere of architecture. Urban dwellings also took a variety of hybrid forms (e.g. loose aggregate, tight courtyard, ranging from houses to *havelis*) depending on their location within the town or the plot size, again as seen in chapter 4.

Until the end of last century, the colonial city outlines seemed rather plain and clear in Diu. As with the literature on colonial cities almost everywhere else, works on Diu underlined the dual and shared nature of urban space. These accounts proposed that race and class were factually inscribed in the built environment, arguing that the city was both parted, tolerant and non-proselitic. Accordingly, the urban spatial culture in Diu was said to be structured by oppositions: 'the city proper' split off from the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, the 'other side' Portuguese from Gujarati, stone mansions from mud huts. In broad outline, this portrait seems to echo Frantz Fanon's 1968's classic 'manichean' description of the colonial city reproduced in chapter 5. And yet the current research about Diu's colonial context, suggests that this dualistic interpretation of urban form and social life masks a far more complicated and contradictory *status quo*. There, the colonial state and the elites struggled to impose their vision on urban space. In fact, Portuguese officials were perpetually frustrated in their attempts to create a more 'rational' and 'orderly' urban milieu. From the earliest days of Portuguese presence in Diu, they possessed only an incomplete grasp of the complexities of city space. The unruliness of urban life often interrupted their efforts to make the city follow a grid of abstract legal definitions and bureaucratic rules. Despite their efforts, attempts to achieve a master plan for the city repeatedly collapsed in disarray.

Our ubiquity of references in the whole dissertation to 'Portuguese/catholic' and 'Gujarat' urban settlements obscured the understanding of colonial space, since, Diu it is too complex to be usefully described in mere terms of the duality of black versus white towns. The hegemony of these dualistic images lies at the root of the problem, blocking or masking other interpretive possibilities.<sup>20</sup> The city consisted of ambivalent and overlapping geographies and conceptions of space and territory, Gujarati, western Indian and European, that had been negotiated since the sixteenth century, after Portuguese arrival, and therefore anticipating the urban paradigm that would be pointed out much later to all the other European colonial cities in India. Not surprisingly, the "curved yellow line" of demarcation between the *gentiles* and the christians shifted depending on the context and the perception of the observer.<sup>21</sup> We contributed to close this gap by describing and explaining the city during the nineteenth century with the help of the organization of plans and depictions as a means to supply a place in which functions of buildings changed frequently and residences were used for non-residential purposes and vice versa. The blurring of boundaries lied in the heterogeneous use as well as the heterogeneous population who inhabited the buildings. We understood why the nature and structure of the 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements and the predicament of the inclusions and exclusions they implied in order to sustain the Portuguese imperial narrative of difference supported in the *Estado da Índia*. On the other

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<sup>20</sup> In her analysis of the limits of 'white town' in colonial Calcutta, Chattopadhyay starts out by noting the ubiquity of references to dual cities, arguing that this perspective has obscured our understanding of colonial space.

<sup>21</sup> See 'yellow line' in cartography of 1783, *Planta da Fortaleza e Cidade de Diu, Que por ordem do Ill. Exmo. Senhor D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza a tirou o Capitão Engenheiro João Antonio Sarmento. 1783*. [Public and Municipal Library of Porto, C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35)].

hand, we situated a certain kind of ambivalence<sup>22</sup> in the discourse of identity and representation of the colonial city of Diu, that is, in the contradiction between the desire of the Portuguese to see themselves repeated in the Gujaratis and the rejection of that repeated Other - the 'translation,' or the copy - not order to keep their authority, as fundamentally happened in other colonial cities in India, but in order to keep the tolerant *status quo*. This explains one of Diu's most celebrated contributions to the study of colonial city: the dismantling of the straightforward dichotomy between Self and Other, represented by the dual cities concept.<sup>23</sup>

The spatial culture of the city was also affected by the relative location and the way in which each the parts of the 'Portuguese/catholic' and the 'Gujarat' urban settlements are related to the other or others, and the links between military, religious, governmental, domestic and other public spaces, as well as by the internal fragments within each of these categories. A definitive example of this was the relationship between the Parsi neighbourhood and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlement, which were either forced to share the same site or develop as two distinct nodes within the same urban unit in town, colliding in the same urban border 'in-between' two distinct urban entities: the 'Gujarat' and the 'Portuguese/catholic' urban settlements. Added to this were other networks within the colonial city, such as trade or governance, which created their own subsidiary systems such as the port and the government palace and civil court. The same was true for spaces built with mainly Gujarati patronage in the core of the 'Gujarat' urban settlement; indeed, there were many different types of Gujarati institutions, sometimes creating territorially distinct areas sometimes that followed different ideological and spatial paradigms.

Colonial designs, such as the infrastructural urban development on the northern riverine limit (port plus market) and the opening of *Torres Novas* road, rather than successfully reworking space, repeatedly failed to rationalize the urban sphere of Diu. These schemes, sponsored by an overextended and disjunctive patronage apparatus, foundered indeed in the breach between intention and implementation, hindered by internal disarray as well as the incapacity of legal and bureaucratic instruments to reorder the totality of the everyday. Yet by stressing the insufficiency of imperial designs on the city, we do not mean to suggest that they were either ineffable or inconsequential. Failure in this sense should not be seen as mere irrationality. If schemes to reorder the city were indeterminate and grounded, they also had very material results, with deep inferences for our understanding of the materiality and meaning of colonial power. The development of these plans served as reasoning for the reformist statements of the *Estado da Índia*, consumed inordinate amounts of resources and energy, promoted an expansive administrative apparatus, and inserted colonial subjects within a haphazard legal and bureaucratic imperative that was all the more dominating because of its capricious and amorphous nature. If the plans never came to completion, the impact was anything but intangible, and indeed, the results continue to be felt down to the present.

In other words, this dissertation reveals that urbanisation of Diu through infrastructural development, building of institutional architecture and dwelling, represented a vital channel of modernity in the colonial city from the

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<sup>22</sup> Psychoanalysis argues that no identity is single and complete but, on the contrary, that all identities are torn within themselves, inhabited by internal conflicts and contradictions: ambivalent. In Bhabha's view, this ambivalence shows that the colonisers are also internally in conflict between their wish to repeat themselves in the colonised (what Bhabha calls the 'narcissistic demand') and the anxiety of their disappearance as a result of the repetition; because if the Other turns into the same, difference is eliminated, as are the grounds to claim superiority over it. Bhabha is teleological, or purpose driven, in reducing a problem that is broad and complex, with more to it than the coexistence of opposite instincts within the same psychic space, in order to suit his postcolonial theory. Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 85-92.

<sup>23</sup> Freud also uses the notion of ambivalence in order to discuss how people in certain conditions of adjoining territoriality relinquish the satisfaction of their tendency to aggression in order to attain a measure of security. Taking the Spanish and the Portuguese, as example of an ambivalent relationship of love and hate, Freud argues that "it is always possible to bind quite large numbers of people together in love, provided that others are left out as targets for their aggression." Freud, Sigmund. 2002. *Civilisation and Its Discontents*. London: Penguin Classics. 50.

late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, and that the spatial culture of the city was a central bearer of this modernity. Nevertheless, the modernity did not mean the simple 'preservation' of pre-colonial spatial practices, nor did it mean a pure move to western spatial paradigms. Instead, it involved the self-motivated and active capacity to negotiate and respond to a situation where diverse and sometimes conflicting paradigms encountered each other. This was pivoted on the aptitude to create newer, pluralistic, eclectic and hybrid spatial patterns. Accordingly, this provided the basis for the formation of a composite spatial sphere, which connected Gujarati and Portuguese agency and custody. Yet, remarkably, most of this was achieved through the use of a fairly limited range of basic architectural types by modulating them to create hybrids variants which fitted a variety of situations. These typologies proved to be enduring patterns over the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

The essential and structural apparatus for the grounding of Diu's modernity and its eclectic spatial paradigms were the change and susceptibility of its spatial cultures. A reason for this could be Diu's 'in-between' status, from island to mainland, rural to urban, settlement to city, European to Indian, Portuguese to Gujarati, that was prevalent from the early beginning and long duration of Portuguese rule and catholic religious incidence. This 'periodic' colonial separation from the rest of Gujarat, its previous remoteness, and its status as a former sovereignty separated from the hinterland, have contributed to a prevailing sense of a distinct Diu identity that is by implication superior to being Gujarati.

Having said that, the primary form of identification for most of the people with from Diu is caste, either to describe themselves or to define another person or persons. Some have gone on to discuss clan membership; religious affiliation has also been a particularly potent means of identification. In the space of this dissertation, the plurality of identity starts to emerge and also the ways an identity may be bounded and described – by caste, geography, language and religion, for example. In this respect, historian and political scientist Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' (actually applied to a study of nationalism) has been useful in understanding what unifies people into a particular form of group identity.

Such fluidity and heterogeneity, in turn played out through the overall essence and attributes of Diu by challenging in several ways: first, the clear cut territorial patterns and according identical possession and cultural practices; second, typological resourcefulness, adaptability, universality and changeability; thirdly, the cohabitation of architectural paradigms (e.g. rural house, urban house, *haveli*); also, the time-space-function fluidity (e.g. between work, home and leisure spaces); the flow of proceedings between agencies and domains (e.g. military, governmental, private institutional or residential architecture); the heterogeneity and the asymmetry within classifications like Portuguese and Gujarati or intitutional, domestic and public; the production of architecture and urban landscape by Portuguese and Gujarati actors, not just by colonial frameworks (e.g. *Torres Novas* road); also, the commitment of Diu social groups in developing new and eclectic spatial practices, alteration, appropriation, adjustment and sometimes subversion of normative frameworks through actions of social groups (e.g. *Torres Novas* road); the paradigmatic Diu's architectural hybridity<sup>24</sup> (e.g. the *haveli* as an overlap of the

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<sup>24</sup> Hybridity was (mainly) brought to scholarship in recent decades by Homi K. Bhabha. He resorts to theories of translation and to psychoanalysis in order to prove that languages, cultures and identities are fragmented, heterogeneous and ambivalent. Bhabha lays out his ideas about hybridity in an article entitled 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817', published in *Critical Enquiry* in 1985 and in the book *The Location of Culture* in 1994. In postcolonial theory instead of simply the straight mixture of elements which form a new one, hybridity has several connotations. It refers to cultural productivity that emerges on the margins of culture and between cultures as a space where cultural elements are continually rearticulated and reconstituted. Hybridity also expresses the process of rearticulation of culture, hybridisation, a process in which cultural elements change in relation to themselves and to one another; they continue to hybridise. Processes of cultural hybridisation, hence, rather than disappearing in a merger, perpetuate difference and, indeed, multiply it.

As a result, the concept of cultural hybridity has multiple theoretical effects: it helps to dismantle binary systems of cultural analysis; it unsettles the idea that cultures are, or were, once pure and homogeneous; it disrupts the recognition of authority because it illustrates an endless proliferation of cultural difference; it helps to authorise cultural practices which do not correspond exactly to the parameters of hegemonic systems of cultural classification.

Gujarati hut and the Portuguese house, or the *khadki* form as a combination of extroverted and introverted models); and to conclude, the consequent Diu's urban hybridity. While this focus on hybridity is necessary and not out of place, this particular framing of the encounter poses two problems before us. One is that it continues to play out a colonial Orientalist tendency to classify communities with a religion, hence the Portuguese colonizers with catholicism, and the local inhabitants with hinduism or islam (if such a 'notion' already existed at the time of colonial arrival in Diu). Another problem with this understanding of architecture and urbanism in Diu is that it by and large ignores the impact of islam, more often than not content with discharging it with a reference to hindu-muslim forms in architecture.

To discuss cultural mixing in colonial context is, among other things, to describe and lend shape to the legacy of colonization. Diu is a plural, hybrid, and multi-layered space and susceptible to having many applications, interpretations, meanings, and values.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, this work validates that these combined ideas were in reality complicated by Diu's very nature, first by a logocentric assumption of cultural solidarity among a heterogeneous people, and second, by a dependence upon Western scholars to "speak for" the subaltern condition rather than allowing them to speak for themselves. Hence, its architectural and urban hybridity came not just from its pre-existing under-layers, but was also the result of the added development of its components at different points of its history, as settled and acted upon by Diu's social groups.

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However, hybridity also has adverse implications. Amongst the most notable is that hybridity could be considered as a sign of impurity, the result of a mixture or combination which does not have the same status of the 'original'. In fact, this usage of the term hybridity allows for the confirmation of cultural 'originality' and 'purity', because when something is categorised as hybrid the implication is that it is the result of a combination of elements that are not.

In 'Of Mimicry and Man', an essay included in *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha develops an argument about the concept of mimicry. For him, 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of difference *that is almost the same, but not quite.*' (Bhabha's italics). These words can also be taken to embody his concept of hybridity in the sense that it represents cultural designations whose position within the binary structure of colonial representation is imprecise (for example, a building or a class of people); their difference prevents exact identification or classification within any prior culture (or system of signification). That is why Bhabha further defines mimicry as 'the sign of the inappropriate [...] a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance and poses an imminent threat to both 'normalised' knowledges and disciplinary powers.' The purpose of this abbreviated discussion on Bhabha's concept of mimicry is to contextualise the emergence of hybridity as a result of the mimetic architectural and urban colonial strategy. If mimicry refers to the process of doubling (the purpose of the civilising mission), hybridity represents the cultural products of such an imbalanced and contradictory (ambivalent) process. Hybridity and mimicry are theorised along the same methodological framework, translation and ambivalence, with the purpose to unsettle the basis upon which claims for colonial authority are made. See, Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge, especially 86.

Because mixing was, and is, cultural and biological, many of the most long-lived terms evoke both culture and biology. 'Criollo,' was a term used in the colonial period to designate the offspring of Spanish and indigenous couplings to describe Latin American cultural hybrids, introduced by George Kubler to describe art (*casta* paintings) and architecture representing mixing of European and native American cultural forms and practices. At stake in one's language, then, are the political connotations of endorsing one explanatory model over another, and thus aligning oneself with certain positions on European conquest and expansion, indigenous claims to identity, and understandings of historical struggle. For instance, in Kubler writings, the term 'convergence' accrued, then shed its ideological and political connotations, only to be reinvested with yet others. He described 'convergence' as "unconnected cultural traditions [that] produce similar behavior patterns which are inter-changeable in the colony for aims approved by the ruling group". [Kubler, George. [1961] 1985. "On the colonial extinction of the motifs of pre-Columbian art." In *Studies in ancient American and European art*, Reese, Thomas (ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press. 66–74.]

'Syncretism,' 'convergence,' 'pastiche' and 'mixing' evoke combinatory practices and events, and have been used in ways similar to 'hybridity.' Moreover, all of these terms throw into relief questions of purity and authenticity.

That is, they all accent discrete cultural origins that combine in ways that yet betray some past act of combining such that they insist on (rather than deny) cultural intercourse. Yet none of these words, carries the political charge of "hybrid" and "hybridity".

Special attention is given to the concepts of hybridity and ambiguity in architecture, in the book from 1966 "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture" by Robert Venturi, where the author addresses issues such as reverberation in the architectural history and the primacy of architectural form. See: Venturi, Robert. 1966. *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.

<sup>25</sup> While we recognize that the colonialist context of nineteenth-century Europe, where "hybridity" first became persuasive, lends the term some of its charge, more important for this debate is the appearance of "hybridity" in the realm of postcolonial studies. In these contexts, "hybridity" refers less to biology and organic processes than to political and cultural events in which conquest and colonization, resistance and subversion, play significant roles. Moreover, the discussion of hybridity transpired in Diu in an arena where there is a recognizable subaltern presence. To invoke "hybridity" here, then, is to raise questions about (if not also align one's scholarship with) the subaltern, the previously colonized, or, at the very least, with postcolonial theory. Given that "hybridity" bears these highly charged political connotations we believe that the identification of objects or cultural practices in Diu as "hybrids", and our ways of recognizing them as such call for explication.

## *Diu, a social architectural and urban history*

Diu's hybridity helps to question one of the most significant topics of colonial urbanism in India, that is the 'black town' / 'white town', dominant/dependent, Portuguese/Gujarati, catholic/gentile binary paradigms that have usually been associated with readings of Diu's spatial culture in particular and especially of reading from the Western historiography of the European colonial city in general. Archetypally, these accept that there were given, determinate and consistent forms of the 'black' town (irregular and dense streets, courtyard dwellings built edge-to-edge, exclusively inhabited by the native/indigenous population), against which a 'white' spatial paradigm (regular layout, low-density houses, entirely inhabited by the Portuguese/European population) was compared alongside. While the black town/fort dichotomy might seem correct on the surface, in actuality it occludes critical features of colonial space. From this dissertation, however, it is unmistakably obvious that such an unambiguously polarised framework when we address architecture and city is inadequate to understand Diu.

First of all, there doesn't seem to have been any consistent and singular 'Portuguese' or 'Gujarati' spatial paradigms and inhabitation patterns. Even though the Portuguese clearly tried to settle in areas separate from the Gujarati, such clear distinctions of settlements could rarely be preserved. In effect, Diu developed 'contact zones'<sup>26</sup> - typically a mix of public functions and residential areas - which acted as connectors between the 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati' urban settlements, but, more importantly, the dominant characteristics of one category were found a-plenty in the other. Secondly, it should be mentioned that this happened circa 200 hundred years before the 'dual city' paradigm was established by the European colonial cities in general. This gives to the colonial city of Diu an urban idiosyncratic feature that collides with the general assumption and acceptance of segregation of colonizer/ruler and colonized/ruled enclosed within the same urban space. The balance of power in Diu between Gujaratis and Portuguese was the result of 'antagonistic tolerance'<sup>27</sup> between social groups and consequently a common urban identity that was an outcome of this coexistence. Religious tolerance and cultural hegemony were ameliorated, if only partially, by the mid-seventeenth century, when the balance of influence between hindus, jains, muslims, zoroastrians and catholics was allowed to develop and grow. For example, the 'Portuguese' urban settlement housed a high share of Gujaratis and support establishments, with their corresponding buildings and lifestyles. The *haveli* itself was the customised answer to the demands of an extremely mixed lifestyle, in that it combined notions of domesticity with the exigencies and comforts offered (spaces, devices, staff) by local conditions. On the other hand, the 'Gujarat' urban settlement, though it rarely had Portuguese people living in it, was a place where hybrid spaces, composed between rural and urban life and 'in-between' Portuguese and Gujarati paradigms, were being forged. The *haveli* was an example of such mediation, in the way it connected the inner interior realm of the house, fashioned largely on rural dwellings, to the urban public realm.

On another level, this dissertation does not hold in contempt or refute the statement that Portuguese colonial architecture and city in India had "authoritarian hegemonic practices."<sup>28</sup> Nor does it try to obliterate spatial classifications like 'black'/'white' town in colonial urban settlements, since in Diu, a distinction even between 'Portuguese' and 'Gujarati' urban settlements exists implicitly. However, the dissertation deliberately and emphatically wishes to question and complicate these categories in favour of other readings far more compound and intricate, due both to multi-layered interactions of the Portuguese with the Gujaratis, as well as due to the

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<sup>26</sup> 'Social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.' See, *inter alia*: Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* London & New York: Routledge. 4. Interactions between global and local, transnational and national, identity and difference, conjuncturalism and identity politics, space and time have become important areas of research as the study of culture, society, and power has become increasingly comparative, historical, and global in scope.

<sup>27</sup> The term 'tolerance' means here non-interference. Hayden, Robert M. 2002. "Antagonistic Tolerance. Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans", *Current Anthropology*, 43/ 2.

<sup>28</sup> Foucault, Michel. 2001. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*. Rabinow, Paul (ed.), New York: New Press. 98.

complex connections between each of these categories internal fragments and heterogeneity. Consequently, we suggest that we should pay attention to Diu instead as a general overlay of a 'black' / 'white' town along with a composite, active over-layer of multiples centres or domains, complex relations, and inter-dependent networks of people and space.

At the theoretical level too, one of the noteworthy subjects that turns out to be plausible through the dissertation is that just as casting European colonial spaces as singularly and merely "authoritarian hegemonic" as mentioned before would be a biased and prejudiced view, even analytical structures that theorise strong regulating frameworks set up by colonial authorities in binary opposition to their subsequent disruption by Gujarati agency, are also scarce and unsubstantial for discussing the settings in question. While the study does expose that some aspects of Diu's spatial culture were noticeably subject to dominance-dependence or dominance-subversion relationships, it correspondingly makes known their confines in qualifying the spatial cultures in question. It actively states again strongly the role of spatial practices beyond these categories, standing not just out of dependence, but chiefly standing equally out of a *status quo* of tolerance through antagonism<sup>29</sup> between the Portuguese and the Gujaratis with active actions of people to shape architectural and urban spatial paradigms of work and living and through complex interplays between separate forces and distinct players.

The study thus argues that the spatiality of Diu has to be necessarily seen as an issue of a network of multiple actors, domains, centres and flows, more along the lines of 'power as embedded social practice,' and 'power as net,' that Foucault enumerated (rather than the 'power as authoritarian hegemonic practices' that Foucault's work has largely been interpreted as).<sup>30</sup> But clearly there is much to be gained in postcolonial architectural studies by shifting focus onto how central frameworks of power intersected with local practices, and how local practices shaped each other, and how spaces were acted upon by different actors at various levels. It is determinant is that postcolonial theory, whether used in Calcutta or in Diu, does not apply at all or at least does not apply in the same way in such different colonial spaces. The persistent interaction of colonial subjects sharing and negotiating the same spatial culture in Diu, as seen throughout the histories of its settlements and other narratives of earlier chapters, reveals a unifying pattern of colonial discourse at the conception of the 'colonial city' which elides the complexities of Diu's space and history.

In terms of analytical tools, our approach of spanning between physical scales (that of urban morphology and building typology), of looking at literary texts alongside the physical reading of spaces, and addressing the voices of a range of social groups rather than adhere to simplified categories, all provided significant inspiration for the methodological orientation of the study. The overlapping spatial culture of Diu discussed in the dissertation, the citadel separated from the residential and institutional space and directing its presence at a distance from the old and walled city, indicate that precisely Diu was not framed as the archetypal European colonial 'dual' city through dependence, authority, or resistance. Such a notion also breaks down the notion of the polarities of the two cultures in question and places the emphasis, instead, on the producing the multiple and shifting identities (or assemblages) or overlapping of identities of Diu. Diu's spatial cultures reveal the inconsistencies and gaps within that neatly defined terminology.

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<sup>29</sup>The term here develops a concept of competitive sharing to explain how places that have long been shared by members of differing religious communities and may even exhibit syncretic mixtures of the practices of both may come to be seized or destroyed by members of one of them in order to manifest dominance over the other. This competitive sharing is compatible with the passive meaning of 'tolerance' as non-interference but incompatible with the active meaning of tolerance as embracing of the Other.

<sup>30</sup>Foucault, Michel. 2001. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*. Rabinow, Paul (ed.). New York: New Press. 98.

### **Where the future might turn next**

In terms of possible future research topics, this study would hopefully be one of the first (but not the last) in Portuguese historiography to establish that colonial spaces such as Diu, constitute and present potential for crucial sites of enquiry which contemporary analysis of colonial and postcolonial architecture needs to open up. In this connection, it emphasises the importance of engagement with peripheral and marginal sites and spaces (generously defined) in studies of architectural and urban history as such, especially borderland spaces such as Diu.<sup>31</sup> This dissertation offers an important contribution to colonial urban studies because it succeeds in the difficult endeavour of questioning and reformulating the very terms of discussion that go so far in the establishment of Western paradigms of knowledge that most scholars rely on to this day. This is no small task.<sup>32</sup> Attempting constructive studies while revamping pre-existing classifications is akin to changing the basic elements while using it. Despite earnest efforts to challenge the prevailing paradigms or architectural and urban analysis, we have seemed to be destined to reproduce similar results without deeply interrogating the fundamental tools used in the analysis.

Thus one very significant area of work to be developed from local architectural histories such as Diu, can be found within the domain of global history of architecture, whereby the local can be used as a key instrument to understand broader movements. It may be convenient to surmise that the 'global' is a stance, a cosmopolitan gesture, precisely because of economic and ideological pressures; but that would insinuate profound scholarly insincerity. Rather, the paradox, we suggest, resides in a methodological problem: only some fields, such as urban history and colonial architectural history, and projects, such as surveys of architecture, are seen as conducive to 'global' approaches. It is time we deconstruct the 'globality' of global histories of architecture.<sup>33</sup> We offered through this study an interdisciplinary approach to Diu, nevertheless enabling a focus at the same time on settlements of Europe, Africa and Asia. There is a unique feeling about the town of Diu that is quite different from other medieval cities and towns in India, a flavour that is unmistakably Mediterranean due to interventions made by the Portuguese in a Gujarat city. Its medieval character seems to have remained unchanged, where the local Gujaratis still live since the city's inception, together with the resilient presence of the most qualified military<sup>34</sup> and religious European colonial architecture.<sup>35</sup> This pathway has a comparative focus and examines cities in colonial geographical diverse contexts, considering the interplay between the local and the global in the historical culture of cities, as a result of the example of Diu being a city of European/catholic, hindu and islamic urban and cultural legacies. Preceding notions of race and nationality, religion was also part of the transformation

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<sup>31</sup> See, *inter alia*: Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso; Baud, Michiel and Schendel, Willem van. "Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands." In *Journal of World History*, 8:2, Hawai: University of Hawai Press, 1997, 211-242; Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, and 2010. *Empire and Nation: Selected essays*. New York: Columbia University Press; Febvre, Lucien. 1928. "Frontière: The Word and the Concept" In *A New Kind of History and Other Essays*. Burke, Peter (ed.). 1973. New York: Harper & Row. 208-218; Beverley, Eric Lewis. 2013. "Frontier as Resource: Law, Crime, and Sovereignty on the Margins of Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55/2:241-272; Ravi, Srilata. 2010. "Border Zones in Colonial Spaces" In *Interventions* 12/3: 383-395.

<sup>32</sup> As Thomas Khun demonstrated so long ago, paradigms shift when enough aberrations from observation accrue that thoughtful scholars can no longer evade their latent challenge. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* is Kuhn's contribution to the philosophy of science marked not only a break with several key positivist doctrines, but also inaugurated a new style of philosophy of science that brought it closer to the history of science. Khun, Thomas. 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>33</sup> On the global conversation about the teaching of architectural history, see the articles in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62/2 (Sept. 2002); Çelik, Zeynep. 2003. "Editor's Concluding Notes" In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62/1. 121-124; Blau, Eve. 1999. "Architectural History 1999/2000. A Special Issue of the JSAH." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58/3. 278; Chattopadhyay, Swati. 2015. "The Globality of Architectural History." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74/4, 2015, 411-415.

<sup>34</sup> Matos, João Barros. 2012. *Do mar contra a Terra. Mazação, Ceuta e Diu, primeiras fortalezas abaluartadas da expansão portuguesa. Estudo arquitectónico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Sevilla: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad de Sevilla.

<sup>35</sup> Gomes Varela, Paulo. 2010. "Diu: religious architecture." In Mattoso, José (dir.). 2010-2012. *Portuguese heritage around the world: architecture and urbanism*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. [[Vol. 1]: South America. de Araújo, Renata Malcher (ed. coord.); [Vol. 2]: Africa, Red Sea, Persian Gulf. Barata, Filipe Themudo and Fernandes, José Manuel (ed. coord.); [Vol. 3]: Asia, Oceania, Rossa, Walter (ed. coord.)] Vol. 3 Asia and Oceania. 125-129.

of old and the emergence of new discourses and practices that marked the architectural and urban differences at the colonial frontier and in the christian 'mission field.'<sup>36</sup> Diu is all these cities at the same time and also none of them. Diu is thoroughly embedded into the Indian nation and yet stands out from its neighbours' culture by what conspicuously look like 'European,' that is, Portuguese, features in its architecture, urbanism, spatial culture and everyday life. Diu still displays a unique formal character that sets the place apart from the rest of India, indeed even from territories held by other colonial powers. Diu condensed almost all global colonial urban history in one place.

Calling Diu colonial allows for a steering away from the rigid division-focused model of 'black town' and 'white town' entrenched in colonial discourse and subsequently in most scholarly literature. With the complex relationships between Diu's Portuguese residential space, Gujarati residential space, commercial space, trade space and institutional space, all other colonial cities become less a story of 'fort-and-black' town and potentially reveal more overlapping, contiguous productions of colonial urban spaces. The question of what constitutes a 'colonial city' fades into the background as the problem of intersecting and overlapping colonial spaces emerges, once obscured by the uniform layers of colonial discursive constructions of for example Daman, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. This would involve identifying the channels, vectors, actors and sites of transnational and transcultural flows. There is also much more to be done in mapping the sequential spatial histories of places such as Diu, for instance, developing a more closely comparative picture of colonial cities. Of particular use in this context would be the development of an archive of maps of incremental development of each of the towns under investigation, along with comparative analytical discussions. This would have the potential to constitute a large and comprehensive urban history project in itself. Furthermore, this dissertation also opens up the possibility of carrying out comparative studies of colonial provincial urbanism and architecture in different parts of India under European rule (Portuguese, British, Dutch, French and Danish).

One of the central convictions of this dissertation is that, other than tracing the history of specific buildings or settlements, architectural history, urban history and the broader field of spatial studies has a huge amount to contribute to disciplines such as social history, political history, cultural studies, cultural anthropology, social theory and historical geography. The reading of built environment is a tool which can reveal significantly newer dimensions in such fields. While the recognition of 'space' as a central category has actively been identified by theorists like Lefebvre, Soja or Massey,<sup>37</sup> architects and urbanists themselves need to articulate further and test the boundaries of the ways in which these inter-disciplinary connections can be formed. This dissertation has tried to address some of these possible connections, while equally benefiting from an inter-disciplinary corpus of knowledge and tools, to generate a more nuanced and complex history of the architectural and spatial cultures of colonial cities in India.

This leaves us with the question of where the study of European imperial and colonial architecture and urbanism might turn next. On the whole, other scholarly and cognate traditions, such as early modern and modern European history, have developed more diverse and wide-ranging approaches to the study of empire and culture, adapting insights from geography, environmental studies, anthropology, and other disciplines; and have devoted significant attention to integral concepts such as networks and agency. Although not necessarily opposed to discourse analysis, these scholarly frameworks including regional approaches ('Indian Ocean',<sup>38</sup> 'Atlantic',

<sup>36</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso; Seth, Vanita. 2010. *Europe's Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500–1900*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

<sup>37</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell; Soja, Edward. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso Press; Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.

<sup>38</sup> About Indian Ocean, see *inter alia*: Barendse, R.J. 1998. *The Arabian Seas, 1640-1700*. Leiden: Research School CNWS; Bose, Sugata. 2009. *A Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; Chaudhuri, K.N. 1985. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: an Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Fuccaro, Nelida. 2009. *Histories of City and State in the Persian Gulf: Manama since 1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press;

'Pacific', and 'World/Global'<sup>39</sup> histories), network theory, and 'connected'<sup>40</sup> histories provide new and very different insights than those provided by post-colonial theory. However, just as architectural historians have not fully engaged with scholars in these fields, early modern historians have also been somewhat reluctant to engage fully with architecture and the built environment as agents and repositories of social practice and social change. Can, indeed should, architectural history engage more with these alternative scholarly traditions and modes of analysis? What can we learn from them, and how might we apply them? How might architectural historians interact more productively with colleagues in history and historical social science disciplines to encourage more architecturally-informed analysis in those fields? Or, ought post-colonial theory remain the key concept and frame of reference that underpins our study of the colonial built environment?

From the perspective of almost European scholarship, colonial urbanism functioned as a means of and reason for social control and segregation. However, the broad chronology and a thematic account of the repertoire of

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Gupta, Ashin Das. 2001. *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant, 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Margiritti, Roxani Eleni. 2005. *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Markovits, Claude. 2000. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. New York: Cambridge University Press; McPherson, Kenneth. 1998. *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Metcalf, Thomas. 2007. *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Pearson, Michael N. 2003. *The Indian Ocean*. London & New York: Routledge; 1998. *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; 1976. *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.; Risso, Patricia. 1995. *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder: Westview Press; Simpson, Edward. 2006. *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean: The Seafarers of Kachchh*. New York: Routledge; Subramanian, Lakshmi. 1996. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, and Um, Nancy. 2009. *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.

<sup>39</sup> About World/Global histories, see *inter alia*: Berg, Maxine (ed.). 2013. *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Elkins, James, (ed.), 2007. *Is Art History Global?* New York & London: Routledge; Gunn, Geoffrey. 2003. *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield; Jackson, Anna and Jaffer, Amin. 2004. *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*. London: V&A Museum; Juneja, Monica. 2012. "Kunstgeschichte und kulturelle Differenz. Eine Einleitung." In Monica Juneja/Matthias Bruhn/Elke Werner (eds.), *Die Universalität der Kunstgeschichte theme issue Kritische Berichte 2: 6–12.*; Kaufmann, Thomas da Costa. 2004. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago: Chicago Press; North, Michael (ed.). 2010. *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges Between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900*. Farnham: Ashgate; Oliveira Lopes, Rui (ed.). 2014. *Face to Face: the Transcendence of the Arts in China and Beyond – Historical Perspectives*. Lisbon: Arts Faculty University of Lisbon; Onians, John. 2004. *Atlas of World Art*. London: Laurence King Publishing; Sullivan, Michael. 1998. *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Summers, David. 2003. *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism*. New York: Phaidon; Ten-Doesschate, Petra Chu and Ding, Ning, (eds.). 2015. *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute; Den Kongelige Solvkaer (ed.). 2006. *Treasures from Imperial China: The Forbidden City and the Royal Danish Court*. Copenhagen: Royal Silver Vault; Van Damme, Wilfried and Zijlmans, Kitty (eds.). 2008. *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches*. Amsterdam: Valiz; Werner, Michael and Zimmermann, Benédicte. 2006. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the challenge of reflexivity." In *History and Theory* 45: 30–50.

<sup>40</sup> 'Global history,' 'connected history,' 'comparative history,' 'histoire croisée' and 'transnational history': the constant back and forth between these rather diverse approaches and analytical categories is an indication of the instability of the historiographical moment we are trying to assess, at a time when it is still unfolding. Some of the most important methodological problems concerning the "global history" have been brilliantly analysed by Chartier, R. 2001. "La conscience de la globalité", *Annales* 1: 119-123. See also, *inter alia*: Gruzinski, Serge. 2001. "Les mondes mêlés de la monarchie catholique et autres 'connected histories.'" In *Annales* 1: 85-117; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2012. *Impérios em concorrência: histórias conectadas nos séculos XVI e XVII* [pref. Ângela Barreto Xavier]; Lisbon: ICS - Imprensa de Ciências Sociais; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2011. *From Tagus to the Ganges, explorations in connected history*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press India; 2011. *Mughals and Franks, explorations in connected history*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India; 1997. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." In *Modern Asian Studies*, 31/3, Special Issue: The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400-1800; Liebermann, Victor. 1997. *Beyond binary histories. Re-imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; 2007. "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640." In *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 112/5: 1359-1385 and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, Minard, Philippe and Bertrand, Romain. 2007. "Par-delà l'incommensurabilité: pour une histoire connectée des empires aux temps modernes." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (1954-), T. 54 e, No. 4 bis, Supplément: Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine: Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique? 34-53; Douki, Caroline, Minard, Philippe. 2007. "Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?" In *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 5/54-4 bis), 7-21.

For an attempt to write histories of South Asian politics during the colonial period from a transnational perspective see: Metcalf, Thomas R. 2007. *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press. For a history of global scope with extensive treatment of South Asia see Bayly, Christopher A. 2004. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell. See also Bayly, Christopher A.; Beckert, Sven; Connelly, Matthew; Hofmeyr, Isabel; Kozol, Wendy and Seed, Patricia. 2006. "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History." In *American Historical Review* 111/5: 1441-1464.

technologies constituting Diu urbanism contradicts this scholarship. If practices such as military occupation happened in Diu - such as the wall encircling the city and the citadel in the eastern tip of the city and island - the 'dual' city model was unclear and intentionally blurred by the colonizers' choice, colonizer-colonized spatial segregation was substituted by a tolerant *status quo* between the Portuguese and the Gujaratis and a consequent integration spatial culture.<sup>41</sup> Discourses of public health and sanitation did not happen in Diu (as in other European colonial cities in India), but occurred improvement projects, urban policing and urban planning - as the bazaar and the northern shore promenade - as a way to combat or postpone urban decay of the *Estado da Índia*. We also note gradual modal shifts in colonial disciplinary attitudes towards the city of Diu, from the control of spaces to the regulation of bodies. Even as the body increasingly became the site of application of colonial urbanism, practices of integration of space remain critical throughout the colonial and into the postcolonial times after the annexation of December 1961.

One of the most significant lessons that Diu offers to the 'public sphere' is the identification of colonial architecture and city with a particular path on Western history. For what is at stake here is the very category of architecture, the disciplinary boundaries of which are delineated at a particular time in a particular place. Postcolonial perspectives reveal that when other architectures enter the grand narrative of the architectural discipline (i.e., the canon) they find themselves always already inscribed with the premises of the latter. The naming of other architectures with the already existing canonical tools of the discipline marks the erasure of any possibility to think the discipline differently. This is hardly surprising as the canon constitutes the very language of architecture, i.e., its symbolic identity. It sets the limits for architectural representability.<sup>42</sup> The second lesson, which may be called the humanist trajectory, is somewhat driven by the goal to find an substitute to some of the unbending consequences of poststructuralist thought. Giving Diu's past crosscultural encounters and intertwined histories their due acknowledgment, this approach questions the premise of untranslatability and the existence of 'radical alterity' itself. One need not be imposing the Western symbolic system whenever coming to terms with the 'non-West,' due to the already existing shared historical values. It is better to help undo the construction of a significant part of the globe as the Other of the Western self, than to underline difference for the sake of challenging assimilation. If its Eurocentrism can be undone, humanism is still a more productive alternative, Said argued, and aspired for the construction of a cosmopolitan humanism as the next step for postcolonial theory.<sup>43</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein noted that the real objective was "a reunited, and thereby non-Eurocentric, structure of knowledge [...] and a more inclusively universalist vision of human possibility."<sup>44</sup> In the field of architectural and urban history, those who emphasize histories of cross-cultural relations and who support translations between West and 'non-West' reinforce this approach.

<sup>41</sup> "the Gentiles live in our lands divided on a neighbourhood or place with freedom to use it their heathen rites". See Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha (col.). 1857-1866. *Arquivo Português Oriental*, Nova Goa: National Press. Letter from the viceroy Caetano de Mello e Castro of 20 Jan 1707, Documentos do século XVIII, Fasc. 2, 179.

<sup>42</sup> Postcolonial theory, by its insistence on radical alterity, offers insights for critical openings that destabilize the very terms that the discipline takes for granted.

<sup>43</sup> Said, Edward. 2000. "The Relevance of Humanism to Contemporary America" Lecture at Columbia University, New York, February 16-18; 2004. *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

<sup>44</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein argues that several critical literatures in world history nonetheless reproduce tropes of Eurocentrism in their analyses. Like the god Vishnu, Eurocentrism has many avatars. The most famous is probably Orientalism, which is a framing of the East through negative and/or feminised stereotypes of its culture, political character, social norms and economic agency. This framing casts it as a space of tradition and opportunity to be governed and explored, or alternatively feared, by the rational and enlightened West. Eurocentrism is also manifested through historical avatars. The first of these is the assumption that Europe is the principal subject of World History, as discussed by the *Subaltern Studies* group. A closely related historical avatar includes the notion of Historical Progress (96), which understands human history as not just linear but selfconsciously improving the human condition through the trying out of different political ideas. Finally, we can identify Eurocentrism's epistemic avatar, which is the purported a temporal universalism of modern social scientific knowledge (100). Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The dilemmas of Social Science." In *New Left Review*, 1/226. 93-108, especially 96, 100 and 106.

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For all its faults, this dissertation tries to inspire some valuable insights into the colonial experience, and architectural and urban historians could benefit from taking notice. It tries to reorient and reinvigorate colonial architecture, and urban studies, taking it in directions that the conventional historiography of the Portuguese empire has hardly begun to consider. It raises provocative, often fundamental questions about the epistemological structures of power and the cultural foundations of resistance, about the porous relationship between metropolitan and colonial societies, about the construction of group identities in the context of state formation, even about the nature and uses of historical evidence itself.



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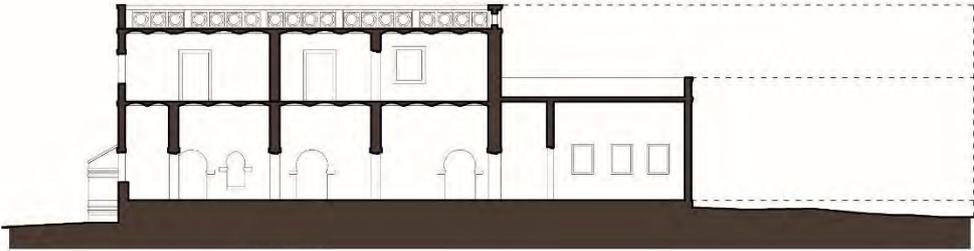
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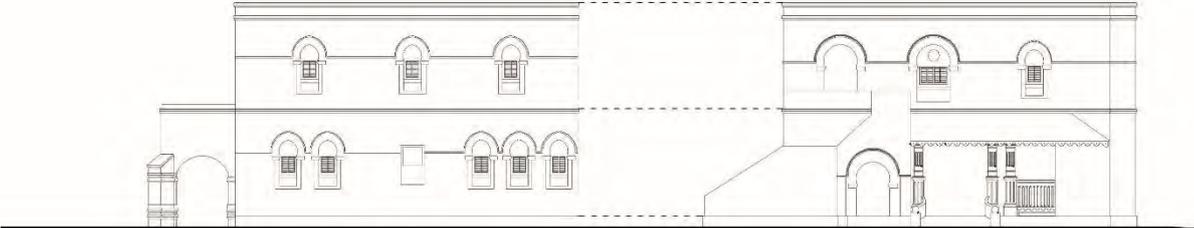


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Palace of the Governor

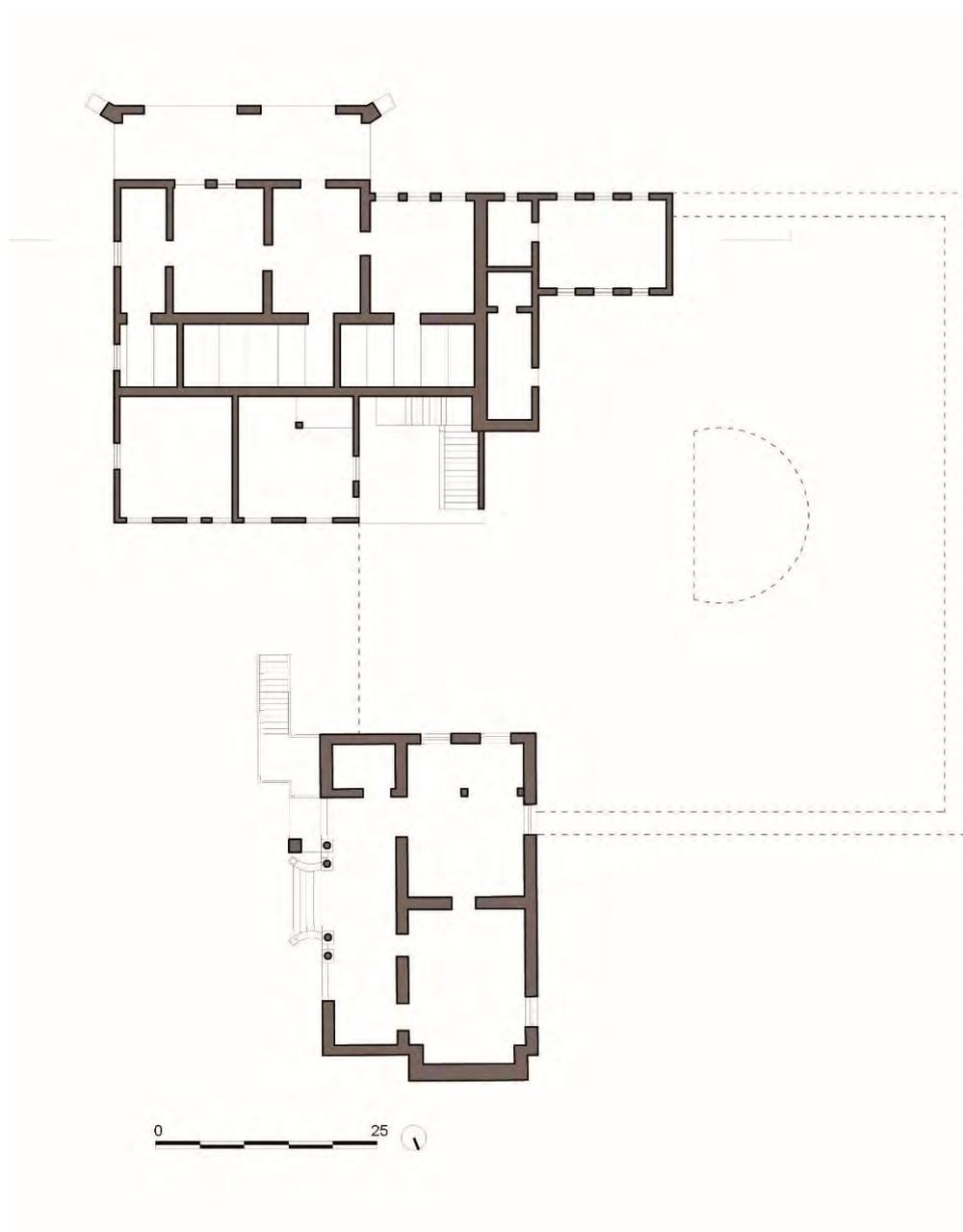


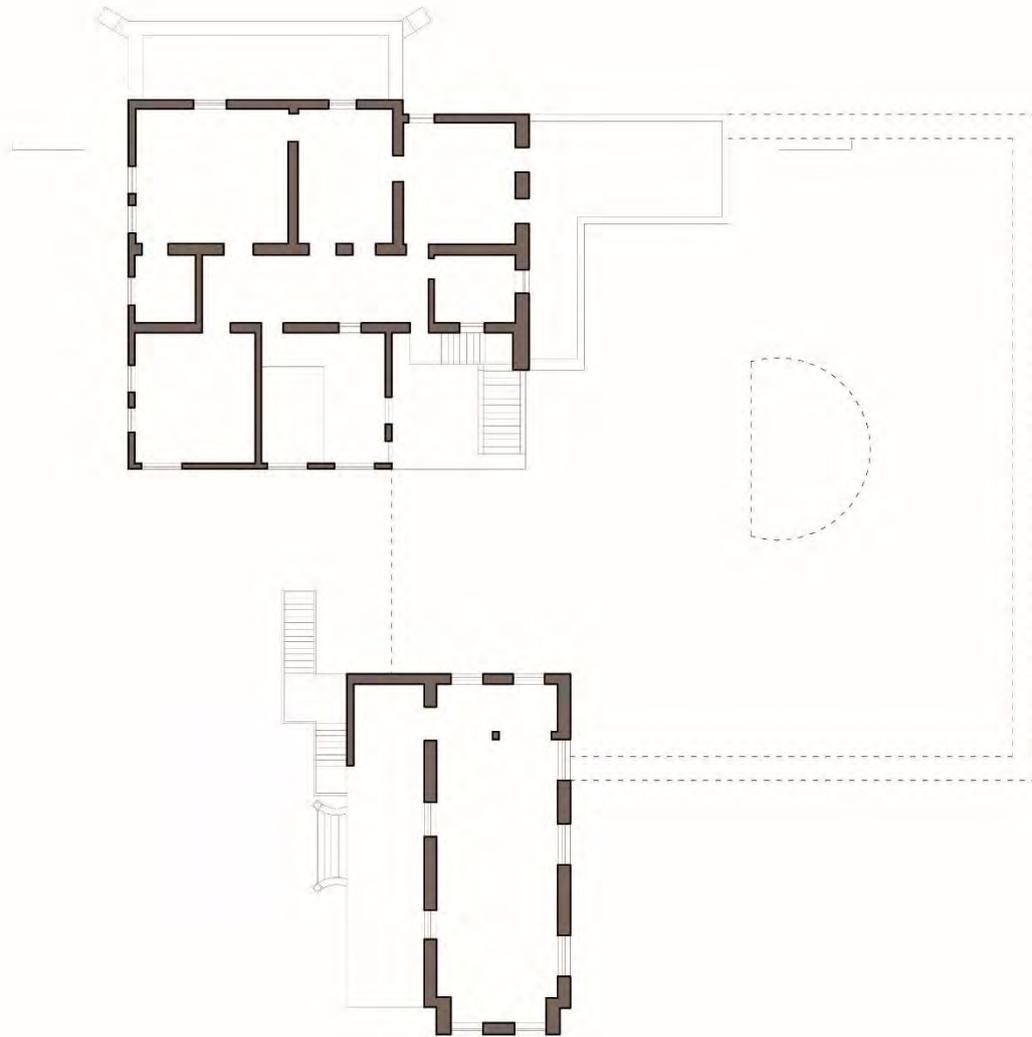
Section AA



Elevation



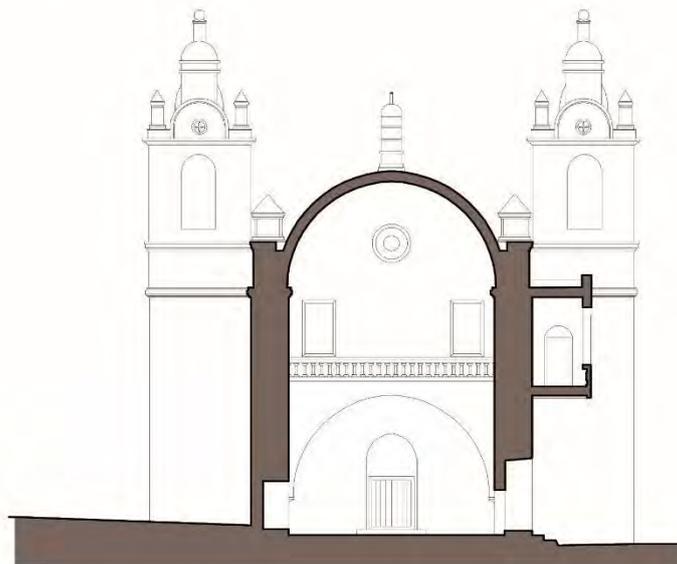




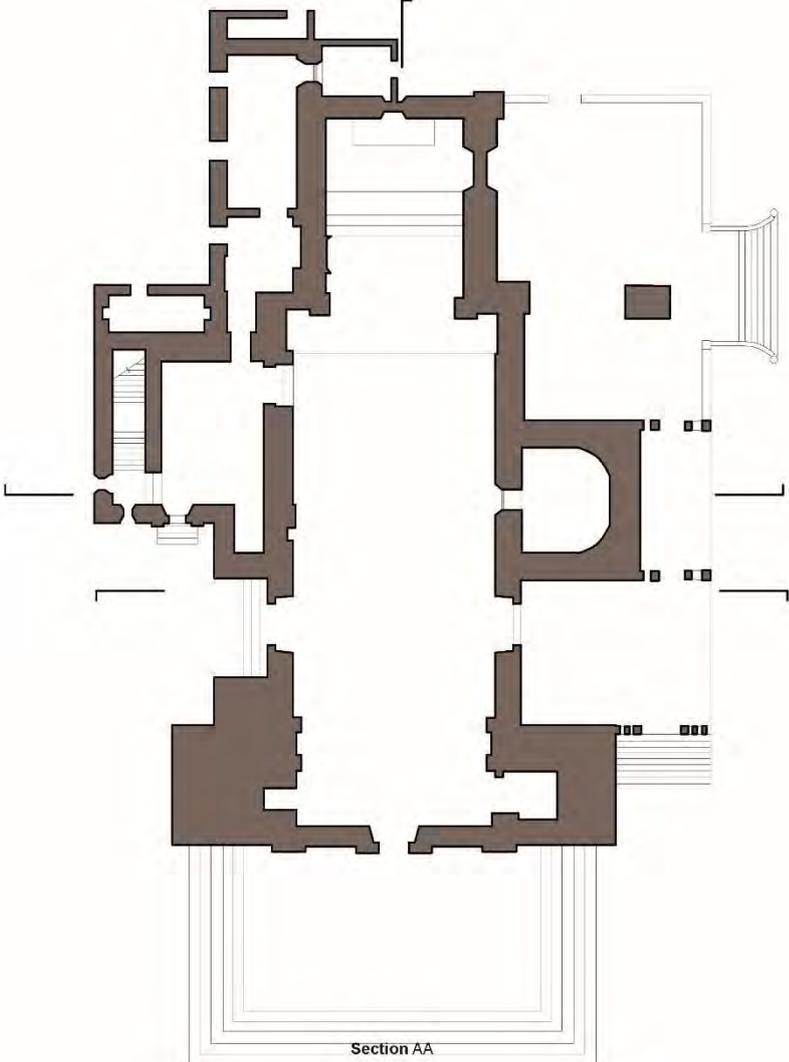
Church of Saint Thomas



**Elevation**



**Section BB**

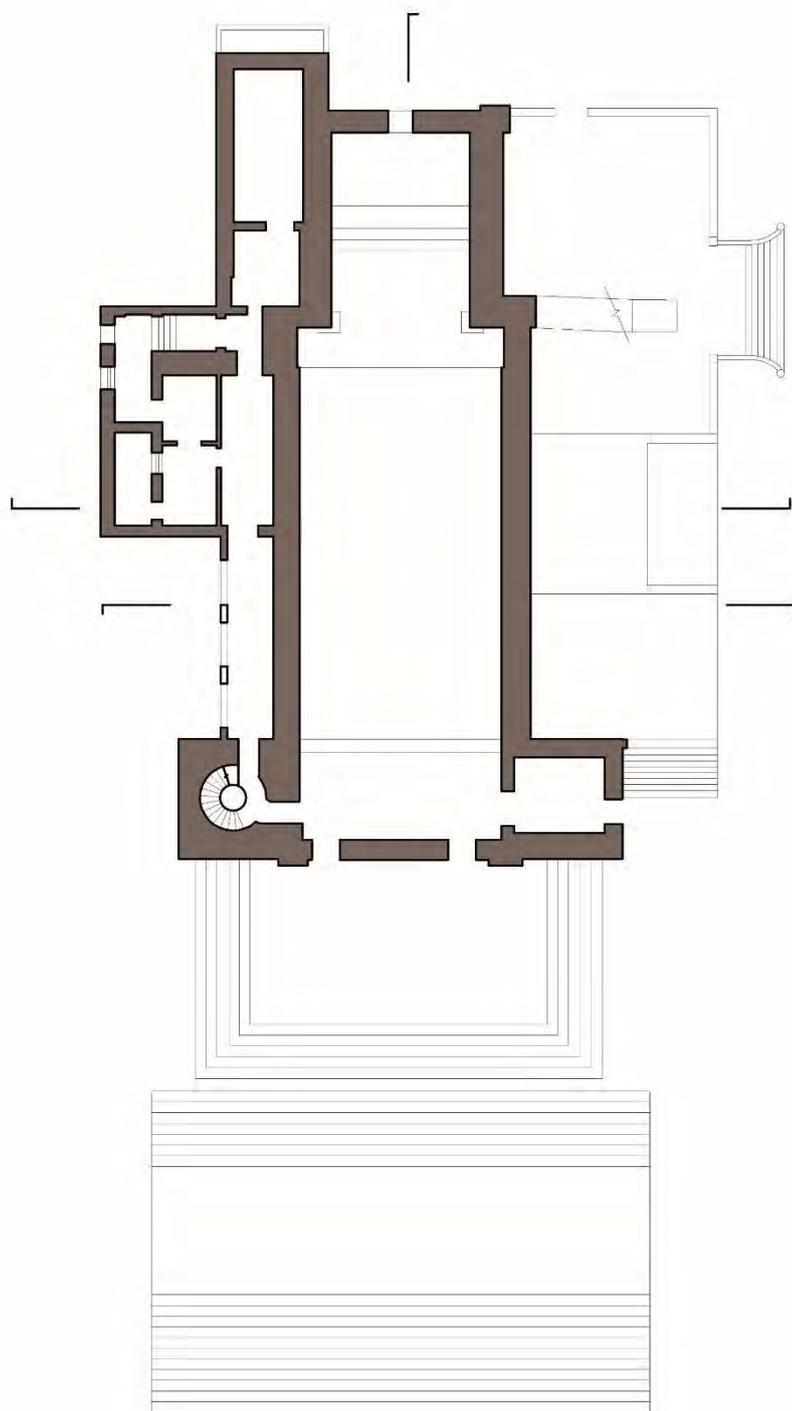


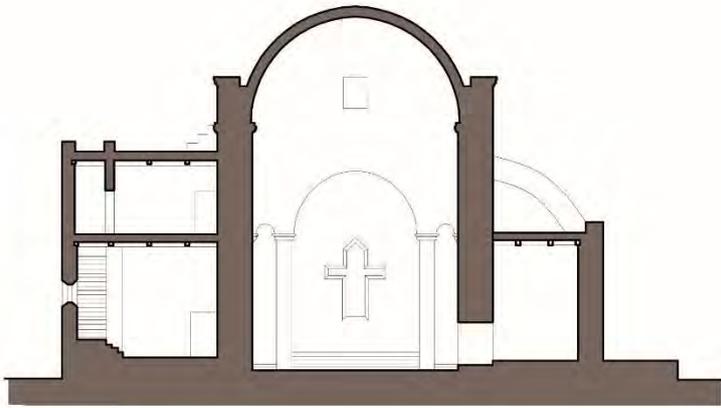
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Section AA

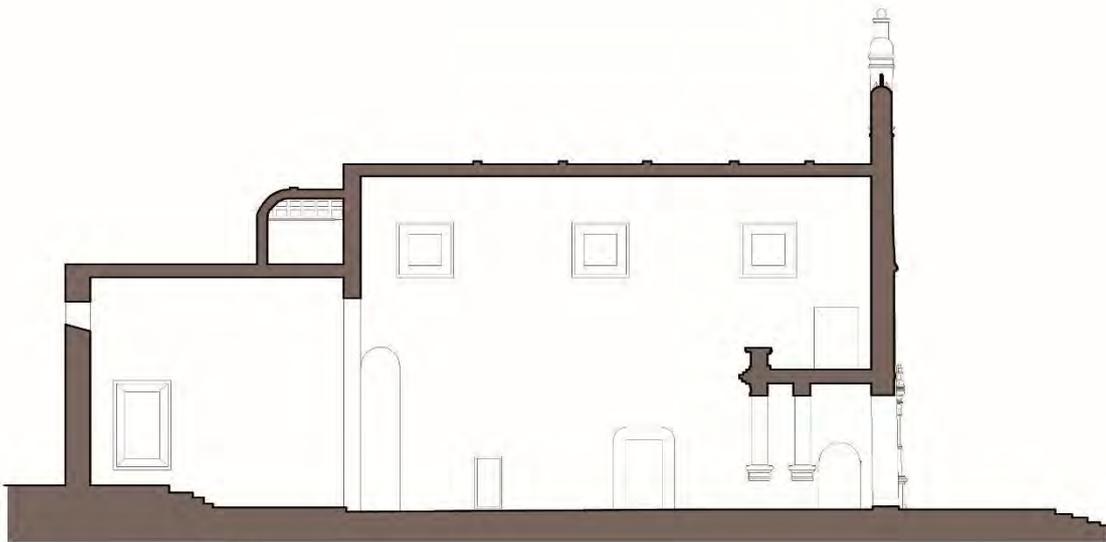
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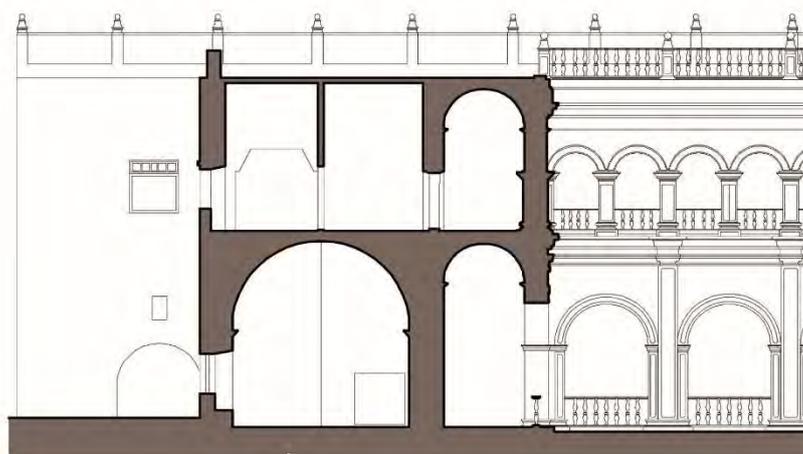
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Section CC



College of the Holy Spirit and Church of Our Lady of the Conception or of Saint Paul

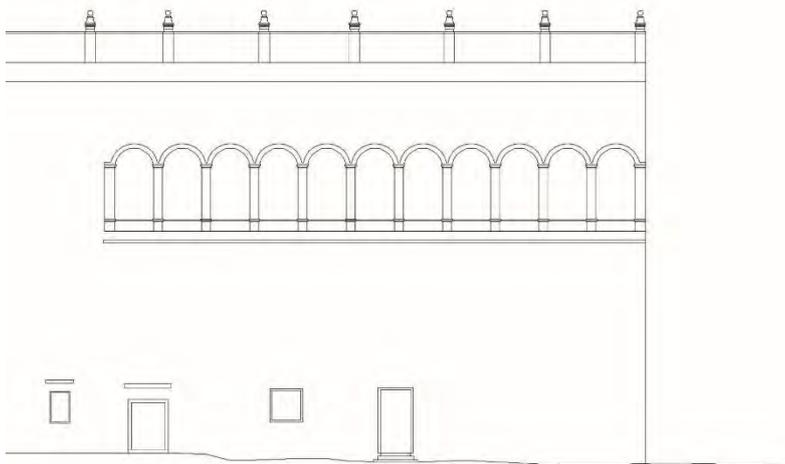
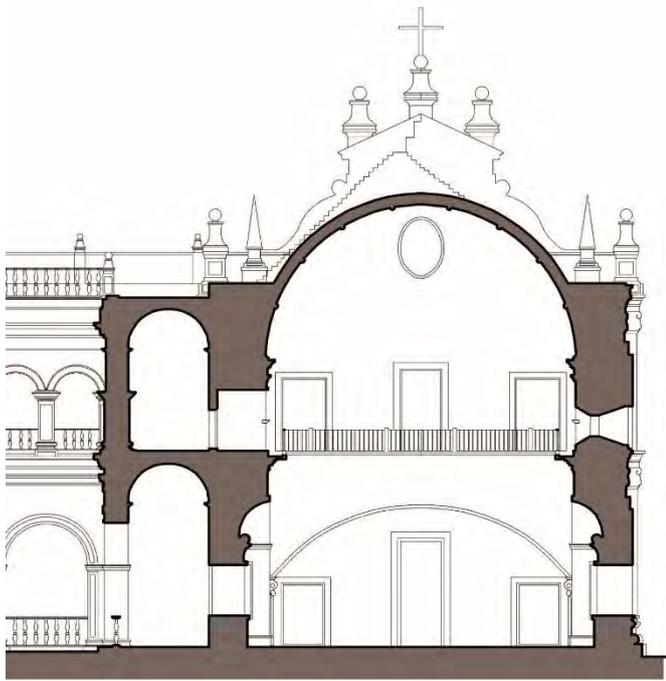


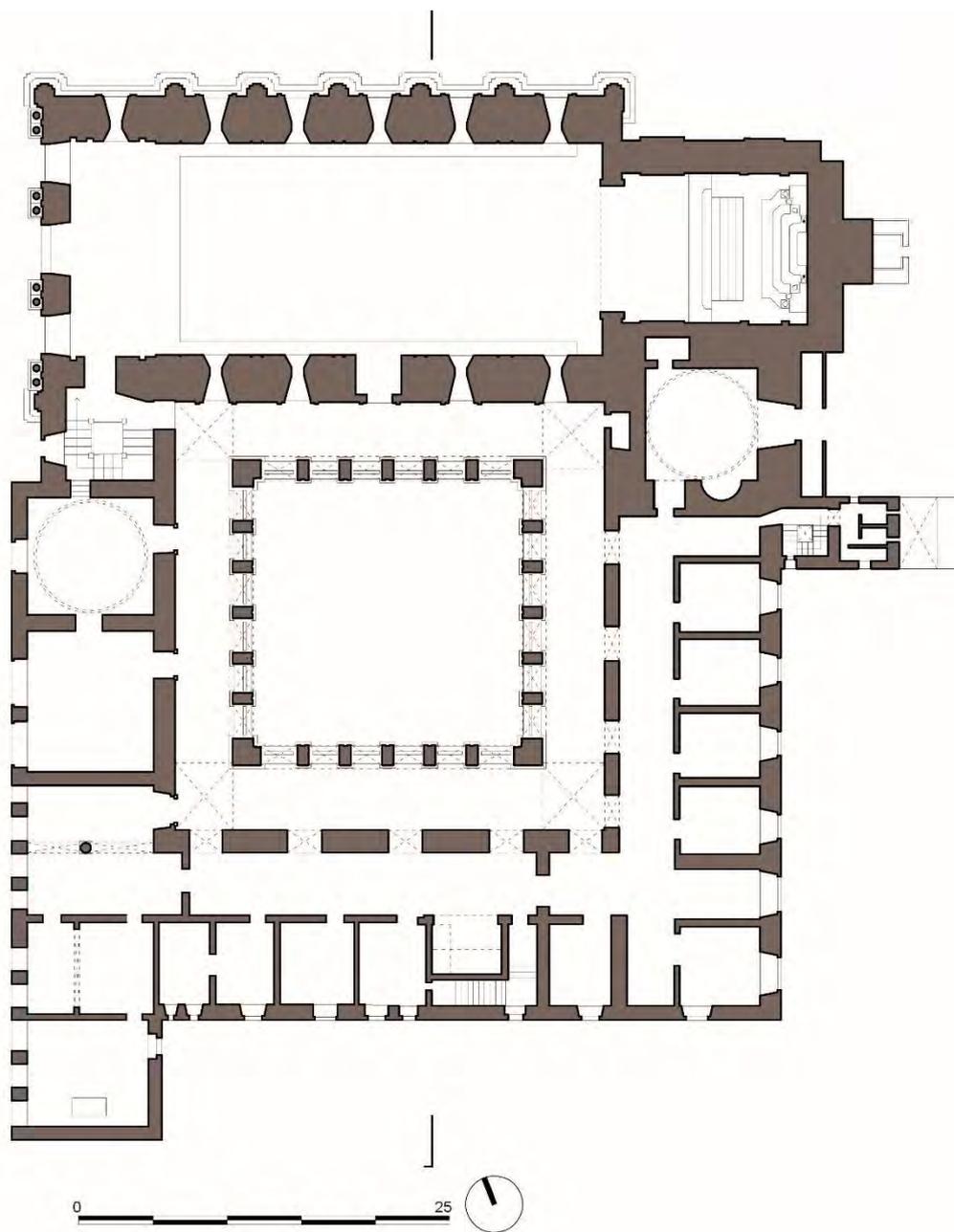
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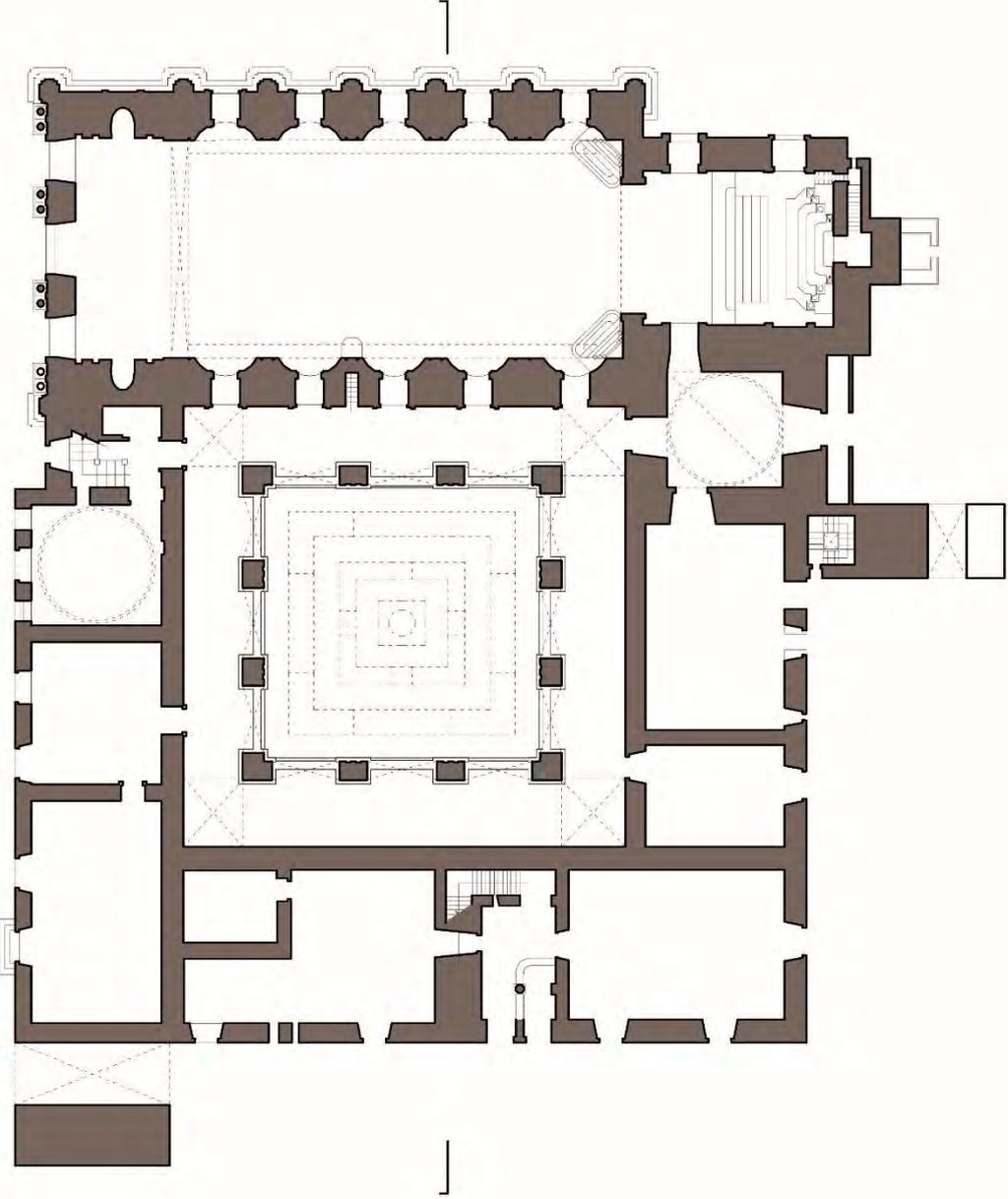


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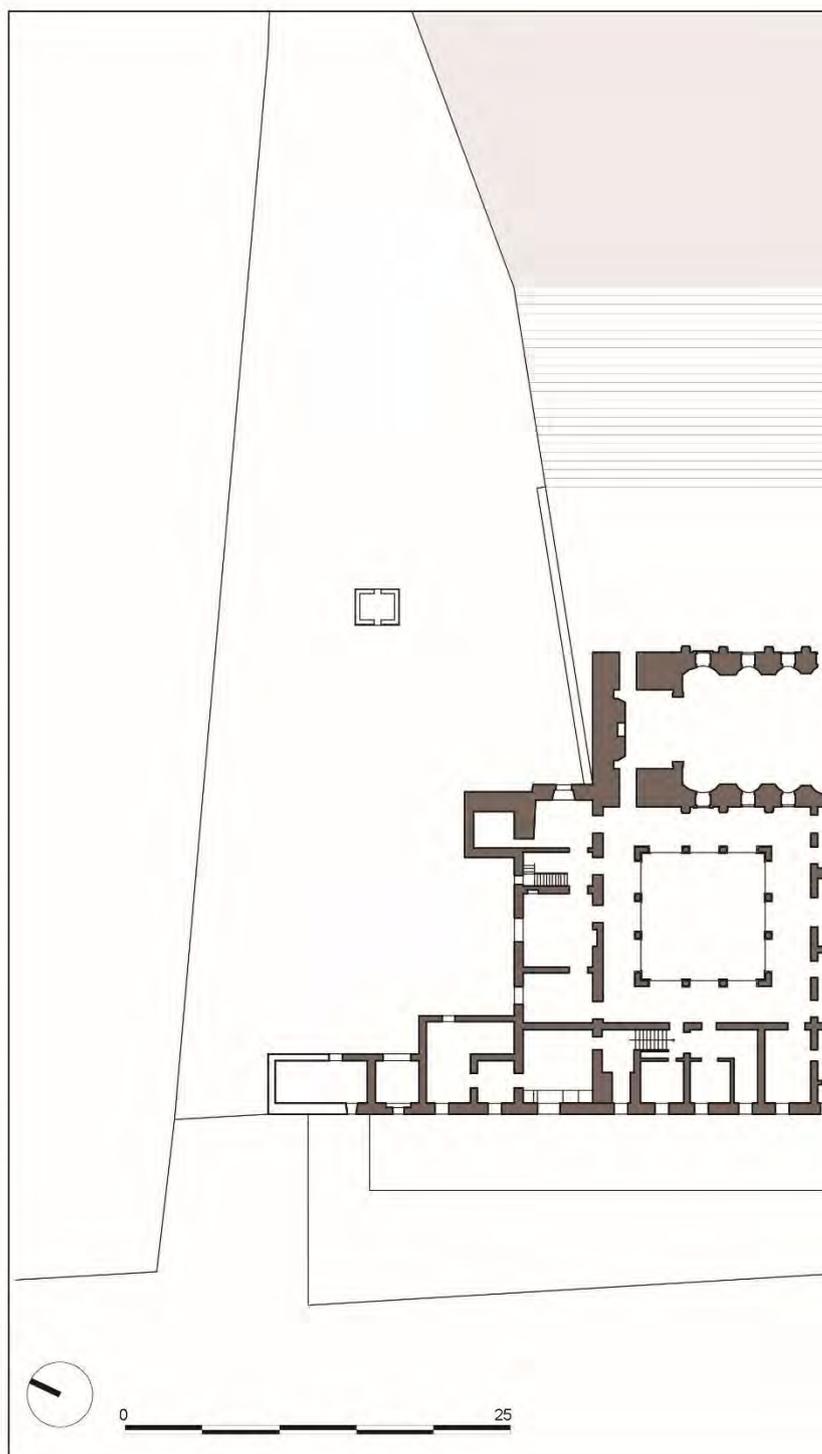


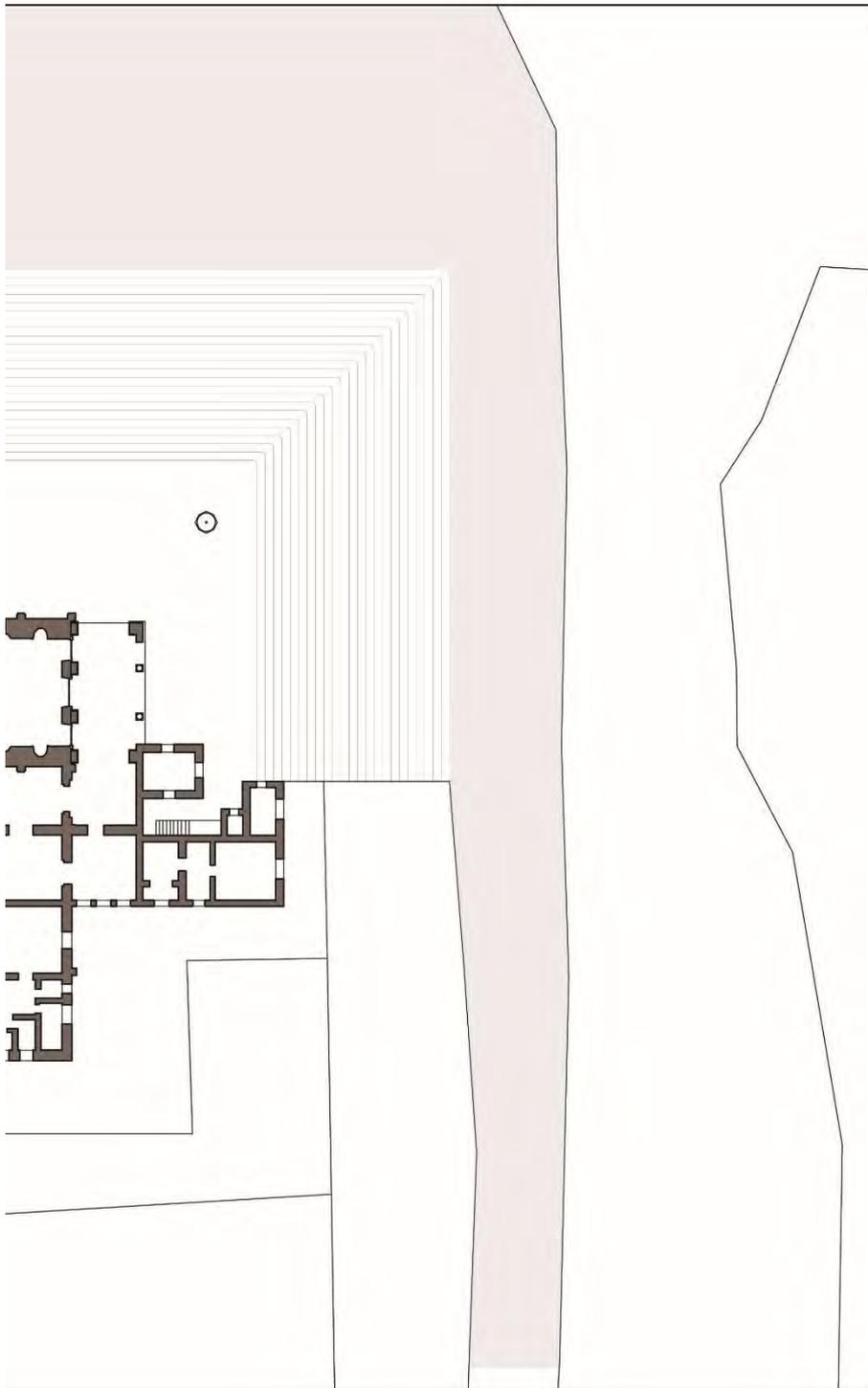






Plan: First Floor





## Relação do Povo Gentílico, 1789

### ADDITAMENTO.

Posto que não tenha immediata connexão com as inscripcões a relação do povo gentílico, morador em Dio, e a lista de suas castas, todavia, como documento curioso para a historia daquella celebre fortaleza, pomos aqui uma que achámos, a qual além dos nomes das castas declara o numero de gente valida, que cada uma dellas tinha, e a sua distribuição pelas muralhas e baluartes da praça em caso de rebate. O castello era defendido pela soldadesca.

Relação do povo gentílico com os nomes das suas castas, " repartido pelos baluartes do recinto desta Praça para accudirem nos seus lugares havendo qualquer rebate com as armas que tiverem, cujo sigal e de duas peças de artilharia.

Feito em 27 de setembro de 1789.

#### *Baluarte da May de Deos.*

A Casta de DASSA GOGAVA MÔR, por seu maioral hum Canegy Guesongy - quarenta pessoas. 40

A Casta de CARPINTEIROS com seu Patelon mocadão Cana Rangy, com sete pessoas. 7

#### *Baluarte das portas da Praia, S. João.*

A Casta de MOR ADALIA, por seu maioral Anandagy Givane, vinte e duas pessoas. 22

O Cabo Ta á Aly, MOURO, com dezanove pessoas. 19

A Casta de BOYS por seu Mocadão Quenssou Prima com quarenta pessoas. 40

#### *Baluarte de S. Felipe*

A Casta de OSVAL por seu maioral Amandagy Bonvany, com quinze pessoas, 15

A Casta de HISSA PORVAL, duas pessoas, por seu maioral Javer Gutta. 2

A Casta de VISSA SORATIA, cinco pessoas, por seu maioral Parsotamo Pungeá. 5

A Casta de CHIMPAS por seu Mocadao Ananda Govardane, com doze pessoas. 12

A Casta de GANDOROPOS por seu maioral Deuchande Hirachande, e Cubachande Mulchande, com nove pessoas. 9

#### *Baluarte de S. Vicente.*

A Casta de VISSA HINMALY por seus maiorais Varssangy Giva, e Lacanichande Abechande, com quarenta e tres pessoas. 43

A Casta dos TORNEIROS por seu Mocadão Narsim, com quatro pessoas. 4

#### *Baluarte Tranqueira, invocado S. José.*

A Casta de PARCIO por seus maiores Limbá Rama, e Ramá Faquir, com quarenta e cinco pessoas. 45

#### *Baluarte de S. Luiz.*

O Cabo Gulamamode, MOURO, com dezanove pessoas. 19

A Casta de NAGAR por seu maioral Nana HODONGY, três pessoas. 3

A Casta dos CALDEIREIROS por seus maioraes, filho de Anandagy Fulcy, e Govardane e Managy Ganez com desasseis pessoas. 16

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### *Baluarte de Santa Catharina.*

A Casta de DOSSA GOGAVÁ, mouro , com quarente e cinco pessoas, por seu maioral Arichande Govardane. 45.

### *Baluarte de Santo Antonio.*

A Casta de DASSA SRIMALY, trinta sete pessoas, por seu maioral Velgy Samogy. 37.

A Casta de DOSSA VAL por seu maioral. Givá Quenssougy, com quatorze pessoas. 14

### *Baluarte de N. S.ª dos Remedios.*

A Casta de MOURO MANDALIA por seus maiores Nana Hondougy, Dany Madougy, e Govardane Vanagoa, com trinta e seis pessoas. 36

A Casta de GOCOL, por seu maioral Quessogy Mody, duas pessoas. 2.

A Casta de VISSO MOR por seu maioral Nata Givane, com seis pessoas. 6

### *Baluarte S. Caetano.*

A Casta de DOSSA SABATIA, trinta pessoas, por seu maioral Pitambor Megagy, Pitambor Deuchande, e Passotamo Givane. 30

A Casta de VISSA CUMBATA MOR, seis pessoas por seu, maioral Sivalal Parcotamo, e Amechande Vira. 6

### *Baluarte de S. Francisco Xavier.*

A Casta de TECELÃO com quarenta pessoas por seu maioral Nanagy Dama. 40.

### *Baluarte N. Sr.ª dos Remedios, Pao da Bandeira.*

A Casta de DOSSA PORVAR por seu maioral Curgy Narsim, com dezoito pessoas. 18

A Casta de DOSSA SRIMALY por seu maioral Rupachande Vadá, com vinte e quatro pessoas. 24..

O Cabo Jamú Rajarnamode primeiro de Mouros, com vinte e cinco pessoas. 25

A Casta de CAVOUQUEIROS por seu mocadão Govinda Saudas, quarenta e seis pessoas. 46

### *Baluarte de N. Sr.ª da Guia.*

A Casta de TECELÃO, quarenta pessoas, por seu maioral Ratanadas Deuchande. 40

### *Baluarte de N. Sr.ª da Conceição*

A Casta de TINTUREIROS por seus maiores Praga Samogy e Hemichande Morar, trinta e seis pessoas. 36

A Casta de ALFAIATE, vinte pessoas, por seu maioral Givane Lal, e Premogy Lacamudas . 20

### *Baluarte S. Paulo.*

A Casta de TORNEIROS por seus maiores Canegy e Parsotamo Canegy, vinte e seis pessoas. 26;

A Casta de GOLLÁS, treze pessoas, por seu mocadão Vanamaly. 13

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### *Baluarte da Sr.<sup>a</sup> Santa Anna.*

A Casta de OURIVES SRIMALY E SOROTOTIA por seus maioraes Givane Parsotamo, Mana Mitá, Hargy Varssanagy, e Damader Raugy, com trinta pessoas. 30

A Costa de CARPINTEIROS SINDE, seis pessoas, por seu mocadão Danegy Pitandor. 6

### *Baluarte S. Sebastião.*

O Cabo Tamu Pergy, MOUIRO, com dezanove homens. 19

A Casta de PURBIAS, dezanove homens, por seu mocadão Harichande Samochande. 19

A Casta de FULEIROS, dez pessoas, por seu mocadão Pungia. 10

### *Baluarte de N. Sr.<sup>a</sup> da Esperança.*

A Casta de TECELÃO por seu maioral Dany Pungia, Canegy Taley, e Givane Pitambor, quarenta e tres pessoas. 43

### *Baluarte dos Excommungados, por outro nome,*

#### *dos Santos Reys Magos.*

A Casta de BARBEIROS por seu maioral Dama Hirgy, dezaseis pessoas. 16

A Casta de SAPATEIROS por seu mocadão Govinde Patel, quinze pessoas. 15

A Casta de MAINATOS, sete pessoas com o seu mocadão Guella Govardane. 7

A Casta de CUMBAR, oito pessoas, por seu mocadão Caliana Cumba. 8

Repartição para os mesmos postos e lugares da Ordenança, christãos, e Religiosos, e Clerigos etc.

Os Religiosos e Clerigos acudirão ao Baluarte *May de Deos*.

Os officiaes da Ouvidoria com seu Chefe acudirão ao Baluarte *S. Sebastião*.

A gente da Feitoria com seu chefe acudirão ao Baluarte *May de Deos*.

A gente da Alfandega com seu chefe acudirão ao Baluarte *S. Felippe*.

O Capitão e mais, officiaes da Ordenança com a sua gente acudirão ao Baluarte *N. Sr.<sup>a</sup> dos Remedios*, adonde fica o páo da Bandeira.

(Livro de Regimentos e Ordens, no Archivo do Governo de Dio, foi 83).