Early Modern Narratives of Diu's Architecture and Space

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When combing through historical texts and cartography documents to look for manifestations of urbanity within Portuguese colonialism in the East, one customarily flounders about the early sixteenth-century Portuguese texts and images that read the early colonial takeover and presence in India. In this paper we address the most significant and trustworthy[1] architectural and urban sources of Diu in this regard, those authored by João de Castro (1500-1548)[2], by Gaspar Correa (1495-1563)[3] and by João de Barros (1496-1570).[4] These texts and drawings, first, portray a political deviation between historical visions and territorial, urban and architectural discrepancies of representation of Diu[5]; second, they relate to the political and imperial discourses after the cession of the place to Portugal by describing how urbanity was shaped by the earliest architectural events in the city and, finally, categorize the spatial cultures of Diu in the context of the Portuguese empire.

The most noteworthy aspect of Diu's spatial culture is how the architectural profile of the city was transformed, or at least modified, after the arrival of the Portuguese to the island, by introducing the amenities of a wealthier and restricted European private life, with churches and civic buildings, as a novelty in the urban landscape of a Gujarati city. A combination of a set of buildings from a limited period of time, in a relatively limited space, and with more or less the same patronage raises other more specific issues of architecture, for instance construction technology.

With a coastline stretching toward the Arabian seas, the coastal cities of Gujarat[6] in the sixteenth century were major entrepots of inter-regional trade, linking the ports of western Asia. Diu was pivotal in these routes and tributary first to the Mughals and later to the Portuguese empire in India. The Portuguese coveted Diu, on the one hand because of its strategic position, near which most of the traffic between India and the Red Sea had to pass, and on the other hand, as an outlet of Gujarati cotton fabrics, which were indispensable for the trade of spices. The three most important moments in the early history of the colonial city of Diu were the establishment of Gujarat as an independent sultanate, the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughal empire in 1573 and, finally and foremost, the instituting of a European presence in India[7] as the result of the establishment of a Portuguese colonial city.

Roteiro de Goa a Diu, 1538-1539

The *Roteiros*, authored by João de Castro (hereafter Castro), was a cartographic project of legibility and simplification, namely of the mechanisms of knowledge production through which the Portuguese aimed to render their subjects and territories in the East more easily visible and consequently governable for the king, João III (1502-1557, r. 1521-1557).

The *Roteiros* are known as *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa* (Route from Lisbon to Goa, 6 April 1538-11 September 1538), *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (Route from

Goa to Diu, 1538-1539),[8] or in a lesser known alternative, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India* (First Route of the Indian Coast) and *Roteiro do Mar Roxo* (Route of the Red Sea), equally well known as *Roteiro de Goa ao Suez* (Route from Goa to Suez, 31 December 1540-August 1541). The *Roteiros* provided data from 49 ports, sand bars, coves and islands, and offered 36 *Távoas* (drawings, plans or charts) from the river entrances, harbours and main places visited. The data included 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, among other things. Whilst on board, Castro made notes and detailed observations of bays and ports. He also drew pen and brush perspectives of towns and views of the hinterland, the *Távoas*, and several detailed nautical and hydrographical comments that follow the model of a diary. Most of the charts are hydrographical sketches intended to illustrate the text.

Castro was a participant in the great adventure of opening up a new place in the geographic world, confronting humankind with new facts. Castro was a realist in geography, but conventional in cosmology, where he did not change the overall picture of the universe or adapt his physical conceptions to the new places in the world. Castro may have been rather compliant with regard to the theoretical heritage of the past, but he unconditionally surrendered to the new geographic data and, as a typical man of practice working for his king, he did not even take the trouble to give a rational justification for them: the vast experience in Portugal was enough to upend previous conceptions in any scientific field. The experience of a thing is enough to make it acceptable to 'reason'. The first aim of the *Roteiros* was to relate what Castro had seen himself and for which he thus could accept full responsibility. But even then, he asks those who will visit the same places after him to correct the information he has given, reminding them that he is but a mortal man, who in many things could deceive himself and in others be deceived. Therefore, his readers should not endanger their own lives by

attributing 'authority' to his writings and by putting absolute confidence in his 'experience and rules'.[9] Finally, Diu was Castro's final destination in his journey, where he stayed longer and, therefore, he may have described and drawn it in detail.

The first known drawn representation of Diu and an integral part of *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*[10] (hereafter *Roteiro*) is the *Távoa de Diu*, henceforth *Távoa*,[11] a drawing made between 21 November 1538 and 19 March 1539 (Fig. 1). The question that needs to be raised, however, is whether *Roteiro* can be considered a scientific invention of a place newly discovered or merely a scientific description of a new place. The Távoa is the first reliable tool to discuss the early 'European life' of the city and island. Castro's foremost concern in his drawing and text was to give sailing information to safely arrive to Diu, 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.

On the issues of history and memory in literary and architectural practice, Castro's texts and drawings of Diu makes, creates and modifies the perception of the place by giving us an ambiguous description of Diu, between factual report and literary fantasy reflecting a political stake. Here Castro was on solid ground: that of the subject of his *Roteiro*, the nautical expeditions undertaken in order to know Diu not by speculation but by observation. Castro mentions in the text that the arrival on the island of Diu 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 architectural structures – citadel and mosque – bordered the waterside like the city's facade 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.

Fig. 1. João de Castro, Távoa de Diu, 1538-1539

Castro evidently seemed to want only to tell his readers that his emphasis on experience should not make them overconfident and that they should never forget that not only our theoretical reason but also our experience may deceive us. This awareness of the fallibility and incompleteness of even the most scrupulous human knowledge pervades Castro's *Roteiros* and distinguishes his writings from practically all travel literary works of his epoch. In themselves, Castro's observations of Diu are impeccable, but their interpretation depends on the framework in which they are placed. The landscape of Diu in the first decades of the sixteenth century was far too complex to be totally and unambiguously described in *Távoa*.

The representation of the city of Diu was an easy task for Castro and accordingly he portrayed overall urban landscape as a diagram. The urban fabric in the *Távoa* did not follow the same pattern throughout the whole drawing. Castro asserted that at the time there were two urban settlements. The European urban settlement was represented by the fine rows of houses to the south (upper half of the drawing), while its Gujarati counterpart was represented by the chaotic dispersion of houses with a mosque seemingly situated somewhere beyond and to the north (lower half of the drawing). Castro reaches a definition of Diu that he contends is quintessential to 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 an inextricable network of narrow and twisting streets (often *culs-de-sac*), the central *jami-suq* (mosque-bazaar) complex, the caravanserai to accommodate long-distance travellers and the prevalence of a mosque in the landscape, with its minarets that visible from a distance. The mosque was a large, rectangular, hypostyle building, erected at an intersection in the classical street plan that seems to have been the centre of the early Gujarati urban settlement. But while most agreed about the existence of these urban settlements, few could concur on the boundaries between the two domains. Castro notes the differentiation between quarters and the fact that residential quarters are often specialized by ethnicity. 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 absolutely arbitrary at that time. 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.

In the absence of clearly defined separation between European and Gujarati geographies, Castro created discrete containments of public and private social intercourse. The spatial choices oscillated between a theatrical display of open plans and a proliferation of an elaborate religious Islamic compound of architectural confining elements, mosque and other public buildings, which spoke a calculated language of difference between the distinct parts of the city depicted. Scholarship frequently pointed out that the most significant distinguishing feature of the European and Gujarati settlements was the density of the urban fabric – the sparsely distributed row buildings of the north as opposed to the close-knit fabric of the south. This characterization, however, does not withstand close investigation.

Castro described Diu as 'a very modern city, although noble and known all over the world'. 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 sixteenth-century city. The two meanings are not coterminous and to assume they were is to argue in a way that does not do justice to the proper identification of the forms of urbanism emerging in places outside Europe. Must Diu acquire architectural elements from a Western tradition in order to be 'modern'? How have 'other' regional architectural traditions and building cultures 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 reveal that oppositions like 'ancient' and 'new/

modern,' or 'West' and 'non-West,' prevalent in scholarship, are culturally constructed. We should discuss whether Castro's appropriation of the adjective 'modern' is a piece of global history, an integral part of which is the story of European empires in India.[12] When Castro, in his *Roteiros*, gives us an explanation of some different fact, he does not appeal to some lofty philosophical concept but to concrete causes. The sense used by Castro seems to be based on difference: to be 'modern' was to be new. Moreover, the architectural forms Castro found in Diu were familiar from what he knew of the 'latest' and contemporary medieval cities in Portugal with which he was acquainted.

The *Roteiros* as travel literature might be better called a diary, because the text does not follow the scientific model of a navigational map. Also, Castro could not know that his approach in the *Roteiros* would be followed in later accounts. He did not explain in the sense in which scholastic philosophers explained the universe, but he could not see that his method, applied in the various realms of nature, would lead to a new great synthesis of a quite different character. On rare occasions, he acquiesced to the unavoidability of depending upon the information given by other people. His profound conviction of human fallibility, however, always kept alive a confident reserve, a self-criticism and a disbelief in the quasi-infallibility of the great Ancient texts. Time and again it turned out that he was right in distrusting the geography of the Ancients. He found Ptolemy's geography was not only unfinished but also flawed on many aspects. His own observations of the reality showed him that the Ancients either observed wrongly, or were wrongly informed by others, or that the texts had been corrupted in the course of time. This was totally adequate for the city of Diu.

Another aspect of difference of the *Roteiros* as a piece of literature does not only consist in the fact that Castro described his work as not built upon a venerable tradition as he did in his *Tratado da Sphaera por perguntas e respostas a modo de dialogo* of 1538. The character of explanation was

much more literary in *Roteiros*. Although this piece is accurate and not fictional, in the *Roteiros* we never find an explanation through substantial forms, entelechies,[13] potentialities, *accidentia* and final causes. In *Roteiros*, Castro had only to describe facts and to find out whether they might be brought together in the general rules of nature to describe a place, and not to give causal explanations for a place. However, Castro is aware of the fact that he, too, has a mainly scientific task to fulfil: the determination of latitudes and distances, tidal movements, magnetic variations, and ultimately, travel literature with the description of cities and places. For Castro, all this belonged to the field of cosmography.

Castro contrasted his utilitarian travel literature work not so much with poetry and drama (in his day, literature forms in a stricter sense) as with the then-thriving and successful historiography in which national achievements, victories and conquests were paramount. He recognized that the military feats of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean were exceedingly great, but that they should be dealt with by somebody of great genius and ability, and, therefore, he will not wrong such a great history but keep silent about it for the sake of the honour of these great deeds, and also because it does not belong in a *Roteiro*. Accordingly, he will deal only with Diu and its seas and winds.

Castro, conforming to the traditional view, considered his work as hardly scientific in character. On the other hand, he was adopting the new way when calling it, almost without a choice, an art and a science in which experience and theory have equal shares and both are indispensable in literature. But he would not have been a Renaissance scholar if he had not adduced another authority for his claim: Vitruvius (c. 90-c. 20 BCE) had also held that only those who have learned both experience and theory can reach their aim with authority.[14]

Lendas da Índia, by Gaspar Correa

Lendas da Índia (hereafter *Lendas*) is a vivid chronicle authored by Gaspar Correa (hereafter Correa) that illuminates the early Portuguese history of Diu and early Portuguese history in the East up to 1550. *Lendas* describes heroism, glory, cruelty and greed and produces a portrait gallery of human types.

Lendas has 11 portraits, 13 plans or panoramic views and a few plain drawings. The surviving second volume of original manuscripts contains the plans of Malacca, Calicut and Aden and the third volume those of Challe, Bassein and Diu. The printed volumes contain 11 plans, which were certainly included in the manuscript volumes at the date of publication, although five of the plans have disappeared, namely of Quilon, Ormuz, Jidda, Ceylon and Cannanore, together with the portraits of several viceroys. All this information contains sketches and written records from different years and rulers until 1550. A map, 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 Bassein 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 on the coasts of India providing clear evidence, for the first time for European eyes, of the extent of the Portuguese presence in South India in the mid-sixteenth century.

The sketch of Diu, c. 1545 (Fig. 2), is singular in that it is by far the most detailed and realistic of all those known. The sharpness and extreme precision of the draughtsman's hand and his mastery of perspective gives the drawing a touch unmatched by others. Correa makes use of a bird's-eye view similar to drawings very common at that time in Europe,[15] emerging as a figure of transition between the early attempt by Castro to use pictorial developments, such as linear perspective, and later instantiations of theatrical art.

Why did Correa render Diu by drawing it in light and shadow in imitation

of painters? We suggest some answers to this question. The first is that Vitruvius, who was read in Europe by fifteenth-century architects, by recommending *scaenographia*, had justified illusionism in architectural drawing and encouraged orthographic elevations to be given relief by the simulation in wash of light and shade. The second was that Correa – as others from the early Renaissance – had a political purpose in the simulation of relief and spatial recession. As a corollary, the structural elements and facades in the drawing of Castro's *Távoa* were designed as screens, while in the drawing of Correa's *Lendas* they were designed as masses. This contrasts with our common perception of Renaissance architecture primarily in terms of proportion and of the *all'antica* style.

This sets forth a nuanced interpretation of Correa's drawing that addresses the spatial disassociations found in it in relation to active modes of visual engagement. Correa's scenography is consistently interpreted as emphasizing a sense of spatial unity that, aided by linear perspective, denotes the humanistic absorption of the principles of 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.[16] Using as *fulcrum* the flattened, disproportional and paradoxical arrangement of the interior of the citadel of Diu, the space in the drawing can be understood to present Diu as a monumental fictionalization or even dramatization. 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 presented a multifarious and heterogeneous space, not a defined place in which the action is contained. Correa's drawing thus articulated an interplay of relations that, maximizing the artificial by conjuring an anomalous space, displaces the phenomenological expectations of early modern viewers in order to create a fantastic albeit impossible space that is, ultimately, truer to Diu than any mimetic instantiation of the city. In other words, the drawing goes far beyond what Diu really was as a place of early Portuguese colonial presence in India.

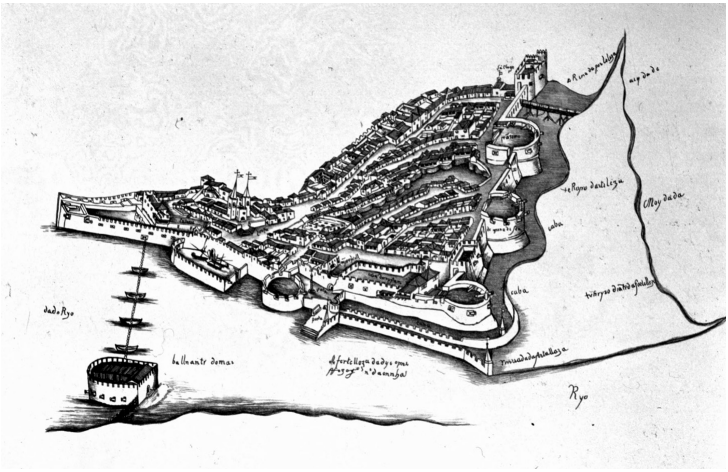

Fig. 2. Drawing of Diu. Gaspar Correa. *Lendas da Índia*, 1550

Besides being at odds with certain passages from Correa's text, the drawing represents a mix of what had been constructed at that time, what Correa planned, and even some elements that had already been constructed but shown here according to preceding designs:

> *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 . . . .* [17]

There is a certain crudity about Correa's prose, as there is about his drawing, but the crux of the matter is always there. On the one hand, one may consider that Correa scaled the citadel out of proportion. On the other hand, one may consider the buildings depicted as samples of designs to be found. 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 draughtsman's skill and faithfulness 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 this authenticity. Correa's possible intention was to declare widely and visibly a political attitude to be taken by the Portuguese monarch toward Diu and therefore an intended city, not the real city.

> *The fortress had many supplies in good houses separated from the factory and a separated armoury 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.* [18]

The most important feature of the drawing is strikingly obvious in Diu's urban reality. The lack of reference to it in the chroniclers' writings makes it even more extraordinary that this could have occurred. Correa drew an entity inside a triangular architectural precinct, urban, abstract and refined. Peripheral streets along the walls, from the bastion of Saint James to *Couraça Grande* to the governor's palace, intersect each other in the access to the citadel, where a dense group of one-storey houses was drawn. Two east-west streets connect the *Cavaleiro* bastion to *Couraça Grande* and the *Menagem* tower to *Couraça Grande*. The Gujarati 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 what the drawing made it out to be.

This settlement inside the citadel walls was built 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.

Décadas da Ásia's Anthropological and Architectural Landscapes

Décadas da Ásia (hereafter *Da Ásia*), by Barros, is the most important anthropological 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 economics and on major trade routes, the attention to the diversity of cultures, institutions and social

systems, despite Eurocentric assumptions and ideological commitment, are some of the traits that make *Da Ásia* arguably one of the key works in the European historiography of the sixteenth century. It presents 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.

For Barros, anyone coming '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'.[19] *Da Ásia* was made after the victory of the Portuguese against the Turks in 1509, when the Portuguese *Armada* approached the island. The sun dispelled the mist that enshrouded the scene and

> *. . . 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 . . . .* [20]

At the time, Diu was a cosmopolitan city par excellence and was long used to establish contact with many people from many nations.[21] Barros's description of Diu starts with a contextual account of the territory, island and city: an island on the margin of the subcontinent, 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. Barros considers both the territorial features of the city and the landfill of Gogola as key elements of the island defensive system. He provides a historical background, addressing previous rulers and balancing

sovereign powers. Then he writes about the political and military context found and the procedures and negotiations undertaken by the Portuguese. Finally, he identifies the main actor responsible for the establishment of a Portuguese factory in the island of Diu, Dariar Hão,[22] founder of the city:

> *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 . . . .* [23]

Probably the builder of *Karao Jāmi Masjid,* the old mosque, a rectangular, hypostyle building, erected at the intersection of the early Gujarat settlement. Barros offered a portrayal, where ethnographic data was a key feature.

> *The city 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 Mastafá, . . . 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 . . . and many genres of war artifices, and with so many people.*[24]

He writes about the cosmopolitan character of Diu, with people arriving from so many places. 'Cosmopolitanism' as concept has been elaborated in Barros's Hellenistic context and was thus in essence a Mediterranean concept. South Asian cosmopolitanism was probably employed by Portuguese chroniclers and practiced in everyday life as both an ideology and a method of governance. It is evoked in Barros's writings to conjure up the image of Diu's inhabitants as 'citizens of the world'. The questions of how people of different cultural and religious backgrounds live together more and more exercised Barros's mind, notably in conjunction with an increasing awareness of the importance of Diu in western India.

From city to house, and time to space, Barros writes about Diu reciprocals, which constantly overlap. Therefore, his thought echoes the domesticity of architecture, in the sense that the city is seen as a home and is as two entities interrelated, interchangeable and coherent with the vision of the world he wants to communicate. This identifies Barros mainly as a character belonging to the humanism of the Renaissance and a partisan of Renaissance urban culture and, finally, akin to Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472).[25] According to Alberti, 'the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city',[26] a *dictum* by Plato that relates house and city as a part of the whole. The blurring of boundaries and acknowledgment of overlaps between large and small scales, between private rooms and urban rooms, all part of scaling cities to suit ourselves, who are both makers and users of Diu. The poetic implication of this for Diu's architecture and urbanism is that the density of the essence of anything is not limited to scale. The city as home assuages our fears of desolation and uncertainty, assuring us that things endure and presenting places as human order.

Most architectural forms deployed in early to mid-sixteenth century representations of Diu do not identify Asian architecture as a radical antithesis to European architectural practice. The primary emphasis is on continuity. This is not just due to the use of a limited set of basic and recognizable forms (*cupolae* or rooftop globes) but also to the frequent use of regular successions of arched elements. It is very tempting to see in this regularity and symmetry the 'phantasm' a common heritage grounded in the classical tradition. It was from Greece and imperial Rome, after all, that Western European, Byzantine and Islamic architecture all seemed to have originated, as expressed by Barros. Similarity, not difference, was the dominant feature binding the cultures of the three continents of the *oikoumene* together.
To men like Barros, global cultural commensurability was the result of the legacy of the sons of Noah.
Finally, Diu's military architecture suggested Portuguese military grandeur and again followed the humanism of the Renaissance, as well as Alberti's

thinking.[27] Barros refers to military architectural defences, set up by the Gujarat sultan Bahadur Shah,[28] who ceded Diu to the Portuguese king João III, and later modified by the Portuguese, built mainly after the plunder of 1546 and based on a group of bastioned fortifications, which made the city a strong protected place. The architecture should present a symbolic dominance dimension to resolve the invulnerability of the city. Similar elements can be found in the architectural structures on the topographical drawings of Castro's *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* from 1538, especially in the *Tavoa de Diu*.

Understanding Barros's metaphors without applying them to his literary work and to his 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 of the East and therefore his knowledge consists in the radical degree to which he portrayed himself as a de-contextualized individual. 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 images and that they may have made a deep impression on his mind.

The most conspicuous aspect of Barros's writings is helpful in shedding light on 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 . . . proposed by his own will for reasons that no one paid attention [to], to move his residence to Dio . . . and to demonstrate to all his stay in Diu, he built some very noble houses.* [29]

> And further on: '*. . . 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 . . . .*"[30]

The overlapping of sources between Barros's text and Castro's *Távoa* drawing corroborates the existence of a palace, the neighbouring bazaar and the urban fortified *khan* built at the bottom of the hill composed of a school, a square (established near the governorships and 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'. Also a mosque and a burial in the south side of the island are referred to in both sources. This mosque stands on a promontory over the sea and was visible to the ships approaching the island from the southern and western waters of the Indian Ocean. The palace of Diu, drawn by Castro and described by Barros, is the most important architectural novelty of Diu's architectural and urban history from the medieval and early modern period that has never been validated by scholarship. This can be inferred crossing referencing different sources that give us a match.

Conclusions

According to the architectural historian Paulo Varela Gomes,[31] the perceived commonalities between the European and Asian spatial traditions were not merely a matter of discursive invention but something solidly grounded in visual experience and appreciation that we believe are present in the literary evocations of memory used by Castro, Correa and Barros in site analysis or architectural design. The city of Diu 'inherited' by the Portuguese is an example of this assertion, 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 of an early European colonial city in India. 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 a 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 on this matter is remarkably nonspatial.

We tried to address this lacuna by emphasizing the 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 built landscape changed and by tracing history in lines and stones. The blurring of boundaries lies in this heterogeneous use of literature and the invention of space and architecture.

Crossover between literature, history and architecture serves not only to open these fields to each other, but also to facilitate a rethinking of the historical and social engagements of Diu's transition of sovereignty between the Gujarati and Portuguese, 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 proved to be an ongoing negotiation of its inward and onward tendencies. The extreme conditions of contestation as strained relations brought the deeper ambiguities of Diu's colonial life to the fore, in particularly explicit evocative ways, to take up traces of history in the text and designs of Castro, Correa and in the text of Barros. Right into the sixteenth century, the Portuguese engaged in the rebuilding, expansion and architectural reconfiguring of buildings that had suffered from the sieges of Diu. Practical necessities justified these architectural projects. The ongoing Renaissance architectural re-interpretations were an important manifestation of the active Portuguese participation in and reflection on their situation within the wider context.

We should note that only archaeological evidence for continuity of textual and drawn sources will make Diu 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 asked. Diu is a site where the centre of the ancient city described by Castro, Correa and Barros 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.

Castro's depiction is the first Western 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 where contrastingly categorized, especially in their political implications. Furthermore, Barros wrote not only the best connected early European history addressing Diu, but also and most notably, the first known Western anthropological text about European arrival and cross-cultural contact in Asia.

The role of building architecture was a recurrent response to colonial life in the Portuguese empire and wider currents of renewal. The architectural apex serves to exemplify the nature of the adaptation of Portuguese imperial presence to changing conditions at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Diu serves as a microcosm through which to explore the concrete institutional and architectural relations between architecture and colonial cities in India after the Europeans' arrival. In this way, the tension between reason and empirical reality, between the 'rational' world constructed in a philosophical system and the not-so-rational world with which man is confronted in the universe around him, described in each of the literary works cited in this article, found a pragmatic solution for Diu.

1 Stereotypes pervaded the Civitates Orbis Terrarum of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, perhaps the most important collection of city images made available to European readers in the 16th century; the practice perpetuated itself well beyond 1600. We did not consider these drawings because of their 'delirious' character.

2 João de Castro was a naval commander in the beginning of the reign of the king of Portugal João III. His cosmographic treatise, *Tratado da Sphaera por perguntas e respostas a modo de dialogo*, was probably written before 1538. He was charged with making hydrographical and magnetic observations during his voyages. He wrote down his reports in three *roteiros*: from Lisbon to Goa, from Goa to Diu and from Goa to Suez. In 1542 he went back to Portugal, and in 1545 he went again to India, now as governor of the Portuguese colonies. He died in Goa in 1548.

3 Gaspar Correa was a mid-sixteenth-century historian, chronicler and author of *Lendas da Índia*, working in India.

4 João de Barros was a Portuguese humanist and historian of the Portuguese presence in the East, who covered historical events from 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 and advocate of the king's imperial ideology, his most important written work was *Décadas da Ásia*, the most ambitious systematization of the memory of the achievements of the Portuguese in India, becoming, therefore, a reference encyclopaedia for all fields of knowledge, from architecture to anthropology.

5 Diu was a Portuguese colonial city and island in Gujarat, Western India, from 1535 until 1961.

6 Gujarat, the northernmost region on the western seaboard of India, is composed of three sub-regions: the mainland, the peninsula of Saurashtra and the northwestern region of Kutch. The Mughal Gujarat coincided substantially with present-day Gujarat, comprising the mainland separated by an ill-defined belt, the Gulf of Cambay, the northern plains, and to the east lay a region relatively less accessible that merged into the hilly region both to the north and the east and southeast that separated Gujarat from Mewar, Malwa and the Deccan. About the 'idea' of Gujarat, see: Edward Simpson, *Society and History of Gujarat since 1800: A Select Bibliography of the English and European Language Sources* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2011), xiii-xxxvi, and Edward Simpson and Aparna Kapadia, *The Idea of Gujarat: History, Ethnography and Text* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010).

7 Another important source for the early Portuguese presence in India 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 10 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. However, this source was excluded from this article, because it does not refer explicitly to Diu's urban space.

8 On 21 November Castro 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*.

9 João de Castro, *Roteiros de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1939-1940), vol. 2: 'Roteiro de Mar Roxo (1541)', prologue.

10 There are copies of the *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*. One at Coimbra University Library, at the British Library, London, and at the Portuguese National Library, Lisbon. See: *Tábuas dos roteiros da Índia de D. João de Castro*, [*Tavoas dos lugares da costa da India*] [manuscript] (Coimbra, Portugal: Coimbra University Library). Reference: UCBG Cofre 33, 1538-1539, 1 album (63 folios), 430x290 mm.

11 Castro, *Roteiros*, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 2: 'Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539)', 158-162.

12 Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', in *Representations*, 37 (1992), 21.

13 Entelechy, (from Greek *entelecheia*), in philosophy, is that which realizes or makes actual what is otherwise merely potential. The concept is intimately connected with Aristotle's distinction between matter and form, or the potential and the actual. He analysed each thing according to the stuff or elements of which it is composed and the form that makes it what it is (see hylomorphism). The mere stuff or matter is not yet the real thing; it needs a certain form or essence or function to complete it. Matter and form, however, are never separated; they can only be distinguished.

14 Castro, *Roteiros*, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 2: 'Roteiro de Goa a Diu (1538-1539)', dedication to Prince Luís, 10.

15 See Sallustio Peruzzi, Italian architect, born in 1511 or 1512. Also discussed in sources such as Giovanni Salvestro, he 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 diferent levels perpendicular to the plane of projection and an idiosyncratic treatment of the vaults and dome (1534-1536) (Florence: Uffizi, 2Ar). Sallustio Perizzi produced Veduta prospettica di Roma (1564-1565) (Florence: Uffizi 274A). The drawing is a bird's-eye view taken from three distinct viewpoints. See Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Fagiolo (eds.), *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai Catasti* (*Rome: Editions Artemide*, 2012).

16 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.

17 Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, introduction and review by M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto: Lello e Irmão, 1975), vol. IV, 467.

18 Ibid., vol. III, 687.

19 *'viesse 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'*, *João de Barros, Da Ásia* (Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973-1975), decade IV, book X, chapter III, 616-617.

20 Ibid., decade II, book III, chapter V, 290.

21 *'atulhada de gente de diversas nações'* (crowded with people from many nations), ibid., decade IV, book IV, chapter XIV, 449.

22 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 Khân (r. 1391-1411), Ahmad Shâh (r. 1411-1422) grandson of the former and founder of Ahmedabad, and Muhmamad Shâh Karim (r. 1442-1451). Ibid., decade II, book II, chapter IX, 213.

23 Ibid., decade II, book II, chapter IX, 212-215.

24 Ibid., decade IV, book IV, chapter XIV, 448-449.

25 Italian humanist author, artist, architect, poet, priest, linguist, philosopher and cryptographer; he epitomized 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.

26 Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neal Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press, 1988), books 5-14, 140. See also Leon Battista Alberti, Da arte *edificatória*, introduction, notes and review by Mário Júlio Teixeira Kruger, translated from the Latin of Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito Santo (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2011), 352.

27 Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, op. cit. (note 26), books 5-4, 123.

28 Qutb-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, born Bahadur Khan, was a sultan of the Muzaffarid dynasty who reigned in the sultanate of Gujarat, India, from 1526 to 1535 and from 1536 to 1537.

29 Barros, *Da Ásia*, op. cit. (note 19), decade IV, book X, chapter IV, 618-619.

30 Ibid., decade IV, book X, chapter VI, 632-633.

31 Paulo Varela Gomes, ‘Perspectives of World Art Research: Form, Recognition and Empathy,’ paper presented at the 2012 Opler Conference, Worcester College, Oxford.