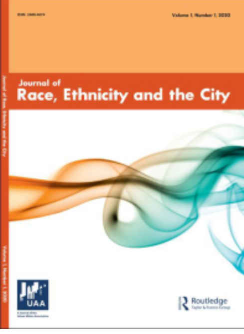

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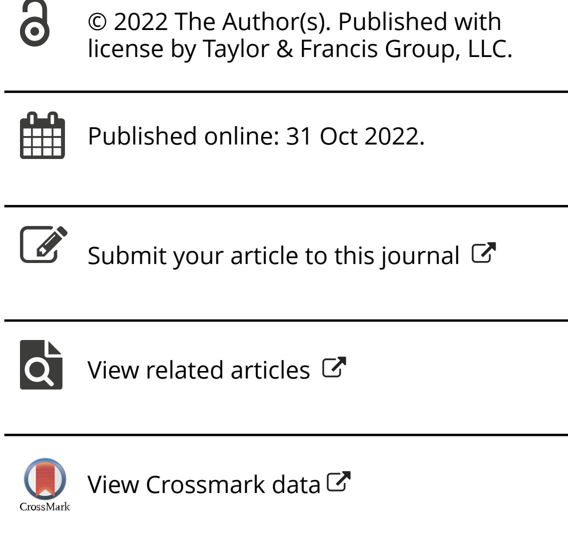

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Drawing the "color line": Race, ethnicity and religion in Diu

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ABSTRACT

This article explores how the ideas of race, ethnicity and religion shifted with modernity in Diu. While it concentrates on findings about Diu, the arguments it develops are more wide-ranging and have a series of architectural, urbanistic, and anthropological implications. It addresses the construction of identity by exploring the multiplicities and slippages of colonial imagery, social histories, and spatial production in the management of populations and colonial cities. We argue that the Portuguese shared ideologies rooted in race, ethnicity and religion that provide a consistent, detectable structure for a specific interpretation of spatial-morphological arrangements in Diu (the city's buildings, architecture, urban layout, and spatial structure) in the context of the European colonial city in South Asia. We analyze the discourse with which the Portuguese created knowledge through cartography, tracing how ideologies linked to race, ethnicity and religion were historically internalized, and how they worked in conjunction with social structures and practices to produce the colonial city of Diu.

KEYWORDS

Diu; race; ethnicity and religion; colonial city

Introduction

In this article, I analyze the polarization of identities as the foundation for an argument about Diu, a former Portuguese colonial city located at the southernmost tip of Kathiawar, India. Also known as Saurashtra, Kathiawar is the largest sub region of Gujarat, bordered by the Indus Delta's extensive salt flats and the gulfs of Cambay—a separate region, given its size and tidal extent—and of Kutch. With its beak stretching into the sea, the peninsula had a long coastline dotted with a number of port towns. Ethnically, it was composed of people referred to as Rajputs, who settled in the region as pastoral nomads through a series of migrations from the Sind region around the close of the 1st century CE. Unsurprisingly, the region is home to an important Siddhi population of African descent, as is Diu itself (Lodhi, 1992, pp. 83–86).

I make my argument by feeding the discursive fields and social positionings of race, as a "community of blood and intellect which … binds its offshoots together" (Louis & Hippolyte-Adolphe Taine's as cited in Gates, 1985, p. 3) ethnicity and religion into the story of Diu. I also critique previous work on colonial space and social relations in South Asia that implicitly or explicitly disengages identities from other historically situated oppressions and inequalities, questions of indigeneity and sovereignty, and other European empires in the East. I seek to reorient many of the archetypes of colonial South

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Asian historiography, which has almost exclusively taken the British colonial experience to be not merely paradigmatic but virtually all-encompassing.

In the sphere of cartography, information was collected and organized according to the new polities shaped and created by British hegemony, neglecting alternative readings and historiographies. Indeed, this was the result of a specific kind of 18th- and 19th-century knowledge production that I will address here. I will also discuss new standpoints and theoretical frameworks that have recently emerged in academia and the public sphere that try to soften the dominance of British scholarship on imperialism and turn to a more equalitarian and diversity-sensitive way to analyze the afterlives of the colonial, thereby exploring the issues and challenges of our times.

My analysis here should be understood as pitting critical theory against hegemonic-imperial analyses of historical, cultural, literary, and artistic productions by both colonizer and colonized. Although it is a "unified geographical category equipped with national frontiers, the Indian subcontinent has hardly ever been a single, integrated political entity" (Misra, 1990, p. v). Scholars of British imperial cartography over the course of the 19th century, and of the consequent triumph of colonial British geographical rhetoric in South Asia, have claimed that the British empire's greatest triumph "was its replacement of the multitude of political and cultural components of India with a single all-India state coincident with a cartographically defined geographical whole" (Enley, 1997, p. 15). In a nutshell, the spatial unity of India is a creation of the British mapping of the empire, and it is truthful only within the rhetoric of Enlightenment epistemology.

My style of analysis may be particularly revealing because while racism structured socio-spatial relations after the arrival of the Portuguese in India, it was woven into a power differentiated Portuguese empire that organized colonial relations up to the second half of the 20th century. Certainly, the stories that emerge from a reexamination of selected moments in the history of the *Estado da Índia*[1] (hereafter, Estado) in Diu reveal an intricate "dominator identity" (Plumwood, 1993).

It should be emphasized that the urban historiography of Diu is flawed, as it is based exclusively on official documents prepared by Portuguese colonial administrators, and it therefore mainly reflects the colonial viewpoint (Bocarro, 1992; João de Castro, 1538-39; Sarmento, 1783; Silva, 1833). Historians of Diu have relied heavily upon European sources, particularly accounts by 18th and 19th century Portuguese colonial administrators. I attempt to rectify this bias by including some 19th century Gujarati materials in my discussion, for example, in relation the self-image of the Gujarati subjects who patronized or built architecture in Diu.

Needless to say, the evolution of "progress" always conveniently culminated in the form that happened to be prevalent in Western Europe at the time. The emergent built forms and their uses and meanings, although not identical to those idealized in Western Europe, were nevertheless "modern"[2] (Pollock as cited in Brown, 2008, pp. 555–557; Chakrabarty, 2007; Mignolo, 2000a, pp. 721–748; Mitchell, 2000; Pollock, 1998, 2000). We therefore seek to acknowledge the plural forms of modernity and to legitimize its many interpretations. As Appadurai reminds us, "modernity is decisively at large, irregularly self-conscious, and unevenly experienced—[it] surely does involve a general break with all sorts of pasts" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 3) or a break with all sorts of architectural and urban spatial cultures.

The first "European" Diu

Within the master narrative of South Asian historiography, the period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in India unfolds as a series of iconic moments during the Muslim conquest of South Asia, a cultural and historical rupture that prefigured the 1947 partition of India. Conversely, in a retrojection of the values of the nation-state, the inhabitants of pre-modern South Asia have been figured as the noble citizens of Hindu India, valiantly resisting the Muslim onslaught.

Diu, long an important port city and a former Portuguese colonial city established in the 16th century, is located in the east of the island of Diu. The island is located at the most southern tip of the Kathiawar peninsula and is peripheral the *subah* of Gujarat. Diu's location in South Asia and on the Indian subcontinent is decisive for the architectural and urban character of the colonial city. The rough contours of the amorphous territories around both the island and the peninsula are delineated to the north by the river Oxus, to the south by the province of Sind, to the east by the Ganges, and to the west by the eastern Iranian province of Khurasan, which abuts the Indian Ocean.

Diu was a tributary first of the Mughals and later of the Portuguese. It was influenced by three important historical moments: first, the establishment of Gujarat as an independent sultanate; second, the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughal empire in 1573; finally and most importantly, the institution of a Portuguese colonial settlement in the city, which directly resulted in the establishment of a European presence in Gujarat.

European overseas expansion in the East enabled direct "cross-cultural" contact (Clifford & Marcus, 2009) between Portugal and Asian potentates. The Portuguese coveted Diu because of its strategic position on one hand—at Kathiawar, close to the routes of most of the traffic between India and the Red Sea, which was mostly conducted by Gujarati merchants—and on the other hand, as the outlet of Gujarati cotton fabrics, which were indispensable for the acquisition of spices.

Prior to the 18th century, Diu existed as a strong and well-established city. The discussability of the private or colonial home-space in Diu arises partly from the racialized construction of the European colonial city in India. Scholars have recently started to draw the lines of the colonial city somewhat differently, emphasizing its blurred and ambiguous boundaries. As we attempt to do with Diu, these accounts show that the city space was not as neatly divided as colonial representations implied. Chattopadhyay 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; rejecting the dual "white/black" town model as a useful empirical description of the city, she elaborates on its functions as a productive idea for colonial urbanism. While her overall concern is to "problematize the representation of the city" rather than to provide empirical descriptions, she nevertheless explores structures of power in colonial Calcutta. Glover presents cities as key structures that conditioned everyday experiences of empire, and he examines the relationship 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 the "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 elucidates the colonial transformation of Delhi into a "hybrid" city, one that juxtaposed both indigenous and extralocal elements in paradoxical and unstable combinations. 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 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 (Chattopadhyay, 2005; Glover, 2007; Hosagrahar, 2005; Kidambi, 2007; Legg, 2007). Early 1980s works about the colonial city inaugurated this analysis on a broader geographical scope (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Çelik, 1997; Cohen & Eleb, 2002; Crinson, 2003; Fuller, 2007; Mclaren, 2006; Metcalf, 2002; Prochaska, 1990; Rabinow, 1980; Wright, 1991).

Diu was well-defined by two places distinct from one another. One where the colonizer lived, the historic fort area that was later surrounded by the city's European (Portuguese) population. The other where the city's native (Gujarati) population lived. Nevertheless, the standard of Gujarati versus Portuguese Catholic urban settlements, or at the very least of two racially distinct settlements side by side, was applied to Diu within the colonial discursive frame of the mid-17th century, many years before other European colonial settlements in India (Bocarro, 1992; Dias, 2004, pp. 217–219).

For the first generation of Portuguese colonial officials, who occupied Diu after the concession of the island to the Portuguese in the early 16th century, the city and its immediate environs were unmapped and poorly known. There was the walled fortress of the city, its pattern of streets, its houses and its monuments. Outside the fortress walls, temples, gardens and tombs, coexisted with enclaves that at one time had been contiguous with ruins, but now formed isolated neighborhoods (João de Castro, 1538-39). These different settings—the inner city inside the fortress walls, the suburban areas inside the walls, and the agrarian and other types of villages that surrounded the city—are always credited with separate and distinctive qualities in Portuguese early writings on Diu (Bocarro, 1992; João de Castro, 1538-39).

At the same time, one might ask whether these qualitatively different settings related to each other, and if so how (Grancho, 2017).

Several fields of knowledge and perception were newly open to intellectual activity after Portuguese arrival in Diu. In Portugal after the third decade of the 16th century, it was possible to describe and apply the techniques and practices of comparison to places as far apart as Africa, Gujarat, or Siam (Hartog, 2001, pp. 331–355). The best example is *Décadas da Ásia* (1552–1563), hereafter *Da Ásia*, the masterpiece of João de Barros (1496–1570; de Barros, 1973-75; Lapa, 1972; Saraiva, 1950-62, pp. 277–335),[3] a remarkably thought provoking and modern text regarding the early Portuguese presence in Asia.[4]

Da Ásia is the 16th century's first European anthropological account of the East (Barreto, 1983, pp. 136–143, 1989, pp. 153–168; Carneiro & Matos, 2004, pp. 57–74). It addresses the political, military, social, cultural, commercial, and religious topographies of Asia. Arguably one of the key works of 16th century European historiography, it boasts a global scope that outweighs the importance given to the spatial environment (buildings, architecture, urban layout and spatial structure of the city) in articulation with history and an emphasis on the economy and major trade routes, and attention to the diversity of

cultures, institutions, and social systems.[5] Its Eurocentric assumptions and ideological commitments mean that it suffers from limitations proper to its time, such as religious prejudice, the association of race with a certain level of civility, and a discourse that promotes an often-civilizational identification of Europeans and non-Europeans. However, referring to anthropology, the Portuguese maritime epic portrayed in *Da Ásia* turns the reader's attention toward and pays tribute to the unfolding geographical and civilizational frameworks of the East. In episodes such as Diogo de Azambuja's arrival in Guinea and his encounter with Caramansa (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. III, chap. I), the meeting between Vasco da Gama and the Zamorin of Calicut (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. III, chap. VIII), or the account of China (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade III, bk. II, chap. VII), Barros describes the Portuguese reception and interpretation of other cultures and societies. More than "the speech of past things" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. IX, chap. V., p. 353), *Da Ásia* was written out of a moral obligation to the memory of the Portuguese presence in the East, primarily for those governing the Estado (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, "Prologue"; Calafate, 1991, pp. 137–150).

A merely extra textual critique of sources applied to *Da Ásia* would not necessarily yield information essential to evaluate the accuracy and reliability of the writings and historiographical and ethnographic practices. *Da Ásia* is a geographical treatise that follows the trade routes across the Indian Ocean. Barros applied two tautological tenets when he made the selection and classification of data: first, geographical spaces, social phenomena, and cultural singularities were fundamentally similar across the globe, and consequently had outcomes that could be universally compared; second, understood in this way, global space was essentially continuous and homogeneous in texture and quality. His work was informative, detailing the networks, products, and agents involved in short- and long-distance trade from Africa to China and Eastern Asia. He was acquainted with kingdoms as distant as Gujarat thanks to the *Chronicas dos Reys do Guzarate* (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade II, bk. II, chap. IX, p. 213).

During the third decade of the 16th century, the Indian subcontinent was difficult to fit the data into a horizontal extension of the categories of the social imaginary. Barros fully acknowledged the impossibility of providing a combined and cohesive account of the Indian subcontinent. The regions and subcategories yielded ethnographic information difficult to systematize: "since all this Hindustan province is inhabited by pagan and ... Mahometan [people]. It is very diverse in rites and customs, and all the territory was divided ... into many kingdoms and states" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. IV, chap. VII, p. 324). He emphasized how difficult it was to identify unambiguous sociocultural units: "These four nations in creed [*gentiles*, Moors, Jews, and Christians], in what each one is for itself, are so many in each of their parts that speaking properly, none is pure in the category acknowledged" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. IX, chap. I, p. 287).[6]

In light of this difficulty, Barros constructed a hierarchy of places in his descriptions. The places of encounter on which he based this hierarchy were the places where people gathered, those where customs could be experienced (more than elsewhere), those where trade could prosper and thereby enhance exchange, and finally those where power and people came together. What is significant and innovative about *Da Ásia* is that it systematically outlines these places and brings them into a "contact zone." (Pratt, 1992, p. 4). Thus, Barros positions himself politically in the burgeoning movement to decolonize knowledge, with

a marked commitment to a decentering of the Western eye and a rethinking of the relationship between the center and the periphery of the Portuguese empire in Asia.

Empire building was also transposing its ideological tenets to other geographies. The quality of history and ethnography should reside in its discourse and narration, much more than in its detail. Barros soon became not only an apologist but also a proponent of the expansion of the religious war against the "infidel," a war that was a leitmotif in the imperial thinking of King João III of Portugal (r. 1521–1557) and was omnipresent in early modern Portuguese thought. In 1533 Barros strongly condemned the conflict between Charles V of Spain (1500–1558) and Francis I of France (1494–1565), encouraging João III into what he regarded 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 just, fruitful, and brings great praise to the Christian king" (de Barros, 1943, p. 24).

Following the closer contact between Europe and India made possible by Vasco da Gama's arrival, the Europeans were confronted with the fact that Indian civilization was perfectly capable of rivaling Europe in many respects. Sixteenth century Portugal was an agrarian country with a merely incipient urbanity. By contrast, India boasted countless highly developed urban agglomerations of cosmopolitan character, which were perhaps even superior to those found in some European countries. Barros was astonished by and praised the urban and architectural spatial cultures with which he became acquainted.

Barros's attitude toward architecture and urbanism was elaborate and complex. *Da Ásia* begins with an explicit architectural metaphor (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, "Prologue"). For Barros, unlike other travelers, the beauty and splendor of Asian cities was a source of approbation. Since he never traveled beyond São Jorge da Mina in Mozambique, he never saw the cities of the East and he was never in Diu, and his knowledge of such places rested on his contentious portrayal of himself as a decontextualized individual.

Diu was a cosmopolitan city par excellence, and it was long used to contact with people from diverse origins (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. IV, chap. XIV, p. 449). Anyone who "came to conquer India should first take possession of the city [Diu], because it was strong with a safe and good harbor, and windward of all India, and for this reason Soleimão arrived in Diu on 4 September 1538" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. X, chap. III, pp. 616–617). He offered a fresh, vivid, and accurate written portrayal of Diu, using racial, ethnic, and religious data as a key feature:

> The city was crowded with people from different countries, and all the walls and housetops, and places from which they could see our armada, were full … showing that they had it in weak account. … But (according to what was said) Mastafá, who had arrived a few days before, seeing the layout of the city, and that in all the things he had seen in Italy and Turkey there was none that by its nature and art was 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 types of war artifices, and with so many people. (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. IV, chap. XIV, pp. 448-449)

Diu, a citadel, a city, and an island, he described as:

> Standing in a superb place over the sea, with walls, towers, and buildings in the manner of Spain, things not yet seen by the Portuguese in the lands of Malabar, amid nostalgia for one's homeland brought about by the similarity of the buildings of the city; some experienced fear, since behind these walls death might be waiting; and others, whose courage was challenged by hope for the glory that guns would bring, were more encouraged by this first view of the city,

> desiring to see inside what was feared from outside. (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade II, bk. III, chap. V, p. 290; Gomes, 2007, p. 305)

Furthermore, Barros's omissions are instrumental. Writing about the disputes over Diu after the Portuguese arrival, he provides information about Sultan Bahadur Shah Gujarati (r. 1526–1537), who was "unstable and restless ... already free from Nizamaluco and wishing to be sultan of the Mogols" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XVII, 96). Bahadur's expectations were to be frustrated:

> 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 [the Portuguese viceroy] left, [Bahadur] would build ramparts on the wall to recapture the fortress. (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. VI, chap. XVII, pp. 96-97)

It was customary for travelers to send drawings and paintings back to Portugal from their travels, and there is no doubt that Barros was familiar with these. According to him, Arabia's coastal cities and "political populations" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. IV, chap. IV, p. 210) 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 kingdom." (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. IV, chap. V, p. 308; Gomes, 2007, p. 305). Kilwa was "very fertile with palms, with all the thorn trees and vegetables that we have in Spain." (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade I, bk. VIII, chap. IV, p. 215).

This perception of "Iberian-type buildings" was shared between Barros and Duarte Barbosa (1480–1521),[7] who came upon these unusual places while drifting around the Indian Ocean (Barbosa, 1989, vol. 1, p. 96, 163, 221, vol. 2, p. 73 and 93; de Barros, 1973-75, Decade II, bk. III, chap. V, p. 290). The Iberian manner he longed for was of course the *Mudejar* style that had emerged in Spain, which mixed European and Arab architectural features prior to its destruction by the *Reconquista*. One presumes that Diu displayed an Islamic style with which Portuguese travelers, nostalgic for their homeland, would immediately identify.

Barros addressed descriptions and events from distant cultures, comparing them with European cultural categories that were ordered and classified differently than Eastern cultural realities, and in this way he illuminated what he regarded as moral decay in Portugal. Here he accorded great significance to the Gujaratis, since they were an unavoidable ethnic *topos*: "More silk and gold is spent on fabric of various sorts than in the rest of India; and the city of Patan can compete in the number of looms with the cities of Florence and Milan" (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. V, chap. I, p. 543). Or again:

> Gujaratis have mechanical skills, in which they are the finest in the East, whose louçainhas have been 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 such as ganise, monoche, sagmatogene, milochini, which are very thin and made of cotton: so it seems to us that he referred to canequis, bofetás, beirames, sabagagis, and others ... on which large duties are paid to this day .... The fineness of their clothes of many sorts, the delicacy of their work, are regarded as more perfect than in the rest of India. (Diogo de Couto, 1973-75, Decade IV, bk. I, chap. VII, pp. 44-45)

Its second prologue, Barros also draws an analogy between the Portuguese empire and his writings, comparing his work to architecture:

> In the first Década, as it was the foundation of all this building [Barros's writings], somehow we wanted to emulate the way architects build on the firm ground and the way building materials are used . . . . We laid foundations for the building with rough stones from Guinea and settled on the firm and constant ground of Prince Henrique's intentions. This started to grow with the political discourse up until the time of King Manuel I, when the discovery of India showed the ground of the king's work. (de Barros, 1973-75, Decade II, "Prologue")

The color line

The designation of colonial cities as "black/native" towns stems from common usage within discussions and representations after the 17th century, mainly as an outcome of British scholarship regarding urbanism and cities in India. Some cities (such as Madras, Calcutta, and Daman) grew primarily because of a military and economic presence, while others (such as Bombay) had had a previous tenuous colonial presence that had established European colonial urban precedents.

Familiar dualistic pairings such as "colonizer/colonized," "black/white," and "European/native" were critical for the conduct of racial and ethnic relations within the colonial city, and were the outcomes of a dichotomized "us/them" framework that (inadvertently) obscured the subjectivities internal to those categories. This phenomenon had its origins in the British colonial experience, which emerged as a paradigm that both defines and constrains European scholarship on the colonial city in India.

However, and by contrast with other European colonial cities in India (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Bethencourt & Adrian, 2012; Boxer, 1988; Chattopadhyay, 2005; Çelik, 1997; Mitter, 1986, p. 102; Glover, 2007; Hosagrahar, 2005; Rabinow, 1992, pp. 167–182; Wright, 1991), no racial segregation happened in Diu (Portuguese Overseas Historical Archives [AHU], 1612; Rivara, 1857–1866, pp. 178–180). After the Portuguese arrival, there was a permanent state of tolerance (Hayden, 2002, pp. 205–231) and cohabitation (Glick, 1992, pp. 1–9; Hillenbrand, 1992, pp. 112–135; Lewis, 1984) in Diu between the Portuguese and the Gujarati, as is well attested in sources and data from 1707 onward that we uncovered (Grancho, 2017). What then did the words *race*, *ethnicity*, and *religion* mean in the 18th and 19th centuries in the context of the European colonial city in India?

Focusing on practices of contact, displacement, and translation, I will demonstrate the contingent and unstable nature of premodern identity. The terms *race, ethnicity*, and *religion* are therefore placed within quotation marks, not only to suggest that biased identity categories are inadequate to the task of representing the phenomena under discussion, but also to call into question the inherent stability of those identities. My approach questions the dichotomy between "absorption by the other or resistance to the other" (Clifford, 1988, p. 344). That structures so many accounts of contact, circulation, displacement, and translation. Echoing James Clifford, I pose the central question: "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" (Clifford, 1988, p. 344).

Race, ethnicity and religion had taken on a unified identity and purpose for the Arab amirs of Sind in the 8th–10th centuries, their Arabized Persian contemporaries in Afghanistan, the Ghaznavid Turks who expanded their domains as far east as the Indus Valley in the 11th–12th centuries, the Persianized Ghurids who succeeded them, and the Portuguese who arrived on the western coast of the Indian subcontinent in the 15th–16th centuries.

These scenarios operate by collapsing all possible identities into a single identification, rendering singular, static, and undifferentiated something that was often multiple, protean, and highly contested. In an attempt to deconstruct this single identification, I will now trace dynamic patterns of engagement between religions over several centuries, emphasizing relations rather than essences and "routes rather than roots" (Clifford, 1997).

Acting in concert, these very dissimilar agents, who differed from one another not only in ethnicity but also in religion, effected a distinction in the urban identity of Diu that was reflected in its spatial spatial-morphological arrangements (buildings, architecture, urban layout, and spatial structure) and in its iconographic and cartographic representations from early modern times onward.

The African diasporic community in Diu was known by many names, including *tribal, Sidi, Sidi Badshah, Gujarati, African*, and *Afro-Indian*. All these names are truthful, and indeed the most accurate, polynomial, and comprehensive label might be the "tribal, Muslim, Sidi Badshah, African, Indian community of Diu." As history accumulates and we understand groups more specifically, it becomes possible to identify and consider groups in polynomial form—Africans who are also Indians, Muslims, Gujaratis, and Sidi Badshahs. The presence of people of African descent in India questions the assumption that in Asia "African immigrants had been absorbed into the local societies" (Harris, 2003, pp. 157–168).

Today, *Siddhi* is used overarchingly to refer to all the Gujarati population who, although considered native to Diu by virtue of their long history on the subcontinent, ultimately have their origins in Africa and are known as Sidi/Siddi/Sidhi or Habshi/Habsi (Yimene, 2015, pp. 19–39). The term *Siddhi* or *Siddi* carries no geographical inference; it has been traced to the Arabic *saiyid*, meaning "lord." The term *Habshi* is traditionally related to *Habash*, the Arabic name for Abyssinia (Jayasuriya & Pankhurst, 2003, p. 8). Another term found in archival records is *Kaffir*, from the Arabic *kaffir* ("infidel") Almost all Siddhis in Diu are Sunni Muslims. They use their tribes' names, such as the Kafara, who are most probably from Mozambique or South Africa.

The Siddi community mostly came to India as slaves. Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to trace the presence of all Siddhis back to just one way of migration or one historical period. Slavery in South Asia preceded Vasco da Gama's arrival in India (Chauhan, 1995). The transport of slaves from Africa to the Indian subcontinent, from Abyssinia via Arabia, was probably as old as any other trade between these places. Most eventually converted to Islam, ending up particularly in Gujarat and the Gulf of Cambay, or further south, on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon. Before European colonial expansion, slavery across the Indian Ocean seems to have been dominated by Arabs. By the end of the 18th century, the slave trade between Mozambique and Diu was well established. From Diu, slaves were sold on to other ports under the Portuguese, British tea plantations in Ceylon, American slavers, or French territories (as Pondicherry and Karaikal). Also, slaves was redirected inland to Kathiawar and Kutch because Diu fell into the system of commerce centered on Kathiawar.

Modern surveys

Nineteenth-century historians' theoretical reflections on urban processes in the Estado became an experimental field for the Portuguese colonial city. A look at this comprehensive picture reveals a daunting multiplicity and complicates notions of modernity, highlighting a concern with empire building that found its most valid expression in the physicality of the city (Chattopadhyay, 2005, 2012, pp. 75–92; Chattopadhyay & Bhaskar, 2005, pp. 357–363). The Estado wanted to find a method that would produce useful and uniform knowledge for the Portuguese empire. Ideas and models were shared, but the specific complexity of each place led to their reconsideration, resulting in a diversity of experiments. Accordingly, while urbanistic and architectural conventions displayed similarities in their principles, they had some significantly different outcomes.

Tremendous changes, most prominently in the economy and technology, affected several of the colonial city's spatial-morphological arrangements (buildings, architecture, urban layout, and spatial structure). The colonial city became a site of governance and technocratic experimentation to address the problems brought about by development and technology (Arnold, 2000; Bayly, 1988; Harrison, 1994; Lobo, 2013; Metcalf, 1994; Tillotson, 1989; Vishwanathan, 2014). The many ways of urban design applied to different contexts and scales went hand in hand with practical propositions, and urban planning was understood as an integrated and collective endeavor among Portuguese colonial administrators (Brush, 1962, pp. 57–70; King, 1976, pp. 97–122; 1984). Modernizing projects that aimed to change the colonial city and were geared to functional issues brought together buildings and infrastructure (transportation networks, roads, sewage and water lines, lighting in public spaces, and urban landscaping). All of these changes happened in Diu.

Besides the production of this new urbanity, by emphasizing the effect of topography on architecture, the colonial authorities made the acts of surveying, mapping, exploring, and monitoring space indispensable to the colonial project. A great change in maps, deriving from the colonial rather than the imperial function, was contemporaneous with efforts to establish colonial administrations on the ground, usually a short time after the colonial authority's formal proclamation. Cartography selectively emphasized boundaries over sites. From the 17th century onward, the principles of mapping "were measurement and standardization," (Harley, 1989, pp. 4–5) and the change in maps' aesthetic appearance testified to the growing authority of scientific discourse, ultimately leading to the erasure from the map of all signs of the immediately subjective. At one uniform scale, all portions of colonial city space became directly comparable and normalized. The knowledge of the Portuguese empire was homogenized, and particular differences, variations, and contingencies were subsumed within a certain degree of certainty. The space of the map regarding "race," "ethnicity," and "religion" was not bounded and limited but extensible, and was as potentially all-encompassing as Portuguese power and knowledge could make it. Moreover, that spatial architecture was a European panopticon. What kind of space, what kind of subject, did this mapping (per)form?

The 17th-century consolidation of the idea of Diu was a direct outgrowth of the initial framing of the city in the mid-1500s (Bocarro, 1992; João de Castro, 1538-39), and it depended on the comprehensive mapping of Diu. In constructing a uniform and comprehensive iconographic and cartographic archive of Diu in 1538, 1635, 1783, and 1833 the Portuguese fixed the scope and character of the colonial city and the island. They located

and mapped the human landscape of the settlements (Gujarati and Portuguese Catholic), the fort, roads and the boundaries within the physical landscape of the island, rivers, caves, and forests. They also undertook cadastral surveys, delimiting field boundaries, buildings, and even trees when these were considered agriculturally important and of sufficiently large scale (Silva, 1833).

In the same vein, one might easily argue that each of these maps of Diu (1538, 1635, 1783, and 1833) constituted a geographical panopticon. The subjects were separated for their better control, and the system of control ensured that all subjects could be observed at any time—and knew they could be observed—by the invisible, anonymous, and all-seeing panoptic guard or map producer. Foucault uses the panopticon as the exemplar of the "instruments of permanent, exhaustive, [and] omnipresent surveillance" (Foucault, 1977, p. 195) that permeate modern society and fabricate the individual. As mechanisms of the state's discipline, the surveys improved "the exercise of power by making it lighter, more rapid, more effective," (Foucault, 1977, p. 201) and subtler.

Between 1783 and 1790, João Gabriel Dechermont and João António Sarmento coauthored a map of Diu. Dechermont drew the map before February 1790, based on a survey started by Sarmento in 1783. The map had been commissioned by Frederico Guilherme de Sousa Holstein (1737–1790), governor of the *Estado da Índia* (r. 1779–1786). It was entitled *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 António Sarmento* (Figure 1).

The conceptual strength of Sarmento and Dechermont's framing of Diu, and the subsequent consolidation of that depiction, depended on unquestioning acceptance by the

Figure 1. *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 António Sarmento. 1783*. Oporto Public Municipal Library, Oporto. Reference: C.M.&A., Pasta 24(35).

Portuguese empire and culture of the map as giving a truthful, accurate, and most importantly unproblematic statement of the physical and spatial environment regarding race, ethnicity and religion.[8] It thus illustrates the maneuvering of colonial discourse in the late 18th century, which shifted and recognized that contradictions among racial, ethnic, and religious dichotomies were necessary to establish spatial divisions and elide historical conflicts.

Sarmento and Dechermont's map is a "modern" map. It has none of the instrumentally derived precision of the early iconography of Diu (Bocarro, 1992; João de Castro, 1538-39). It is indeed the construction of a single, complete, truthful, systematic, and ordered archive of spatial knowledge about Diu. Its subject matter is predominantly the separation between the Portuguese and the Gujarati. The map had a functional and administrative purpose, and it offers an example of colonial cartography that locates and surveys settlements in unprecedented detail. The Catholic religious buildings, the main civic colonial buildings, the colonial infrastructures, the neighborhoods, and the racial, ethnic, and religious locations of space, places, populations, and ordinary buildings are all portrayed.

Keen to record the 18th-century changes in the city, Sarmento and Dechermont used the same geographical and historical methods to impress the colonizers' stamp on the map, thus unabashedly projecting their own biases. Both the subjects they were and the world they encountered maintained the ideal of stable, rationalized space while occupying a space that was chaotic and mobile. The panoptic 18th-century vision that surveyed the town, and the type of efficiency (invoking segregation among the native population) that marked this process, were only possible because the city had been wrenched out of its normal spatial and cultural mode.

Unsurprisingly, Sarmento and Dechermont emphasized their own interests and purposes regarding surveying, revenue, administration, and trade, interests, or the interpretations that suited their enterprise, found their way onto their map. Obviously, the degree of detachment between the Gujarati and Portuguese inhabitants varied according to the particularities of the city's context.

The externalization and control of space that Sarmento and Dechermont sought to propagate went hand in hand with their attempt to formulate a safely encapsulated subject. The primary impulse behind the surveying and mapping of Diu was to fix boundaries and territories, to locate people and to place objects in their fixed space. The similarity of the mapped space of Diu and the mapping subject of the colonial city stems from the way the boundary between them was patterned as a constant barrier, enforcing the difference between the two sites, and preventing them from either mixing or dissolving. Sarmento and Dechermont institute a particular boundary between subject and space, but is itself also a site of interface, mediating the relationship between space and subject, and constructing each in its own particularly solidified way. This was seen as necessary both so that the Estado could assess revenues and for Portuguese military and security purposes.

Colonial architectural discourse was characterized by a contradiction or ambivalence that was inherent to the process of constructing authority through the representation of colonized subjects (Bhabha, 1994, p. 34). As the unfamiliar spatial rules reconfigured the Portuguese as subjects, it became necessary to articulate their subjectivity with a new vocabulary. The description of Diu as a divided city 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 to change over time.

On one hand, colonial authority was primarily constituted a priori: either it needed no justification, or its justification came from within itself. On the other hand, colonial authority was built through strategies of discrimination, that is, by establishing a difference between parts in such a way that one emerged as superior. Portuguese architecture was "superior" because it was civilized and appeared in a definite and clear way, while Gujarati architecture was "inferior" because it was uncivilized and appeared in an unsure, intricate, and less distinct way. Clearly, these two modes of constructing architectural discourse were intertwined, although they produced separate entities through cartography. Since authority was constituted a priori, the Portuguese took it as their duty to "civilize" their subjects, to make them into a double image of themselves.

Sarmento and Dechermont presented the Gujarati as external subjects in order to reinforce their own subjectivity. By differentiating (or attributing inferiority to) the Gujarati and their practices, their map functioned to concretize individualism and ensure the Gujarati's exclusion from it. Accordingly, the lines Sarmento and Dechermont drew between the subjects and the urban landscape reinforced the lines between Portuguese and Gujarati subjects.

The drawing codes used by Sarmento and Dechermont in the map may have been a way to strike the proper balance between reason and instinct, a happy condition that was by definition easier for "civilized" peoples to attain than others. Yet, when Gujarati subjects attained a certain similarity (when they spoke European languages and had a "Western" discourse), they needed to be discriminated against in order for the Portuguese to maintain their authority. This was done by stressing racial, ethnic, and religious diversity in cartographic surveys, with a different emphasis on the drawing codes for colonized subjects, as well as the links between the ideational spaces of image, imagination, and the production of subjectivity and the physical spaces of urban form, claim, and territoriality, in response to the specific issues of Diu's urban identity. Accordingly, Gujarati subjects, who were expected to become "like" the Portuguese, were simultaneously differentiated and disavowed. The simultaneous operation of identification and disavowal was the basic form of ambivalence performed in the production of the maps of Diu's modernity (by Sarmento and Dechermont in 1783, and later by Silva in 1833). Thus, mapping became a technology that advanced indeed, was the hallmark of a larger cultural order premised on cleanly distinguishing between entities in the natural environment, the psychical environment, and lastly the social environment.

The most important and thought-provoking architectural and urban historiographic novelty of Sarmento and Dechermont's map was the "the curved dotted line divides the Christians from the gentiles" (*A Ligna Curva de Pontilhos e cor amarelos divide os christaos dos gentilhos* as stated in its label). Its purpose was to distinguish between the Portuguese and Catholic white domain and the "threatening" Gujarati and heathen country outside the fortress of Diu. For 18th-century cartographers, mapmaking was the quintessence of the ordered and structured creation of an articulate archive of knowledge. All spatial information could be sited, and any racial, ethnic, or religious conflicts could be reconciled within the map's information Thus, the "line" was a "civilizational" metaphor by Sarmento and Dechermont.

Sarmento and Dechermont's map was rife with anxious representations of the "Christian/gentile" dichotomy in an urban milieu that was prone to discard traditional modes of socio-spatial order. This dichotomy (in both its political and spatial dimensions)

was employed to construct, control, discipline, confine, exclude, and suppress ethnic and religious difference, preserving traditional power structures. Although the social and political problems to which we refer clearly had spatial—material and corporeal—components, the solutions to these problems were by no means purely spatial.

The reason why cartography did not compile the maps necessary for the imposition of colonial rule was primarily that where it existed, it was fully employed in pressing tasks that derived from the imposition of colonial authority. This necessitated a high order of professional expertise (namely, cadastral mapping to demarcate settlements and building plots, roads, ports, alienated land, reserved land, and all of the other boundaries that were part of the colonial imposition). The need for this type of colonial map, which was a product of the shift from imperial to colonial control, is evident in the sophisticated new map of Diu made by José Aniceto da Silva 50 years after the Sarmento and Dechermont map.

The idea of two settlements—Gujarati and Portuguese Catholic—was seemingly based on the perception that the Portuguese occupants inhabited an area of the city that in terms of layout, density, architecture, and everyday life was fundamentally different and separate from that of the Gujarati occupants.

Since the early 16th century, the accounts of Diu replicated different urban entities, social configurations, and anthropological landscapes, one Portuguese and Catholic, and the other Gujarati and "indigenous." For Portuguese colonial discourse at this time, the imperative was to gloss over previous 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, which stem from the multiplicities of history, and even more so from the ambiguities and contradictions of colonialism itself.

We should remember that outside the fortress of Diu, which enclosed the colonial military cantonments, rules encouraging racial separation had been formalized since the early 16th century, but few if any legal prohibitions were placed on racial mixing in the residential and business parts of Diu. Wherever government institutions, commercial enterprises and places of public congregation were concentrated, mixing among races and ethnicities was both legally accommodated and necessary. For much of the 18th century (and in many cases later), colonial buildings in Diu (the port, market, and colonial administration) "looked"—and often were—traditionally Indian in form, mass, and construction. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, part of the Gujarati settlement received several public works improvements (*Makata* road, the refurbishment of the city customs in 1767 (Rivara, 1865, p. 31), repairs to the northern city wall in front of the bazaar in 1726 (Rivara, 1865, p. 41), *Torres Novas* road in 1857 [today, Saint Paul's Church Road], etc.). Most of these public works were financed with a mixture of local and privately raised Gujarati funds, designed by military engineers based in Goa, and intended for use by diverse members of the city's population. In the most general terms, these were perhaps the first of the projects that helped to shape the newly forming landscape of the city in a distinctively "colonial" idiom.

However, history reveals that the story was often more complicated regarding Diu's residential patterns. One of the factors that contributed to this was the discrepancy between the norms of residential living that the Portuguese expected to find in the city and the norms they actually encountered. While the distinctiveness of the Gujarati and Portuguese Catholic settlements should be emphasized, they were far from being separate and

autonomous entities. The economic, political, and social conditions of the colonial culture intertwined with the insularity of the settlements, albeit at different levels and to varying degrees.

Diu was a site of separate and competing knowledges. The relationship between residential location and social hierarchy depicted in its cartography reflects the social distance between social groups. Pre-dating research on urban spatial relations, the Sarmento and Dechermont divide between Christians and gentiles demonstrates that the physical proximity of homes and dwelling places, the ways in which neighborhoods grouped themselves, and the contiguity of neighborhoods were among the main lines of action and communication across individuals and social groups. Despite their different characters, the Gujarati and the Portuguese Catholic settlements formed Diu's urban core and reflected a shared urbanity.

Regardless of its intentions, Portuguese society in Diu was rarely able to isolate itself from its Gujarati context. Even in these enclaves, the ideal of separation was seldom realized, as scholars have increasingly shown for other colonial cities (Chattopadhyay, 2005; Glover, 2007; Hosagrahar, 2005; Kidambi, 2007; Legg, 2007) and we demonstrated for Diu (Grancho, 2017). The need to generate social and spatial arrangements for a life of racial interaction was far more pressing, continuous, and common a task for Portuguese officials in Diu than is often realized, and more than any other factor it was the driving force behind Portuguese efforts to understand, inhabit, and intervene in rural and urban landscapes.

Obviously, the degree of separation between the Gujarati and the Portuguese and Catholic inhabitants of Diu varied according to the particularities of the context. The social division overriding all others, the divide between Gujarati and Portuguese, was given concrete geographical expression, i.e. the "curved dotted yellow line." Although there were areas where a mixed population gathered of Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Zoroastrians, European Catholics, and Afro-Indians, as well as common urban places and shared streets, and although Diu had always been a cosmopolitan and multicultural city, the distinction between East and West was marked by race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, community, and language.

The desire for control led to the production in the 19th century of a new cartographic representation of Diu that sought to generate transparency. However, this transparency foregrounded the paradox of authority's representational strategies. The year 1833 saw the creation of what would be one of the strongest paradigms of military cartography depicting the Portuguese colonial presence in India: the *Planta do Cast.o, Praça, E Cidade de Dio, levantada, e dezenhada pelo Capitão de Infantaria Jozé Aniceto da Silva, em 1833*. It was authored by José Aniceto da Silva at the request of the viceroy of the *Estado*, Manuel de Portugal e Castro (1787–1854).

It depicts Diu in an exhaustive plan, complete with comprehensive elevations in the margins as well as profiles of buildings and monuments. The depiction was the outcome of an elaborate and accurate new survey. It reveals the systematic nature of the siting of the city's new buildings. It also shows in great detail trees, monuments, posts, sandbanks, and even smaller fixtures of the cityscape. Unsurprisingly, the line of demarcation between the Gujarati and Portuguese Catholic settlements, drawn by Sarmento and Dechermont in 1783, is absent from Silva's map of 1833.

There was never any insistence on strict demarcation as an imperial impulse toward racial distinction. This demarcation was a vestigial desire from the days of the early

settlement, when the walled city cordoned off the world of the Christian inhabitants, banishing heathens from this privileged Eden.

The Portuguese Catholic settlement, 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 Gujarati. The result was therefore more balanced. In both maps, transparency also implied recognition of the *other*, which was never depicted. What is important to understand in these late 18th- and mid-19th-century representations is the shifting experience of the city, i.e. the manner in which the drawings deploy codes, scales, and nomenclatures to encourage distinct colonial visions consistent with an increased desire for control, as well as the limits of that desire.

While often undertaken in a spirit of scientific objectivity, the surveys and inquiries conducted in 1783–1790 and 1833 were grounded in preconceived notions about how a society should properly inhabit a material setting, how the local environment affected human health and personality, and the nature of the relationship between spatial organization and moral development. The written reports and other discursive media that accompanied the inquiries made subjective assessments of Diu's culture and society, intertwined with objective observations of material settings. This is as true of the observations penned in field notebooks as it is of the impressionistic descriptions of Diu found in colonial fiction and travel literature (Barros, 1973-75; Castanheda, 1924-33; Castro, 1939-40, Vol. 2, pp. 158–162; Correa, 1975; Coutinho, 1890, 1989; Quadros, 1899; Rivara, 1865).

What drew these disparate 18th- and 19th-century genres together was a tendency to conceptualize the unfamiliar settings to which they responded in terms that were simultaneously sociological and spatial. This conceptual orientation exerted a powerful influence on the attitudes colonial officials formed toward the material settings of Diu's society, and helped to determine which elements they undertook to alter. The key point here is that colonial interventions directly depended on the ways those settings were imagined, conceptualized, and assimilated into colonial administrative discourse.

Despite the human propensity to privilege sight and the long-standing Western tendency to root racial, ethnic, and religious designations in observable traits, the 1783–1790 and 1833 maps do not persuade us to internalize the racial, ethnic, and religious values embedded within them; rather, they confirm meanings toward which the discourses and structures of our society have predisposed us. Instead of selling us racial, ethnic, and religious systems we do not already have, the visual field powerfully confirms previously internalized beliefs. Portuguese inquiries into the social and physical arrangements that made up settlements and landforms in and around Diu, with an emphasis on how colonial officials arrived at discursive conclusions, helped to shape physical projects for social and environmental reform.

Nineteenth century public works

Two intertwined themes dominate the 19th century: colonialism and modernity. The multiple declinations of the concept of "modern" are one of the reasons why it remains difficult and controversial. I want to hold onto a notion of modernity in the context of the colonial city that acknowledges cultural differences, incomplete processes, and multiple kinds of experience, but which does not lose sight of the powerful way in which European colonialism set forces in motion that converged in a particular direction, forces that

appeared elsewhere in cities across the world at around the same time and manifested themselves in similar ways.

It is a truism that the 19th century witnessed dramatic cultural upheaval and accordingly was pivotal for the history of the colonial city. Diu was no exception. In the context of the Portuguese empire, Diu constructed itself as a prototypical "modern" subject on the margins of the established narratives of Portuguese colonial urbanism in India. This marginality was mainly due to the fact that Diu was located in a very broad "contact zone" (Pratt, 1992, p. 4): the frontier territory between what are commonly described as the Hindu and Muslim polities of South Asia.

This is not the same as saying that urban life in Diu, once it had been colonized by the Portuguese, gradually but inevitably assimilated to a homogeneous Western pattern. Rather, it is to acknowledge that the colonial practices that brought a modern form of urbanism to Diu increasingly constituted the very grounds through which difference, resistance, incompletion, paradox, or creativity could be recognized as such in an urban setting.

If the making of the Estado was a relatively influential project, however, it was not a unitary one evolving from a singular source of "superiority." Its sources were multiple and differentiated. It is also the case that, for all of colonialism's power at certain times and in particular places, the management of racial, ethnic, and religious difference was no neat process of imposition. Rather, it was often fragmented and frustrated by debate, contradiction, and resistance from those it subordinated. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Estado faced other challenges in Diu that required a new kind of imperium. Accordingly, imperial ambition and anxiety moved to different levels and concerns.

However, during the late 19th century, racialized, ethnic, and religious discourse did not always operate in Diu with full consent. To retell the history of Diu by accentuating the power of a core (albeit a more differentiated, that is, Portuguese core) is to risk further reifying the master perspective of the Portuguese. Indeed, alliances between Portuguese and Gujarati at certain moments in the history of Diu trouble the falsely consensual understanding of domination that arises from one-dimensional analyses. This framework should encourage us to overwrite the interconnections between racial, ethnic, and religious positions with other sources of identity and power.

In 1857, Diu's inhabitants opened a subscription to raise funds for festivities commemorating the visit to the city of the governor-general of the Estado, António César de Vasconcelos Correia (1855–1864), and viscount of *Torres Novas*. Later, the money was diverted toward city improvements by means of a public collection, as happened in other places in the Portuguese empire (Alice Faria, 2011, pp. 51–165). The Portuguese colonial authorities responded to the subscription by defending the modernization of the city as a service to the general well-being of the community of Diu (Grancho, 2017; Hosagrahar, 2005; Legg, 2007). The success of the collection prompted a debate about city improvements and the convenience and prosperity of its inhabitants that privileged the building of a road to connect the outskirts of the Gujarati settlement to the citadel of Diu:

> The City Hall of Diu is proud to bring into the reputable presence of Your Excellency the official document, a copy, and the subscription note, addressed in the name of the inhabitants of this Municipality; rejoicing at 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 in the best way possible—and has 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 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.

> It is to me a brilliant idea to convert into a public and acknowledged work the amount that the inhabitants of Diu had intended for . . . festivities during my . . . visit . . . to the city. And if anything relieves me of 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 next year in that place of military glory [an allusion to the two sieges of Diu of 1538 and 1546]. I feel no less recognized to the . . . perpetuation of the name of the viscount of Torres Novas, associating me with a new road, as testimony to my desire and commitment to promote improvements to the place, which 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. (Bulletin from Governo do Estado da India, 52, Nova Goa, 7 July 1857)

Accordingly, Torres Novas road was opened under the auspices of the governor after whom it was named (Pereira, 1935a, 1935b). The selection of a suitable place in Diu to honor an individual was a carefully calculated process that sought to ensure that the length, location, and standing of the street were commensurate with the reverence due to the person. It denoted the symbolic transfer of sentiment and the imagery of colonial hopes.

Most importantly, this subscription offers a close look at how subaltern and marginalized groups create *de facto* alternatives. Usually seen as being beyond representation, the subaltern can in fact, under certain conditions and combinations of contingencies, access linking, sharing, transporting, and organizing channels of infrastructure that enable their representation Although infrastructure is conventionally seen as a planning issue and popular art as a cultural studies subject, Chattopadhyay demonstrates that such forms of popular-cultural and representational practices by subaltern groups constitute a vital type of infrastructure of and for cities (Chattopadhyay, 2012). These are legible only when we view them through alternative analytical frameworks as well as “fragmenting and episodic” histories (Chakrabarty, 2012, p. 274; Latour, 1996, pp. 369–381).

Conclusion

The most enduring conclusion about Diu as a “colonial city” is that it worked on the basis of a blurred separation. It was a “dual” city with two intertwined settlements: the Gujarati, and the Portuguese Catholic. What taxonomies are in place when the relationship between two areas does not involve imperial-versus-colonial binaries? How did Gujarati things contribute to the formation of a Gujarati identity? What can a “reinjection of things into our understanding of the social fabric” (Latour, 1996, pp. 369–381) reveal about the networks of exchange—social, cultural, commercial, and others—developed between the (non-Catholic) Gujaratis and the (Catholic) Portuguese during the Enlightenment? Finally, how accurate were these stereotypes in their time, and how relevant are they today?

Interpretations of Diu during the 18th and 19th centuries were heavily reliant on things —both real and fictional—that represented Diu in the Portuguese imaginary. These

representations often led to sets of stereotypes that functioned very differently than the stereotypes that stemmed from colonial discourse (Bhabha, 1994, p. 75).

We call here on the inherent ambivalence of the colonial stereotype (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 85–92), which encapsulates various racial, cultural, and historical differences. "Rather than a false image which becomes the scapegoat of discriminatory practices," the stereotype is a text of "projection and introjection, metaphoric and metonymic strategies, displacement, overdetermination, guilt, aggressivity; the masking and splitting of 'official' and phantasmatic knowledges to construct the positionalities and oppositionalities of racist discourse" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 34). What is left on one hand is colonial cultures where "we find characteristics, curiosities, things, never a structure," and on the other hand "a culture in which qualities of dynamism, of growth, of depth can be recognized" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 84; Fanon, 1970, p. 44).

Such representations, however, do not work well to qualify the 1783–1790 and 1833 Portuguese maps of Diu. During the 18th century, the stereotypes contained strong tropes of desirability, adventure, and wealth, rather than subjectification and scapegoating. The "consensual universe" or socially constructed image of Diu that these stereotypes depicted aligned well with the "reified universe" (Moscovici, 1984, pp. 19–23) of positivist knowledge whereby stereotypes focused on the things that stood for the place, that is, "when the criteria were objective" (Jussim et al., 2016, p. 41) and not conflicting ideologies.

We argue that what things say matters, and that the object's relation to the subject should not (necessarily) be one of subordination but of mutually informing coexistence (Latour, 1996, p. 370). Instead of speculating about the politics of the object, or its diminished value compared with a subject, we might do better to consider networks of relations. In this sense, during the 18th century, the things of Gujarat participated in an active process of identity formation, representing the Gujarati ("gentiles") to other cultures while circulating outside their place of origin. Without lapsing into an idealist approach to the history of ideas, we can recognize the modern, ontologically infused discourses of race, ethnicity and religion as having had a larger and wider historical significance than most scholars to date have been willing to acknowledge. Given the "spatial practices" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38), it may very well be that the segregation of gentiles and Christians in Diu reflected the former group as much as the latter.

Notes

1. The *Estado da Índia* (or simply, Portuguese India) was the Portuguese colonial empire in the East. Founded after the discovery of a sea route between Portugal and the Indian subcontinent, it served as the governing body of a network of Portuguese settlements and colonies overseas, from Mozambique to Japan. During the 20th century, it had three possessions located on modern-day western coast of India: Goa (Estado's capital); Daman, which included the inland enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli; and Diu. These underwent annexation by India in 1961.
2. 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, through 19th-century imperialism, to the 20th century globalization. Walter Mignolo engages with forms of modernity outside of controlling and homogenizing projects and advocates the pursuit of diversity as a universal project. He begins with 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, he admits the possibility of premodem cosmopolitanisms. His argument, however, is that under modernity, cosmopolitanism is inextricably linked to coloniality.

Political modernity (rule by modern institutions of the state, bureaucracy, and capitalist enterprise), citizenship, the state, civil society, the public sphere, human rights, equality before the law, the individual, the distinction 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. Dipesh Chakrabarty addresses the idea of Europe not as a specific geographical region, but as the mythical site of the original modern. His effort is not to reject the legacy of Enlightenment thought, which he considers indispensable to a social critique of injustice and inequity, but to decenter the mythical Europe by looking at the many "Europes" from the margins. The presumption that Western modernity can be traced back to the Enlightenment, has origins in Kant's essay *Toward perpetual peace* (1795), and it has particularly affected contemporary debates in the social sciences. Modernity, according to these views, can be summed up as a world in constant movement that recreates itself with no certainty about where it is going; its accompanying *Weltanschauung* is cosmopolitanism. It is characterized by intense self-reflexivity and eventually leads to a form of governance, both of the world and of the self. On the historicity of the modern, see also Timothy Mitchell.

3. A humanist and historian of the Portuguese presence in the East, Barros was also the friend, eulogist, and spokesperson of King João III of Portugal([Saraiva, António José. 1950–1962. *História da Cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Jornal do Fôro. Vol. III. 277–335) and a defender of João's imperial ideology. *Décadas da Ásia*, a systematization of the history of Portuguese achievements in India, is his most important work.
4. "Compare to describe" is a practice as old as architecture itself, and it underpins Western culture and ethnography. See Sylvie Deswarte on the "strange phenomenon of identities, of cultural coincidences," to which the Neoplatonic universalist theory of Francisco de Hollanda 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. Strictly speaking, however, in relation to Barros, we should not use the term *comparison* but *assimilation. Comparison* would refer to classical thought from the 17th and 18th centuries, whereby reality was analyzed from object to object, with a crystal-clear consciousness of the discontinuities between them, and distinguishing only two forms of advancement (the comparison between *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. On Barros's life and work, see *inter alia*: "Vida de João de Barros" included in Faria, Manuel Severim de, (1583–1655), *Discursos varios politicos* / por Manoel Severim de Faria Chantre & Conego na Santa Sê de Euora.—Em Evora: impressos por Manoel Carvalho, impressor da Universidade, 1624. Vieira, Maria Leonor Soares Albergaria (intro.). Lisbon: Portuguese National Press; 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'." Lisbon: Academy of Sciences of Lisbon Bulletin. vol. XL. 202–355; Andrade, António Alberto Banha de. 1980. *João de Barros. Historiador do Pensamento. Humanista Português de Quinhentos*. Lisbon: Portuguese Academy of History; Boxer, Charles. 1981. *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*. Xavier Center 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; 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), especially pages 10–26, 68–74, and 84–91.

5. Saraiva, António José. 1996. "Uma concepcão planetária da história em João de Barros." In *Para a história da cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Gradiva. Vol. II, II, 267–290.
6. Barros employs the term *gentile* (*gentoo*, heathen) without any of its possible minor ethnocentric connotations. It referred to the totality of individuals who do not practice the Christian, Jewish, or Muslim religions. In the South Asian context, it applied mainly to Hindus.
7. In 1500, at the age of fourteen, Barbosa embarked for India, where he remained until returning to Portugal in 1506. He belonged to the first generation of Portuguese royal officers, soldiers, and merchants who installed themselves in Malabar. His masterpiece was the *Livro de Duarte Barbosa* (ca. 1516; Portuguese National Library [BNL], Lisbon, reference code FG. Ms. 110008, is the only dated and signed version, and probably the most similar to the original text, which is now lost). It was not published in Portugal until the 19th century, when it made a major contribution to Europeans reception and interpretation of Indian culture and society. Barbosa begins by describing India with a reference to Gujarat, and he stresses the leading role played in trade by Diu.
8. Text written on the map, top left corner: "*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 the Captain Engineer Ioão Antonio Sarmento took by order of Ill Hon D. Frederico Guillermo de Souza. 1783. The digits 1.2.3.4 designate the foothills of a mountain that Franco Xavier Henriques, governor of this fortress, wishes to tear down, at very little expense to the Royal Treasury, and which is worth remembering. As well as many others ordered by the same governor to be made, and with which he was ardently 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 shown in the two columns of the alphabet with commas on the left of the names of the ramparts. Drawn by João Gabriel Dechermont, knight of Saint Luiz, lieutenant colonel engineer, in February 1790.") MS. Color in paper. 461 × 677 mm. Petipé de 200 braças = 120 mm. The scale of the map was the handspan (*braça*).

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