

Repositório ISCTE-IUL

Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2024-09-05

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Grancho, N. (2020). Reinterpreting architectural description in drawings and literature of an early modern colonial city in India. In Barbara von Orelli-Messerli (Ed.), *Ein Dialog der Künste : Neuinterpretation von Architektur und die Beschreibung in der Literatur von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. (pp. 37-53).: Michael Imhof Verlag.

Further information on publisher's website:

<https://www.lehmanns.de/shop/kunst-musik-theater/51481925-9783731909576-ein-dialog-der-kuenste>

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A Dialogue of the Arts: Reinterpreting Architectural Description in Drawings and Literature of an Early Modern Colonial City in India

Nuno Grancho

Abstract

Diu was a Portuguese early modern colonial city located in Western India, in what became the *Estado da Índia* and previously, the sultanate of Gujarat. It was tributary first of the Mughals and later of the Portuguese and has three important historical moments: 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 the European presence in Gujarat with the establishment of a Portuguese colonial city. Sixteenth century Portuguese texts and images read the colonial takeover and the early colonial presence in Diu during these years. This is verified by relating to political and imperial discourses after the cession of the place to the Portuguese in 1535, by describing how urbanity was shaped by earliest architectural events and finally by categorizing architecture in a Portuguese imperial context. I will compare and contrast arguments from different drawings and texts which portrait political deviation between historical visions and territorial, urban and architectural discrepancy of representation of the same city. Later, I will come back to the political connotations of the sources, which I think are important to understand the early political history of the Portuguese Empire in the East and its repercussions in architecture and urbanism of the early Portuguese colonial cities and in representation. Finally, I will end with the collection of valuable ethnographic novelties, many of them unknown in the West until the early sixteenth century and addressed by Portuguese authors.

Introduction

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

Roteiro de Goa a Diu, 1538–1539

The drawing of Diu in *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* was made by João de Castro (1500–1548),¹ between 1538 and 1539.² (fig. 1) Castro was in Diu two months after the Ottomans had laid siege to Diu captured by Hadim Süleyman Pasha (1467–1547),³ in mid-1538, mobilizing the largest fleet ever sent into the Indian Ocean on a military action that eventually failed in September mostly due to Ottoman indecision.

The text and drawing of *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* is the first tool to discuss Diu’s early ‘European life’. The *Roteiros* are known as *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa* (rutter from Lisbon to Goa, 1538), *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (rutter from Goa to Diu, 1538–1539), or by a lesser known alternative, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da Índia* (first rutter of the Indian coast), and *Roteiro do Mar Roxo* (rutter of the Red sea, 1541) equally well known as *Roteiro de Goa ao Suez* (rutter from Goa to Suez). *Roteiros* gave data

¹ João de Castro was the first global scientist, cosmographer, cartographer, and viceroy of Estado da Índia (1545–1548). In 1538, Castro traveled to India and participated in military efforts including the first siege of Diu. His most important writings are: João DE CASTRO: *Tratado da Esfera* [...], Lisbon 1537, (prepared during the classes by Pedro Nunes, structured as a teaching manual in a dialogue between master and disciple, although it reveals scientific archaisms to Pedro Nunes work); *Ibid.*: *Da Geografia por modo de diálogo*, Lisbon 1536; *Ibid.*: *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa*, s. l. 1538; *Ibid.*: *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, s. l. 1538/1539; *Ibid.*: *Roteiro do Mar Vermelho*, s. l. 1541; *Ibid.*: *Roteiro de Goa a Suez ou do Mar Roxo*, s. l. 1541. Architecture would always be one of Castro’s concerns (he even writes about Indian art, which he compares with Greek art). His dedication of *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* to prince Luís (son of King Manuel I) accurately follows the model from *De Architectura* preface, where he quotes Vitruvius (from Book I). In February 28, 1545, Castro was appointed thirteenth governor of India by King João III (1502–1557, reign 1521–1557), king of Portugal, succeeding to Sousa and after prince Luís proposal. From his governance stands out the second siege of Diu military victory in 1546. During November and shortly after the siege of Diu, he began the construction of the citadel. Thus he undertook in 1547 the more «robust and modern fortress built in India so far» and a masterpiece of military Renaissance architecture outside Europe. Rafael MOREIRA: *Arquitetura: Renascimento e Classicismo*. In: Paulo Pereira (ed.): *História da Arte Portuguesa*. 2 vol., Lisbon 2007, vol. 2, p. 55; José Manuel GARCIA: *D. João de Castro: Um homem de guerra e ciência*. *Tapaçarias de D. João de Castro*. Exhibition catalogue. ed. by Portuguese Museums Institute. Lisbon 1995, p. 13

² There are three copies of the *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, but the one in Coimbra University Library (UCBG), Portugal, remains the most important and vivid. The others are available in the British Library, London, and in the Portuguese National Library (BN), Lisbon.

³ Hadim Suleiman Pasha (1467-1547) was an Ottoman statesman and military commander. He was the ruler of Ottoman Egypt in 1525–1535 and 1537–1538, and vizier of the Ottoman empire between 1541 and 1544. He was a participant in the empire’s efforts to establish a presence in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. By 1541, after leading an expedition to India and, in the process, successfully conquering Yemen, he was promoted to grand vizierate.

from 49 ports, bars, coves and islands, and depict 36 drawings of ports or *Távoas* (drawings, plans or charts) from the river entrances, harbours and main places visited. The author observed magnetic declination in 52 locations, recorded details of winds, currents and tides and compiled notes of physical, human and historical geography as well as accurate descriptions and drawings of cities, etc. Most of the charts are hydrographic sketches intended to illustrate the text. The author made several detailed nautical and hydrographical comments that don't follow the model of the Portuguese rutter. Therefore, the *Roteiros* could better be called diaries. It was a cartographic project of legibility and simplification, namely of the mechanisms of knowledge production through which the Portuguese aimed to render his subjects and territories more easily visible and consequently governable.

Does this *Távoa de Diu* help us to understand the city of Diu before Portuguese arrival in India? In the Indian Ocean, the island and the city of Diu were fundamental places to be charted. Besides this, Diu was Castro's final destination in his journey, where he stayed from February of 1539 until April 1540⁴ and therefore, a place that he may well have described and drawn in detail. The pen and brush illustrations, especially the *Távoas* of Diu and Goa, with architectural and urban illustration, provide clear information about the Portuguese presence from the west coast of Malabar⁵ to the southernmost tip of Kathiawar. Castro's foremost concern was to give sailing information to safely arrive in 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. It is well known that knowledge of seasonal variations on both currents and winds, although available much earlier on the realm of oral tradition, were codified during the sixteenth century by Castro.

The monumentality of Diu's vista in the *Távoa* deceived first time newcomers on arrival. Castro's text mentions that the arrival on the island by sea was a different matter. Despite its ominous aspect in the *Távoa*, the rocky outline of Diu was broken by excellent anchorages suitable as havens for small sailing vessels. The most imposing architectural structures, citadel and mosque, bordered the waterside like a city's façade 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.⁶ The *Roteiro* does

⁴ Manuel DE FARIA E SOUSA: *Asia Portuguesa de Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, Lisbon 1666-1675 (1671), t. II, part I, chap. II, p. 20-21.

⁵ Term used during the sixteenth century by Portuguese people to refer to the geographical area in the South East Hindustan Peninsula stretching from the Gates Mountains to the sea, from the Mount Eli near Cannanor, and enclosing the area of the Kanara to the North and the Cape Comorin in the Southern extreme.

⁶ Ahmad b. MAJID AL-NAJDI: *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, being a translation of "Kitab al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa'l-qawā'id", transl, together with an introd. on the history of Arab navigation, notes on the navigational techniques and on the topography of the Indian Ocean, and a glossary of

not identify or describe the city's architecture in detail, although the text provides descriptions of the island of Diu, of the town of Diu, and mentions the bastion of the sea and the entrance to the harbor of Diu.

In his text, Castro classified Diu as “a very modern city, although noble and known all over the world.”⁷ During those times and in that milieu, ‘modern’ was an attribute used with a far different meaning and purpose than in the present days. What is ‘modern’ in the sense of being most recent within a given city is quite different from what is ‘modern’ in the sense of being most similar to the what could be found as ‘architectural novelty’ in a European city of the sixteenth century. Both meanings are not coterminous and to act as if they were, is arranging arguments in a way that is not fair in order to the proper identification of the forms of urbanism emerging in places outside Europe. Must Diu acquire architectural elements from a Western convention in order to be ‘modern’ in the sixteenth century? How have regional architectural traditions and building cultures outside the West encountered Europe? Although recognizing that novelty and colonialism are fundamentally connected, we should examine the way ‘ancient’ built forms metamorphose to ‘new/modern’ in the context of sixteenth century Portuguese colonialism and reveals that oppositions like ‘ancient’ and ‘new’ and ‘modern,’ or ‘West’ and ‘non-West,’ prevalent in scholarship on the built environment, are culturally constructed.

We should discuss whether Castro's acquisition of the adjective ‘modern’ for himself is a piece of global history of which an integral part is the story of European empires in India. The definition employed by Castro was based on difference: to be ‘modern’ was to be new.⁸ Moreover, the architectural forms Castro found in Diu were familiar to what he knew from the ‘latest’ and contemporary medieval cities in Portugal with which he was acquainted since his childhood or the cities which he later visited in North Africa as a soldier. In this binary scheme of being ‘modern’ and ‘ancient,’ those that were not entirely one or the other were declared to be ‘modern’ towards a predetermined end. This implicit split between Portugal and the rest of the world in Castro's writings is the source of commitment requests and courting claims that have in common to condition the ‘new’ with what already exists, imposing questionable rules, and restraining the creative freedom.

The depiction of the urban landscape of Diu was an easy task for Castro. (fig. 1) The city's structure was almost a simplified diagram. The urban fabric in the *Távoa* did not follow the same pattern

navigational terms by Gerald R. Tibbetts, London 1981, vol. XLII. On the oral navigational traditions see: George F. HOURANI: Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times. John Carswell (intro.). Princeton 1995, p. 107–108.

⁷ João DE CASTRO: Primeiro roteiro da costa da Índia desde Goa até Dio : narrando a viagem que fez o vice-Rei D. Garcia de Noronha em socorro desta última cidade. 1538-1539. Diogo Kopke (pub.), Porto 1843, p. 215–216.

⁸ Dipesh CHAKRABARTY: Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who speaks for ‘Indian’ pasts?. In: Representations, (University of California Press), no. 37, 1992, p. 21.

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

The Gujarat pre-colonial city had a unique urban core with recognizable contention and was not equipped with multiple urban cores at various locations within its layout. The drawing highlights the urban topography from the pre-colonial and Islamic period of Diu and suggests a city partition divided in three areas: the fortress or citadel,⁹ decentered and within the limits of the city; the Gujarati old city, this implying the city proper, i.e. the urban core or internal city; and the commercial and manufacturing suburb, the settlement lying immediately outside the limits of the old city, between the original town and the surrounding Islamic wall. There is no evidence of an extensive *rabad* or outer city beyond these limits.¹⁰ Correspondingly, during the sixteenth century, Diu was a distinct variant of the standard tripartite and non-concentric model with the citadel

⁹ *Citadel* is the name given to a fortification built at a strategic point for the protection of the city. The term derives from the same Latin root as *civitas*, the social body of the *cives*, or citizens. The oldest citadels were built by the civilization of the Indus valley, where the citadel represented a centralized authority. In Diu, a fortified city with bulwarks, the citadel is the strongest part of the defensive system, well inside the outer walls and bulwarks, but taking part of the outer city for the sake of its economy.

¹⁰ Following Gujarat's Iranian architectural tradition.

positioned to the eastern of the walled city. The city consisted of overlapping Gujarati geographies and conceptions of space and territory. Not surprisingly, the line of demarcation between the two settlements shifted depending on the context and the perception of the observer. In the absence of clearly defined separation, Castro created discrete containments for both public and private sociability. The spatial choices oscillated between a theatrical display of open plans and a proliferation of an elaborate Islamic compound of architectural confining elements, mosque and other public buildings, that spoke a calculated language of difference between the two distinct parts of the city depicted. Scholarship frequently pointed out that the most significant distinguishing feature of the two settlements was the density of the urban fabric – the sparsely row distributed buildings of the north as opposed to the close-knit fabric of the south. This characterization, however, does not withstand close investigation. The cityscape of Diu in the first decades of the sixteenth century was far too complex to be totally and unambiguously described in the *Távua*.

***Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correa, c. 1547**

Lendas da Índia is a vivid chronicle which illuminates the early history of Diu and early Portuguese history in the East down to 1550. It is a narration of the Portuguese presence in the East by Gaspar Correa (1495–1563),¹¹ from his arrival in India in 1512 until his death in 1563. It describes heroism, glory, cruelty, greed and makes a portrait gallery of human types. *Lendas da Índia* has a collection of portraits from the governors of *Estado da Índia* and although their authorship is known, Correa does not mention who requested the plans (architectural/urban) also present in the chronicle.

A map by Correa, drawn circa 1545, represents – with the help of drawings forts in some of the Portuguese colonial urban settlements of that time – the presence of Europeans in coastal southern India from Baçaim on the west coast, to Diu at the southernmost tip of Gujarat, or even Malacca on the East coast of the Malayan peninsula. These pen and brush illustrations portray several urban settlements from the East and West coasts of India for the first time for European eyes providing clear evidence of the extent of the Portuguese presence in South India in the mid-sixteenth century. *Lendas da Índia* manuscript contains eleven portraits, thirteen plans or panoramic views, two of which – Cochin and Socotorá – have disappeared and a few plain drawings. The surviving second volume original manuscripts contain the plans of Malacca, Calicut and Aden and the third volume those of Challe, Bassein and Diu. The printed volumes contain eleven plans, which were certainly

¹¹ Gaspar Correa was a historian, chronicler and author of *Lendas da Índia*. He maintained a neutral position dealing with political ideas of the monarchs King Manuel I and King João III of Portugal. He wished to “write and remember the matters of India. [...] Illustrate [...] the Portuguese deeds look more miraculous [...] brief memories [...] write a chronicle about the discovery of India, as miraculous [...] I made this brief summary of Lendas.” See: Gaspar CORREA: *Lendas da Índia* (c. 1547), intr. and rev. by Lopes Almeida, Porto 1975, vol. III, part 1, p. 7.

included in the manuscript volumes at the date of publication, although five of the plans have disappeared, namely Quilon, Ormuz, Jidda, Ceylon and Cannanore, together with the portraits of the governors Pedro de Mascarenhas (1484–1555), Garcia de Noronha (1479–1540), and Castro. All these volumes contain drawings, notes and written records since Portuguese arrival in India until 1550.

Why did Correa render a drawing of Diu in light and shadow in imitation of painters? (Fig. 2) We suggest three answers to this question. The first is that Vitruvius (c. 90 – c. 20 BCE),¹² who was universally read in Europe by fifteenth century architects, had, by recommending *scaenographia*, justified illusionism in architecture drawing and encouraged orthographic elevations to be given relief by the simulation in wash of light and shade. The second was that Correa with a figural depiction – as other artists of the early Renaissance – had an intent of achieving a greater political impact by the stimulation of relief and spatial recession. As a corollary, the drawing of Castro's *Távoa* focused on structural elements and facades were thought as screens, while the drawing of Correa's *Lendas da Índia* buildings were conceived as mass. This is in contrast to our perception of Renaissance architecture primarily in terms of proportion and of the *all'antica* style.

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

Besides being at odds with certain passages of the written records from the text, the sketch sometime fails to conform to the observed reality. It represents a mix of what had been constructed

¹² Vitruvius was a Roman military engineer and architect who wrote *De Architectura (On Architecture)*, a treatise which combines the history of ancient architecture and engineering with the author's personal experience and advice on the subject.

at that date, what Correa planned, and even some elements that had already been constructed but shown here according to preceding designs. The urban density of the city inside it is higher than should be expected. There are too many buildings for such a small space:

The fortress of Diu was built in the tip of the city at the entrance of the bar, that stands over the river, which forms a turn towards the sea, and the city is in an island surrounded by water. The fortress stands the largest part over soft stone, and from the river side begins a thick wall and large moat crossing from the land to the sea on the other side of the coast, which is high cliff rock, and from the river side there is a very strong wall until the tip entering the bar, where there is a strong tower; and in front of the fortress, in the river, inside the water there is a bastion with artillery, which makes the fortress stronger by the river side; in such a way that the fortress has no vulnerability except for the city side, where the wall with moat has three bastions, one on the river side, and close to it another made by Manuel de Sousa, where the door was, and in the middle of the wall a thick bastion called Saint Thomas, and the end of the moat, on the sea side, a tower called Saint James, with the church of Saint James: and in all the places there was good artillery. And the bastion on the river side was called Saint John.¹³

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

The fortress had many supplies in good houses separated from the factory and a separated armory which was the best that could be done and also the best artillery [...]. Inside the fortress there was a lot of [...] abundant munitions. Two boats were left [...] in the river. All were paid six months in advance and ten thousand pardaos for repairs in the fortress, which would be done from the inside and intended to finish before winter, because inside the fortress there should be room for six hundred men that will stay there and two hundred in the sea and in the bastion.¹⁴

On one hand, one should consider that Correa scaled the citadel out of proportion. The depiction of each building inside its walls was a true rendering, since the care and detail of sketch taken in the facades bears testimony of the drawing's accuracy. On the other hand, one should consider the buildings depicted as samples of the designs to be found. The attention and detail with which the houses are rendered and spread again leads us to think that the draughtsman was faithful to his subject within the limits of his bird's-eye view and of his purpose. Also the conformity of the

¹³ CORREA: *Lendas da Índia* (cf. note 11), vol. IV, p. 467.

¹⁴ CORREA: *Lendas da Índia* (cf. note 11), vol. III, p. 687.

drawing with the textual sources validates the draughtsman authenticity. His avowed intention was a political attitude to be taken towards Diu and therefore an intentional city. Not the city proper.

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

Portuguese overseas expansion in the East allowed the direct ‘cross-cultural’ contact between a European country and several Asian potentates. Through that action several fields of knowledge and perception were opened to intellectual activity. After the third decade of the sixteenth century, it was possible in Portugal to describe and apply techniques and practices of comparison or assimilation to places as far apart as Africa, Gujarat or Siam. João de Barros (1496–1570)¹⁵ undertook that contrast in what turned out to be *Décadas da Ásia*, a remarkable and surprisingly modern text.

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

Conversely, it suffers from limitations proper to its time such as religious prejudice, the association of the skin color with a certain level of civility, or a discourse promoting an often civilizational identification that is not truthful among Europeans and non-Europeans. However, referring to anthropology, the revelation of the Portuguese maritime epic in *Décadas da Ásia* either turns the readers’ attention or pays tribute to unfolding geographical and civilizational frameworks from the East. Several episodes, e.g., the arrival of Diogo de Azambuja (1432–1518) to Guinea and his encounter with Caramansa, the meeting of Vasco da Gama (1460 or 1469–1524) with the Zamorin of Calicut or the description of early China, show how clear Barros was in describing the reception and interpretation of other cultures and societies by Europeans. More than “the speech of past things,”¹⁶ it was written as a moral obligation to recall the Portuguese presence in the East to those whose memory was kept, but also, and mainly, to those who took responsibilities in the establishment and administration of *Estado da Índia*.

¹⁵ João de Barros was a humanist and historian of the Portuguese presence in the East, who covered historical events since the voyage to India by Vasco da Gama in 1497, up to the Ottoman and first siege of Diu in 1538. Friend, eulogist and spokesman of King João III 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 encyclopedia for all fields of knowledge from architecture to anthropology. See António José Saraiva: *História da Cultura em Portugal*, Lisbon 1950/1962, vol. III, p. 277–335.

¹⁶ João DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia*, Lisbon: 1973/1975, Decade I, book IX, chap. V, p. 353.

Diu was a cosmopolitan city par excellence and was used since long to establish contact with many people from many nations.¹⁷ Barros portrays the city's image to the traveler and how it could appear to newcomers upon arrival. He writes about the cosmopolitan character of a place with people travelling from so many places. The concept of *cosmopolitanism* is evoked by Barros in his writings regarding Diu to conjure up the image of its inhabitants as 'citizens of the world,' easily fitting into different contexts that received them.

For Barros, if someone "came to conquer India should first take possession of the city [Diu], because it was strong with a safe and good harbor, and windward of all India, and for this reason Soleimão arrived in Diu on September 4, 1538."¹⁸ Barros stressed the urban fundamentals of cities, such as: the best places for trade; their location as sea ports (for instance, the significance of Diu was related to its strategic position on Gujarat, in the western coast of India, that permitted the control of navigation and trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf); their ranking as trade centers of very good and large trade; and the quality of certain natural and manufactured items, in addition to the good pricing of products. Barros offered a fresh, vivid and accurate portrayal of Diu, where ethnographic data was a key feature from Barros' writings, e.g.:

*The city [Diu] was crowded with people from different countries, and all the walls and housetops, and parts from where they could see our Armada (fleet), were full, [...] showing that they had it in weak account. [...] But (according to what was said) Mastafá, who had arrived few days ago, seeing the layout of the city, and that in all things he had seen in Italy, Turkey and there was none that by its nature, and art were as defensible as this, with a lot of artillery, there was in the city, like the one he brought to be very heavy [...] and many genres of war artifices, and with so many people.*¹⁹

The description of Diu made by Barros was placed in *Décadas da Ásia* immediately after the victory against the Turks of 1509, when the Portuguese Armada approached the island under the command of viceroy Francisco de Almeida (1450–1510). The sun uncovered the mist that enclosed the scene and:

[...] the city [Diu] 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

¹⁷ "atuhlada de gente de diversas nações." DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia* (cf. note 16), Decade IV, book IV, chap. XIV, p. 449.

¹⁸ "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." DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia* (cf. note 16), Decade IV, book X, chap. III, p. 616–617.

¹⁹ DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia* (cf. note 16), Decade IV, book IV, chap. XIV, p. 448–449.

*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

The description 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 Diu's defensive system. He makes an historical background, addressing previous rulers and balancing sovereign powers. Then, he writes about the political and military context found and the procedures and negotiations taken by the Portuguese. Finally, he identifies the main actor responsible for the establishment of a Portuguese factory in the island of Diu – Dariar Hão,²¹ founder of the city and probably the builder of Karao Jāmi Masjid, the old mosque, a rectangular, hypostyle building, erected in the cross-roads of the early Gujarat settlement.

*Soltão Maamed, who was a man of great value, and that could sustain himself in that empire, left his son Daudarcan very magnificently. This Daudarcan was less courageous than his father, and made his kingdom prosperous in everything he could, and it was him who built the city of Dio in that island, which was formerly inhabited by fisherman: having this, as in everything else that came to this place the same fortune that the City of Venice had, so small in its inception, then of such greatness, wealth, and power. He ruled that kingdom for many years, and and succeeded to his son sultan Mahamede, who ruled for more than forty years, when aquelle Captain Vasco da Gama discovered India. He was the one who gave that island the Meliqueaz (as writen in the João de Barros third Decade) [...] 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 [...].*²²

The architecture of Diu produced in Barros contradictory aesthetic opinions and thoughts. He stated in his writings through both a military and a domestic feature. Although *Décadas da Ásia* was not intended at first to be a military report, Barros was especially thorough in the presentation of

²⁰ DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia* (cf. note 16), Decade II, book III, chap. V, p. 290.

²¹ 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 previous and founder of Ahmedabad and Muhmamad Shâh Karim (r. 1442-1451). DE BARROS: *Décadas da Ásia* (cf. note 16), Decade II, book II, chap. IX. 212 - 215.

²² Diogo DE COUTO (1542-1616). *Décadas da Ásia*, Lisbon: 1973/1975. Decade IV, book I, chap. VII, p. 47.

combat strategy, techniques and information for military use, such as on the military skills of ethnic groups. Architecturally speaking, the buildings of Diu were for Barros similar to the ones from Iberian Peninsula and raised feelings of nostalgia in the minds of Portuguese travelers. From city to house, and time to space, we can find in Barros writings about Diu reciprocals where the immense and the minuscule overlap. Therefore, Barros echoes in his thought the domesticity of architecture, in the sense that the city is seen as a home. Furthermore, there are two entities interrelated, interchangeable and coherent with the vision of the world he wants to communicate. This identifies Barros first and mainly with the Renaissance Humanism, second with the Renaissance urban culture, and finally, with Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472).²³ According to Alberti, “the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city”²⁴ a dictum from Plato that relates house and city as a part from the whole and vice-versa that underlines the continuity between architecture and urbanistic. The domestic analogy between the house and the city is relevant. The blurring of boundaries and acknowledgment of overlaps between large and small scales, between private rooms and urban rooms; this all part of scaling cities to suit ourselves, who are both makers and users. The poetic implications of this to architecture is that the density of anything’s essence is not exclusive to scale. The city as home assuages our fears of desolation and uncertainty, assuring us that things endure, and giving places as human order. It is ultimately this tension between a seemingly invincible *fortuna* and a potentially transcendent virtue that drives much of Barros thinking. Finally, Diu’s military architecture (and from other sites, since *Décadas da Ásia* architectural descriptions are, almost all, from fortified cities) suggested Portuguese military grandeur and again followed the Renaissance Humanism, and Alberti’s thought “the citadel should be threatening, rugged and rocky, stubborn and invincible.”²⁵

The architecture should present a symbolic dominance dimension to solve the invulnerability of the citadel. This type of society – military and fortified – reflected a different demand in the city’s plan. The ruler needed to exercise control over the people and guard against rebellion and, therefore, had to fortify Diu against foreigners as well as fellow citizens from Gujarat inside its walls. The citadel was built in the eastern tip of the island in a place of shallow waters that could be easily accessible during low tide. Barros describes a defensive system with a metal chain from the sea bastion (fortim do mar or forte de Santo António do Mar) to Diu’s citadel, wooden defenses and artificial siltation making access to Diu difficult because of shallow waters.

²³ Leon Battista Alberti, Italian humanist author, artist, architect, poet, linguist, philosopher and cryptographer; he epitomised the Renaissance Man.

²⁴ Leon Battista ALBERTI: *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, transl. Joseph Rykwert, Neal Leach, Robert Tavernor, Cambridge / Massachusetts / London, 1988, Book 5-14, p. 140. See also Leon Battista ALBERTI. *Da arte edificatória*. Kruger, Mário Júlio Teixeira (introd., notes and rev.), de Santo Arnaldo Monteiro do Espírito (translation from Latin), 2011, p. 352.

²⁵ ALBERTI: *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (cf. note 24), Book 5-14, p. 123.

Conclusion

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

Castro, Correa and Barros' have the specific characteristics of primordial Portuguese anthropological writing, namely its regard towards Classical culture, its Humanism and finally its Empiricism/Experimentalism.

The simultaneity between the broadening of anthropological and geographical horizons in one hand, and the rebirth of the Classical ideal, on the other, justifies the vision and thought of the East imposed by Portuguese authors of accounts during the reign of the Portuguese King João III (1502–1557, r. 1521–1557). Also, Castro, Correa and Barros' Eurocentric conception and thought focused on the ubiquitous patterns of Classical Antiquity. Europe at the time was spanned by the Renaissance and the upper civilizational scale in all cultural fields was Greco-Roman reality, except from religion and geographical knowledge. The ideals of empire, governance, war, citizenship and manners were rooted in Greece and Rome and kept invoking and venerating pages of Plato or Aristotle. Nuno da Cunha (1487–1539), the first European ruler of Diu, was to India what Publius Cornelius Scipio (236-183 BC) was to Africa: the battle of Diu²⁶ had the same meaning for Christianity that the epics depicted in places Christianized by the apostles, and the ruins of Diu could not compare to others as did the “architectural works from the Greeks and Romans.” If a place was ahead in civilizational terms, sooner or later it would be compared with the Ancient world. If Castro, Correa and Barros accept the existence of symmetric and comparable civilizations

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

on a global scale, the order and values system applied as standard by them in descriptions was always one and the same, formed by two millennia of western culture and erudition.

Legends of Illustration:

Fig. 1: João de Castro: *Tauoa De Dio*. Tábuas dos roteiros da Índia de D. João de Castro, [Tavoas dos lugares da costa da India] [manuscript], (c. 1538/1539). 1 album (63 folios), 430x290 mm. Folio 57.

Fig. 2: Gaspar Correa: *Lendas da India*, intr. and rev. by Lopes de Almeida, Porto 1975, vol. III, p. 625.

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1 Coimbra University Library, Coimbra, Portugal.
Reference: CDU 910.4(540). UCBG Cofre 33.

2 Portuguese National Library, Lisbon, Portugal.