

# HdO

## Diu

*Indo-Muslim and Portuguese History,  
Urban Fabric and Architecture*



Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy

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Diu

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*By*

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Cover illustrations: *Front cover*: Diu town, St. Paul's Church, founded in 1610, now the Cathedral, and Seminary, now the high school. An example of Portuguese architecture in India, with an elaborate church cross (*cruzeiro*) to the left. *Back cover*: Carved marble images from a Jain temple (top left); St Paul's cloister wall painting (bottom left); Tree-fringed road through the farmlands of Diu island (middle); Karao Jami' (top right); Zoroastrian Tower of Silence (bottom right). All images are by the Authors.

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ء	’	ذ	dh	ق	q	
آ	ā	ر	r	ک	k	
ا	a	ز	z	گ	g	
أ	u	ژ	zh	ل	l	
ب	b	س	s	م	m	
پ	p	ش	sh	ن	n	
ت	t	ص	ṣ	و	w	
ث	th	ض	ḍ	ؤ	ū	
ج	j	ط	ṭ	ؤ	aw	au
چ	ch	ظ	ẓ	ه	h	
ح	ḥ	ع	‘	ي	ī	
خ	kh	غ	gh	ى	ay	ai
د	d	ف	f	ی	y	

## Abbreviations

- Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Pers.) (Shaikh) Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī Fahhāmī b. Mubārak Nāgūrī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Pers.), H. Blochmann (ed.), 2 vols (Bibliotheca Indica no. 58, Asiatic Society of Bengal 1872–77), Calcutta, I, 1872; II, 1877.
- Akbar nāma* (Pers.) (Shaikh) Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, Fahhāmī, b. Shaikh Mubārak Nāgūrī, *Akbar nāma*, (3 vols) Maulvī Abdu'r-Rahīm (ed.), (Bibliotheca Indica, no. 79, Asiatic Society of Bengal) Calcutta, I, 1878; II, 1879; III, 1886.
- Akbar nāma* (tr.) *The Akbar nāma of Abu-l-Faḍl*, tr. H. Beveridge, (3 vols) Calcutta, I, 1907; II, 1904; III, 1939.
- Arquivo* II, i and II, ii Antonio Bocarro, *Arquivo Português Oriental*, new edition, Tomo IV, *História Administrativa*, vol. I [1498–1599], part i, *Documentos coordenados e precedidos duma introdução*; vol. II [1600–1699], parts i and ii, *Livro das plantas de tôdas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, Lisbon (part i, 1937, part ii, 1938).
- Barros Barros, João do, *Décadas da Ásia* (3 vols) Lisbon, 1628–73) (*Década Primera; Década Segunda; Década Terceira*), also see Diogo do Couto.
- Correa Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia* (4 vols), Lisbon, 1858, offset reprinted 1976.
- Cunha Rivara Cunha Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da: *Inscrições de Diu, trasladadas das próprias em Janeiro de 1859*, (Imprensa Nacional) Nova-Goa, 1865.
- 1859 Map Cunha Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da, *Carta Topographica da Ilha de Diu levantada por ordem superior no anno de 1833, Augmentada conforme as indicaçoens feitas Pelo Secretario do Governo Geral J.H. da C. Rivara, Anno 1859. Copiada da Carta Topographica pertencente ao Archivo da Secretaria de Governo Geral, por J.F. Fernandes, Desenhista 1860*. [Copy provided to the authors courtesy Mr & Mrs Lennox Money]
- Diogo do Couto do Couto, Diogo, *Décadas da Ásia; Década Quatra*, Lisboa 1602; *Década Quinta*, Lisboa, 1612; *Década Sexta*, (Chapter 7).
- Dalboquerque Affonso Dalboquerque the Younger, *The Commentaries of the Great Affonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India*, tr. from the Portuguese edition of 1774 by Walter de Gray Birch (4 vols), (Hakluyt Society) London, I, 1875; II, 1877; III, 1880; IV, 1884.
- Danvers Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portuguese in India being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire*, (2 vols) London, 1894.
- Firishta (Pers) Muḥammad Qāsīm b. Hindū Shāh known as Firishta Astarābādī, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* known as *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, (2 vols with addenda bound together) Lucknow, 1864.
- Lopes Mendes Lopes Mendes, António: *A Índia Portuguesa, breve descrição das possessões Portuguezas na Ásia*, (2 vols) Lisbon, 1886.
- Mir'āt-i Sikandari* Sikandar b. Muḥammad known as Manjhū b. Akbar, *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman (eds), Baroda, 1961.
- Proenca (Father) Mariano Goes Proenca, 'Diu: an island with unique history', *Souvenir-Diu, Supplement to "Boa Nova de Diu" Parish Bulletin, Church of Immaculate Conception*, Easter Special, Diu, 1997, pp. 10–13.

- Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Pers.) (Khawāja) Niẓām al-dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Muqīm Hirawī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Pers) (3 vols) (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, no. 223, 1927–35) Calcutta, I, 1927 and II, 1931, B. De (ed.); III, B. De and M. Hidayat Hosain (eds), 1935.
- Ẓafar al-wālih* (Arabic) ‘Abd’ullāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Makkī al-Āṣafī Uluq Khānī, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa ālih* – An Arabic History of Gujarat, (Arabic) E. Denison Ross (ed) (4 vols), London, I, 1910; II 1919; III, 1926; IV (Index), 1928.



## Introduction

“Fifty leagues further (from Mangrol) along the coast, toward the south, there is a ... small island ... which the Malabars call Diuixa, and the Moors of the country call it Diu. It has a very good harbour, and is a port of much trade in merchandise, ... and the people of Diu sail to Aden, Mekkah, Zeyla, Barbara, Magadoxo, Brava, Melinde, Mombaza, Xer, Ormuz and all parts of the kingdom. ... they load at this port for the return voyage cotton cloths of the country and silk stuffs, horses, wheat, vegetables, sesame, cotton, oil of sesame, and opium, ... and thick carpets, taffeta, scarlet cloth, and of other colours. They also export the spices and things brought to them from India, by the people of the country, to Aden, Ormuz, and all parts of Arabia and Persia, so that this town is the chief emporium of trade which exists in all these parts.”

Barbosa<sup>1</sup> gave this account of the town of Diu at the dawn of the sixteenth century, when the town was a port of the sultanate of Gujarat. Apart from Cambay no other Gujarat port had such lucrative trade, bringing wealth to the town and kingdom. Cambay was closer to Ahmadabad, the sultanate capital of Gujarat, and was such a prominent city in the kingdom that the Portuguese often referred to the sultan of Gujarat as the King of Cambay, but Diu’s advantage over Cambay was that Diu was on the direct coastal route from South India to Hurmuz, on the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and to Aden and the Red Sea, cutting the voyage by several days. The island<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1.1), off the southern

tip of the Saurashtra peninsula, also had a strategic position: whoever commanded Diu controlled trade through the Bay of Cambay. It is no wonder that from the early days of the Portuguese appearance on the Indian Ocean they sought dominion over the town, which they achieved eventually after many decades of frustrating negotiations and bitter conflict.

And all this wealth, creating an emporium of conventional and luxurious goods from distant lands (Plate 1.1) as well as the territory of the Sultanate of Gujarat – in Barbosa’s words “all parts of the kingdom” – passed through a small town at the east end of an island of a little over forty square kilometres which could not even produce sufficient food for its inhabitants. Most essentials had to be brought in from mainland Saurashtra but also from more distant regions. Diu did, however, have adequate water and, as with other parts of Gujarat – and indeed the rest of India – monsoon rain was manipulated in reservoirs of various sizes to sustain some farming but more pertinently enable an urban community to develop and thrive.

Barbosa also notes horses as one of Diu’s exports. Since mediaeval times a major and lucrative part of the Indian Ocean maritime trade had been the transportation of horses from the Persian Gulf and particularly the Kingdom of Hurmuz for sale in all parts of India, a trade which continued during the Portuguese period and until as recently as the early twentieth century. It appears that the cargoes of horses leaving Diu were not imports

1 Duarte Barbosa: *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century*, tr. by Henry E.J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866 (off-set reprinted by Asian Educational Services, New Delhi – Madras, 1995), pp. 59–60. The full text of this passage is given at the beginning of Chapter 4.

2 Latitude: 20°–44′–34″ (N) to 20°–42′–00″ (N); Longitude: 71°–00′–24″ (E) to 70°–52′–26″ (E). The island, made up

of limestone of the Pleistocene age, measures 4.6 kilometres from the extreme north to south and 13.8 kilometres from east to west, with an area of 40 square kilometres. The altitude is 6 meters above sea level, with hillocks of up to 30 metres. The island is presently under Union Territory Administration of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu. See: <https://diu.gov.in/> (accessed 10.8.2022).



FIGURE 1.1 Map of South Asia, showing the position of Diu at the mouth of the Bay of Cambay and Diu's relationship with centres of power and other maritime trading ports of the region.

from across the Persian Gulf monopolised by the Kingdom of Hurmuz, but country-bred, Gujarat being known for thoroughbred horses of some distinction, such as the Kathiawadi, still to be seen on the racecourses of India.

The Portuguese development of Diu was somewhat different from that of their other settlements. Once an area was taken by force or negotiation, a fort was usually constructed, often in an un-built area either near the existing Indian town or at some



PLATE 1.1 An oceangoing ship represented in the *Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī* dating from c.619/1222–23. The pilot and the crew, with dark skin, seem to be Indian, while the Middle Eastern merchants are shown with pale skin and colourful turbans. The image inside the domed pavilion on the deck seems to be the representation of an Indian deity.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MANUSCRIPT ARAB 6094,  
FOLIO 119 VERSO

distance from it. The size of the fortresses varied, accommodating anything from a small garrison to a large trading community, but in Diu and Goa the Portuguese occupied existing well-developed Muslim towns with their characteristic urban form. Our limited knowledge of the urban form of Goa comes from old maps and descriptions, as the original town no longer exists. It had initially been a port of the Ādil Shāhī Sultanate, set by the calm waters of the estuary of the Mandovi River. Once ocean-going ships became too large to navigate the estuary, Old Goa lost its importance, to be ultimately abandoned in favour of a new port, Panjim,

a small mediaeval village rebuilt and developed in the second half of the eighteenth century, and which in turn was made the new capital of Portuguese India in 1843 with the transfer of the seat of the Viceroy. Apart from some churches and monasteries nothing remains of Old Goa, as the spoil of the old buildings was carted away for the construction of Panjim.

Almost all other Portuguese settlements faced a similar fate, albeit not as dramatic as that of Old Goa. In Cochin the oldest Portuguese settlement was demolished by the Dutch long ago, and Chaul and Bacaim (Vasai) – two major



PLATE 1.2 The Karao Jāmi' Mosque, an early-fourteenth-century structure in the heart of the town of Diu. The columns and other structural elements are reused spoil of earlier Hindu and Jain temples, plastered over to obscure the original carvings. The survival of the building under the Portuguese, known for their destruction of Muslim edifices, may seem surprising, but the relationship of the Portuguese with the Sultanate of Gujarat differed from that in their other Portuguese settlements.

Portuguese settlements – are now archaeological sites. In Daman and Panjim the layout of the old settlement can still be recognised in spite of modern developments, but Panjim is in effect a late-eighteenth-century town and does not have the morphological characteristics of the older sites. The case of Diu, however, is different.

In Diu we tread streets where the layout of some can be traced back to the fourteenth century. The town preserves a substantial early-fourteenth century mosque, known as the Karao Jāmi' (Plate 1.2), and even the site of the mansion of the sultan's governor can be identified. History tells us that Sultan Bahādur Shāh was so fond of this port that

he frequently visited it and eventually lost his life there. Other parts of the town still provide vivid tableaux of its gradual transformation into a Portuguese stronghold, with quarters still populated by Hindus, Muslims and other social groups, although its once thriving Zoroastrian community has now left Diu. A comparison of the modern map of the town with those of the mid-nineteenth century demonstrates that even in modern times Diu's mediaeval and early-Portuguese street pattern has not changed significantly.

No other site in India has retained such a wealth of information on the fabric of a Portuguese settlement, and the study of Diu offers a unique

insight into Portuguese concepts for establishing and developing colonies in South Asia, and their approach to architectural landmarks in relation to each other and to the town as a whole. Residential buildings, many dating from the eighteenth to early twentieth century display the wealth of the local Banians (Hindu merchants) who thrived until recent times. The town is punctuated by lofty churches and monasteries, including the old cathedral of St Thomas, the church and hospital of St Francis of Assisi as well as St Paul's church and seminary, which although they may not compare with the grandeur of those of Old Goa, are of considerable interest and represent specific structural and architectural approaches to design suited to the relatively arid region of western India as opposed to that employed in tropical Goa.

An intriguing survival in Diu is that of early Muslim edifices long after the island was dominated by the Portuguese. In India the Portuguese are known for their hostility towards the Muslims. In South India the Portuguese not only attacked and burnt the mosques in Calicut,<sup>3</sup> Cranganur,<sup>4</sup> Cochin<sup>5</sup> and many other towns<sup>6</sup> but also did not tolerate the small Jewish minority. In Cochin – on the pretext of the Jewish community favouring the Dutch – when the Portuguese briefly re-established their authority in 1662, they meted

out their revenge on the Jews.<sup>7</sup> The community survived only through the protection of the Raja of Cochin, who was allied with the Portuguese, but they in turn were dependent on his favour for the retention of their position *vis-à-vis* the Dutch. In their own territories at Goa the Portuguese forced the Muslim population out and left no trace of their mosques and shrines. This does not seem to have been the case in Diu, which was first part of the sultanate of Gujarat, and later in the neighbourhood of the mighty Mughals, with whom the Portuguese preferred to preserve friendly relations as well as lucrative trade. Little is known about the other minorities in Diu. There were probably no Jews on the island in the early years of the Portuguese, but some families seem to have lived there in the nineteenth century, producing alcoholic beverages. At this time a relatively large and prosperous Zoroastrian community in the town was engaged in commerce.

A reason behind the growth of the minority communities in eighteenth and nineteenth century Portuguese colonies was the gradual change of attitude towards their colonial subjects. By this time the power of the Inquisition had already faded away in the Iberian Peninsula and Portuguese control over the Indian Ocean trade had been challenged by the Dutch and the British. In the nineteenth century the Portuguese intermingled with their Indian subjects regardless of religion or creed.<sup>8</sup> In Diu such tolerance is also apparent as, in addition to Muslims and the small community of Zoroastrians (Parsis), the majority of the population were Hindu and Jain. There is, however, no early Jain or Hindu edifice in Diu, as such monuments seem to have disappeared long

3 João de Barros, *Decada Primeria da Asia de João de Barros*, Lisbon, 1628, Livro Sexto, folios 119–120; Nernani Cidade (ed.) and Manuel Murias (historical notes), *Ásia de João de Barros*, II, Lisbon, 1945, pp. 153–63; Dalboquerque, II, pp. 64–71; Firishta, (Pers.) II, p. 372; Zain al-din, *Tohfut al-Mujāhidīn fī ba'd al-ḥwāl al-purtakālīyīn*, (Arabic) Arabic text in David Lopes, *Historia Portugueses no Malabar*, Lisbon, 1898, p. 42; English translation, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen, an historical work in the Arabic language*, M.J. Rowlandson (tr.) London, 1833, p. 98.

4 Danvers, I, p. 115.

5 Zain al-din, (Arabic), p. 37; (tr.), pp. 82–3; Firishta, (Pers.) II, p. 371; for the inscription alluding to a fire see M. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, London – New York, 2003, pp. 222–4; idem., 'Sources for Malabar Muslim Inscriptions', in M. Kooria and M.N. Pearson (eds), *Malabar in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 29–33.

6 Zain al-din, (Arabic), p. 64; (tr.), p. 148.

7 Francis Day, *Land of the Permauls or Cochin, its past and its present*, Madras, 1865, p. 115; William Logan, *Malabar*, I, Madras, 1906, pp. 338–9; J.B. Segal, *A history of the Jews of Cochin*, London, 1993, pp. 37–8.

8 For the relationship between the Portuguese and the native Indians in the mid-nineteenth century see Richard F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains or six months of sick leave*, London, 1851, repr. Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford, 1992, pp. 86–9, 96–110.

ago when the island was first taken over by the Muslims, but the existence of these monuments is apparent through the numerous images and temple elements to be found there. Jain remains are particularly prevalent and indicate the presence of a large Jain community on the island. This is not of course surprising, as Gujarat – and particularly the regions of Kachh and Saurashtra (Kathiawad)<sup>9</sup> – always had a strong Jain community.

The present study does not stop at the boundaries of Diu town, but considers the whole of the island and its topography. A journey out of the town leads to a lake-size reservoir and numerous edifices en-route to the village of Fudam, which stands under the shadow of its towering Church of Our Lady of Remedies. Continuing to the western end of the island one passes the shrine of Pīr Ḥabash Bābā and ends in the fishing port of Vanakbara with its small and charming urban square and its somewhat unusual Church of Our Lady of Mercy. Apart from the surviving features examination of a mid-nineteenth-century map of the island, unpublished previously, throws light on many Portuguese edifices and landmarks which no longer exist.

Modern historical studies of Diu, and indeed those of Portuguese India, rely mainly on Portuguese sources, but a wealth of information is also to be found in the Indian sources. Passages, often succinct, scattered in the Arabic and Persian histories, are often written from a different point of view from those occur in the Portuguese chronicles, which, not surprisingly, suffer from being tainted with bias and exaggeration. These flaws can sometimes be traced directly to the accounts of the administrators, captains, governors and viceroys, who often overstated their achievements in their letters to the Portuguese court. A detailed

study of Indian sources can provide another side to the story and help redress the balance.

The present work is the result of a project initiated in 1995 with three further sessions of fieldwork in 1996, 1999 and 2004 to survey the town and the island.<sup>10</sup> During the fieldwork a fresh town plan was produced as well as a map of the island, plans of Fudam and Vanakbara and detailed survey of all major edifices: Christian, Muslim and Zoroastrian. Most of the survey drawings have already been presented in our interim reports<sup>11</sup> but they have been revised and those presented in this volume supersede all our earlier drawings.

9 The peninsula at the west of the state of Gujarat was renamed Saurashtra post-Independence after the ancient name of the region. It was known as Kathiawad or Kathiawar from mediaeval times until the mid-twentieth century.

10 The Survey of Diu is a progression from two other undertakings: the study of the architectural heritage of the Muslim trading communities in South India, the result of which was presented in M. Shokoohy's *Muslim Architecture of South India*, as well as 'The Malabar Mosque: a visual manifestation of an egalitarian faith', in M. Kooria and M.N. Pearson (eds), *Malabar in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 307–337, figs. 11.1–11.23 (written jointly with Natalie H. Shokoohy); M. Shokoohy, 'Muslim epigraphy and ornamentation; diversity in South Asian culture', in *South Asian Islam: A Spectrum of Integration and Indigenization*, Part III, Architecture Arts and New Cultures, Chapter 9, Nasr M. Arif and A. Panakkal (eds), (Global Islamic Cultures series) (Routledge India) Delhi, 2024; and an on-going survey of unreported Muslim edifices of the towns of western Saurashtra from Junagadh to Diu, for a report of which see idem., 'The legacy of Islam in Somnath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LXXV part ii, 2012, pp. 297–335, figs. 1–27.

11 M. and N.H. Shokoohy, 'The Karao Jami' mosque of Diu in the light of the history of the island', *South Asian Studies* (henceforth SAS), XVI, 2000, pp. 55–72, figs. 1–19; 'The Portuguese Fort of Diu', SAS, XIX, 2003, pp. 169–203, figs. 1–47; 'The town of Diu, its churches, monasteries and other historic features', SAS, XXIII, 2007, pp. 141–188, figs. 1–65; 'The island of Diu, its architecture and historic remains', SAS, XXVI, ii, 2010, pp. 161–190, figs. 1–40; M. Shokoohy, 'The Zoroastrian fire temple in the ex-Portuguese colony of Diu, India', *JRAS*, Series 3, XIII, i, 2003, pp. 1–20, figs. 1–17; 'The legacy of the Parsi community of Diu', *Hamazor, Publication of the World Zoroastrian Organization*, LV, ii, 2010, pp. 75–81, figs. 1–12; 'The Zoroastrian Towers of Silence in the ex-Portuguese colony of Diu', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, XXI, 2007, 61–78, figs. 1–20.



PLATE 1.3 A few examples of the fragmentary inscriptions kept in the yard of the Sé Museum (above) and the Powder Magazine (below).

During Portuguese colonial rule the regional governors tended to record their achievements on the foundation stones of structures built on their orders. These inscriptions not only give firm and undisputable dates for the buildings but also incorporate other historical information such as the names of regional governors, who often served only for a few years and are not always known through the historical sources. Sadly, in Diu, when the Indian army took over the island by force in 1961, nationalist sentiment resulted in the smashing, dislodging, and defacing of most of these foundation stones, but in later years a more measured attitude prevailed and the remnants of the scattered inscribed slabs were collected and taken to two main locations: the yard of the Museum

in the former cathedral of the town and the old Powder Magazine in the fort (Plate 1.3).

The condition of the slabs varies from full texts, complete with coats of arms, or large fragments with adequate historical information, to small pieces preserving a few words or letters. None of these epigraphs have been studied or even systematically recorded, and apart from a few kept inside the Museum, they are not protected by any means, as they lie loose in places open to the public at all times and where they could easily be damaged further, broken into smaller fragments or lost altogether. Fortunately, in the mid-nineteenth century an official from Goa, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, who was sent to establish with his British counterpart the boundary between the British

and Portuguese territories, decided to spend his leisure time recording and later publishing some of these inscriptions and epitaphs, then *in situ*,<sup>12</sup> as well as being responsible for a detailed map of the island.<sup>13</sup> Although his record is not supported by documentation such as ink impressions or tracings, and occasionally the locations of the inscriptions are confused, his record is invaluable for identifying many of the loose slabs. However, there are numerous inscriptions which do not appear in Cunha Rivara's list: some of these seem to have escaped his attention, others are far too fragmentary to be identifiable with his records, and many simply post-date his visit. While the aim of the project was to focus on the architecture and urban morphology of the town of Diu and the other main settlements of the island, the advantage of recording these inscriptions could not be ignored. They are given in an appendix and establish the basis for dating many of the structures.

Apart from the inscriptions there are numerous metal objects – mainly bronze – which bear a date, a foundry sign or other symbols. These are mainly canon, set on the walls of the fort, but another example is a bell, now kept in the courtyard of the old Governor's residence. The bell bears a cross in relief and below it the date 1720<sup>14</sup> (Plate 1.4). It might have belonged to a church or a chapel, perhaps one of the many chapels on the towers of the fort, but we have no concrete information on its original whereabouts. A few important canons with significant inscriptions are mentioned in the work and in the appendix.

Finally, our deepest gratitude must be given to those without whose help this work would



PLATE 1.4 A bell bearing a cross and the date 1720, originally from a church or a chapel, and now kept in the courtyard of the Old Governor's Residence

not have been complete. On the island itself the aimable interest and clarification of the role of former structures from people living and working there, including in offices and the religious establishments made field-work a pleasure, while in London Mr and Mrs Lennox Money provided us with a full-sized copy of an unpublished copy (dated 1860) of Cunha Rivara's 1859 map. This map provides vital information on the features in the island which no longer exist or are unknown. The map also includes detailed drawings of the small forts, again no longer extant on the island. These features will be discussed in their appropriate places. We are indebted to Diana Pereira for her assistance in the reading and translation of the Portuguese inscriptions and equally to Victoria Arrowsmith Brown and the late Henry Arrowsmith Brown who examined and translated the Latin inscriptions. We are grateful to them all.

12 Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara: *Inscrições de Diu, trasladadas das proprias em Janeiro de 1859*, Nova-Goa, 1865 (henceforth Cunha Rivara).

13 *Carta Topographica da Ilha de Diu levantada por ordem superior no anno de 1833, Augmentada conforme as indicaçoens feitas Pelo Secretario do Governo Geral J.H. da C. Rivara*, Anno 1859. The map is discussed in Chapter 6.

14 The date may be read as 1730, but 1720 is more likely.

## From Obscure Village to Emporium

### *A Historical Outline*

“One of the travellers said that Dīv is an island in the sea opposite Kanbāyat<sup>1</sup> to the south. Its natives are pirates and live in houses of bamboo, and their drinking water is from rain.”

This is one of the earliest accounts of Diu, given in 721/1321 by the geographer Abu'l-fidā.<sup>2</sup> Earlier geographies such as the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*<sup>3</sup> and al-Iṣṭakhrī's *al-masālik wa al-mamālik*,<sup>4</sup> which mention the ports of Gujarat with Muslim maritime settlements omit Diu. Abu'l-fidā's date is just a little later than the Khaljī take-over of the region, but it is likely that his information was collected some years earlier. His spelling of the name is also interesting as it is close to the local pronunciation of the name *dīv* or *dev*, derived from the Sanskrit term *dvīpa* meaning 'island'. Abu'l-fidā's description gives an impression that before the Islamic conquest of the region, Diu was not a significant port and was not commonly known to the Indian Ocean maritime traders, except perhaps for

occasional piracy, which was a common problem for the early voyagers on the Arabian Sea.

Although little is known of the history of Diu prior to the Khaljī conquest, an Indian pseudo-historical poem, surviving only in fragments, mentions that the island was the seat of the Chāvaḍa rajas, and the town was a substantial fortified port visited by ships laden with luxurious merchandise:<sup>5</sup>

“The impregnable fortress of Divagaḍh,<sup>6</sup> on the shore of the Arabian Sea,  
Raghunāth granted them the sovereignty, and thus the Chāvaḍas came here.

Venirāja and Vacharāja reigned for seventy-one years.

Having conquered the subāh and the sulṭān,  
They conquered the land and levied fines;  
They established the rule of the Sorath like a golden flower, and against them no one could prevail.

In Samvat seven hundred and eighty-seven [AD 730] they acquired Divakoṭ [i.e. Diu fort].

Once upon a time a merchant came hither,  
From Machlibandar town, by name Kamalshi, the owner of a *kror* (ten million);

His ships appeared numerous, and were laden with saffron, pearls, and camphor.

He met the Darbār of Div, and placed trust in Venirāja,

1 A Muslim spelling of the name of Gujarat's historic port Khambhat, better known as Cambay. A more common Muslim spelling is Khanbāyat.

2 'Imād al-dīn Ismā'il b. 'Alī known as Abu'l-fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān*, Persian translation by A. Ayati. Tehran, 1970, p. 401:

یکی از مسافران گفت دیو جزیره ای است در دریا در مقابل کنایات از جهت جنوب مرومش راهزنان باشند و در خانه های نبین زندگی کنند شرب مردمش از آب باران است.

3 *Ḥudūd al-ālam min al-mashriq ila'l-maghrib*, ed. M. Sotoodeh. Tehran, 1962, 64–73; English translation by Vladimir Minorsky (tr. and ed.), *Ḥudūd al-ālam 'the regions of the world', a Persian geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D.*, London, 1937, pp. 86–92.

4 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (Arabic text), Cairo, 1961, pp. 102, 104–6; *Masālik wa mamālik* (11–12th century Persian tr.), Tehran, 1961, pp. 147, 150–153.

5 John W. Watson, 'Speculation on the origin of Chāvaḍas', *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, May 1875, pp. 145–148. The translation given here is after Watson (pp. 146–7). Comments in curved brackets are Watson's and in square brackets ours.

6 Sanskrit meaning 'Diu Town'.

(He thought) the Chāvaḍo Rāṇā [the king] will not fail me, and will not betray my trust,  
 He (Venirāja) swore the oath of the sea, and the ocean was violently inflamed with anger (the sea was indignant at being sworn by falsely),  
 He swore by the sea, and placed the ocean as security between them.  
 The merchant unloaded his merchandise at the custom-house, but (the Rāja) did not pay the value of a sesamum seed.  
 A dream came in truth to the Pāt Rāṇī [the queen] of the state:  
 Flee, flee, O Lord of men! (said he), else I knowingly shall fly, leaving thee,  
 Together with the child in her womb fled the woman, having entrusted her affairs to Śiva, the supreme lord.  
 The female slave seated the Rāṇī on a camel, while the ocean was inflamed with anger.”

The narrative implies that the ocean destroyed the city and the kingdom, and other fragments of the legend suggests that Venirāja eventually went on to establish the city of Ānhaḷḷapur (presumably Aṇahilvāda, Muslim Naharwāla, the pre-Islamic capital of Gujarat) in VE 802/745 AD, fifteen years after the Chāvaḍas' conquest of Diu. The verses, however contains little reliable historical information as from the use of the Muslim words such as *sultāna* (*sultān*), *bandar* (port), *subāh* (sauba, district) and *darbār* (royal court) it is clear that the poem was composed during the Islamic period. This is not unusual, as most of the 'historical documents' of this type in Sanskrit or other Indian languages were compiled at much later dates from legends and hazy memories of historical events. Their story line and references to dates should be taken as no more than allusions to a forgotten past.

The impression of pre-Islamic Diu as a fortified city is also unreliable, as the poet is likely to have simply transposed the grandeur of the Muslim town with which he was familiar to his picture of ancient Diu. We should perhaps endorse the account of Abu'l-fidā's traveller rather than the poet's narrative, except that Venirāja behaved in

a manner that would put the pirates to shame. However, while the general population might have lived in modest structures, archaeological remains confirm that before the Muslim conquest of Diu, the town – as with other cities of Saurashtra – had some handsome Hindu and Jain temples. The Karao Jāmi' is built entirely out of temple spoil and many finely sculpted fragments have been unearthed in the island which must have come from former temples (Plate 2.1). We may assume that, unlike Cambay, the major port of the region, Diu may not have had a significant Muslim trading settlement and, although a city of some substance, was little known to maritime traders.

Another indication of Diu's condition before the Khaljī takeover of Gujarat is revealed by it not being mentioned in the narrative of Marco Polo, whose main interest was commerce. He travelled down the western coast some two decades before the Muslim dominance of the region and relates that he visited the town of Cambay. In his words:

“There is a great deal of trade in this country. It produces indigo in great abundance; and they also make much fine buckram. There is also a quantity of cotton which is exported hence to many quarters ... and hides ... with many other kinds of merchandize too tedious to mention. Merchants come here with many ships and cargoes, but what they chiefly bring is gold, silver, copper ... There are no pirates from this country: the inhabitants are good people, and live by their trade and manufactures.”<sup>7</sup>

From Cambay he travelled to Somnath and continues:

“The people ... are not corsairs, but live by trade and industry as honest people ought. It is a

7 Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. and tr. by Henry Yule, 3rd edtn. revised by H. Cordier, London, 11, 1903, pp. 388–9.



PLATE 2.1 Marble carved images from a Jain temple, probably destroyed at the time of ‘Alā al-dīn Khaljī’s takeover of the region, now kept in the Sé Museum, Diu.

place of very great trade. They are forsooth cruel Idolaters.”<sup>8</sup>

Navigating from Cambay to Somnath his ship would have been in reach of the waters of Diu, but his omission of any mention of the town leaves little doubt that at his time Diu was not a trading port.

## 1 Muslim Diu

It seems that from the eighth to the twelfth or thirteenth century the island may have indeed been the seat of the Chāvaḍa rajas, until it was taken by the Vāghelās,<sup>9</sup> but their reign must have been fairly

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., II, p. 389.

<sup>9</sup> John W. Watson: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, VIII, Kathiawar, 1884, pp. 433–4 (this source gives the name of

short-lived as in 698/1298–9 the last Vāghelā ruler, Karandeva lost the territory to ‘Alā al-dīn Khaljī’s army<sup>10</sup> and from that date Diu remained firmly in the hands of the Muslim sultanates: first Delhi and later Gujarat. The relatively large size of the Karao Jāmi’ mosque in the town, and the total disappearance of the old Hindu or Jain temples indicate that during the sultanate period the town had been rapidly transformed into a predominantly Muslim stronghold and rose from being an off-route and unassuming port to a thriving trading post. A vast

the last Vāghelā raja as Jesingh); Vincent A. Smith “White Hun” coin of Vyāgrāmukha of Chapa (Gujara) Dynasty of Bhinmāl, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 926; A.H. Bingley, ‘Chawuras of Saurashtra’, *Handbook on Rajputs*, 1986, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Ḍiyā’ al-dīn Barnī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī* (Persian), Calcutta, 1862, p. 251; Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd’ullāh al-Sihrindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, (Pers.), Calcutta, 1931, p. 76. Firishtha (Pers.) I, p. 103, gives the date as 697.

graveyard at some distance to the west of the town preserves many tombs which seem to belong to maritime traders<sup>11</sup> and there is also a loose and worn-out epitaph<sup>12</sup> which appears to date from this period.

## 2 The Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat

From the very early days of the Portuguese appearance in the Indian Ocean Diu attracted their attention, not just for its commerce, but also for its strategic location at the mouth of the Bay of Cambay, with the capability of controlling the traffic in the bay. But Diu was not an easy prey. It was well fortified and well defended. Ludovico di Varthema, who visited Diu in 1503 or 1504, and Barbosa in c.1515, give vivid descriptions of Diu before it fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Varthema<sup>13</sup> records:

“When we had sailed about twelve days (from the coast of Africa) we arrived at a city which is called Diuobandierrumi, that is ‘Diu the port of the Turks’, which city is situated a short distance from the mainland. When the tide rises it is an island and when it falls you can pass over on foot. This city is subject to the Sultan of Combeia, and the captain of this Diu is one named Menacheaz. We remained here two days. There is an immense trade in the city. Four hundred Turkish merchants reside here constantly. This city is surrounded by walls and contains much artillery within it. They have certain vessels which are called Thalae, which are somewhat less than galleys.”

The name of the town Diuobandierrumi is in fact Persian: *Dū yā bandar-i rūmī* (Diu or the Turkish port), closely translated by Varthema. The designation *bandar-i rūmī* does not, however, appear in any of the Persian sources and was perhaps what Varthema heard from the Turkish settlers. Barbosa's description<sup>14</sup> is more detailed:

“The king keeps a Moorish governor in this place called Melquiaz; an old man, and a very good gentleman, discreet, industrious, and of great information, who lives with great order and regularity in all his affairs. He makes much artillery, and has many rowing barges, very well arranged, small and very light, which are called Talayas. He has had constructed in the port a very strong and fine bulwark, in which he has very good artillery, with many lombards,<sup>15</sup> and he always keeps with him many men-at-arms, to whom he pays very good appointments. They are very well armed. He is always on his guard and is very apprehensive of the power of the King of Portugal. He shows great honour and attention to the ships and people of Portugal who come to his port. The people of his country are kept in very good order, and governed with much justice and good treatment; he dispenses many favours and presents to voyagers and strangers of his country.”

Varthema's *thalae* and Barbosa's *talaya* are apparently references to a Persian military term *ṭalāya-dār*, the watcher at the head of an army. Here the term refers to the coast guards and, as Varthema notes, also to their light vessels (Plate 2.2). As for the lombards, the remains of the reinforce of what seems to be an early Indian

<sup>11</sup> The tombs are discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>12</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 1. The probable date 1346–7 falls into the Tughluq period.

<sup>13</sup> Ludovico di Varthema, *The travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, tr. by John Winter Jones with notes and introduction by George Percy Badger, London, 1863, pp. 91–2.

<sup>14</sup> Duarte Barbosa, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century*, tr. by Henry E.J. Stanley, London, 1866, pp. 60–61.

<sup>15</sup> A type of cannon with fairly long chase and smooth bore, apparently developed in the region of Lombardy in early Renaissance Italy and widespread in Spain and Portugal. The cannons in Diu were, obviously, locally made but must have resembled those familiar to Barbosa.



PLATE 2.2 A light Muslim vessel with a single mast and flexible sail which could be unfurled and controlled by the rigging, as illustrated in a manuscript of *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. On the hull of the vessel, the image is dated in faint post-Kufic script 'Executed in the year 619' (1222–23).

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MANUSCRIPT ARAB NO. 6094, FOLIO 68 RECTO

cannon, now lies on the jetty of the fort of Diu (Plate 2.3). This is probably the Tiro de Diu bearing the name of the Gujarat Sultan Bahādur Shah and dated 5 Dhi'l-qa'da 939/29 May 1533,<sup>16</sup> once preserved intact in the fort of Diu, but seems to have been exploded later when someone decided to test it. Certain features of the cannon differ from the sixteenth-century Portuguese guns. It is not cast, but made of laminated strips of steel. The exploded chase has not survived, but if it is the

same as the Tiro de Diu, the chase would have been relatively long. A bronze ring with the trunnions at either side – all cast in one piece – is fitted at the end of the reinforce, but, unlike the European cannons of the period, the reinforce is not divided into two sections. This type of artillery existed in earlier eras in Europe and seems to have been known to the Muslims of Diu, apparently through their contact with the Ottomans, even before the arrival of the Portuguese.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the massive

16 For the inscription and an old photograph of the cannon see Appendix, Inscription no. 3.

17 Danvers, 1, pp. 425–7.



PLATE 2.3 Remains of the reinforce of a cannon, now laid abandoned on the jetty of the fort of Diu, seen from the exploded end of the chase. The structure of the cannon with laminated strips of steel is exposed at the point of explosion.

size and weight of the specimen in Diu it seems more likely that it would have been forged locally rather than being imported in a vessel.

Barbosa's account confirms that at the beginning of the sixteenth century Diu was a large fortified town, and its strategic position was well understood by the Gujarat sultanate. It had a large ground force, and in addition specialised coastguards with light boats controlling the sea traffic at the mouth of the Bay of Cambay. The old gentleman, Melquiaz (Menacheaz of Varthema, Melique Az and Melique Yaz in other Portuguese sources) was Malik Ayāz, a royal slave (*ghulam-i sultānī*) of the Gujarat Sultan Maḥmūd Baigara (1458–1511),<sup>18</sup>

and an influential and semi-autonomous governor of the town. He was also a trusted commander, who, in 889/1484–5 in a fierce battle with the Raja of Champanir, stormed the gates of its fort for Sultan Maḥmūd,<sup>19</sup> and on many other occasions led the Gujarat army in battle. He had an exceptional knowledge of the use of gunpowder, apparently little known at the time elsewhere in India. On one occasion he dug a small tunnel under one of the bastions of the fort of Mandasur, and exploded gunpowder inside the tunnel with a dynamite effect, bringing down the bastion<sup>20</sup> – a method which was subsequently used elsewhere

18 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 162–3; *Zafar al-wāliḥ*, I, p. 37; also see *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 397 quoting Barros (*Decada 11*, Book II, Capitulo IX) and mentioning that Malik Ayāz was a Russian slave (*escravo russo libertado por Mahamed*), but Barros's 1628 edition does not include this phrase, see

folio 48 obverse. Many of the Turkish *mamlūks* were, of course, slaves from Eastern Europe or Circassians, but a Russian origin for the Malik does not seem to have been noted in other sources.

19 *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, p. 161; Firishta, II, p. 202.

20 *Zafar al-wāliḥ*, I, p. 114; *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, pp. 189–190; Firishta, II, p. 210.

by other Gujarati army commanders<sup>21</sup> and later by the forces of other sultanates. It seems that he acquired this knowledge through the maritime visitors at Diu, most likely from his Ottoman and Mamlūk allies, but perhaps even from the Portuguese themselves.

In 1507 the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī,<sup>22</sup> concerned at the Portuguese harassment of Arab trading vessels, sent Amīr Ḥusain with a fleet of twelve ships and 1,500 men to the aid of Malik Ayāz for a joint action against the Portuguese. Dom Francisco d'Almeida, who in 1505 had been appointed the first Viceroy of India, sent his son Dom Lourenço with eight ships towards the Muslims and in Chaul (Chayūl or Chaywal of the Muslim sources) they met with the Turkish fleet. In a conflict in the harbour the Turkish fleet was nearly defeated, but on the next day Malik Ayāz arrived with a large number of his famous light vessels.<sup>23</sup> Dom Lourenço, against the advice of the other captains, engaged in a battle, but was killed by a gun blast, and the Muslims entered his ship, taking twenty prisoners who were treated fairly. The remaining Portuguese fleet fled to its headquarters at Cochin<sup>24</sup> and Malik Ayāz returned to Diu, where he received a robe of honour sent by the sultan.

Some months later the Viceroy himself sailed towards Diu, with a fleet of nineteen vessels and 1,600 men, and destroyed the Turkish fleet in a sea battle,<sup>25</sup> but some of the Turks, including

their wounded commander escaped to the town. Almeida did not, however, attack the town as he found its fortifications and defences to be too formidable for his forces. Malik Ayāz, who was not present at the battle, pretended not to be a party to the events, and send a messenger to the Viceroy. Almeida received him courteously and requested that the Portuguese who had been taken prisoner when his son was killed be returned, together with the artillery and ammunition of the Turks. He also offered to buy provisions for his navy. Malik Ayāz met these requests and Almeida left the waters of Diu.

With the growth of Portuguese trading power, the court of Gujarat found it more convenient to maintain friendly relations. This seems to have

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from Sir T. Livingston Mitchell (tr.), *The Lusiad of Luis Vaz de Camoens*, London, 1854, pp. 250–1):

*E logo, entrando fero na enseada,  
De Dio, illustre em cercos e batalhas,  
Fará espalhar a fraca e grande armada  
De Calecut, que remos tem por malhas:  
A de Melique Yaz acautelada,  
Co'os pelouros que tu, Vulcano, espalhas,  
Fará ir ver frio e fundo assento,  
Secreto leito do humido elemento.  
Mas a de Mir-Hocem, que abatroando,  
A furia esperará dos vingadores,  
Verá braços, e pernas ir nadando,  
Sem Corpos, pelo mar, de seus senhores:  
Raios de fogoirão representando  
No cego ardor os bravos damadores:  
Quanto alli sentirão olhos, e ouvidos,  
He fumo, ferro, flammas e alaridos.*

Then again, wildly entering the bay  
Of Dio, for sieges and battles famed before,  
He shall scatter and drive like chaff the grand array  
Of Calecut's fleet, whose strength lies in the oar —  
That of Melique Yaz, shall dearly pay,  
By the balls which thou, O Vulcan, there shall pour,  
Sending many by the cold and dismal road,  
To the humid element's secret deep abode.  
But they shall board that of Mir-Hocem, and on him  
Shall the dread conqueror's vengeance tell the most,  
Shall see arms and legs that in the sea shall swim,  
Without the bodies of those by whom they are lost:  
Flashes of fire flying all about shall seem,  
The blindfold fury of the conquering host:  
All that can be by eye, or ear, made out,  
Is smoke, fire, flames, and, to "Allah" the loud shout.

21 Firishta II, p. 220.

22 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, pp. 37–40.

23 Firishta, II, p. 204; *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, p. 147; *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, p. 166.

24 Barros, *Decada II*, Book II, folios 35–46; Danvers, I, pp. 129–30; 139–41.

25 Barbosa (op. cit., pp. 61–63) gives a confusing account of the battle of 1507, and this one which took place in February 1509, compressing the two into one. The confusion may be intentional, as his account obscures the Portuguese defeat in the earlier battle. While the first battle is often ignored or noted in an insignificant passage, the second battle has entered the epic of the Portuguese conquest of India and is given in Camoens's famous *Lusiad* (10th canto, stanzas 35–36; translation

been misunderstood by the Portuguese. In 1510 after Albuquerque's first capture of Goa, he sent a letter to Dom Manoel, the king of Portugal, claiming that the news of the fall of Goa had made the Sultan of Gujarat send him ambassadors with a peace treaty offering the release the Portuguese prisoners in his domain and surrounding Diu, and for Diu to be used as a site for a Portuguese fortress:<sup>26</sup>

"Sire, I captured Goa, because your Highness ordered me to do so, and the Marshal had orders to take it in his instructions; I took it also because it was the headquarters of the league which was set on foot in order to cast us out of India ... I have so completely disheartened the members of the league against us, that the King of Cambaya, powerful prince as he is, lost no time in sending to me his Ambassadors, and restoring to me all the Cavaliers and *Fidalgoes* who were shipwrecked with D. Afonso de Noronha, my nephew, on their voyage from Çacotorá, without my sending to ask this of him, and even offered me permission to build a fortress in Diu, a matter of such immense importance that even now I can hardly believe it; and I am now importuned by the Çamorim of Calicut, who desires to grant me a site to build a fortress in his city, and is willing to pay a yearly tribute to the Crown.<sup>27</sup> All this is the result of our holding Goa, without my waging war upon any of these princes."

26 Dalboquerque, III, 1880, pp. 258–60.

27 Albuquerque built a fortress in 1511 in the vicinity of Calicut, but some distance away from the town. How far the Zamorin agreed with the construction of the fort is debatable, but the fort did not provide the Portuguese with adequate power to subjugate the Zamorin, and after some fruitless conflicts with Calicut, in 1525 – only fourteen years after the erection of the fort – the Portuguese themselves demolished it and left the area. While they were successful in interrupting the Muslim maritime trade in the region, they never gained control over Calicut. For details of the events, an engraving of the fortress and appropriate references see M. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, 2003, pp. 144–7.

The claim was at best exaggerated, if not entirely false, as the Gujarat sultan Maḥmūd Baigara, his successors, and the powerful governor of Diu, Malik Ayāz, hardly ever conceded more to the Portuguese than permission to anchor at Diu for the sale of merchandise. However, the claim discloses Albuquerque's ambitions and his perception that a fort at Diu would secure Portuguese dominance over the waterways of Gujarat.

This was part of Albuquerque's grander doctrine of dominating the Indian Ocean trade as he believed firmly that Portuguese control of the seas could only be achieved by establishing a greater number of forts on the coasts of Indian Ocean: in Africa, in the Middle East and in South Asia.<sup>28</sup> This was opposed to the doctrine of his predecessor, Almeida, who believed whoever ruled the seas would rule the land; and Portugal could rule the seas only by sustaining a strong naval fleet which could intercept any ship sailing without a permit from the Portuguese captains, take possession of its merchandise, and if necessary seize or sink the vessel. In practice, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Portuguese adopted both doctrines, with some success, until the Dutch and British challenged their dominance on the water and seized many of their forts.

Returning to the affairs of Albuquerque, the Muslim sources give a different account implying that Albuquerque was invited to visit the court of Sultan Maḥmūd Baigara, but in the course of events the sultan died less than a year later, on 2nd Ramaḍān 917/23 November 1511,<sup>29</sup> and holding Goa proved difficult for Albuquerque, adding to his pre-occupations with affairs in Aden and Calicut. The visit never took place,<sup>30</sup> but in 1513 on his return from Aden, Albuquerque anchored at Diu and stayed there for six days to repair his ships. During this time, he was received with honour by Malik Ayāz and left behind the ship Euxobregas with merchandise for sale. A few days later, he arrived

28 Dalboquerque, vol. IV, 1884, p. 24.

29 Firishṭa, II, p. 205; *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, p. 151.

30 Danvers, I, pp. 212–13, 261.

at Chaul and received Tristão de Gá, who had been sent to the court of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II to ask permission to build a fort at Diu. De Gá reported that the sultan did not agree with their request but offered other sites for a Portuguese fort, which were not acceptable to de Gá.<sup>31</sup> The Portuguese suspected, with some justification, that the sultan's refusal was instigated by Malik Ayāz.<sup>32</sup> The Malik's influence on maritime affairs of the time seems to have gone much further than giving advice to the court.<sup>33</sup> In the long struggle for Portuguese control of Aden, Malik Ayāz seems to have been responsible for reinforcing local resistance there. In a letter to King Dom Manoel,<sup>34</sup> dated 20th October 1514, Albuquerque mentions:

“The latest news from Aden is that the walls have been raised and strengthened and that large quantities of artillery have been received there from Malique Az, the captain of Diu, who thinks that I know nothing about it.”

The Portuguese continued to seek permission for building a fort in Diu, to no avail,<sup>35</sup> but Albuquerque remained determined to do it. In a subsequent letter to the King,<sup>36</sup> dated 25th October 1514, he wrote:

“I am of opinion that Melique Az will either surrender the revenues of Diu to your Majesty or grant us permission to erect a fortress there. Melique Az sent me the accompanying jewel, which is a royal sceptre of India. I accepted it as a good omen on account of its shape.”

This was not to be the case. In Portugal Albuquerque's adversaries were undermining his

position, and in Goa he was suffering from an illness which made him unable to carry out his plan against Malik Ayāz. Finally on Monday 16th December 1515 he died in Goa, never able to build the fort.<sup>37</sup>

The ailing Albuquerque's relationship with the court of Gujarat is best described in an account of Jeronimo Osorio:<sup>38</sup>

“As Albuquerque sailed along the coast of India (sailing by the waters of Diu on his way from Hurmuz to Goa), a little vessel made towards his ship. Aboard of this there was a messenger with letters to him from Dio, wrote by Cide Alles, and Ismael's ambassador [sic.]. By these he was advised, ‘that Soarez Alvarenga was sent by Emmanuel to be his successor, and, he himself ordered to return to Portugal. This they thought was most scandalous treatment; and at the same time, assured him, that their royal masters were ready to give him all the assistance in their power to prevent such an indignity’. Albuquerque returned them thanks, but disdained their offer. He was, however, not a little affected with the news; for he saw plainly, that his disgrace was brought about by the malice and detraction of his enemies: ... As he proceeded on his voyage, his illness daily increased [sic.]. in the mean while he wrote a short letter to Emmanuel, in these words: ‘I now write you this last letter, fetching my breath with difficulty, and with all the symptoms of inevitable death upon me. I have an only son; him I recommend to your majesty, hoping that, in consideration of my services, you will take him under your royal protection and favour. What I have done for your honour and interest, the deeds themselves will testify’.”

The name Cide Alles may be Sayyid Ilyās. One of Malik Ayāz's sons was called Ilyās but the family were not Sayyids. ‘Ismael's ambassador’ is likely

31 Dalboquerque, IV, pp. 59–60; Danvers, I, pp. 276–7; Arquivo, II, ii, p. 407.

32 Dalboquerque, IV, pp. 98–102.

33 Correa, II, Part I, 322–4, 353–4; Danvers, I, p. 307.

34 Danvers, I, p. 301.

35 Dalboquerque, IV, pp. 75–8, 98–108; Danvers, I, pp. 287, 293–5.

36 Danvers, I, p. 307.

37 Dalboquerque, IV, p. 196.

38 Jerome Osorio, *the History of the Portuguese, during the Reign of Emmanuel*, tr. James Gibbs, II (Book 10), London, 1752, pp. 195–6.

to be the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl's ambassador to the Gujarat Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh's court. The ambassador was Yādīgār Beg Qizilbāsh who arrived in Gujarat just when Maḥmūd Baigara died.<sup>39</sup> He was a member of the well-known Safavid Royal Guard, known as the 'red heads' (*qizilbāsh*), on account of their red caps made of 12 segments representing the twelve Shi'ite Imams. Osorio's passage clearly indicates that the Persian and Gujarat courts not only had detailed information about Portuguese affairs, but that the two sultans, mainly Muẓaffar Shāh – on whose water Albuquerque was sailing – also offered him protection when his adversaries were undermining him. The reason that Albuquerque did not accept the offer may have been that he knew that he would die before his adversaries could take any serious action.

In the course of expansion of Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean, in 1520 King Manoel instructed the new Viceroy, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (appointed 1518), to build forts in the Moluccas, Sumatra, the Maldevs, Chaul and Diu.<sup>40</sup> De Sequeira sailed to Diu and visited Malik Ayāz himself, but again the request was declined. De Sequeira went to Cochin and prepared an armada of forty-eight vessels with 3,000 Portuguese and 800 natives, but when he appeared before Diu, to his surprise found the town to be well defended, and was advised by his captains against attacking it. Later he returned to Diu and blockaded the port, but Malik Ayāz engaged his navy, sinking one of the Portuguese ships and damaging all the others. As a result, petitions against de Sequeira were sent to Portugal, and on 22nd December 1521 the disgraced viceroy was removed from his post, and was replaced by Dom Duarte de Menezes (Governor, 1522–4).<sup>41</sup>

In spite of hostilities, it seems that the Portuguese were still permitted to use the port facilities at Diu for commerce and peaceful landing, and on his way from Hurmuz to Cochin the

new governor passed through the port. Internal administrative problems forced the Portuguese to postpone their plans for Diu for over two years. Duarte de Menezes was dismissed from his post when he was found to be accumulating wealth for himself, and was replaced by Dom Vasco da Gama who soon after his arrival to India fell ill and died.<sup>42</sup> By this time Malik Ayāz had also died. The *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*<sup>43</sup> records that he died in 926/1519–20 during the reign of Sultan Muẓaffar II (1511–26), while Firishta<sup>44</sup> and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*<sup>45</sup> give the date a year later. The *Zafar al-wāliḥ*,<sup>46</sup> however, gives the date as 928/1521–2. This is the most probable date as when in 1520 de Sequeira visited Diu and in his subsequent failed naval attack on the town Malik Ayāz was still alive. The *Zafar al-wāliḥ* also mentions that he died in Junagadh and that his body was taken to the village of Una and buried next to the tomb of his spiritual guide Quṭb al-Ārifīn Maulāna Shāh Shams al-dīn (Plate 2.4). Una is now a sizable town situated a few miles to the north-east of Diu, and north of the fishing port of Dilwāra (Dilwada). From the size of its fourteenth or fifteenth century Jāmi' mosque it appears that at least since the fourteenth century Una was a significant town, comparable in size to the town of Diu. After the Portuguese take-over of Diu, Una emerged as a new administrative town for the locality, with Dilwāra as its small fishing port with some local import and export traffic.

The Portuguese accounts give one Malique Saca (probably Malik Shujā') as the governor of Diu after the death of Ayāz and note that he was a son of Malik Ayāz.<sup>47</sup> At this time a personage known as Shujā' Khān was a courtier of Bahādur Shāh, and was later killed together with the sultan in Diu, but he was not a son of Malik Ayāz and the Muslim records do not mention him as governor of the

39 Firishta, II, p. 205.

40 Correa, II, Part II, pp. 604–5.

41 Correa, II, Part II, 671–3; Danvers, I, pp. 348, 351–2.

42 Danvers, I, pp. 359, 371, 374, 379.

43 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 165, 203.

44 Firishta, II, pp. 210–11.

45 *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, pp. 187–192.

46 *Zafar al-wāliḥ*, I, p. 116.

47 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 408.



PLATE 2.4 Una, the shrine of Maulāna Shāh Shams al-dīn where Malik Ayāz is recorded to have been buried. The shrine is on the road to Dilwāra and only a few miles from Diu island. The structure with a domed square chamber surrounded by an arcade is traditional for Gujarat, but the extra bay at the left side of the photograph is a later addition. The turrets at the corners of the building signify the extent of the original building.

town. From these sources it is not clear who took the place of Ayāz. From the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*<sup>48</sup> it appears that in addition to the governorship of Diu, Malik Ayāz was also in charge of the region of Surat, which may have comprised not only the town of Surat, but also the entire province of Saurashtra. When he died, his position was given to his oldest son Changīz Khān Ishāq. However, it seems that at first Ilyās and Ṭaughān, the other two sons of Malik Ayāz, were in charge of Diu, while Ishāq remained in Surat. In 933/1526–7 Ishāq rebelled against the new sultan, Bahādur Shāh, and attacked Diu.<sup>49</sup> The sultan retaliated and forced him to escape towards the Ran of Katchh (Kutch), an arid region north of Saurashtra. Later in the same year the sultan came to Diu and stayed there for over a month, during which time he gave the governorship of the town to one of his nobles, Qawām al-Mulk. A year later Qawām al-Mulk

captured a Portuguese ship, and Bahādur Shāh went to Diu to see the prisoners, and forced some of them to accept Islam.<sup>50</sup> Bahādur Shāh frequently visited Diu, buying imported goods, and on one of his visits, in Muḥarram 937/September 1530, put Malik Ṭaughān (Melique Tocão or Tacom of Portuguese sources) in charge of the town.<sup>51</sup> Eventually all three sons of Malik Ayāz lost favour at court and were put to death by the sultan.<sup>52</sup>

How far the Portuguese were aware of the power vacuum in Diu and the precarious state of affairs at the court of Gujarat with regard to their neighbours is not certain, but in spite of the unstable conditions in Diu the Portuguese did not seem to have any appetite for renewing hostilities for several years, preferring to maintain trade with Gujarat. When Malik Ṭaughān was left in charge of Diu the Portuguese felt the time had come to draw

48 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, p. 203; also see: *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, p. 192.

49 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 265–6.

50 *Firishta*, II, p. 216.

51 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 267–8, 274.

52 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 164–5; also see Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, pp. 54–5.

up a massive campaign to take over the town, and in 1531 Nuno da Cunha (Governor 1529–38) prepared an unusually massive fleet of fourteen galleons and over 400 large ships and locally-made small vessels with over 5,000 Portuguese, 2,000 local people and 8,000 slaves on board, capturing on the way the port of Daman and a small town in the Shiāl Bet Island about 38 miles (58 kilometres) to the north-east of Diu.<sup>53</sup>

On 16 February 1531 the Portuguese armada attacked Diu by bombarding its fortifications, but the town was defended by about 10,000 men and heavy artillery, and the channel around the north of the island was protected by chains suspended between vessels, as well as being defended by archers and musketeers.<sup>54</sup> The Portuguese bombardment did not cause sufficient damage to Diu's fortifications and on 1 March, fearing formidable losses in a land battle, the Portuguese abandoned the siege and dispatched a small number of ships to enter the Bay of Cambay and cause damage to whatever they could find on their way.<sup>55</sup> During the next few years the Portuguese seem to have concluded that their aspirations of building a fort at Diu were unrealisable as, unlike other regions of India where shipping was mainly in the hand of traders, Gujarat was the only sultanate with a substantial naval force and a long-standing maritime tradition.

The fate of Diu was to take a different course when the newly established Mughal power in North India turned its attention toward Gujarat. In 941/1534–35 Humāyūn advanced towards Gujarat and early in 942 took over Champanir, Cambay and the capital Ahmadabad.<sup>56</sup> Bahādur

Shāh retreated to Diu, and on the advice of his celebrated courtier Khwāja Šafar sent a delegation to Martim Afonso de Sousa<sup>57</sup> at Chaul seeking his help in return for permission to build a fort in Diu. De Sousa sent a message to Nuno da Cunha and went to Diu, where on 25 October 1535 he speedily settled the terms of the agreement,<sup>58</sup> according to which Bassein (Bacaim, Vasai) was to be surrendered to the Portuguese, and in Diu a fort was to be constructed and a bulwark on the sea handed over to the Portuguese.<sup>59</sup> However, the Portuguese did accept that they should not interfere with the sultan's revenues at Diu. A fort was then built without delay with Manoel de Sousa as its first captain, and in recompense the Portuguese helped the sultan recover some of the lost territories, including the town of Varivene (probably Veraval). The *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*<sup>60</sup> mentions that the Portuguese asked

57 Martim Afonso de Sousa who first served as the commander of the Portuguese forces in Brazil was at this time Admiral of the Indian Ocean (*almirante del Mar de la India*) aiding Nuno da Cunha. Matrim Afonso was later appointed Governor of India (1542–5).

58 Barros, *Decada IV*, Book IX, folio 170, 176–81; *Decada V*, Book I, folio 2–3; Diogo do Couto, *Decada V*, Book I, folio 2; Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, pp. 49–50; Danvers, I, pp. 416–17; also see Arquivo, II, ii, pp. 410–19 which gives the text of the agreement.

59 Arquivo, II, ii, p. 416: *Item o soltão badur he contente de dar a elRey de Portugall hua fortaleza em dio, em qualquer lugar que o guovernador nuno da cunha quiser, da banda dos baluartes do maar e da terra, da grandura que lhe bem parecer; e e asy o baluarte do maar.*

60 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, p. 320:

چون سلطان بهادر از گردش ایام نا فرجام ... در بندر دیو در آمد  
فرنگیان اظهار خدمتکاری می نمودند ... روزی بعرض رسانیدند که  
سوداگران ما که در دیو می آیند متاع ایشان پراکنده فرود می آید اگر  
سلطان موازی یک پوست گاو زمین در این جزیره عنایت فرمایند چهار  
دیواری بسازیم تا اموال خود را در آنجا فرود آورده از بار تفرقه خاطر  
جمع گردانیم سلطان قبول فرمود بعد از آنکه سلطان از دیو متوجه دفع  
غنیم شد دراین فرصت فرنگیان پوست گاو را تسمه بریده باندازه آن  
زمین احاطه کرده قلعه سنگین مستحکم برآورده توپ و تفنگ چیده  
اندرون وی نشستند.

“When at the turn of the wheel of fortune ... Sultan Bahādur came to the port of Div, the Firangis came as suppliants for his help. ... One day they pleaded “When our traders land in Div, their unloaded goods remain dispersed. If the Sultan were to bestow on us some land equal to the extent of a cow's hide on this island,

53 The Shiāl island (20° 55' N, 71° 31' E) is located at about 2.5 miles into the sea at the mouth of the Dnāntrāvārdi River and is protected by a rocky reef. Close to the eastern tip of the island is the smaller Savāi Bet Island. See: *Map of Diu region*, US Army Map Service, Washington DC, 1968, map no. NF42-16.

54 Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, 29–31; Barros, *Decada IV*, Book VII, folios 124–8.

55 Arquivo, II, ii, pp. 409–10; Danvers I, pp. 400–402.

56 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 313–17; Firishta, II, p. 223.

for a piece of land the boundaries of which could fit within a cowhide, and when the sultan agreed they cut a hide into thin strings and laid them on the land, marking the border of their fort. Here they built a massive stone fort armed with cannon and rifles. However, the *Zafar al-wālih*<sup>61</sup> disputes the tale and mentions that the story relates to the Portuguese fort at Hurmuz. The author relates that in the case of Diu he met some elderly people who had been with Sultan Bahādur when he gave permission for the construction of the fort, and they did not confirm that such an arrangement was ever made. The swindle is a well-known ancient myth related to Dido,<sup>62</sup> the legendary founder and the first Queen of Carthage, who, when fleeing from her brother Pygmalion, the King of Tyre, arrived on the coasts of North Africa and asked the local ruler for a piece of land to fit within a cowhide and applied the trick. It is not known how this ancient Greco-Roman legend could have entered the Indian histories, perhaps by the Portuguese themselves, but it could also be a distorted resonance of the shape of the plan of Diu's fort. Laid on a rough

pentagonal outline; the plan does indeed resemble a colossal cowhide.

The 'bulwark on the sea' which was handed over to the Portuguese was a free-standing tower, originally known as Sānkāl Kuth (the Chain Tower), built by Malik Ayāz in the middle of the water between Diu and the mainland, controlling entry to the harbour by a chain which could be lowered for ships to pass.<sup>63</sup> The surrender of this feature meant that Bahādur Shāh gave away control of his beloved port, leaving his marine traffic at the mercy of the Portuguese. A bastion on the water still stands on its site and is now known as Panikotha or Forte do Mar (Plate 3.43). Although it has been reconstructed by the Portuguese, it may have preserved in its core parts of the earlier Muslim structure.

The campaign tent of Martim Afonso de Sousa has survived and is preserved in the Museo del Ejército at Toledo.<sup>64</sup> Apart from de Sousa's Coat of Arms and a few medallions on the inner and outer walls of the tent embroidered with the images of Portuguese vessels, the weave of the textile and the north-Indian decorative patterns indicate that it may have been made in Gujarat, and perhaps even in Diu. The entrances in the form of Islamic doors and openings with pointed arches also confirm its Indian origin. It may be suggested that it was originally a Muslim tent later adapted for the use of Martim Afonso, but the embroidered representation of various Portuguese vessels seems to be integral to the fabric signifying that the tent may have been made in its present form for its Portuguese patron. The tent might have been used

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we would build an enclosure within four walls, so that we could unload our goods there and be free of anxiety". The Sultan graciously consented. Then, when the Sultan left Div to turn his attention toward his adversaries, the Firangis seized the opportunity of taking a cow's hide and cutting it into thin strips to enclose land according to its extent, and built a strong stone fort, mounted it with cannons and guns and settled in it" (Authors translation).

61 *Zafar al-wālih*, 1, pp. 251–3:

و اما طلب مكان بقدر جلد الثور فلم يذكره احد من المعتمرين الذين كانوا مع بهادر في الديو و ما ذكروه نقلته في تاريخي هذا كما سيقف طالبه عليه و قصة جلد الثور مذكورة للفرنج مع صاحب هرمز.

Also see Danvers, 1, pp. 406–8, 417–18.

62 Virgil, *the Aeneids of Virgil*, tr. to English verse by William Morris, London, 1876, (Book 1, lines 340–70), pp. 14–15. What the ingenious Dido had allegedly carried out was based on the ancient Greek Isoperimetric theorem (equal perimeter formula) which states that of all the plane figures with the same perimeter, the circle has the largest area. The theorem is sometimes referred to as 'Dido's Problem'. See David Wells, *the Penguin Dictionary of Curious and Interesting Geometry*, London, 1991, pp. 122–4.

63 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 162–3. The feature is discussed in Chapter 3.

64 Susana García Ramírez, 'La Tienda de Campaña del Museo del Ejército: Espacios y Tiempos', in *Tesoros del Museo del Ejército*, ed. Ollero y Ramos, Ministerio de Defensa, Second ed. 2007, pp. 11–36. We are indebted to Dr Peter Alford Andrews who provided us with a PDF copy of the paper which includes good colour images of the tent and its decorations. Many other images of the tent, often referred to as 'the Tent of Carlos V' are also available on the internet.

by Martim Afonso while he was in Diu during the early stages of the construction of the fort.

In Diu, the earliest archaeological evidence relating to this period are two inscribed cannons, both dating from 1533, one Portuguese, known as the Tiger and bearing the name of Nuno da Cunha;<sup>65</sup> and the other with an inscription of Bahādur Shāh.<sup>66</sup> Neither of these pieces of artillery could be found on site, but that of Bahādur Shāh may be the same of the exploded specimen already illustrated (Plate 2.3).

The personage Khwāja Şafar, immortalised as Coge Çofar in the Portuguese sources, was a Turkish slave<sup>67</sup> in the court of Bahādur Shāh, who, through his unconditional loyalty to the sultans of Gujarat, was elevated in the court to the rank of Grand Emir (*al-amīr al-kabīr*)<sup>68</sup> and given the title of Khudāwand Khān, by Bahādur Shāh's successor Maḥmūd. Unusually, the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*<sup>69</sup> mentions him only on one occasion, as Khudāwand Khān Rūmī<sup>70</sup> and not as a courtier of Bahādur Shāh, but as governor of Surat at the time of Maḥmūd III. The *Ẓafar al-wālih*<sup>71</sup> gives a more extensive account of Khudāwand Khān Rūmī and mentions that he was called Khwāja Şafar Salmānī and was a deputy (*wakīl*) of Muşţafā Rūmī Khān (not to be confused with Şafar's son, who betrayed the sultan and went over to the Mughal camp).<sup>72</sup> At the time Şafar was in charge of Diu, but he remained loyal to the sultan and was given the

governorship of Diu, Surat and other towns previously under Rūmī Khān. He kept his base in Diu and helped the sultan in his struggle against the Emperor Humāyūn. Throughout the period of his governorship and until his death he sought a courteous – and guarded – relationship with the Portuguese, but at the time of conflict fought them valiantly and eventually lost his life in battle.

Events soon took another twist, when Shīr Khān Sūrī rebelled against Humāyūn. The emperor was forced to leave Gujarat to engage in a long and fruitless struggle with Shīr Khān, who eventually forced Humāyūn to flee to the Safavid court of Persia, and took the throne of Delhi as Shīr Shāh. Sultan Bahādur regained control over Gujarat with little confrontation and soon regretted his treaty with the Portuguese<sup>73</sup> and, therefore, ordered a wall to be built between the Portuguese fort and the Muslim town.<sup>74</sup> However, this caused contention and he had to abandon the project.<sup>75</sup> He also sent ambassadors to the Ottoman emperor, Sulaimān (Suleimān I, 1520–1566), asking for assistance to repel the Portuguese, and the emperor, eager to re-establish his naval power on the Indian Ocean ordered his *mamlūk* governor of Cairo, Sulaimān Pāshā, to prepare a fleet and attack the Portuguese in Diu.<sup>76</sup> However, before the fleet was ready to sail, on 3 Ramaḍān 943/13 February 1537 the repressed mistrust between Bahādur Shāh and the Portuguese came to a dramatic climax when the sultan, against the advice of Khwāja Şafar, his governor of Diu, accepted the invitation of the Portuguese Admiral, Nuno da Cunha to visit him in his vessel; but after boarding the Governor's ship, the sultan realised that he had fallen into a trap. He tried to return to his own boat, but was wounded by a Portuguese spear, fell into the water and died (Plate 2.5).<sup>77</sup>

65 Appendix, Inscription no. 2.

66 Appendix, Inscription no. 3.

67 *Ẓafar al-wālih*, I, p. 217.

68 *Ẓafar al-wālih*, I, p. 266.

69 *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 360–61, and again (p. 633) mentions that after his death his position was given to his son Rūmī Khān. On the event of the death of Bahādur Shāh the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* (pp. 321–2) lists the courtiers who followed the sultan to Nino da Cunha's banquet, but omits Khwāja Şafar and mentions that all of the courtiers were killed together with the sultan. Other sources, mentioned below, record that he did accompany the sultan, but survived the onslaught.

70 A name or nickname for people of Turkish or Anatolian origin.

71 *Ẓafar al-wālih*, I, pp. 219, 243, 258.

72 *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*, p. 308.

73 *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*, p. 319; Lopo de Sousa Countinho, pp. 68–9.

74 Diogo do Couto, *Decada v*, Book I, folios 20–21.

75 Danvers I, p. 408.

76 Barros, *Decada v*, Book II, folios 45–6; Danvers, I, pp. 425–7.

77 *Ẓafar al-wālih*, I, p. 262; *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 320–22; Zain al-dīn, Arabic pp. 59–60; tr. pp. 137–9; *Ṭabaqāt-i*



PLATE 2.5 Bahādur Shāh drowning in the sea surrounded by Portuguese boats, from a late sixteenth century manuscript of the *Akbar nāma* probably made in Lahore, Pakistan.

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The death of Bahādur Shah did not immediately change the balance of power in Diu. Khwāja Ṣafar, who was in the entourage of the sultan at the time of his slaughter, jumped into the water and swam to the safety of his town.<sup>78</sup> Nuno da Cunha had some

*Akbarī*, III, pp. 233–4; Firishta, II, p. 224; Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, pp. 73–80; Correa, III, Part II, pp. 779–82; Danvers, I, pp. 418–19.

78 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, pp. 260–1. The *Akbar nāma*, I, pp. 145–6: mentions that the person who fell into the water and swam ashore was Rūmī Khān, who might be presumed to be Khwāja Ṣafar's son, but elsewhere the *Akbar nāma* (I, p. 142) clarifies that this Rūmī Khān was Ṣafar himself (رومی خان که صفر نام داشت). As the title of the Khwāja was Khudāwand Khān Rūmī, he is also occasionally, and particularly in later records, referred to as Rūmī Khān. The *Akbar nāma* also gives the rumour current at the time of Akbar according to which Bahādur Shāh did not die, but escaped to the Deccan:

بعضی میگفتند [سلطان بهادر] سری بر آورده بساحل نجات افتاد و بعد از آن در گجرات و دکن هر چندگاه آوازه ظهور او در میان مردم می افتاد چنانچه یکبار در دکن شخصی پیدا شد و نظام الملک قبول کرد که اوست و با او چوگان باخت و ازدحام برگرد او شد. ازین هجوم نظام الملک ملاحظه نموده قصد او کرد و همان شب از سرایرده او غایب شد. مردم جزم کردند که نظام الملک او را ضایع ساخت. روزی میر ابو تراب که از اکابر گجراتست نقل کرد که ملا قطب الدین شیرازی که نسبت استادی بسطان بهادر داشت در آن ایام در دکن بود بقسم میگفت که بیقین سلطان بهادر بود. بعضی سخنان که در میان من و او گذشته بود و غیر از او کس نمیدانست مذکور ساختم و نشانها درست آمد. در وسعت آباد قدرت ایزدی وقوع امثال این امور محال نتوان گفت.

“Some used to say that he [Bahādur] came to the surface and reached the shore in safety. And subsequently there were reports in Gujarat and the Deccan of his having been seen by people. For instance, on one occasion a person appeared in the Deccan whom the Nizām al-Mulk acknowledged, and played polo with. A crowd gathered round him, and the Nizām perceiving this resolved to put him to death. On that same night he disappeared from his tent, and people concluded that the Nizām had destroyed him. One day Mīr Abū Turāb who is one of the Gujarat grandees, related that Mullā Qutb al-dīn Shīrāzī who was Sultan Bahādur's preceptor, was at that time in the Deccan and that he took an oath that the man was certainly Sultan Bahādur, and that he had spoken to him of certain matters only known to themselves, and had received intelligent replies. It cannot be said that in the wide kingdom of God's power such things are impossible.”

Translation (with slight modification) from the *Akbar nāma*, tr. H. Beveridge, I, Calcutta, 1907, p. 324.

respect for the Khwāja and was of the opinion that he might be able to come to some accommodation with him, but when Bahādur's grandson Maḥmūd (often referred to as Maḥmūd III, 1537–1554) came to the throne the Khwāja affirmed his alliance to the sultan. With the Ottoman fleet of seventy ships and seven thousand armed men on the way, further conflict seemed to be brewing on the horizon. An inscribed cannon<sup>79</sup> recording that it was cast – presumably in Diu – by the order of Governor Nuno da Cunha in 1537, indicates that the Governor was preparing for the upcoming confrontation which the Portuguese sources refer to as the ‘First Siege’ of Diu and is commemorated in Lopo de Sousa Coutinho's *Historia do Cerco de Diu*,<sup>80</sup> but about which the Indian historians are relatively dismissive,<sup>81</sup> perhaps because while the Turks were their allies the conflict was regarded mainly as a power struggle between the Portuguese and the Ottomans.<sup>82</sup>

The Nizām al-mulk mentioned here is the Deccan Sultan Burhān Nizām Shāh (1509–1553) who in 935/1528–9 supported Bahādur Shāh in his Deccan campaign and in return Bahādur installed him as sultan in Ahmadnagar. See Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, Calcutta, 1935, p. 68; also see Danvers, I, pp. 426–41, 474–6.

79 Appendix, Inscription no. 4.

80 The Second Book (from p. 97 on) gives a long and detailed accounts of the events; also see Correa, II, ii, pp. 837–41, 849–60, 883–97; Diogo do Couto, *Decada v*, Book III, folios 71–2, Book IV, folios 73–83. The resonance of the first and second sieges of Diu may have reaffirmed in the West the Portuguese – and by extension the European – concept of their supremacy over other nations. See Everton V. Machado, ‘Hyperidentity and Orientalism: the case of the sieges of Diu in Portuguese texts’, *South Asian Studies*, xxxiv, i (2018), pp. 6–16.

81 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ* I, pp. 266–7; the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, does not mention this episode at all.

82 This matter is confirmed by the South Indian historian Zain al-dīn who, in this particular Turko-Portuguese conflict, does not mention Khwāja Ṣafar or the forces of Gujarat:

و قد وصل في تلك السنة سليمان باشه وزير السلطان سليمان شاه المذكور في استعداد عظيم تام في نحو مائة من الغربان و البشران و غيرهما الى بندر عدن ... ثم وصل الى جزرات فشرع في حرب ديو و كسر اكثر القلعة بالمدافع العظام السلطانية ثم القى الله هيبه الافرنج

Sulaimān Pāshā's fleet arrived early in September of 1538 and the alliance between the Gujarat sultan and the Ottoman forces was announced in the '*alcorão de Diu*'<sup>83</sup> a reference probably to a minaret or more likely to the Karao Jāmi' Mosque.<sup>84</sup>

The siege lasted for over two months and the forces of Khwāja Šafar and Sulaimān Pāshā inflicted heavy casualties on the Portuguese garrison and caused substantial damage to the fort, but on 5 November, after receiving a letter that the recently appointed Portuguese viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha (1538–42), was arriving with a large fleet, Sulaimān Pāshā abandoned the siege and sailed away. The letter was apparently written by Khwāja Šafar, who found his allies domineering and arrogant and considered that dealing with the old foes might be less complicated than with the Ottomans, should they take over Diu.<sup>85</sup> Early in 1539 the viceroy arrived in Diu. After the departure of the Turks, Antonio da Silveira,

في قلب سليمان باشه فرجع من غير فتح الى مصر ثم الى الروم و ذلك ما قدر الله سبحانه امتحاناً لعباده ثم ان الافرنج اصلحوا المنكسر من القلعة و احكموها احكاماً بليغاً تاماً.

"And in this year Sulaimān Pāshā, the vizier of the already noted Sultan Sulaimān Shāh, well-prepared with about 100 ships, caravels and other types (of vessels) sailed to the port of Aden ... then towards Gujarat and began attacking Diu destroying most of the fort with colossal royal cannons. Then God burdened Sulaimān Pāshā's heart with a fear of the *firangs* (Portuguese). He returned to Egypt and then to Rūm (Turkey) without taking over (the fort), and that is how the design of God, praise be with Him, is in testing his servants. Then the *firangs* repaired the damage to the fort and consolidated their authority effectively (and) totally."

See Zain al-dīn, *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī ba'd aḥwāl al-purtakālīyīn*, Arabic text in David Lopes, *Historia Portugueses no Malabar*, Lisbon, 1898, p. 61 (our translation). For another translation, excessively elaborating on the simple and straight forward Arabic text, see *Toḥfut-ul-Mujahideen, an historical work in the Arabic language*, tr. by M.J. Rowlandson. London, 1833, pp. 142–4.

83 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 423 quoting Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portuguezes*, Book 8, Chapter 193.

84 The main mosque of Diu discussed in Chapter 4.

85 Danvers, I, p. 429.

the Captain of Diu who valiantly defended the fort, retired from his post and the Viceroy delivered the command of the fort to Diogo Lopes de Sousa who was appointed by the king as the next Captain of Diu, and ordered the fortification to be repaired.<sup>86</sup> He also approached Khwāja Šafar, who was residing in Malik Ayāz's mansion in the town and agreed to a peace treaty drawn up much in favour of the Khwāja. According to the treaty, signed on 6 Shawwāl 945/25 February 1539,<sup>87</sup> two thirds of the revenues from the port, besides those from the farms of the island, were to be allocated to the treasury of the sultan and one third to the Portuguese. The viceroy also agreed that a wall could be constructed between the sultan's and the Portuguese territories,<sup>88</sup> and the two smaller forts erected earlier on the island by the Portuguese and which had been destroyed during the siege should not be rebuilt.<sup>89</sup>

A long-standing truce seemed to have finally been achieved. In the following years the Portuguese continued to repair and reinforce their fort, recorded in a number of surviving inscriptions: two from 1542 recording the construction of St George's Tower by Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda (Captain of Diu 1542–5), and the Misericórdia by Dom Bernaldim da Silva, tutor of the King. Two other inscriptions of Manoel de Sousa come from the main gate of the fort and the old cathedral in the fort dating from 1544, and another dating from 1545 recording the construction of St Nicholas's

86 Correa, IV, i, p. 73.

87 Danvers, I, p. 436. The date is given as 6th Shawwāl 945/26th February 1539, but the Hījri date actually corresponds with 25th February. This date is not given in the *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, the *Mir'āt-i Sikandari* or Zain al-dīn.

88 This would be the same wall that Bahādur Shāh had planned to build before his death and was seemingly constructed soon after the treaty. It was apparently a fortified wall opposite the Portuguese fort giving the Gujarat forces a vantage point for bombarding it in case of future hostilities, but in later dates, when the Portuguese were in control, it was demolished to its foundations and no trace of it exists today.

89 Danvers, pp. 436–7.

Tower.<sup>90</sup> While the truce was maintained Manoel de Sousa, wary of the massively fortified wall that the Khwāja was building between the town and the Portuguese fort, dispersed the builders and brought down the wall. This made the Gujarat court furious, but no serious action was taken.<sup>91</sup>

The Muslim townspeople also seemed able to continue with their normal life as indicated in a Persian inscription<sup>92</sup> dating from this period of peace. Very few Muslim inscriptions have been found in Diu, but a fragmentary bilingual epigraph in Persian and Devanāgarī, has survived which seems to be dated 5 Šafar (?) 949/17 May–14 June 1542, recording an endowment for the maintenance of a mosque and for the expenses of its *imām* and its *mu’adhdhin* (caller to prayer). Nothing is known about the location of the mosque or the endowed property, but the inscription signifies that the donor felt that the political condition of the island was sufficiently settled that a long-term commitment could be made.

The dates of these inscriptions fall to the governorship of Dom Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542–5) who we have seen in his earlier voyage as *almirante del Mar de la India*. He was instrumental in building the fort of Diu almost immediately after signing the treaty with Bahādur Shah, that he regretted ever after. Dom Martim’s second voyage as Governor coincides with the arrival of St Francis Xavier,<sup>93</sup> who travelled in one of the ships of his fleet. He eventually spread the Jesuit

order in India, including in Diu. The monastery of St Francis Xavier in Diu no longer stands, but is shown in a nineteenth-century engraving (Figure 4.14) as a substantial enclosure erected in the town not far from the fort. Today its site is occupied by a high school, but the cross (*cruzeiro*) of the monastery (Plate 4.41) apparently once in front of the entrance of its church is still preserved.

During his governorship, however, Martin Afonso never visited Diu. He was preoccupied with affairs in the Far East and the constant struggle with the ‘Adil Shāhīs who still had an eye on recovering their territories lost to the Portuguese. Tired and dissatisfied with his post he was eventually relieved when on 1 September 1545 Dom João de Castro landed in Goa as the new Governor (1545–8).

In Diu the guarded peace between the two adversaries did not last long. In 953–4/1547–9 after Maḥmūd III – who had consolidated the Gujarat sultanate once again and was confident that in Delhi Islām Shāh Surī was preoccupied with affairs of North India – launched an extensive campaign to repel the Portuguese from Diu, this time using the Gujarat forces from many districts, under the command of Khwāja Šafar. The wall that the Khwāja had rebuilt between the town and the Portuguese fort and armed with sixty cannons gave the Gujarat forces a vantage point to overlook and bombard the fort. The episode, known to the Portuguese as the ‘Second Siege’ (Plate 2.6) holds an eminent position in Portuguese colonial history and has been immortalised in an epic in verse by Jerónimo Côrte-Real<sup>94</sup> as well as being narrated at length in many other works.<sup>95</sup>

90 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 5–6 and 8–10.

91 Danvers, 1, p. 464.

92 Appendix, Inscription no. 7.

93 During the voyage Martim Afonso sent St Francis food from his own table and ordered a larger cabin to be allocated to him. St Francis is said to have shared his meals with the infirm and needy in the vessel. See Anonymous, *Life of S Francis Xavier, Apostle of India*, London, 1881, pp. 21–5; Theodore Maynard, *The Odyssey of Francis Xavier*, London – New York – Toronto, 1936, pp. 85–91; Danvers, 1, p. 458; also see Susana García Ramírez, ‘La Tienda de Campaña del Museo del Ejército: Espacios y Tiempos’, in *Tesoros del Museo del Ejército*, ed. Ollero y Ramos, Ministerio de Defensa, Second ed. 2007, p. 27 and p. 35 note 111 quoting G. Schurhammer, ‘A new life

of Saint Francis Xavier’, in *Xaveriana*, Rome – Lisbon, 1964, pp. 129–142.

94 Hieronymo (Jerónimo) Corte Real, *Sucesso do Segundo Cerco de Diu: estando do Ioham Mazcarenhas por Capitam da Fortaleza. Ano de 1456*, Lisbon, 1574 and again as *La Verdadera historia, y admirable sucesso del segundo cerco de Diu*, Alcalá de Henares, 1597.

95 A large portion of Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro, Quarto Viso-rei da India*, Lisbon, 1861, pp. 68–80, 88–206 is devoted to this event and gives



PLATE 2.6 A mid-eighteenth century imaginary scene of the Siege of Diu, copperplate published in 1747 by the Dutch engraver Jakob van der Schley (1715–79) referring apparently to an episode when the Portuguese defended the fort after part of the walls was blown up.

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The siege lasted for over eight months with great loss of life on both sides, including high-ranking figures. A significant loss to the sultan's army was the death of Khwāja Şafar who was killed in an explosion in Rabi' II 953/June 1546.<sup>96</sup> He was replaced by his son Muḥarram<sup>97</sup> who bore the title of Rūmī Khān (Rumeçao in Portuguese sources). He valiantly commanded the Gujarat army in subsequent battles, but was killed later in November of the same year.<sup>98</sup> The Portuguese also lost numerous troops<sup>99</sup> and some of their distinguished commanders, amongst them the young son of the governor Dom João de Castro, Dom Fernando, who was made commander of the troops<sup>100</sup> but was killed on 10 August 1546 and whose epitaph has survived in Diu.<sup>101</sup> Another casualty was Luis Falcão, Captain of the Fort of Hurmuz (in the Persian Gulf), who was called to service in the

battle of Diu<sup>102</sup> and was killed in a subsequent conflict by a musket shot on 30 September 1548.<sup>103</sup>

According to the Portuguese sources, Dom João de Castro's final assault was on the 10th of November 1546 when the Portuguese forces bridged the fortified Muslim wall between the fort and the town, ending with the death of Rūmī Khān and the total defeat of the Gujarat forces. The Portuguese took over the town, the sultan's standards were captured together with plenty of booty and the siege came to an end. The governor was appointed as Viceroy and earned an eternal name in Portuguese history. In the fort of Diu three inscriptions celebrate the battle and the Portuguese final conquest.<sup>104</sup> One seems to confirm that the town was also taken. Al-Makkī's account is quite different.<sup>105</sup> In the Portuguese final onslaught, where most of the sultan's commanders were killed, Jahāngīr Khān, one of the courtiers, broke out of the scene alive and reported the events to the sultan's court. The sultan elevated him to the rank of Emir and ordered that Diu (the town) should be retaken and that Portuguese vessels should be barred from entering his ports. Rajab the younger son of Khwāja Şafar was given the title of Rūmī Khān<sup>106</sup> and made the governor of Surat. The hostility between the two powers continued, not just in Diu, but in other ports of Gujarat, but according to al-Makkī in early 954/1547 Diu town was still under Gujarat control and the Portuguese – who were also involved with their own internal power struggles – apparently chose to avoid any further confrontation. The

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a vivid day to day account. For a translation see: *The Life of Dom John de Castro the Fourth Viceroy of India*, tr. Sir Peter Wyche, London, 1664, offset reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi – Madras, 1994, Book II, pp. 53–64, 70–166. The siege is also recorded in other Portuguese sources, including do Couto, *Decada VI*, Book I, pp. 620–33, Book II, pp. 634–45 (the conflict in 1546); *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, pp. 274–83; also see Danvers, I, pp. 468–77; Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, p. 115, tr. pp. 92–3.

96 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, pp. 276, 283; *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 428–9 gives the date as 24th June.

97 Rūmī Khān's name is not usually given in any of the sources, but appears once in *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ* (I, p. 272) as Muḥarram. It may be noted that in the Muslim calendar Muḥarram is the first month of the year, followed by the month of Şafar. The Khwāja's younger son was called Rajab, the name of the seventh month in the Muslim calendar.

98 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, p. 282.

99 Correa, IV, Part II, p. 500.

100 Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro, Quarto Viso-rei da Índia*, Lisboa, 1861, pp. 95–6 (appointed commander), 151, 160 (killed); tr. pp. 76–7 (appointed commander), 122, 130 (killed); *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 429–30. Also see do Couto, *Decada VI*, Book I, (Chapter 7), p. 624.

101 Appendix, Inscription no. 14. Also see Correa, IV, ii, p. 526.

102 Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, *op. cit.*, p. 292–3; tr. pp. 233–4.

103 His epitaph in Diu has not survived, but has been reported by Cunha Rivara who gives the date of his death as 30 September 1548. See Appendix, Inscription no. 16. Also see Correa IV, ii, pp. 668–9.

104 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 11, 12. This decisive event is better presented in inscription no. 13; undated, but c. 1546 fragmentary inscription of King Dom João III (1521–1557) concerning the 'subjugation of this territory' (i.e. Diu).

105 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, pp. 282–3.

106 *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, I, p. 276.

viceroys at Goa sent an ambassador to the court of Gujarat with gold and other presents with the aim of achieving a lasting peace.<sup>107</sup>

“The Sultan ... felt confident about the peace with the Firangs (the Portuguese) and also with regard to Delhi. So he gave an audience to the Ambassador (*wakīl*) and received his presents, and they agreed on a peace treaty according to which the port should belong to the sultan and the Firangis should not enter the Royal vessels and other property. The fort should belong to them (the Portuguese), as well as half of the ten per-cent tax from the merchant vessels, and at times of need the population of the fort should be under the command of the Governor of the port. He (the sultan) armed Nāṣir Ḥabash Khān and appointed him governor (*amīr*) of Diu ... He was the chief of the police (*sharṭa*) and was famous for his guardianship and good conduct. In Diu all the Firangis and others acknowledged his justice. During his time Diu prospered and its residents lived in safety. There was a force of about six thousand aliens (Portuguese) there, all well prepared and well equipped, and he (the Governor) had four thousand men under his command. In the port about a hundred sea-going vessels were anchored (at any time), and during his governorship the port prospered to such an extent that, according to some of the residents, every day over five hundred slaves of the merchants queued at the butchers’ shops to buy meat. Such it was with everything else.”

107 *Zafar al-wāliḥ*, 1, pp. 286–7:

السلطان ... جمع الخاطر أولاً من جانب الفرنج بالصلح ثم نظر فيما يكون من جانب دهلي و على هذا حضر الوكيل بالهدية و اتفق الصلح على ان يكون البندر للسلطان و لا دخل للفرنج في مراكب السلطنة و متعلقاتها و القلعة لهم و هكذا نصف العشور من مراكب المتجر و عند الحاجة يكون اهل القلعة في حكم امير البندر ثم تجهز ناصر حبش خان اميرا الى الديو و كان باحمداباد صاحب الشرطة و اشتهر فيها بالضبط و حسن السياسة و هكذا في الديو كانت له سياسة اذعن لها الفرنج و غيرهم و عمرت الديو في ايامه و امن اهلها و اجتمع عليه من الحشم الغريب ستة آلاف في غاية من الاستعداد و القوة و يحضرموكبه من الخيل اربعة آلاف و اجتمع في البندر من الخشب السفرية ما يقارب المائة و من امارة عمارة البندر ما حكاها بعض سكانها انه كان يقف بالمجزرة في كل شارفة من عبيد التجار لشراء اللحم ما يزيد على خمس مائة و قس عليه الباقي و اتسع العمار

During the governorship of Nāṣir Ḥabash Khān there was a balance of power in Diu, and while the Portuguese force was stronger than that of the Muslim governor, he could, of course, rely on immediate reinforcements, while additional Portuguese forces would have had to be brought by ship from some distance. Nevertheless, both sides seem to have benefited from a period of peace and the prosperity brought by the port’s maritime trade. The peace also provided an opportunity for the Portuguese to rebuild and reinforce the fort as appears from a number of inscriptions of this period.<sup>108</sup>

## 2.1 Portuguese Control of the Whole Island

The *Mir’āt-i Sikandari*,<sup>109</sup> records that the control of Gujarat over the port diminished soon after the death of Sultan Maḥmūd in 961/1553–4. Eventually the town, the port and the whole island were taken by the Portuguese, apparently at the time when the Gujarat sultanate, threatened by the Mughals, was in disarray. By 1570 – two years prior to Akbar annexing Gujarat to his empire – the town was entirely in the hands of the Portuguese, the wall between the town and the fort had been demolished and the Portuguese set about fortifying the entire town which according to a number of surviving inscriptions commenced in this year and took more than five years to complete.<sup>110</sup> The Portuguese also expanded their territory outside the island to a strip of the extreme south coast of Saurashtra and the village of Ghoghla opposite Diu town.

It seems that, at least in the first decades of Portuguese control, there was little change in the social life or the composition of the population of the town. Van Linschoten,<sup>111</sup> who visited the island in the Summer of 1583, mentions that

108 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 15, 17–19 recording reconstruction of walls and towers and excavation of a moat.

109 *Mir’āt-i Sikandari*, pp. 162–3.

110 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 21–23.

111 Van Linschoten, 1, pp. 57–8, for the full text see the beginning of the discussion on the fort, Chapter 3.

the Gujuratis, the Turks and the Persians as well as other foreign merchants – amongst them an Armenian community – continued to live and carry on business there. He also notes that ships had to first disembark at Diu and only then could goods be transported to Cambay and elsewhere. He attributes this practice to the geographical situation of Diu, but this method of trade with the rest of Gujarat is not known to have been employed in earlier times and must have been imposed by the Portuguese, eager to control the entire commercial traffic of the Arabian Sea.

Van Linschoten is amongst the earliest sources to speak of an Armenian merchant community in India.<sup>112</sup> The mainland of Armenia was, of course, too far from the coasts to play a part in the Indian Ocean trade, but within the Ottoman territories many Armenians emigrated to Jerusalem (where they still occupy a quarter of the walled town) as well as the ports of Palestine and Greater Syria (present Lebanon), where a large Christian population already existed. The Armenians who settled in India seem to have originated from these ports. In India their communities expanded particularly under the Dutch and other Europeans, who encouraged their trade as fellow Christians. In the seventeenth century the Safavid Shāh ‘Abbās also brought a community of Armenians – including many wealthy merchants – to the south of Iran and settled them in the new town of Julfā, south of Isfahan. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries some of these Armenians also became involved in commerce with India.

## 2.2 *The Maritime Horse Trade and the Portuguese*

Naval conflict was not reliant on cavalry, but from the early days of the establishment of their colonies the Portuguese made use of horses, which, at least from the thirteenth century were imported

mostly from the Kingdom of Hurmuz.<sup>113</sup> The maritime horse trade continued without much change throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and with the establishment and rapid expansion of the kingdom of Vijayanagar – annexing Ma’bar (the coastal region of present Tamil Nadu) to their territory in last decade of the fourteenth century – the new kingdom grew to be the main customer for imported horses. The trade was thriving at the dawn of the Portuguese appearance in the scene, as indicated by Varthema:<sup>114</sup>

“The said city of Bisinegar (Vijayanagar) belongs to the king of Narsinga and it is very large and strongly walled ... He is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 *pardai*, and some are purchased for 800 *pardai*, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought there.”

This was the state of the trade at the time of the Portuguese appearance in India. The number of horses used by the Portuguese, however, was insignificant in comparison with the total number imported to India, and although the trade gradually declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, until modern technology put an end to the need for horses. The Portuguese encouraged the dwindling trade as they benefited from the duty levied on every horse disembarked in any port of India. According to Barbosa:<sup>115</sup>

“This city (Goa) is inhabited by Portuguese, Moors and Gentiles; and the fruits of the earth and provisions now produce a yearly revenue to the King

<sup>112</sup> For the Armenian community of Diu also see: *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 532–3.

<sup>113</sup> Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, II, 1903, p. 340; ‘Abd’ullāh b. Faḍl’ullāh al-Shīrāzī known as Waṣṣāf, *Tazjīyat al-amṣār wa tajrīyat al a’ṣār*, Bombay, 1269 (1852–3), III, p. 302.

<sup>114</sup> Varthema, *op. cit.* pp. 125–6. ‘Narsinga’ is Narasimha Raya II who reigned in Vijayanagar from 1491 to 1505.

<sup>115</sup> Barbosa, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–7, also see 89–90.

of Portugal of twenty thousand ducats, without the port, which has much trade in merchandise of Malabar, Cheul, Dabul, Cambay and Diu. They sell there many horses for other parts, at two, three and four hundred ducats each, according to their quality, and upon each the King of Portugal levies forty ducats as duty; and although they pay less dues than the time of the Moors, this harbour produces much revenue to the King of Portugal.”

Transporting horses by ships was not an easy task; not only large sea-worthy vessels were required for the long journey over the Indian Ocean, the welfare of the cargo would have been of prime importance. The ships had to have adequate space for horses as well as for a considerable amount of fodder and large quantities of fresh water. Throughout the voyage horses would have to be kept in prime condition. Dead horses would cause losses to the merchants and sick and anaemic horses would not attract buyers or would sell with a low price. Horses are sensitive to the unfamiliar environment of a ship and the constant pitching and rolling of vessels. The most difficult task was apparently loading and unloading them in ports which did not have docking facilities.<sup>116</sup> With regard to all such obstacles, transporting over 10,000 horses every year could only be possible with sophisticated planning, numerous vessels and a well-organised transportation industry. It seems

that often horse-carrying vessels did not carry passengers, and if and when they did, priority was given to the horses.<sup>117</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, the ambassador of the Persian Timurid monarch Shāhrukh to the Vijayanagar court in 1443 complains of the ‘ill-intention’ of the authorities of Hurmuz when

117 A vivid description of vessels carrying horses and chaotic scenes of loading and unloading the beasts in the closing days of the horse trade are given by Ḥājī Pīr Zāda, a member of the Persian nobility who travelled to Europe and the territories of the Ottoman Empire between 1885 and 1888. See Hafez Farman-Farmaian (ed.), *Safar nama-yi Ḥājī Muḥammad Alī Pīrzādeh, 1303–1306 A.H.*, II, Tehran, 1342–3/1963–4, *From London to Isfahan*, pp. 411–12:

بندر بوشهر با وجودی که بندر معتبر خلیج فارس است بسیار خراب و مغشوش و بی اسکله مثلاً جهاز که از خارج به بوشهر می آید بقدر یک فرسخ دور از شهر بوشهر می ایستد و نمیتواند نزدیک بیاید چرا که این مسافت یک فرسخ زمین دریا عمق ندارد و جهاز بگل می نشیند و در این یکساعت مسافت مکرر شده که بگاره ها که آدم و بار بجهاز میبرند و می آورند در بین راه از انقلاب دریا و طلائم امواج با بار و سوار تماماً غرق شده اند ... بقدری مردم بوشهر بی همتند که لب اسکله بوشهر که هر سالی دو هزار اسب می آورند که بجهاز ببرند برای بردن به هندوستان بکاره ای که لب اسکله برای بردن اسب می آید در لب اسکله راه و پل ندارد که اسبها بخودی خود داخل بکاره شوند. جمعی جمع میشوند و اسبها را یکی یکی با طنابها و ریسمانها بگردن و پا و دست آنها بسته بقوت و زور زیاد برداشته در بکاره می اندازند و بسا میشود که اسب لگد میزند و آدم میکشد یا در آب می افتد و کسانی که اسب در بکاره میگذارند غرق آب و گل میشوند.

“The Port of Bushihr, although a prominent port of the Persian Gulf is derelict, in disarray, and without a (proper) quay. For example, when a foreign vessel enters Bushihr it must anchor about a league (six kilometres, four miles) away from the town and cannot come closer as the sea does not have (sufficient) depth and the vessels would be stranded in mud. In this one-hour trip it has happened many times that the boats which ferry people and cargo to the vessels and back encountered storms and high waves and many have sunk ... People of Bushihr are so indolent that while every year two thousand horses are brought to Bushihr to be transported in ships to India, when a boat approaches the dock, there is still no bridge or gangway for the horses to walk into the boat on their own. A number of people gather and tie ropes to the neck and feet of each horse one by one, lift them by sheer force and manpower and load them on the boat. It happens regularly that horses kick and kill people or fall in the water and those who take horses to the boat are soaked in water and mud” (Authors’ translation).

116 Diu is a unique exception in India for having docks prior to Portuguese times. The Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf ports had no docking facilities. Ships anchored in the deep waters well away from the port and loaded and unloaded their passengers and cargo in small boats. The arrangement may appear primitive, but it had the advantage of keeping pirates’ and enemy’s vessels well away from the port giving time to the townspeople to prepare to defend themselves and their town from the unwanted guests who had to wade ashore or take boats in small numbers. The condition of such ports is shown in numerous old engravings. For a study of these ports see Jean Deloche, *La circulation en Inde avant la révolution des transports*, vol. II, *La voie d’eau*, Paris, 1980, pp. 45–7; M. Shokoohy *Muslim Architecture of South India*, 2003, pp. 149–51.

he and other passengers were boarded on one vessel and horses on another.<sup>118</sup>

### 3 Portuguese Diu and the Mughal Court

In 1572 the emperor Akbar finally annexed Gujarat to his territory. The Mughals, who had no maritime tradition, showed little interest in conflict with the Portuguese. On the contrary, they benefited by trading with them – and later other Europeans – who brought to India European products and artefacts, much admired in the Mughal court. Despite the Portuguese view of their position in Diu, from the Mughal records it appears that they regarded Diu as part of their territory, and the Portuguese as their regional governors who paid tribute and annual taxes to the court. The *Ā'in-i Akbarī*<sup>119</sup> records the town of Diu (*pattan-i dīv*) as one of the thirteen ports of the district of Sūrath<sup>120</sup> within the emperor's territory with a tax of 4,453,912 *dām* (111,347.8 Imperial Rupees). It was at this time that John Huyghen van Linschoten visited Diu

and gave a description of the fort and the town.<sup>121</sup> Elsewhere the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*<sup>122</sup> again records the town of Diu as one of the main ports of Gujarat with an income of 25,000 *maḥmūdī*, considerably more than many other ports listed. On another occasion the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*<sup>123</sup> notes that 'due to the carelessness of the governors and the army commanders of the frontier regions still many places of this state (Gujarat) are in the hands of the Firangs, such as Daman, Sanjān, Tārāpūr and Māham and many other places which are both towns and ports'. The omission of Diu in this list is notable and together with other information given above it appears that although the Portuguese were at this time in control of the town of Diu, the sovereignty of the Indian court over the town was still acknowledged and an annual tax or tribute was paid to Akbar.

An incident in 1001/1592–3 in the twenty fourth year of Akbar's reign, illustrates to what extent the Portuguese avoided any conflict with the Mughal army. Amīr Kota, one of Akbar's courtiers, felt that he had lost favour in court and decided to establish grounds for a possible rebellion. Under the pretence of desiring to perform the Ḥajj pilgrimage, he left the court for Junagadh, but instead went via Dwārka, first to the fortified port of Porbandar (Pūrbandar), and then to Mangrol (Mangalūr) and took control of the west coast of Saurashtra. He then spread rumours of his intention to take over Diu. The Portuguese, apparently unaware that Amīr Kota was acting on his own, regarded him as the agent of Akbar and agreed with his unusual and irregular demands. According to the *Akbarnāma*:<sup>124</sup>

118 Kamāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ishāq Samarqandī, *Dāstān-i safar-i hindūstān wa sharh-i ghrā'ib wa 'ajā'ib-i ān*, Tashkent, 1960, p. 8:

مدت دو ماه توقف واقع شد بل حکام بهر بهانه نگاه داشتند چندانکه وقت مستحسن دریا ... گذشت ... و نفران و اسپان را بعذر آنکه در یک کشتی نمیکنجند دو بخش کردند و در کشتیها نشانده بادبازها برکشیدند و رو براه آوردند.

"We stayed there for two months and the governors kept us (in Hurmuz) until the favourable season for a voyage passed ... and on the excuse that people and horses do not fit into one ship divided us into two (categories), and boarded us on ships; they hoisted the sails and commenced the voyage" (Authors translation). For an English translation see R.H. Major (ed.) *India in the fifteenth century, being a collection of narratives of voyages to India*, London, 1857, Part I, *Narrative of the journey of Abd-er-razzak*, p. 7.

119 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, 498. The *Akbār nāma* also implies that the Portuguese accepted the supremacy of the Mughals and paid tribute to their court. See *Akbār nāma*, III, 195, 638.

120 Sūrath should not be confused with Surat. The *Ā'in-i Akbarī*'s district of Sūrath corresponds roughly with the present Saurashtra, see *ibid.*, p. 488.

121 See opening of Chapter 3.

122 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, p. 500.

123 *Ibid.*, p. 488:

از بی پروائی کارپردازان دولت و سپه سالاران سرحد بسیاری ازین سرکار هنوز بدست فرنگ چون دمن و سنجان و تاراپور و ماهم و یسی که هم شهر و هم بندراند.

124 *Akbār nāma*, III, p. 638. The passage given here is, with some modification, from Beveridge's translation, III, p. 980 (for the account of the full episode see pp. 979–81).

“He gave out that he meditated the capture of the port of Diu, and he stopped the coming and going of traders from all the ports of Gujarat; a traffic which makes Diu prosperous. The Christians were put into straits and made a peace. It was agreed that this year the Divine Ship (*Jahāz-i-Ilāhī*)<sup>125</sup> which is always filled up in Diu, should only be half filled there, and that the rest should be freighted wherever it’s master (*khedīve*) desires, and that the ten thousand *Maḥmūdīs*, which was the hire, would not be demanded, and that the embarkation might take place wherever its master choses.”

The Portuguese tolerance towards the Mughal court appears surprising, but the Portuguese were well aware – and perhaps always wary – that the Mughal empire’s power was far greater than that of the regional sultanates, where the Portuguese could dictate their prerequisites, and, should the Mughals decide to take over Diu, the Portuguese would not be able to sustain their ground. The passage also clarifies other points. It appears that the famed royal ship did not actually belong to Akbar, but was a Portuguese vessel hired from them for ten thousand *maḥmūdī*, a currency common in Gujarat. The passage also implies that the Portuguese had certain controls over the ship as to where it could or could not embark. It is also evident that the shipmaster was an agent of Akbar but what is not clear is whether or not there were Portuguese on board.

None of Amīr Kota’s ambitions seem to have materialised. His saga came to an end when he was faced with the Mughal forces under Mīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq the Bakhshī<sup>126</sup> and Sayyid Bāyazīd. They did not confront him with hostility, but quietly made him realise his shaky position and he agreed to withdraw. On the fifteenth of the month of Farwardīn of the Divine Year thirty-eight

(25 March 1593)<sup>127</sup> he, with his large family and over one hundred followers, embarked on the same royal vessel and left India.

The Mughal records make it clear that to Akbar the Portuguese were his governors, much like the Rajputs, many of whom ended up as high-ranking Mughal courtiers who further strengthened their position by marrying their daughters to Mughal princes. Furthermore, Akbar and his successors benefited from trading with the Portuguese, importing European products and receiving exotic gifts. Akbar was also sympathetic to the Christian faith, inviting Jesuits to participate in the frequent religious debates in his court, where he often found the Jesuits’ logic stronger and more reasonable than that of the authorities of other religions, including Islam.<sup>128</sup> Akbar was so impressed with the conduct of the Jesuits that he allowed them to build a small chapel in the palace compound of Faṭḥpūr Sikrī, next to his public audience hall<sup>129</sup> as well as a church in Agra, which was rebuilt at the time of Shāh Jahān.<sup>130</sup>

The Mughal court never challenged Portuguese control over the town of Diu and eventually the rest of the island. This is supported not only by the inscriptions recording the construction of the town wall, but by numerous other inscriptions (presented in the Appendix) spanning throughout the Mughal and indeed British eras. These inscriptions provide otherwise unprecedented records of how the Portuguese set out to maintain and improve the fort and the town walls, build and renovate their churches and monasteries, modernise the town and enhance its infrastructure – particularly concerning the water supply. In earlier

125 Akbar’s royal merchant ship trading between Diu, and other ports of India and the Middle East.

126 Military paymaster who often also took part in commanding the troops.

127 The Gregorian date given in the translation seems to be confused. In a footnote the date is given ‘1st Rajab, 24th March 1593’, but 1st Rajab 1001 corresponds with 3rd April 1593.

128 *Akbar nāma*, III, pp. 254–5, 270.

129 K.K. Muhammed, ‘Excavation of a Catholic chapel at Fatehpur Sikri’, *Indica*, xxviii, i (March 1991), pp. 1–11.

130 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, ‘Architectural relics of the Catholic missionary era in Mughal India’, *Arts of Mughal India*, Ahmadabad, 2004, pp. 141–151.

eras, when they were confined to the fort, their main source of water had been from a few brackish wells and from rainwater, collected in a number of underground reservoirs, while for provisions they had to rely on local – not always friendly – trade. Their control over the island provided them with ample water and fresh agricultural produce.

In the nineteenth century, with the fall of the Mughal Empire and the rise of British dominance, the island together with the village of Ghoghla remained under the control of the Portuguese and in 1859 the borders of Diu were outlined amicably between the British and the Portuguese. The

territory remained under the Portuguese, who continued to maintain and modernise to a small extent their possessions until 1961, but the political and financial decline of Portugal itself prevented significant interventions regarding the island and town of Diu. In recent years, however, the island is undergoing rapid development, and while, since the departure of the Portuguese, many of the original population have left the island, newcomers are replacing the old and as with the rest of the sub-continent the town – and the island – faces the modernisation of the twenty-first century.

## The Portuguese Fort

“The Towne and Ilande of Diu lyeth distant from the ryver Indo 70. miles under 21. degrés, close to the firme land: in times past it belonged to ye King of Cambaia, in whose land and coast it lyeth, where the Portingals by negligence of the Kinge, have built a fortresse, and in processe of time have brought the Towne and the whole Iland under their subiectiō, and have made it very strong, and [in a manner] invincible, which fortresse hath béene twice besieged by souldiers of Cambaia and their assistants, first in Anno 1539. and secondly in Anno 1546. and hath alwaies béene valiantly defended by the Portingals, as their Chronicles rehearse. This Towne hath a very great Haven, and great traffique, although it hath veye little or nothing [at all] of it selfe, more then the situation of the place, for that it lyeth betwéen Sinde and Cambaia, which Countries are abundant in all kind of things, whereby Diu is alwaies ful of strange nations, as Turks, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, and other countrie people: and it is the best and the most profitable revenue the King hath throughout all India, for that the Banianen, Gusaratten, Rumos and Persians, which traffique in Cambaia, [and from thence] to Mecca, or the red Sea, doe commonly discharge their wares, and take in their lading in Diu, by reason of the situation [thereof], for that it lyeth in the entrance of Cambaia, and from Diu it is shipped [and sent] to Cambaia, and so brought back againe to Diu.”

John Huyghen van Linschoten,<sup>1</sup> could hardly have given us a better image of the town and the fort of Diu at the end of the sixteenth century. He visited the island during the reign of Akbar, and

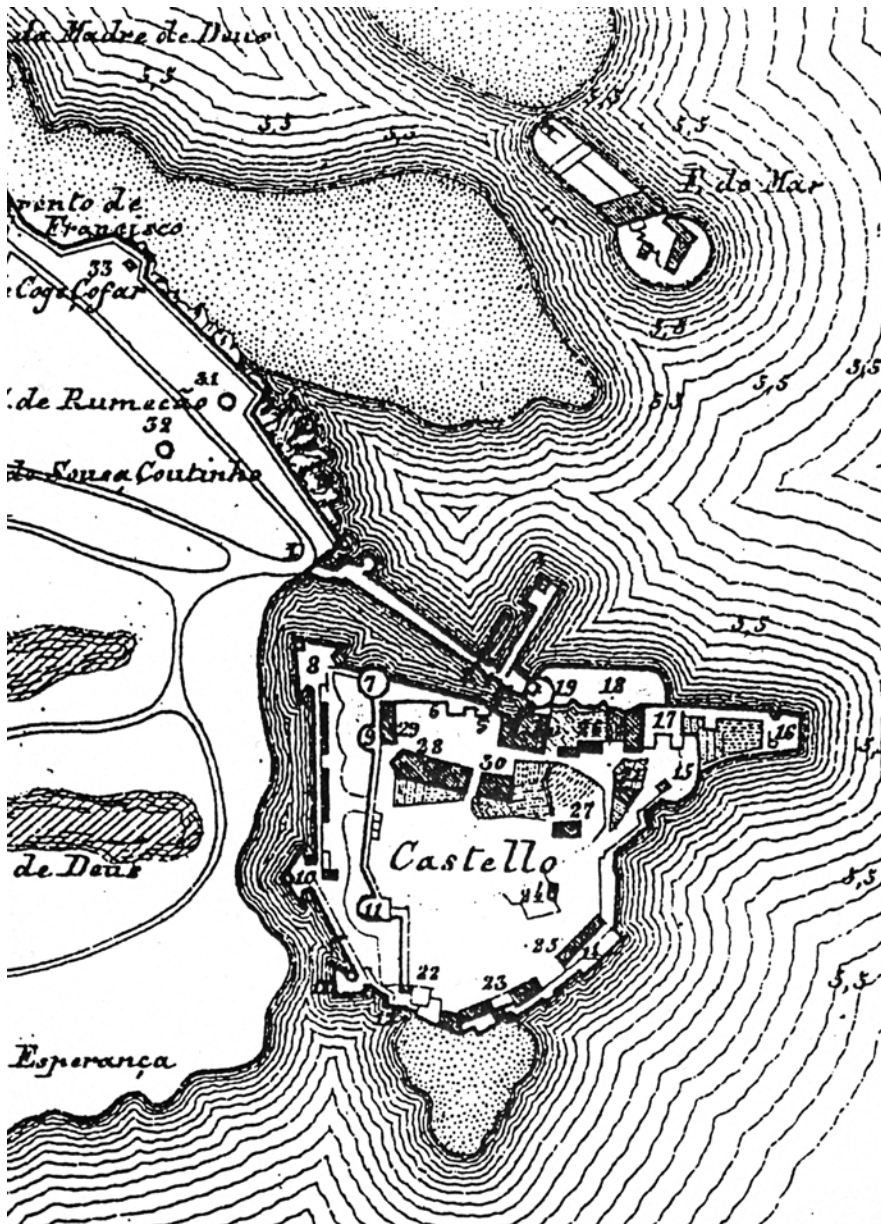
while his eyewitness account is credible, his confused historical account seems, indeed, to reflect the chronicles of the Portuguese, who were at this time in control of the entire island. Furthermore, he informs us that the local Hindu trading caste (the Banians) and merchant communities of other lands continued trading, as they had done for centuries. While the historic town and its many Muslim and Portuguese edifices are of considerable importance, we will first consider the fort: not only the prized trophy for which the Portuguese fought and died, but, by its nature, self-contained and independent, if not isolated, from the town, which during most of its history had remained under Muslim control.

The fort still stands with little alteration and although many buildings within its perimeter have been reconstructed the fortification walls and some original structures have survived with little alteration. The fort (Figures 3.1–3.2, Plate 3.1) occupies the easternmost tip of the island and is separated from the town by a moat, as well as a massively fortified double wall at the western side. The outer wall (Plate 3.2) was added in 1546, only a few years after the completion of the first phase, and encloses the older wall, which was retained with its ditch and its bastions as a second line of defence. The stone quarried from the moat seems to have provided the main building material, but there is also a large quarry inside the fort which supplied stone for the fort and its buildings. The local miliolite limestone<sup>2</sup> is soft and can be dressed by a masonry axe (Plate 3.3), but hardens on exposure, and is sufficiently load-bearing for the construction of walls, arches and vaults.

The fortification walls have been restored many times, sometimes recorded in inscriptions. A

1 John Huyghen Van Linschoten, *The voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, London, 1885, 1, pp. 57–8. Punctuation and square brackets follow the published text.

2 Venkatagiri Tamminana (compiler), *Groundwater brochure of Diu, UT of Daman and Diu*, Ahmadabad, 2014, p. 6.



Key to Figures 3.1 and 3.2 (note: in the original publication the numbers 3 and 4 are misplaced):

1 The first gate and the bridge to the fort (*Primiera porta e ponte do castello*); 2 Old drawbridge (*Ponte levadiça e segunda porta*), now replaced with a masonry bridge, and the second gate; 3 Third Gate (*Terceira porta*); 4 Jetty (*Bateria do caes*); 5 The main gate of the fort (*Porta principal do castello*); 6 Old Governors' Residence (*Antiga residencia dos governadores*); 7 Old round corner tower (*Baluarte arruinado*), now restored but apparently in ruins in 1865; 8 St Dominic's Tower (*São Domingos*); 9 Tower of Homage (*Baluarte da Homenagem*); 10 St Nicholas's Tower (*São Nicolau*); 11 Knight's Tower (*Baluarte Cavalliero*); 12 St Philip's Tower (*São Filippe*); 13 St James's Tower (*São Thiago*); 14 Chato's Tower (*Baluarte do Chato*); 15 St Lucy's Tower (*Santa Luzia*); 16 Grand breastwork (*Couraça grande*); 17 St Teresa's Tower (*Santa Thereza*); 18 Old dry dock (given as ruinous smaller breastwork *Couraça pequena arruinada*); 19 St George's Tower (given as St Martin's Tower, *São Martinho*); 20 Ruins of the old Misericorde chamber (*Misericordia*); 21 Ruins of the old cathedral (*Ruinas de Antiga Sé*); 22 St James's Chapel (*São Thiago*); 23 Barracks for the garrison (*Quarteis da guarnição*); 24 Powder magazine (*Paiol da polvora*); 25 Cisterns (*cisternas*); 26 The Queen's Cistern (*Cisterna da Rainha*); 27 The King's Cistern (*Cisterna do Rei*); 28 Warehouse (*Armazens*); 29 Prison (*Cadeia*); 30 Inspectorate (*Inspecção*)

FIGURE 3.1 A detail of the town plan of Diu in 1865 showing the fort and Forte do Mar.

FROM LOPES MENDES, *A INDIA PORTUGUEZA*, II, OP. P. 280

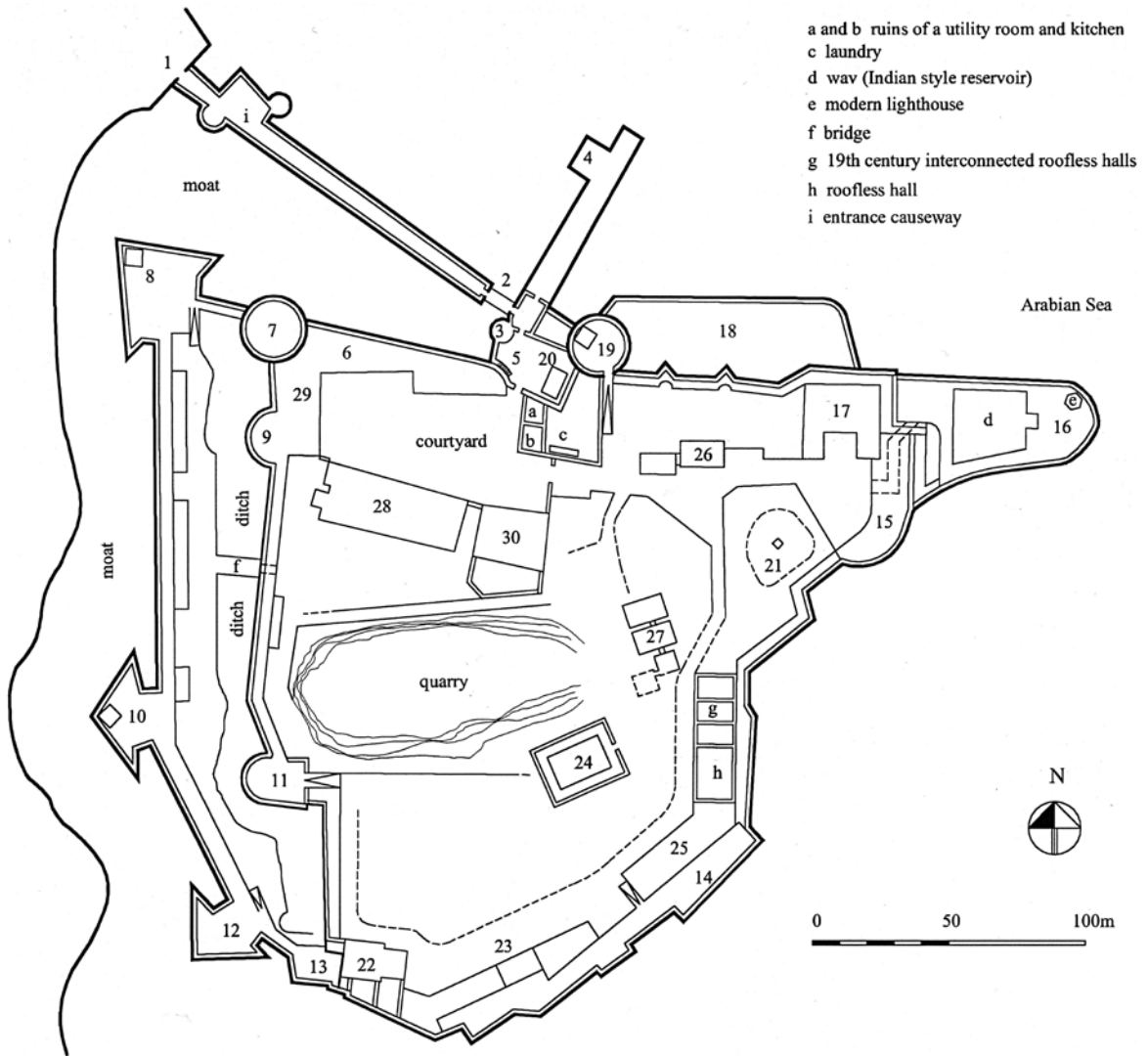


FIGURE 3.2 Diu Fort, plan based on surveys of 1996 and 1999. Numbers correspond with those given in Figure 3.1; additional features marked with letters of the alphabet are listed.

major reconstruction of the fort and the addition of various structures seems to have taken place in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, as a number of inscriptions, some in situ, date from this period, including that of Francisco da Silveira<sup>3</sup> dated 1639 and another of Antonio de Sousa<sup>4</sup> dated 1641, both on the St Dominic bulwark and recording its construction. Two others are loose – one fragmentary – and now kept in the Powder Magazine recording works by Dom Pedro

Mascarenhas<sup>5</sup> in 1630 and Francisco Munis da Silva<sup>6</sup> in 1647. One of the latest restoration works was carried out by Governor Romao José de Sousa<sup>7</sup> in 1861, only four years before Lopes Mendes

3 Appendix, Inscription no. 50.

4 Appendix, Inscription no. 53.

5 Appendix, Inscription no. 42.

6 Appendix, Inscription no. 58. Francisco Munis da Silva was also responsible for the construction of St Lucy's tower and gate discussed below.

7 Appendix, Inscription no. 138. The loose inscription is now kept in the Sé Museum. Romao José de Sousa was also responsible for one of the latest, but major, restorations of the Forte do Mar in the same year 1861. See Appendix, Inscription no. 137.



PLATE 3.1 The fort of Diu, above: general view from Ghoghla looking south with the breastwork (16) at the eastern tip of the fort jutting into the sea on the left, the disused dry dock (18), St George's Tower (19) protecting the entrance, the jetty (4) in front of the entrance, bridge (2) of the jetty, and the Old Governors' Residence (6) in the centre. At the far right, on the outskirts of the town, is the tower built by the Portuguese in the honour of Khwāja Šafar (33), not associated with the fort. Below: satellite image of the fort.

GOOGLE EARTH, 2006



PLATE 3.2 First entrance gate (1) to the fort with the outer wall of 1546 behind. The bulwark in the foreground is St Dominic's (8) and that to the right in the background is St Nicholas's Tower (10). Part of the moat can also be seen. The present arched gate has been reconstructed in later dates.



PLATE 3.3 Stonemasons using masonry axes to dress the soft local stone, for use in the restoration of the fort, such as the new wall behind them.



PLATE 3.4 Diu Fort, the jetty (4) from St George's Tower looking north with Forte do Mar in the background.

surveyed the fort and the town. None of the restorations, however, seem to have affected the layout of the walls or other original features.

The wide moat cutting across the tip of the land at the western side turns the fort into an island at a strategic point, with a panoramic view over the traffic of the Arabian Sea, as well as a commanding position for controlling any ship approaching the harbour. The turbulent waters of the Arabian Sea and the shallow rocky shores at the south and east of the fort made it almost impossible for ships to disembark there. The only safe sea approach is at the northern side, through the calm waters of a narrow channel between the island and the mainland. The waters near the fort at this side were apparently suitable for anchoring the ships of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a jetty (4) leading directly to the only entrance of the fort is situated on this side. Passing the jetty, the shallow waters of the channel leave only a narrow

strait to the south of the Forte do Mar (known locally as Panikotha) for ships approaching the town. We have noted that the Muslims and later the Portuguese defended the town from hostile ships by blocking this strait with chains.

### 1 Earlier Sketches and Plans

We are fortunate that amongst the Portuguese fortresses in the Arabian Sea, the fort of Diu is better recorded than many by means of early sketches and maps. There are also two earlier surveys. Two of the maps, one in the Library of Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa (Plate 3.5),<sup>8</sup> and the other published

<sup>8</sup> Reproduced here from Carlos Alexandre de Morais, *Cronologia Geral da Índia Portuguesa, 1498–1962*, Lisbon, 1997, colour plates following p. 64, plates not numbered, but no. 13.

in the seventeenth century *Arquivo Português Oriental* and preserved in the Biblioteca Pública de Evora (Plate 3.6)<sup>9</sup> are very similar and seem to be based on the same or closely similar sketches with a viewpoint on the mainland at the north looking south.<sup>10</sup> Both these maps, however, lack accuracy and show the western wall of the fort continuing round to the south, cradled by the town. The date of the original sketch must be from the second half of the sixteenth century or later, as the fortifications of both 1541–42 and 1546 are represented. Very few other features are shown within the fort, indicating that at this time most of this area was still unbuilt. Among the features shown are an oval arena (probably for bull-fighting) in the open ground in the middle,<sup>11</sup> some houses at the east, which probably housed the garrison, and two buildings with belfries. That in the north-east seems to be the old Cathedral (Figures 3.1–3.2, no. 21), already in ruins in the mid-nineteenth century. The site has since been cleared, but some of the carved stone of the old church has been preserved and is displayed on the site. In the centre now stands a memorial for those who lost their life in the defence of Diu in 1942 in the form of a squat obelisk erected over a four-stepped pyramid.<sup>12</sup> North-west of the Sé, the other building with a tower, shown in Plates 3.5 and 3.6, is not marked with a cross, as would be expected for a religious structure, and seems to be part of the Old Governors' Residence (no. 6), parts

of which still survive, but which has been reconstructed, enlarged and remodelled many times, with a portion of it now used as a prison.

An interesting feature shown in Plate 3.6 is the breastwork at the eastern tip of the fort housing a reservoir (Figure 3.2. no. d), which still survives and will be discussed below. The walls of the breastwork are shown in Plate 3.5, but not the reservoir. Access to the sea appears as a ramp or flight of steps descending to a short jetty. The dry land in front of the fort is the tidal bank, but the area to the west of the jetty seems to have been dredged out in later dates as most of the bank still remains flooded at high tide between the present jetty (4) and the entrance causeway (i). The trapezoid enclosure to the east of the jetty with a gate to the flood banks shown in both maps seems to be a representation of area 18 in our map and its function can be clarified by consulting another map to be discussed below. Both maps show an outer triangular enclosure between area 18 and the eastern tip of the fort. The area is no longer walled and if there was an outer wall it must have been eroded a long time ago. The two maps also show the *Baluarte do Mar* as a small tower without the later additions. The feature seems to represent the Muslim tower of Sānkāl Kuth, described below. In both maps the buildings of the town are represented as token clusters of houses and churches, not showing the urban fabric.

The next map – a perspective representation – of the fort (Plate 3.7), given originally in Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da Índia*<sup>13</sup> has more detail but its date is ambiguous. As with the other plans, the view is from the north (mainland) looking south and the sea is represented at high tide with the

9 *Arquivo*, II, i, map facing p. 104; a copy of this map can also be found in Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Estudos, ensaios e documentos, LVI, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1956, pl. 6 in set of plates following p. 87.

10 There are a number of other engravings based on the same original sketch reproduced in later dates, but they do not provide any fresh information.

11 This arena has also been shown in another representation of the fort made for the commemoration of the death of Bahādur Shāh. In this work the outline of the fort is not entirely accurate, but the arena is shown as a half-oval enclosure in an exaggeratedly large size. See: *Arquivo*, II, ii, plate facing p. 420.

12 Appendix, Inscription no. 151.

13 Manuscript first published in 1790, but the 1858 edition does not include this map. The map is reproduced from Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956, pl. 3 in set of plates following p. 87. It has been electronically enhanced. Copies of this map are available on the Internet and also given in *Arquivo*, II, ii, plate facing p. 425 and in Frederic P. Marjay, *Portuguese India, a historic study*, Lisbon, 1959, 40.



PLATE 3.5 An early sketch map in the Library of Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa. The viewpoint is from Ghoghla on the mainland looking south with the south at the top of the sketch. The fort occupies the left side with the town in the centre. A wall and a moat (still existing) separate the town from the rest of the eleven kilometre long island, which is shown condensed, as a narrow strip to the right, but indicating the main geographical features, including the estuary in the marshlands west of the town.

FROM: C.A. DE MORAIS, AFTER P. 64, NO. 13

fortification walls and ramparts at the water's edge. The *Baluarte do Mar* (Forte do Mar) is shown to have been fitted with cannon, and rounded at the eastern side while the cathedral of the fort is depicted as a grand structure with two spires and the whole area within the fort as built up. The fortification walls are shown in their original layout of 1541–42 with some accuracy, but the additional walls and the moat of 1546 are not shown, suggesting that the drawing pre-dates their construction. This is somewhat confusing as we have seen that the other maps – which do include the 1546 walls – still show the interior of the fort as mostly unbuilt. The arena, the prominent feature in the

other maps, is not shown and its place is taken by other buildings. It is also difficult to believe that within the few years after the construction of the fort the whole of the site could have been built up, or that before 1546 the garrison had expanded to the extent that such a large number of buildings was required. An explanation may be that the map is made based on several sketches of various dates amalgamating the layout of 1541–42 with information on the interior of the fort taken from much later sources.

The map shows that there has been little alteration to the original fortification walls and almost all the towers correspond with those still standing.

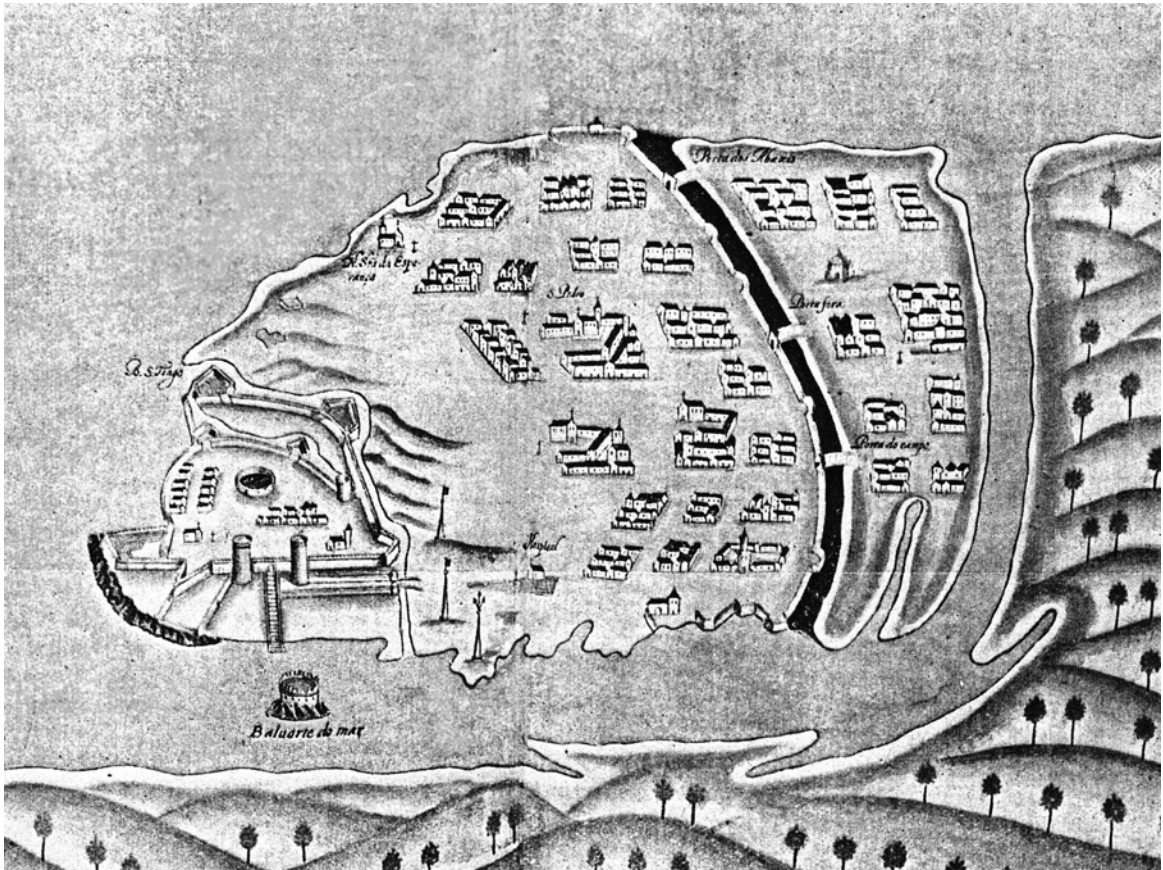


PLATE 3.6 Another early sketch map (looking south) given first in *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1635). The representation of the fort, the town and the island is close to that in Plate 3.5, indicating that one of the maps might have been made after the other or both were based on an identical earlier sketch.  
FROM ANTONIO BOCARRO, AFTER P. 87, PL. 6

As a whole, the outline of the interior arrangement of the fort is similar to the present one, although except for one or two buildings all other structures have disappeared or have been replaced with later buildings. Features which can still be identified today include the courtyard of the Old Governors' Residence, the streets along the fortification walls, the quarry, and the reservoir (d) in the eastern breastwork of the fort. In this map the enclosure (18) outside the fort with a gate to the water is clearly shown to have been a dry dock for repairing ships. Its floor is shown to be above the water level with some ships inside the enclosure. As we shall see the area was later enlarged and its original

function does not seem to have been preserved, perhaps because it was unsuitable for larger and heavier ships. Another interesting feature is the chain strung across a series of boats anchored between the Forte do Mar and the fort. We shall see that the pre-Portuguese arrangement may have been slightly different but would have served the same purpose. A feature shown at the top right of this map is a light bridge standing over the moat on wooden piles and leading to a postern gate. The bridge, not shown on the other maps, must have been removed a long time ago, but the postern gate, now blocked, is still preserved (Plate 3.8). The bridge may have been demolished and the postern

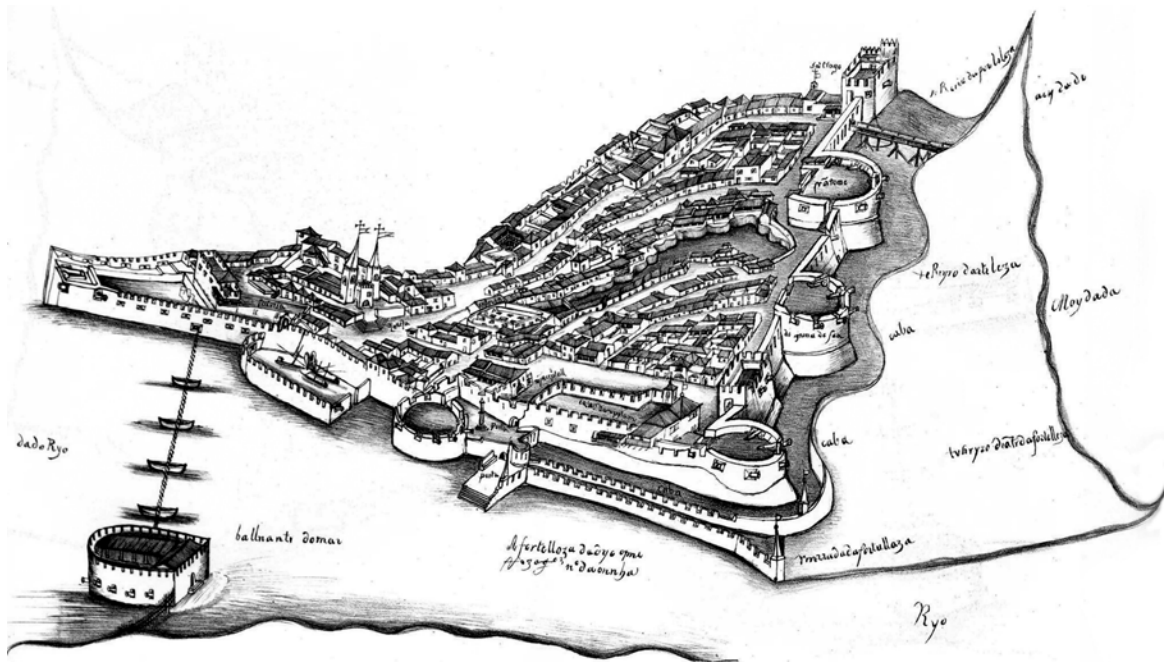


PLATE 3.7 Map of Diu fort as given in Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*. Again, south is at the top of the drawing. Details of the early phase of the fortification walls are presented with some accuracy but the additional defences of 1546 are omitted. The outline of the fort and details of many of the features are also accurate and informative.  
FROM C.A. DE AZEVEDO, AFTER P. 87, PL. 3



PLATE 3.8 Diu Fort, St James's Tower (13) and the old postern gate, now blocked, seen from the west. The inscription of Martim Correa (Appendix, Inscription no. 19) can also be seen on the tower.

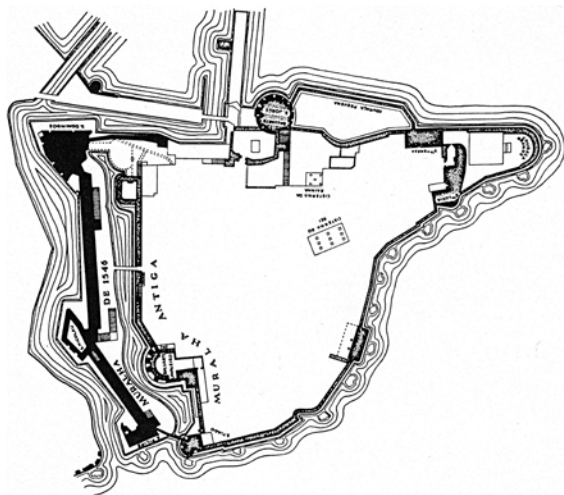


FIGURE 3.3 Survey of the outline and the defensive walls of Diu Fort in 1956, also showing the four reservoirs in the fort (nos. 16 d, 25, 26 and 27 in Figures 3.1 and 3.2)

FROM C.A. DE AZEVEDO, PL. 5

gate walled up when the outer walls of 1546 were constructed and a new postern gate, still in use, was opened in the inner walls (Plate 3.9).

Apart from the noted old plans there are three other modern survey plans of the fort. That of 1859<sup>14</sup> is mainly concerned with the island, and the features of the fort are indicated with their rough positions. The next is that of 1865 by Lopes Mendes<sup>15</sup> reproduced here (Figure 3.1) which, although small in scale, is accurate. The other is based on a survey carried out by Professor Mário Tavares Chicó and his team in c. 1951 and published in 1956 (Figure 3.3).<sup>16</sup> This plan shows only the walls with accuracy and little other detail. None of the existing features within the enclosure are represented except four reservoirs: that on the eastern tip of the fort (16 d), that under the *Baluarte do Chato* (25), the underground reservoir known as the Queen's Cistern (26) and only one

out of the four underground chambers of what is known as the King's Cistern (27).

## 2 Layout, Fortification Walls and Bastions

From many points of view the Fort of Diu is different from the other Portuguese forts in India. Although Portuguese dominance in Diu was achieved relatively late, the fort is earlier than the other surviving examples, as others – such as those of Old Goa, Cochin and Calicut – have not survived. What was left of the fort in Old Goa together with all other old buildings – except a few churches, now a World Heritage Site – was demolished or left to decay when the capital was relocated to Panjim.<sup>17</sup> The fort at Cochin was replaced, initially with a much smaller fort by the Dutch, and subsequently demolished by the British.<sup>18</sup> That of Calicut was also demolished, by the Portuguese themselves when they decided to leave the area only a few years after its construction.<sup>19</sup> The design of the fort of Diu also differs from the others, which usually followed the European, and particularly the Italian pattern, based on a regular or geometric layout.<sup>20</sup> In Diu the fort follows the contours of the land, to take advantage of the whole area granted by Bahādur Shāh, giving the fort an irregular shape with the walls set over the rocks by the water to the north, east and south.

14 The 1859 Map is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

15 António Lopes Mendez *A Índia Portuguesa, breve descrição das possessões Portuguezas na Ásia*, Lisbon, 1886, II, opp. p. 280, pp. 280–1.

16 Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956, pl. 5.

17 Richard F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains or six months of sick leave*, London, 1851, reprinted Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford, 1992, pp. 58–76 particularly 61 and 68–72; A. Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1886, I, p. 68; Antony Hutt, *Goa, a traveller's historical and architectural guide*, London, 1988, pp. 80–82, 102.

18 William Logan, *Malabar*, Madras, 1906, second ed. repr. Madras, 1951, II, Appendices, p. 415.

19 Dalboquerque, pp. 61–75.

20 See for example the geometric layout of the forts of Tiracol and Corjuem in Goa State in Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956, Chapter 2, pls. 23–24 (following page 87). Other forts did not have strictly geometrical plans but were fairly regular in layout.



PLATE 3.9 Diu Fort, view from St Dominic's Tower (8) looking south, with the inner walls of 1541–2 to the left and the outer wall of 1546 to the right. Between the walls is a ditch, over which stands the bridge (f) which leads to the postern gate opened after the construction of the outer walls. The gate gives access to the area between the two walls and there is no access to the outside from this area. In the background is the Knight's Tower (11). The location of the older postern gate is behind the Knight's Tower and cannot be seen.

The structures of the first phase are simple and mediaeval in essence (Plate 3.9) with circular, semi-circular and occasionally square towers. The style of the fortifications is somewhat antiquated in comparison with European forts of the time, which reflect the developments in firepower made in the fifteenth century, that in turn led to innovative theories and designs being developed in the early sixteenth century. In Diu the old-fashioned method employed may be because the Portuguese were using local expertise. The design concept, however, differs from that of Indo-Muslim forts, particularly in the arrangement of the entrance gate and in the broad breadth of the banquettes (*chemins-de-ronde*), as well as in the form of the battlements (instead of crenellations), designed to accommodate heavy cannon. Unlike the Muslim

forts in India, access to the banquettes at Diu is mainly via steps and ramps, rather than stairs, to enable heavy artillery to be taken up.

The outer western wall of 1546, is, however, entirely different in design. In the first half of the sixteenth century the new Italian concepts of fort design, geared to taking advantage of heavy artillery, were being adopted in Portugal. The principal feature was the provision of massive triangular bulwarks with recessed flanks set between the curtain walls (Figure 3.4). In plan the bulwarks are in the shape of an arrowhead, and allow all the intervening areas to be defended by artillery. The widespread use of firearms also made crenellations and arrow-slits – characteristic features of Indian mediaeval forts – redundant. The new theories were first introduced in India by the Portuguese

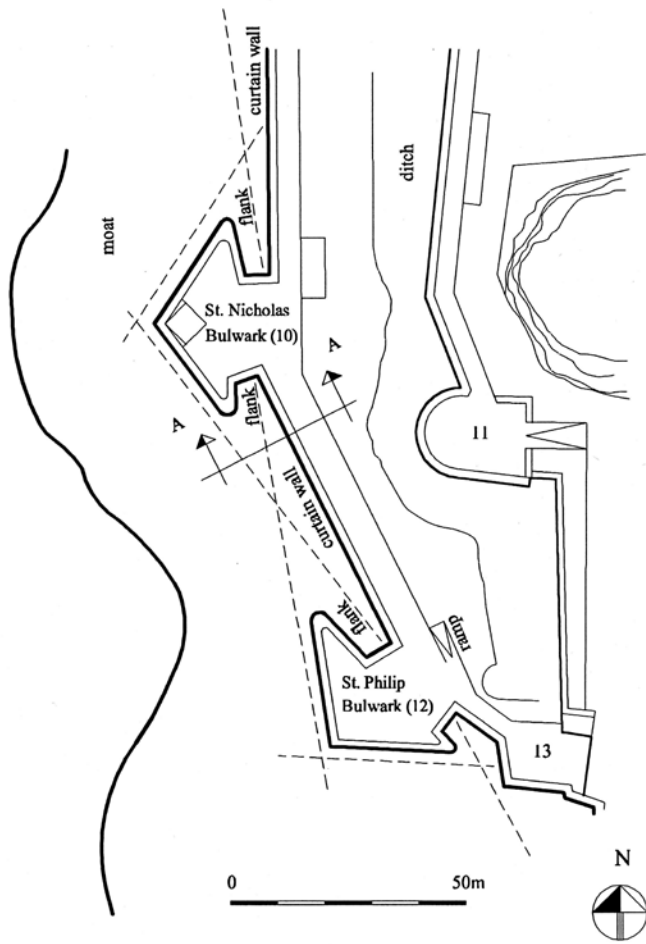
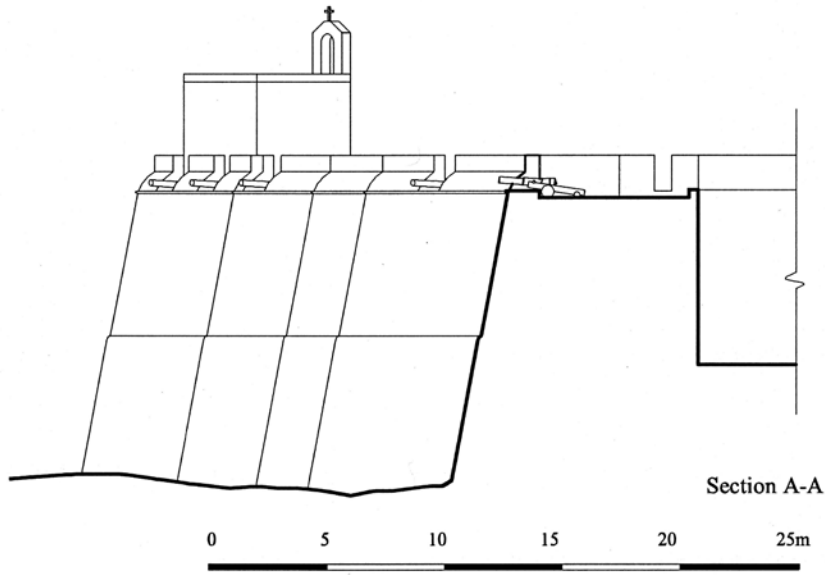


FIGURE 3.4  
Diu Fort, details of the St Nicholas (10) and St Philip bulwarks (12) showing the lines of artillery fire from the flanks protecting the bulwarks and the curtain walls as far as St James's Tower (13). The inner wall has the Knight's Tower (11). Section A-A looking towards St Nicholas.

architect Francisco Pires<sup>21</sup> and applied to the western walls of Diu, later the design principle became the norm for Portuguese and other European forts in India. The new walls in Diu consisted of three bulwarks with one at the north-west corner (Figure 3.2. no. 8), defending the entrance as well as looking over the water, considerably more massive than the other two. As with the other bastions in the fort each of the bulwarks are named after a saint, and have a small chapel at the top. On the outer façade of some of the bulwarks and bastions in the fort – and on the town-wall – the saints are sometimes commemorated by a small inscribed bas-relief such as that on the north-western bulwark dedicated to St Dominic (São Domingos) (Plate 3.10). The other two bulwarks are dedicated to St Nicholas (São Nicolau) and St Philip (São Filippe). The new wall joins the old fort at the north by a short wall attached to a round bastion (7) which was once the dominant corner tower, and was apparently in ruins in the nineteenth century but it has now been partly restored. At the south the wall joins with the square tower known as St James's Tower (Baluarte de São Thiago) (13), which connects the inner and outer walls (Plate 3.8).

While the towers of the older walls are solid, the bulwark of the 1546 walls house chambers at the top. That of St Nicholas and also St Philip (Plate 3.11) each consist of a single vaulted chamber, but St Dominic's houses two chambers, connected by a corridor wide enough to carry a cannon on its gun-carriage (Plate 3.12). The chambers are vaulted, reinforced with series of massive arches, providing the rigidity and strength for the roof to support heavy artillery. Cannon could also be housed in the chambers, providing two levels of fire power, but the main function of the chambers seems to have been for storing ammunition and cannon balls in readiness for a surprise attack. There are also narrow corridors built within the walls of 1546 connecting the three bulwarks.



PLATE 3.10 The bulwark of St Dominic (*São Domingos*, 8), details of the bas-relief of the saint with his name.

With the construction of the 1534 outer walls the water supply to the older moat seems to have been blocked and it was left as a ditch with a wide space alongside the old wall which has been flattened into a broad walk (Plate 3.9). A gate in the middle of the old wall opens to this area, facing a bridge with three openings over the ditch. It is not clear whether the gate and the bridge are part of the original fortifications, or were part of the 1534 works to provide communications between the old inner wall and the new outer one.

The old fortification walls have surprisingly few towers, set mainly on the western side protecting the town, with the exception of St George's Tower (19) and St Lucy's Tower (15) overlooking the entrance, the jetty, the eastern breastwork and the old dry dock, and St Teresa's Tower (17)

21 Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956, pp. 71–2.



PLATE 3.11 St Philip's bulwark (12). Chamber built into the tower at the level of banquette of the wall.



PLATE 3.12 St Dominic's bulwark (8), left, the outer chamber and right, the corridor connecting the inner and outer chambers.



PLATE 3.13 Left: view from the jetty looking south towards the opening of the entrance's outer enclosure, with St George's Tower (19) topped with St George's Chapel to the left and the moat (now dry) to the right, as well as the bridge with three arches. The left arch, which was in a state of disrepair and has since been restored, was originally a drawbridge and the additional arch was not keyed properly into the left pier. Beyond the bridge the outer façade of the Old Governors' Residence (6) can be seen. Right: gate (3) to the forecourt of the main gate, view looking south with an unnumbered tower and the way to the drawbridge on the right. The main gate (5) can be seen in the background through the archway.



PLATE 3.14 Western fortification walls of 1534–35 looking south-east with the quarry on the left and the Knight's Tower (11) on the right. The tower stands considerably higher than the wall and is reached by flight of steps with the ruins of what seems to have been a chapel at the top. St James's Tower (13) is in the background.



PLATE 3.15 St George's Chapel over St George's Tower (19). The chapel consists of a small chamber topped by an arch which once housed a bell. Most of the chapels on the bastions are closely similar in design, but some are not fully preserved.

over the eastern breastwork. The western towers stand higher than the rest of the walls as massive reinforcing bastions and vantage points for artillery (Plates 3.13–3.14). St George's Tower bears an inscription<sup>22</sup> on its western face recording its construction by the Captain of the Fort, Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda in 1542 during the governorship of Martim Afonso de Sousa. As with the other towers, a small chapel on the roof is dedicated to the tower's named saint (Plate 3.15). The entrance to St George's chapel is now blocked, but the east façade retains its arch for hanging a bell, surmounted by a cross. The roof provides a high look-out, with open stairs on the southern side for access and tolling the bell. The chapel is typical of the other shrines on the towers, many of which are no longer intact. On St George's Tower a number of cast bronze cannons lie loose, but amongst

them one is still mounted on an original wooden carriage with solid wooden wheels (Plate 3.16). On the first reinforce a pair of rings is provided for taking the barrel from place to place. As this cannon is unusually heavy, another pair at the second reinforce also has rings for chains. The base of the breech is decorated with a face surrounded by flames, and a further ring has been added, presumably at a later date, for pulling back the cannon when re-loading. The powder chamber sits firmly on the carriage indicating that the cannon must have had a simple and relatively fixed range as the muzzle could not be elevated, but could be lowered slightly by jacking up the breech, presumably with a wooden wedge.

A few other similar old gun carriages with cannon are found in the fort, one over St Lucy's Gate and Tower, facing the sea and the Forte do Mar. This cannon (Plate 3.17), dated 1624, was apparently cast in Portugal, incorporating well-executed 'Dolphins'. Another, again dated 1624, is on

22 Appendix, Inscription no. 5.



PLATE 3.16 Cast bronze cannon on an 'original' carriage on St George's Tower (19).



PLATE 3.17 Above: cast bronze cannon dated 1624 on its carriage on St Lucy's Tower (15), facing north and protecting the channel between the fort and Forte do Mar which can be seen in the background. Below: detail of the cannon's cast bronze grips ('Dolphins') in the form of fantastic marine creatures.

St Philip's Tower (Plate 3.18), bearing in relief the royal crest and the name of the Spanish King Philip IV (Philip III of Portugal under the Iberian Union) and in a cartouche below the name of Diego de Silva, Count of Port Alegre.<sup>23</sup> As a whole, most of the cannons carry signs of their foundries, monograms and other marks, and many are dated.<sup>24</sup> In the walls, towers were not built looking over the Arabian Sea, the eastern and southern

<sup>23</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 40.

<sup>24</sup> A study of the numerous cannons preserved in the fort is outside the scope of the present work, but their various types, sizes, design and the many different foundry marks warrant future study which would no doubt throw fresh light on the Portuguese maritime history of the region.

sides being reinforced by their jagged outline, where there is also an uninterrupted view from the parapets. Although one of the wall's protrusions is known as Chato's Tower (14) it is not different in construction or height from the rest of the adjoining walls (Plate 3.21).



PLATE 3.18 Inscribed cannon dated 1624 on St Philip's Bulwark (12), with details of the royal crest and the inscribed cartouche on the right.

### 2.1 *The Entrance System*

The only entrance to the fort (Figure 3.5) consists of a progression of gates via a causeway and two courtyards before leading to the main gate (5) in the northern wall. The jetty (4) is also part of the entrance system. The approach from dry land is to the north-west through a ceremonial gate (1), rather than one which could be defended. The present archway (Plate 3.2) replacing the original gate is relatively recent, but its location on land without defensive walls indicates that it was for routine control of traffic rather than defence. Correa's map does not show a gate at this point; only two turrets with pointed finials marking the entrance. The gate opens to a long causeway protected originally with battlements which have

been lost or removed in later years. The causeway leads to a bridge (Plate 3.13, left), which consisted originally of a masonry structure with two openings with a drawbridge at its eastern end. However, the drawbridge has long been replaced by a third masonry arched opening. This arch was not keyed into the side piers and was on the verge of collapsing before it was reconstructed in 1999. The drawbridge led originally to a second gate (2) which opens to a small forecourt with the jetty (4) on its north side and a third gate (3) protected by a small round tower to its south (Plate 3.13, right). In the old maps the jetty is shown to have been shorter than its present length; it must have been extended sometime later to allow vessels with deeper hulls to dock. However, even after the extension, the

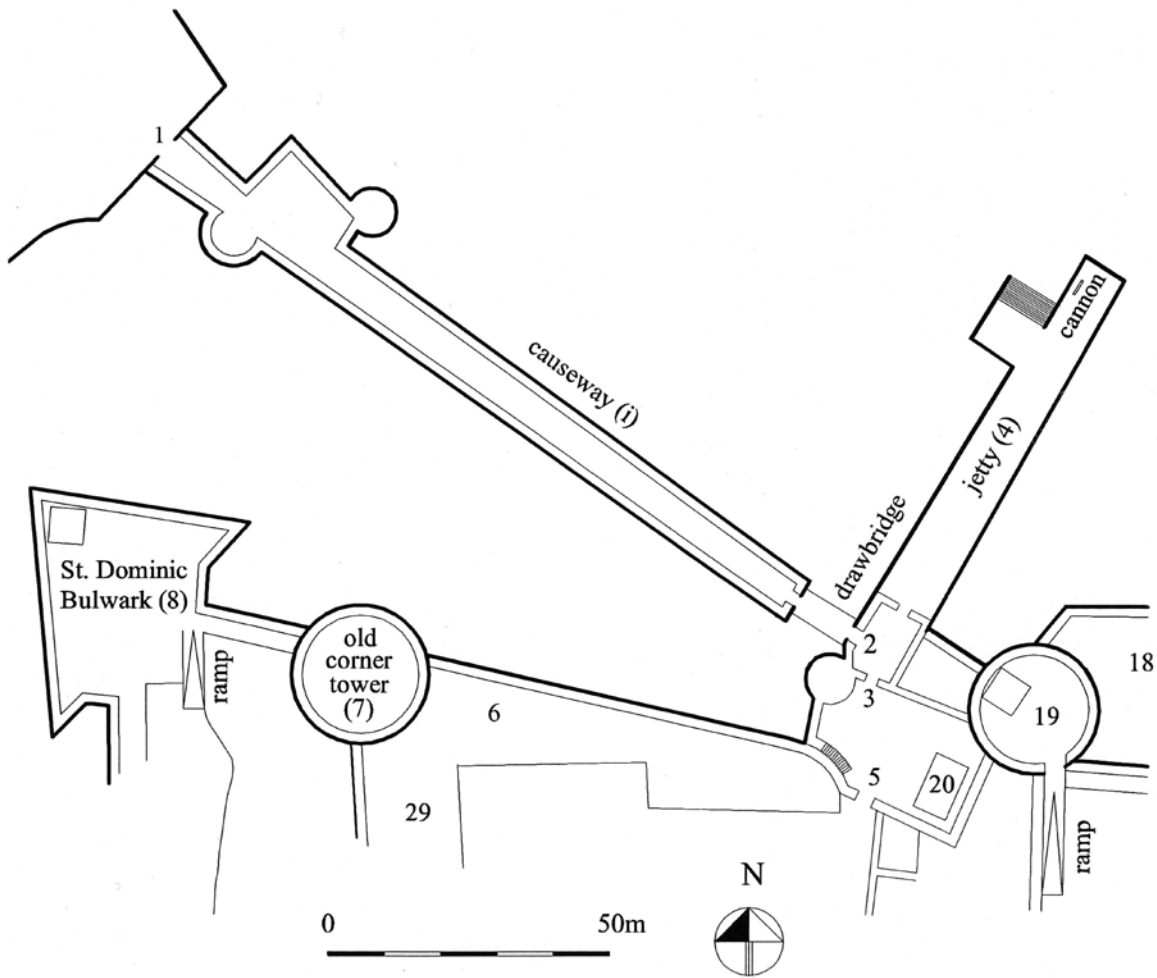


FIGURE 3.5 Diu Fort, entrance system. Key (as in Figure 3.1): 1 first gate; 2 old drawbridge and second gate; 3 third gate; 5 main gate; 6 old governor's residence; 18 old dry dock; 19 St George's Tower; 20 Misericorde; 29 prison

depth of water does not seem to have been adequate for more advanced ocean-going vessels. Although ships anchoring near the coast are not shown in the old maps of Diu, maps of many other ports of India and the Middle East confirm that large ships did not dock by a jetty but anchored in deeper waters at a safe distance from the coast.<sup>25</sup> The Diu jetty, therefore, would have been used only by smaller craft plying between the ships and the fort.

On the jetty lie the remains of the exploded cannon made of laminated strips of steel (Plate 2.3). We have already noted that it may have been the Tiro de Diu, which bore an inscription of Bahādur Shāh. The cannon seems to have been taken to its present location to be tested and its remains left there after its explosion.

At the south of the jetty, there is an enclosure attached to the west side of St George's Tower. The enclosure appears in Correa's engraving (Plate 3.7), but its function is not clear. It could have been a storage yard for temporary safekeeping of goods or for shipping equipment or perhaps as a stable. If the Portuguese force had numerous horses the

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on how ships anchored in the Middle Eastern ports see M. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, London – New York, 2003, pp. 149–51.

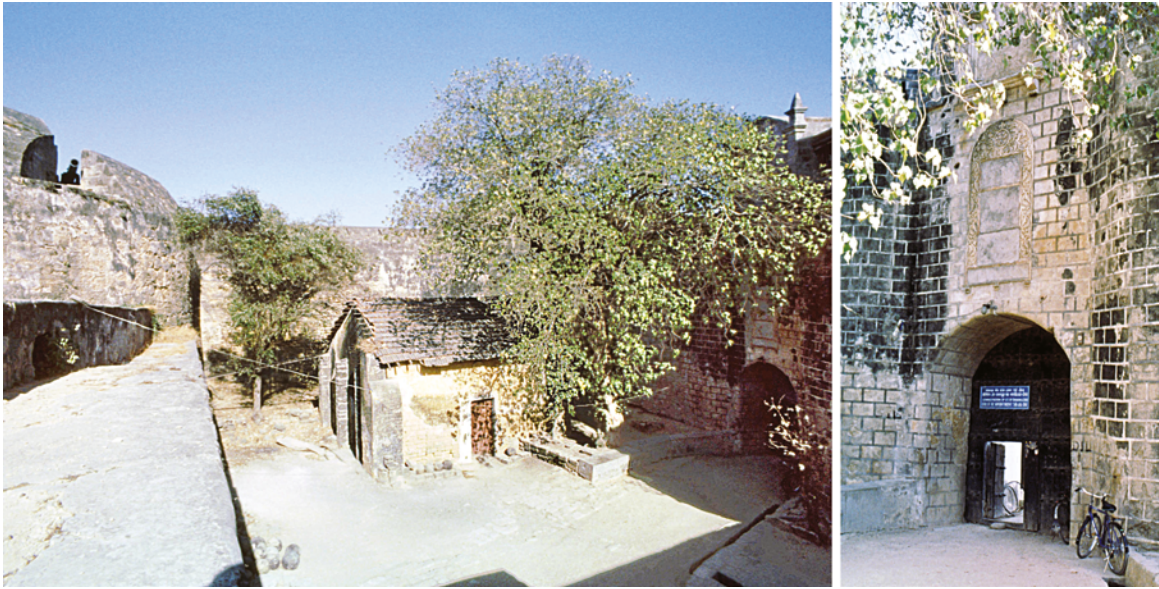


PLATE 3.19 Left: the main gate (*Porta principal*) (5) seen from its forecourt with the old Misericorde structure (20) in the centre left and a corner of St George's Tower (19) to the far left. There is no access to the tower from the forecourt. Right: the main gate from the forecourt looking south, showing the ornated panels, originally inscribed, above the archway.

area would not have been large enough, but, if it were indeed a stable, it could have been for cavalry on duty. Other horses would have been kept in the fort. In the early days of the Portuguese in Diu, the number of horses – often imported from Hurmuz – must have been relatively small, but in later years, when they were in control of the town and eventually the island, they must have been able to obtain local Gujarati (Kathiawari) and Kachchi horses, still pre-eminent Indian breeds.

The third gate (3) connects the forecourt to another courtyard with the grand entrance (5) opening to the fort set at its south (Plate 3.19). St George's Tower stands at the north-east corner of this courtyard, but its access is from inside the fort. In Correa's engraving (Plate 3.7) the courtyard is depicted with a free-standing monumental pillar topped with a cross. This column has not survived, but the House of Misericorde (20), which was originally founded in 1542<sup>26</sup> is not shown. The

present structure, consisting of a simple chamber, dates from 1765 when it was renovated<sup>27</sup> and is now used as a storeroom. The gate to the fort is relatively small and on the inner and outer face above the semi-circular arches are large panels, once inscribed but now obliterated and plastered over. An old photograph of the panel on the northern façade<sup>28</sup> shows that within the frame were three carved tablets; two bore coats of arms and the other was inscribed. A fourth tablet at the bottom bore an inscription recording that the panel was set up by the order of Governor Ignacio Sarmiento de Carvalho in 1656. The tablets are framed within a decorative interlaced 'vine' motif – a rare artistic display in the otherwise plain military architecture of the fortifications. The composition of the panel on the northern façade of the gate appears to be European in design, but that on the southern façade (illustrated in Appendix, Inscription no. 81) shows that although the design is based

26 Appendix, Inscription no. 6.

27 Appendix, Inscription no. 103.

28 Appendix, Inscription no. 64.



PLATE 3.20 The main gate (5), seen from the courtyard of the Old Governors' Residence, details of the arch of the frame of the obliterated inscriptions. Above: detail of the medallion in the centre of the field of the arch, bearing the bas relief of the triumphant Virgin and Child in European style. Below: the scrolling vine motif with Indian-style lotus petals common in Indian decorative art, attesting to the hand of local carvers.

on a European model the work must have been carried out by local carvers who were not closely familiar with the original theme, as the leaves of the tendrils are executed in the form of the lotus leaf motifs of Indian and particularly Gujarati temples. Within the ornamented frame were originally two inscriptions. The one above was probably the panel dated 1544 recording the construction of the gate by Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda<sup>29</sup> and now kept in the Sé Museum. The one below, dated 1702, recorded in Latin Governor Lorenzo da Cunha Soto Major's resignation due to ill health.<sup>30</sup> In the centre of the arch of the frame an oval medallion depicts the crowned Virgin enthroned with the Child in her left arm and a rosary in her right hand (Plate 3.20). The whole panel rests on three corbelled stones – presumably referring to the Holy Trinity – but each is in the shape of a tiger's head resting on its front paws, again a traditional Indian motif, and the stones are perhaps spoil from an older building.

The complex design of the entrance system with its drawbridge, multiple gates and courtyards is European in concept and different from the Muslim forts of the period. In Muslim forts instead of single entrance system there were usually several gates to a fort, each with lofty openings with pointed arches and vaults large enough for elephants with howdahs to pass. Some Muslim entrances had a causeway over a ditch which surrounded the walls, but a draw-bridge is not a feature. In Muslim forts the emphasis was not usually on producing a multiple gate system, instead each gate consisted of a gatehouse with a deep corridor with doors at both ends. The system in Diu is also noticeable for its design with a single entrance allowing access both to the sea and to the land. As noted, none of the other early Portuguese forts have survived and those of later dates, such as San Jeromino Fort in Daman and the fort of Tiracol at Goa<sup>31</sup> have relatively simple entrances. The more elaborate entrance at Diu may be a reflection of

the Portuguese perception of the strength and military capability of Gujarat, perhaps based on the difficulty experienced in gaining a foothold on the island, although in the course of history such precautions proved unnecessary.

### 3 Water Supply

In all their strongholds the provision and maintenance of a fresh water supply was a major concern for the Portuguese. In their struggles with hostile local forces the Portuguese had to rely mainly on the firepower of their ships, often originating from distant ports. Until the ships arrived, the local garrisons had to be able to withstand a siege entirely on their own resources. Although dry food, such as grains, pulses and even salted meat and fish could be easily stored in large quantities, bringing fresh water from outside the fort might not be an option. On the other hand, by their very nature the Portuguese forts were always near the sea, where in most areas, particularly in the Middle East and western India, water from wells is brackish, if not entirely saline. In the design of their forts the Portuguese, therefore, took considerable trouble to provide reliable supplies of fresh water. Perhaps the best example of their sophisticated design methods for collecting the rare and occasional rainwater can be found in 'Albuquerque's Fort' on Hormuz Island in the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Hormuz has very meagre sources of fresh water and throughout its history drinking water had to be imported from the mainland.<sup>32</sup> In this fort the

29 Appendix, Inscription no. 8.

30 Appendix, Inscription no. 81.

31 Survey plans in Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, figs. 15 and 23 (following p. 87).

32 Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, a translation of the *Relazione*, by A.H. Morton, London 1999, pp. 53–4. In the words of Membré, who visited the island when it was under the Portuguese: 'The isle of Hormuz, it is very small and dry, without trees. The island has no more than one city, which city stands by the sea towards Persia. Thus, in the said city there is no water to drink, so all the water comes in boats from the mainland, and they put it in the houses in pitchers and jars. So, in the said city, no fruits grow, nor anything to eat, but everything comes from outside, that is Persia, Basra, and India. Hormuz catches many fish; wine is dear, that which comes from India and that which comes from Portugal.'



PLATE 3.21 The reservoir (25) attached to Chato's Tower (14). The tank is partly constructed above ground, up to the level of the banquettes of the south-east side of the fort. View from the roof looking north-east showing the banquettes on the right and the rainwater channels on the left. The fixed supports for cannon and the paving of the surface of the banquettes are modern.

Portuguese designed the roofs, the banquettes and other paved areas in such a manner that they slope towards channels and drainage holes which open to large covered reservoirs constructed with stone.<sup>33</sup>

In Diu too the water supply appears to have been a major concern<sup>34</sup> and various methods of

providing water seem to have been employed, each probably with different levels of success. One of the reservoirs in Diu, constructed at the south-east of the fort (25) and attached to Chato's Tower is indeed similar in principle to those at Hurmuz. The reservoir is constructed partly underground but the walls are taken well above ground, up to the level of the banquettes (Plate 3.21). On the roof channels and drainage holes lead the water from the roof and from neighbouring structures, although the reservoir no longer appears to hold water.

33 There has been little study on the water supply of the fort of Hurmuz. The impressive fort, in spite of its northern side being washed away, is one of the largest and most sophisticated Portuguese strongholds in the region. For a survey of the fort see: Wolfram Kleiss, 'Europäische Befestigungsarchitektur in Iran vom 16. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, XIII, 1980, pp. 169–171, figs. 2, 4–5, pl. 38, i. M. Shokoohy also surveyed the fort in 1967–8 as part of his studies as a student of architecture. Sadly, the drawings of this survey have long been lost.

34 The issues with the water supply, such as salinity, remain, see: Venkatagiri Tamminana (compiler),

*Groundwater brochure of Diu, UT of Daman and Diu*, Ahmadabad, 2014.

### 3.1 *Indian-Style Reservoir in the Court of the Eastern Breastwork (Area 16)*

Unlike the region of the Persian Gulf, Diu – as with the rest of Gujarat – benefits from seasonal rain during the monsoon. In Gujarat and the rest of India an ancient method of manipulating monsoon water for utilising it throughout the year had been developed through the construction of step-wells or reservoirs known in Gujarat as *wāv* and in other regions of northern India as *ba'olī*.<sup>35</sup> The method is based on the simple principle of excavating a reservoir in a flat area, lining it with stone, providing steps on at least one side and often digging a deep well with a broad shaft at the other end. During the monsoon, and in subsequent months when the water table is still high, the reservoir sustains water, which as the level sinks can be accessed by the steps, while even in the dry season the well retains water. Although the principle is simple and many *wāvs* are utilitarian, some are constructed with elaborate designs and fine carving, ranking them as outstanding architectural monuments in Gujarat.<sup>36</sup>

35 For a survey of the *ba'olīs* in the region of Delhi see: Tatsuro Yamamoto et. al., *Delhi*, I, Tokyo, 1967, pp. 94–7, (reservoirs nos. W 18–30); III, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 34–9 (W 18); pp. 40–45 (W 26); for a simplified analysis of the types of reservoirs see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Water architecture in South Asia: a study of types, developments and meaning*, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2002, pp. 88–90.

36 For the survey of the major *wāvs* of Gujarat see: James Burgess, *The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, ASWI, vol. VIII, ASI New Imperial Series, vol. XXXIII, London, 1905, Mata Bhavani Wāv, pp. 1–3, pls. 2, 13–14; Bai Ḥarīr Wāv, pp. 4–5, pls. 3, 15–16; Adalaj Wāv, pp. 10–13, pls. 22, 30; Jethabhai Mulji Wāv, pp. 13–14, pl. 23; Hindu *wāv* at Kapaḍvanj, pp. 93–5, pls. 80–83; James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The architectural antiquities of northern Gujarat more especially of the districts included in the Baroda State*, ASWI, IX, London, 1903, Khān Sarovar at Pattan pp. 55–7, pls. 5, 31–4; Surya Kund (Hindu) at Moḍhera, pp. 71–2, pl. 48; *wāv* at Roho, p. 101, pl. 30; *wāv* at Vāyad, p. 112, pls. 104–6; circular well with underground chambers at Māndvā pp. 112–13, pl. 107. For another square well with underground chambers at Maḥmūdābād see James Burgess, *On the Muhammadan architecture of Bharoach*,

Of the reservoirs built in the fort of Diu, one of the first must have been that in the breastwork at the eastern tip of the fort. We have already seen that the feature is shown in all early maps and sketches. The reservoir must therefore date from the time of the construction of the first phase of the fort, when the Portuguese were using the skills of local masons and craftsmen. The Portuguese would already have been familiar with the principal behind the design and its proven usefulness through the several decades of their presence in South India.

The reservoir (Figure 3.6, Plate 3.25) occupies the centre of the fortified breastwork and is accessible only through a gatehouse built into the lofty St Lucy's bastion (15). From the main area of the fort an arched gateway opens to a relatively wide corridor, which turns north and leads to another arched gate opening to the court of the breastwork. The corridor is vaulted and reinforced with a series of ribbed arches (Plate 3.22) to support a massive masonry roof, accommodating heavy artillery. This method of construction, already seen in the towers of the 1546 walls, is characteristic of Portuguese defensive structures and appears later even in the local buildings of Diu. At both sides the corridor had originally solid doors, which could be locked and defended.

Above the archway on the interior of the fort is a panel of carved stone slabs with the image of St Lucy flanked by two angels holding a crown over her head (Plate 3.23). As with the panels above the main entrance of the fort, the inscriptions and other features of this panel have also been obliterated, but its original form can be seen in a photograph in Antonio Bocarro's edition of *Arquivo Português Oriental* and reproduced in the Appendix.<sup>37</sup> On either side of the panel are coats of arms, but their heraldic emblems have been defaced. Below the carvings there were two tablets, one under St Lucy's image originally recording

*Cambay, Dholka, Champanir and Mahmudabad in Gujarat*, ASWI, VI, London, 1896, pp. 46–7, pls. 76–7.

37 Appendix, Inscription no. 59.

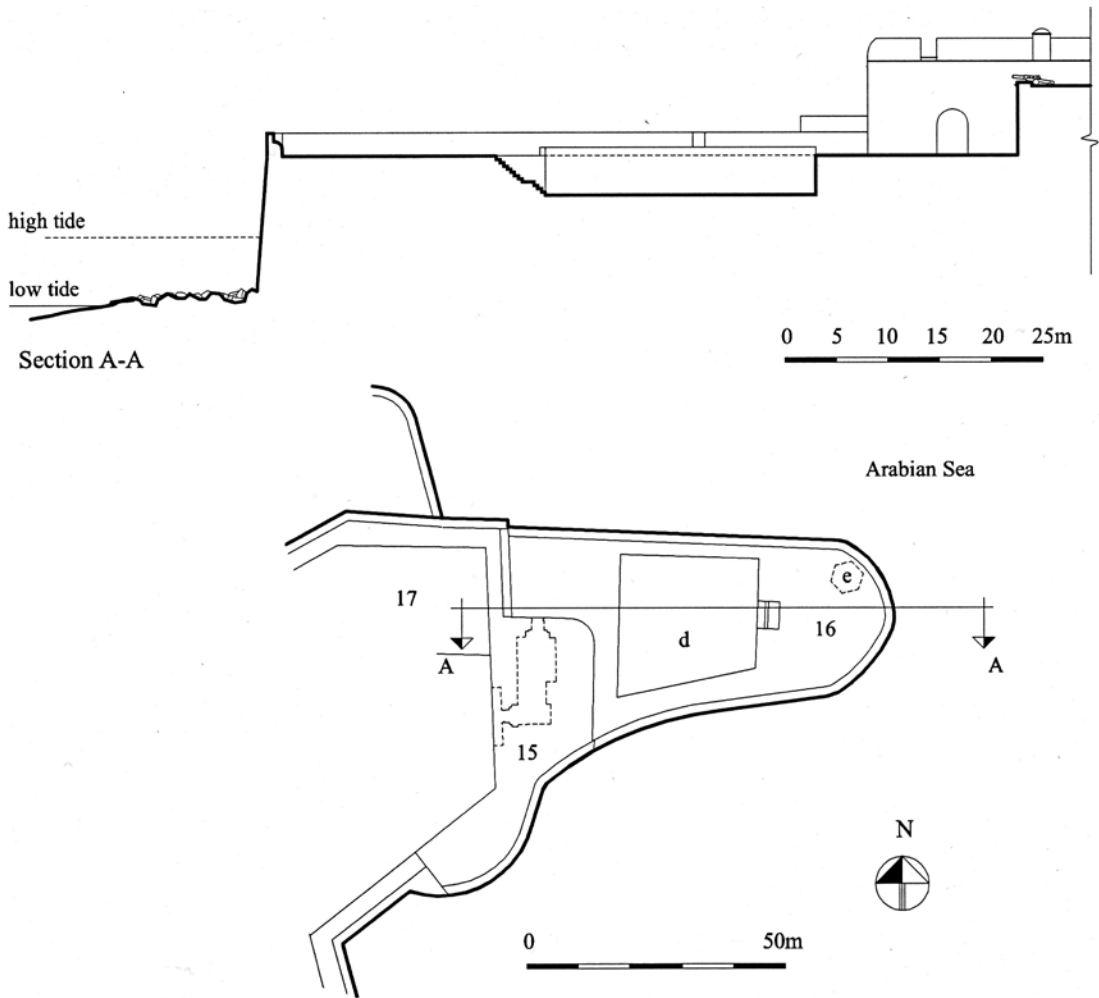


FIGURE 3.6 St Lucy's Gate and grand breastwork with an Indian-type reservoir. Plan and longitudinal section A-A above. The dotted lines show the corridor inside the gate. Key (as in Figures 3.1, 3.2): 15 St Lucy's Tower; 16 *coraça grande*; 17 St Teresa's Tower; d *wāv*; e modern lighthouse.

the name of the bastion and the date 1649. The lower tablet recorded originally the construction of the bastion on the order of the Captain of the Fort, Francisco Monis da Silva in 1650. The layout of the present gate and tower corresponds with that shown in Correa's engraving (Plate 3.7). Apart from the main entrance, this is the only other fortified gatehouse in the fort and it seems unlikely that such a massive structure would have been constructed solely for access to the reservoir. It seems, therefore, that the breastwork must have originally been designed for another function. An indication of the original function of the breastwork also appears in the Correa engraving which shows that one end of the chain from the Forte do

Mar was taken to the breastwork. If this engraving can be trusted, the breastwork could have housed the machinery for controlling the chain. The engraving indicates that the open area to the north of the gate and west of the reservoir (Figure 3.6) was a probable location for housing such machinery. Another function of the breastwork seems to have been for the provision of defences to the eastern side of the fort facing the Arabian Sea. Set right on the water the breastwork has a commanding view over the eastern walls (Plate 3.24). The construction of the reservoir would have given an additional daily function to this extensive structure which would have otherwise been used only occasionally.



PLATE 3.22

The vaulted corridor of St Lucy's gate (15) looking south. The structure of the vault with a series of arches is characteristic of Portuguese buildings and is seen in other towers.



PLATE 3.23

St Lucy's gate, the carved panel above the western archway facing the fort. The obliterated panel below St Lucy's bas-relief was inscribed originally, recording the construction of the bastion in 1649–50.



PLATE 3.24 General view of the eastern breastwork (16) commanding the east and south-east fortification walls seen from the sea at low tide looking west. The whole rocky bank is usually under water; the marks on the wall show the water level at high tide.

The reservoir (Plate 3.25) is trapezoid in plan with a set of steps at the eastern side, but unlike most of the Gujarati *wāvs* there is no well at the opposite end, as the breastwork is over the rocks of the sea bed so a well at this location would have only reached saline water, contaminating any other fresh water collected from rain. The structure is simple and is entirely constructed within the breastwork, lined with local stone roughly dressed and set with mortar. A parapet wall runs along the south side, and could have originally continued on the other sides. On the eastern side some cannon, for defending the fort, are now lying loose on open ground or are set up on modern masonry supports while at the north-eastern corner of this area a modern lighthouse has been constructed, which is still in use.

How far the reservoir could successfully provide water is not certain. Its survival indicates that it must have provided some water during

the year. However, unlike the Indian *wāvs*, which are located in natural depressions in the ground to benefit from the underground water seeping in, the reservoir in the fort is well above ground and could only have sustained rainwater, some of which would have been lost by leakage through the porous stonework, as well as by evaporation. The Portuguese might have been familiar with these reservoirs in their installations in South India, but in those regions, rain is abundant throughout the year and a similar reservoir could perhaps supply continuous fresh water. Gujarat, however, has long periods of seasonal drought with blazing sun drying out the surface water. In many months of the year this reservoir would be expected to have been dry. Perhaps the controlled access to it through a fortified gatehouse was also to prevent wasteful use of its water, whether or not the design of the gate and the reservoir were conceived at the same time.



PLATE 3.25 The Indian style reservoir (d) in the fortified breastwork (16) at the eastern tip of the fort, view from the top of St Lucy's bastion (15) looking east. The lighthouse (e) behind the steps of the reservoir at the north-eastern edge of the breastwork is modern.

### 3.2 *The King's and Queen's Cisterns* (*Cisterna do Rei and Cisterna da Rainha*)

The complex of four underground chambers known as the King's Cistern (Figures 3.2, no. 27, and 3.7) differs in concept from the two other reservoirs already noted (Plates 3.21 and 3.25) and was perhaps a more successful method for providing a permanent water supply. The reservoir is built entirely underground with two rectangular chambers at the northern side, and two square chambers at the south and south-west still remaining. The north chamber was originally much larger but parts of it had been demolished later to house a concrete bomb shelter built on its northern side. The reservoir could be entered for maintenance from a small opening to the northernmost chamber, but the entrance, now in ruins, appears to have been restricted and was not the means of access to the water for everyday use. Water could

be drawn only through openings in the roofs of the chambers, at the level of the ground on the exterior. The roofs of the two rectangular chambers have collapsed, but the traces of an arch in the middle of each chamber can be seen, indicating that the chambers had light flat roofs with wooden joists supported by arches. The roofs of these two chambers might not have had openings for drawing water, but as all chambers were interconnected the water could be drawn from the square chambers, which differ in their arrangement.

The square chambers have relatively low ceilings, which correspond on the interior roughly with the imposts of the arches in the other chambers. The thick roof of each of the square chambers is constructed with masonry and has a central shaft, square in plan and tapered towards the top, making a frustum of a pyramid (Plate 3.26) open to the ground above. On the top, three stone lintels, curved on the underside, are set over the

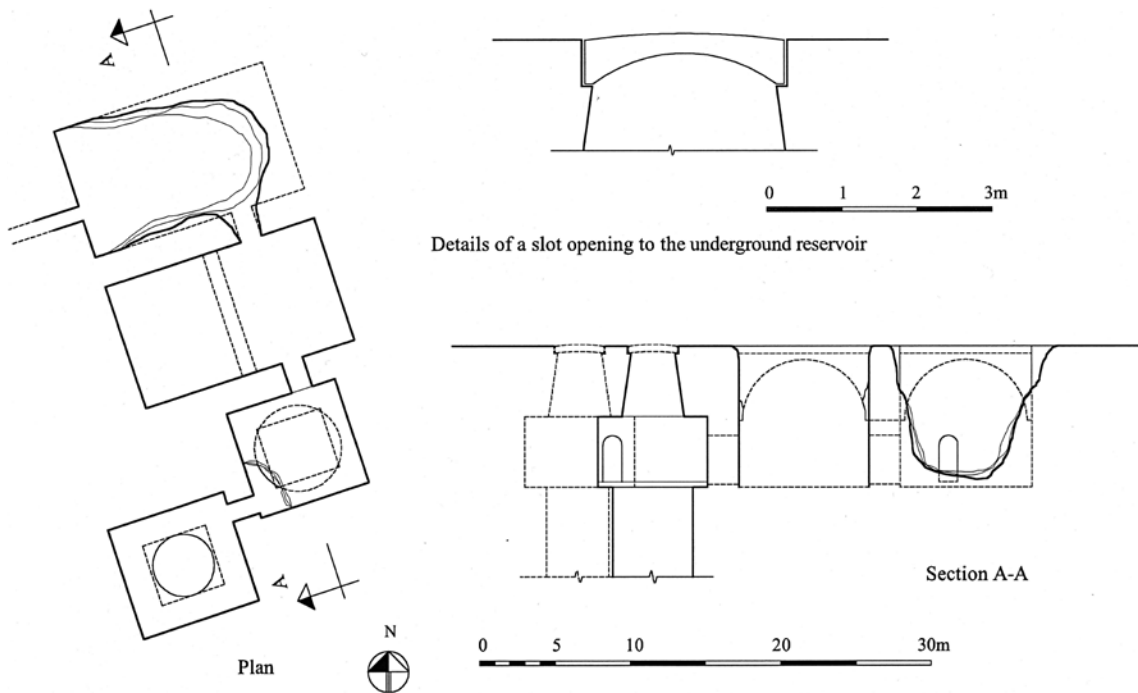


FIGURE 3.7 The King's Cistern (27), plan of the reservoir; section A-A through three of the chambers; and detail of one of the slots for drawing water.



PLATE 3.26 The King's Cistern (27), south-western square chamber seen through its opening to the southern square chamber, looking south-west. The well and the shaft above it can be seen, and, in the foreground, part of the modern concrete slab covering the well in the southern chamber.



PLATE 3.27 The King's Cistern, slots above the well shaft in the ceiling of the south-eastern square chamber, view from the open ground of the fort. Buckets could be lowered through the slots for drawing water.

opening with a wide gap in between forming open slots in the ground, for drawing water by buckets (Plate 3.27). Under the shaft below the floor of each chamber is a well which reaches the water table. As the reservoir is relatively distant from the sea the water is potable, although in the dry season it would have been slightly brackish. The well in the chamber at the south-west still contains water, but the well in the other square chamber has been covered with a modern concrete slab. This chamber is no longer in use and two of the stone brackets between the slots are also missing.

Drawing the water by means of buckets only would have preserved the water relatively undisturbed and with minimum contamination. The covered wells also ensured a more reliable supply in the dry season. It seems that there were more reservoirs of this type in the fort but only one other example known as the Queen's Reservoir

dating from 1643<sup>38</sup> has partly survived at the north (Figure 3.2, no. 26, Plate 3.28). Part of the roof has collapsed and access is blocked and without clearing the access the extent of the reservoir is not clear. It consisted of at least the two chambers shown in Figure 3.3, but it seems that at least one or two more chambers existed to the north of those marked. The King's and Queen's reservoirs must date from the early days of the Portuguese in Diu. At later dates more reservoirs were constructed, including a system below the open ground south of the warehouses (Figure 3.2, no. 18), but when the Portuguese gained control over the town and the island, they would have had copious supplies of fresh water, making continuous maintenance of the reservoirs in the fort

38 Appendix, Inscription no. 56.



PLATE 3.28 The Queen's Cistern (26) built entirely underground with two or more chambers, view into one of the vaulted chambers.

unnecessary. This is perhaps one of the reasons for their state of disrepair.

#### 4 Buildings within the Fort

If one could depend on Correa's engraving, it seems that at one stage the fort would have been occupied almost entirely with residential, public and utilitarian buildings, leaving only the area of the quarry as an open space. With the exception of parts of the Old Governors' Residence and the ruins of St James's Chapel none of these old buildings have survived. Those still standing in the fort seem mostly to date from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, when the fort was used mainly as a barracks, storage area and prison. At least from the beginning of the seventeenth century most of the administration, including the residence of the governor, was relocated to the town.

The older buildings in the fort must have fallen into decay and have been removed gradually leaving large areas unoccupied.

##### 4.1 *Old Governors' Residence (Antiga residencia dos governadores)*

The main entrance of the fort (5) opens to a central courtyard with the Old Governor's Residence (6) adjoining the northern wall and what was the Portuguese prison (29) at the western side (Plate 3.29). The area is still the main prison of the island, with part of the old residence used as its administrative offices, but during the day, when the fort is open to the public, prisoners are not released into the courtyard. Correa's engraving shows a lofty building with pitched roofs at the west end of the courtyard, but the present building with arched windows and flat roof is plain. If there remains any of the original building it seems to have been disguised by reconstruction



PLATE 3.29 The courtyard of the Old Governors' Residence seen from above the main entrance gate (5) looking west towards the building used as prison (29) and on the right modern stairs leading to the upper level of the residence (6) now used as offices.

and remodelling in later years. The building to the north of the courtyard has also been remodelled and many additions and alterations are modern, but the fabric is original and the exterior façade, with square windows opening into the fortification wall give an indication of its original appearance (Plate 3.30). The windows each have a narrow balcony supported by Indian style corbel stones, and that near to the entrance has a much grander covered balcony, the roof of which has now been heavily restored and may not represent its original form. This window opens to a grand hall, perhaps a banqueting hall originally.

At the south of the courtyard are two relatively large structures of little architectural merit. The building marked in the 1865 map as *Armazens* (armoury or warehouse) (28) seems to have been relatively older and originally bore an inscription recording its construction by the Governor of the Fort, Fernam (Fermão) de Miranda Henriques, in

1643,<sup>39</sup> but it has been heavily restored (Plate 3.31). The other marked as the inspector's quarter (30) is probably later in date. These buildings face the courtyard and have windows onto a sizeable walled trapezoid yard or garden to the south, no longer in use. The buildings themselves are also under-used and in parts dilapidated and roofless. At the eastern side of the courtyard of the Old Governors' Residence are the ruins of two utility rooms (a and b), one of them apparently a kitchen or larder, with an open-air laundry behind (c), again all dating apparently from the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

While the general outline of the courtyard corresponds with that shown in Correa's engraving there are certain differences which are worthy of consideration. In the engraving the walls

39 Appendix, Inscription no. 57.



PLATE 3.30 The Old Governors' Residence (6) external façade seen from the causeway (i) looking south-east. Most of the features are original, including the stone water-spouts below the battlements and the balconies in front of the windows, but the parapets of all the balconies have been lost and that of the large balcony of the main hall at the far end has been reconstructed.



PLATE 3.31 Armoury or warehouse (28, *Armazens*) in the south of the Governors' Residence compound, view from the trapezoid yard to the south of the building looking north-east.

surrounding the courtyard are shown to have been fortified with battlements, making the whole complex a defensible enclosure, somewhat like a citadel. The present access to the fort is through a simple gate south of the utility rooms, but in the engraving it appears that the original courtyard was smaller and the main entrance of the fort (5) opened originally to a street which ran south along the east side of the wall of the old courtyard and turned east to the main part of the fort. This is a more logical arrangement which would also have provided more security and privacy for the Governors' Residence. The original layout, however, must have disappeared long ago as no traces of it are shown in the 1865 drawing (Figure 3.1).

4.2 *Powder Magazine (Paio da polvora) and Other Utility Rooms*

Other utilitarian buildings in the fort include the garrison quarters (23), the roofless ruins of what may have been a canteen and other administrative buildings (g and h) as well as a Powder Magazine (Figure 3.2 no. 24) occupying the middle of a sunken walled enclosure. This structure (Figure 3.8) with its massive walls over two metres thick has a superficial appearance of a chapel. The form is achieved by providing the semblance of a gabled roof and by the treatment of the eastern façade, with a niche for a devotional image over the entrance and three turrets, two at the corner and one in the centre of the gable, representing

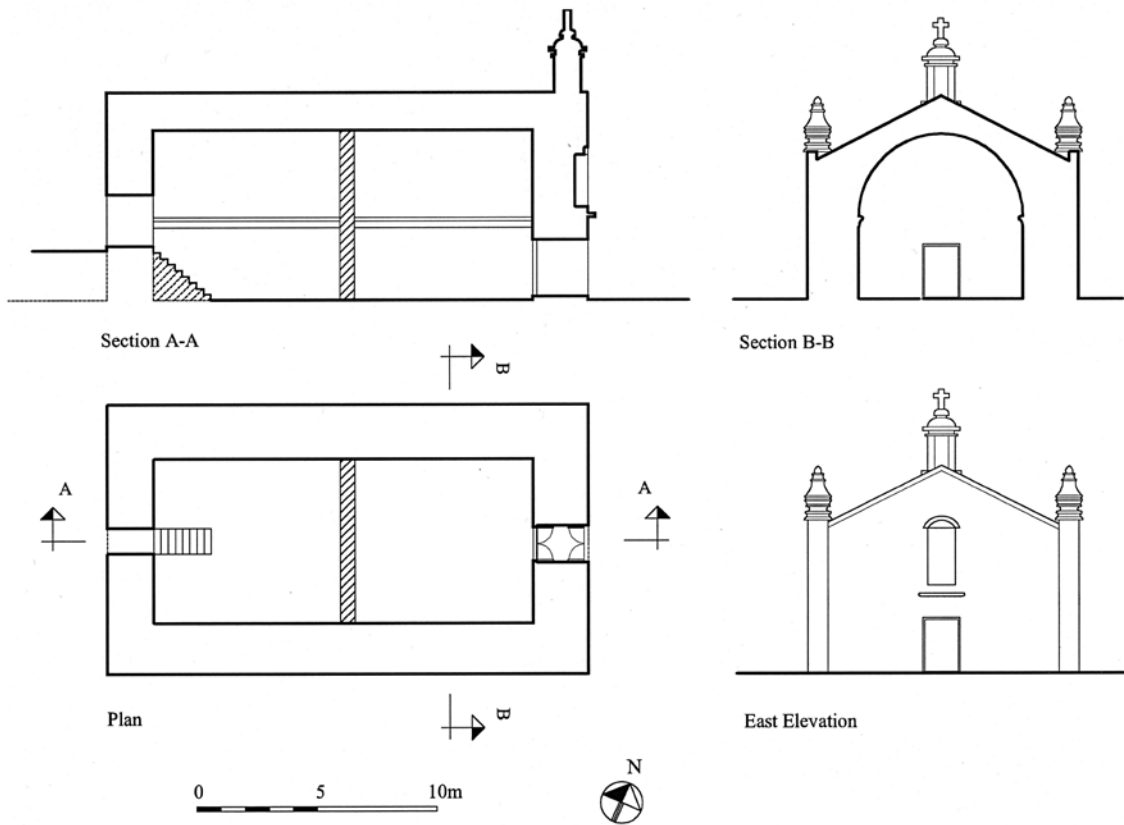


FIGURE 3.8 Powder magazine (24), plan, longitudinal section A-A, transverse section B-B showing the vaulted roof and east elevation which resembles that of a chapel. The thickness of the walls and the vault is noticeable.



PLATE 3.32 The Powder Magazine (24), exterior view from south-east of the enclosure showing the south and east façades, as well as some of the fragmentary carved or inscribed panels kept in the enclosure.

the Holy Trinity. The central turret is surmounted by a cross (Plate 3.32). The roof, however, is in fact a massive vault, but finished on the exterior with slopes further enhancing the chapel-like appearance. The similarity may be intentional, but the design seems to be standard for such structures and appears in a late eighteenth-century blueprint in the National Library of Lisbon, giving details for the construction of such buildings (Plate 3.33).<sup>40</sup>

The Powder Magazine does not have any windows and had originally a single entrance with two sets of double-leaved doors made of thick wooden planks reinforced by strips of steel (Plate 3.34). The interior (Plate 3.35) is plain except for a simple moulding which runs along the impost of the vaulted ceiling. The building was originally

plastered and painted white both on the interior and on the exterior much in the manner of other Portuguese colonial structures.

The Powder Magazine is not shown in any of the early sketches, but the fragmentary inscription of an earlier Powder Magazine has been found dating from 1586.<sup>41</sup> The present building appears in the 1865 plan, indicating that the building probably dates from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Such a date also corresponds with the date of the blueprint at Lisbon. The sunken enclosure of the building is part of its design, although the walls of the yard are lower than those shown in the blueprint. A simple door at the present ground level on the western side opens to a set of steps built to lead down to the floor level of the structure, but this door may not be original and the steps are later additions. In the blueprint

<sup>40</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisboa) accession no. D. 55. R. reproduced in António Manuel Hespanha (ed.), *História de Portugal, Direcção de José Mattoso*, IV, Lisbon, 1994, p. 94 [public domain].

<sup>41</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 26.

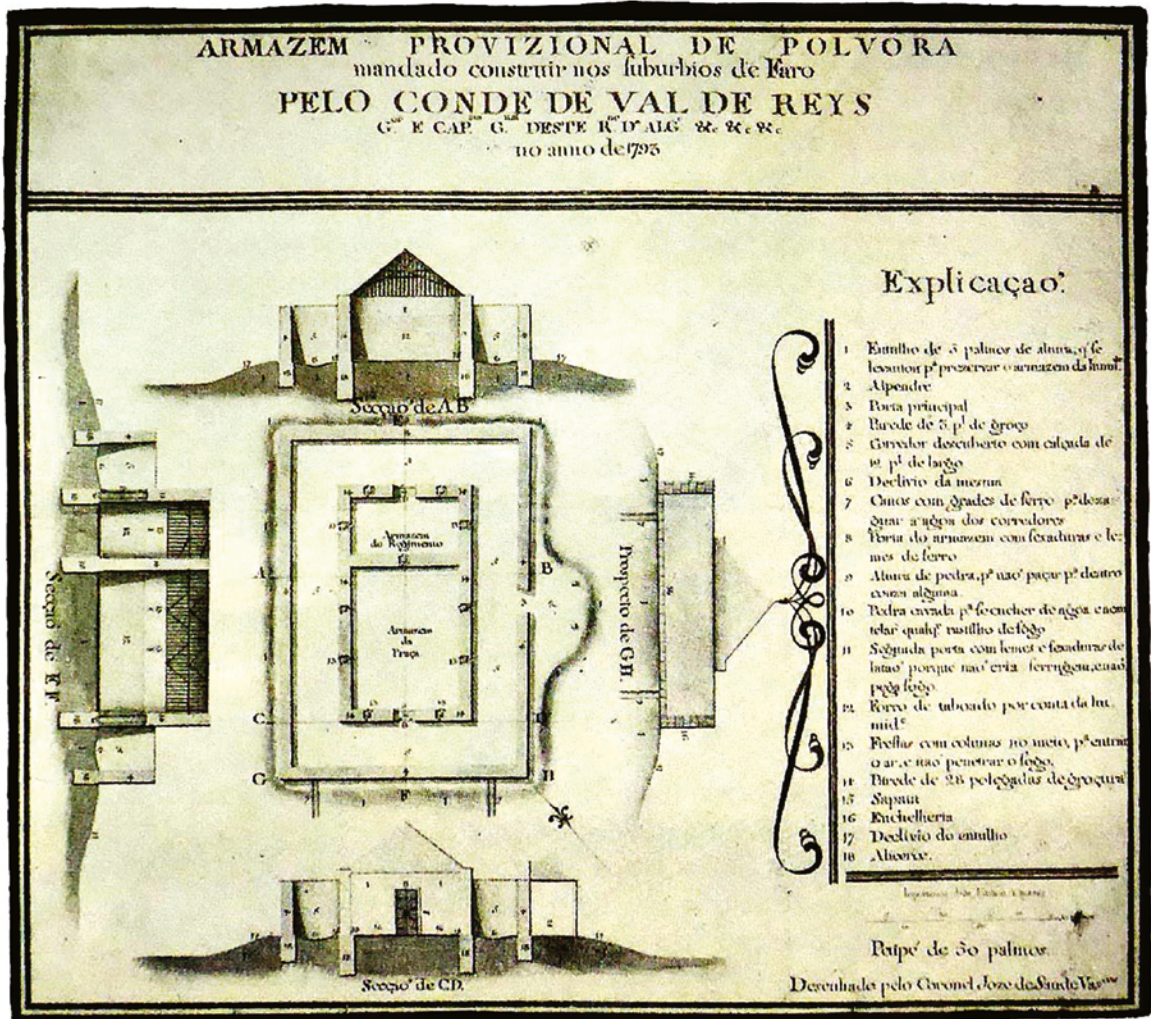


PLATE 3.33 A drawing – ‘blueprint’ – for the construction of powder magazines dated 1793 and preserved in the National Library of Portugal. The blueprint may be based on already existing instructions, but perhaps not earlier than the seventeenth century.

ACCESSION NO. D. 55. R

a door at this side is marked, but it is at ground level opening directly to the floor of the magazine. A partition wall has also been constructed across the middle of the building dividing the interior into two separate chambers. While this wall may be a later structure the blueprint shows such a wall dividing the building into two compartments was part of the original design. The whole concept – the unusually thick walls, the lack of windows, the double door, an external enclosure and positioning the building in the middle of the open space, away from other buildings – is to prevent

explosion in the first place and protect people and other structures in the case of explosion.

The Magazine must have lost its original function with the introduction of modern artillery, the relics of which are still to be seen in the fort. The building and its enclosure are now used as a depository for loose inscriptions and Portuguese tombstones found in the vicinity. Most of the tombstones are laid on the floor inside the building and the inscribed panels, some already noted, are kept in the enclosure. The inscriptions are mostly Portuguese but amongst them two are

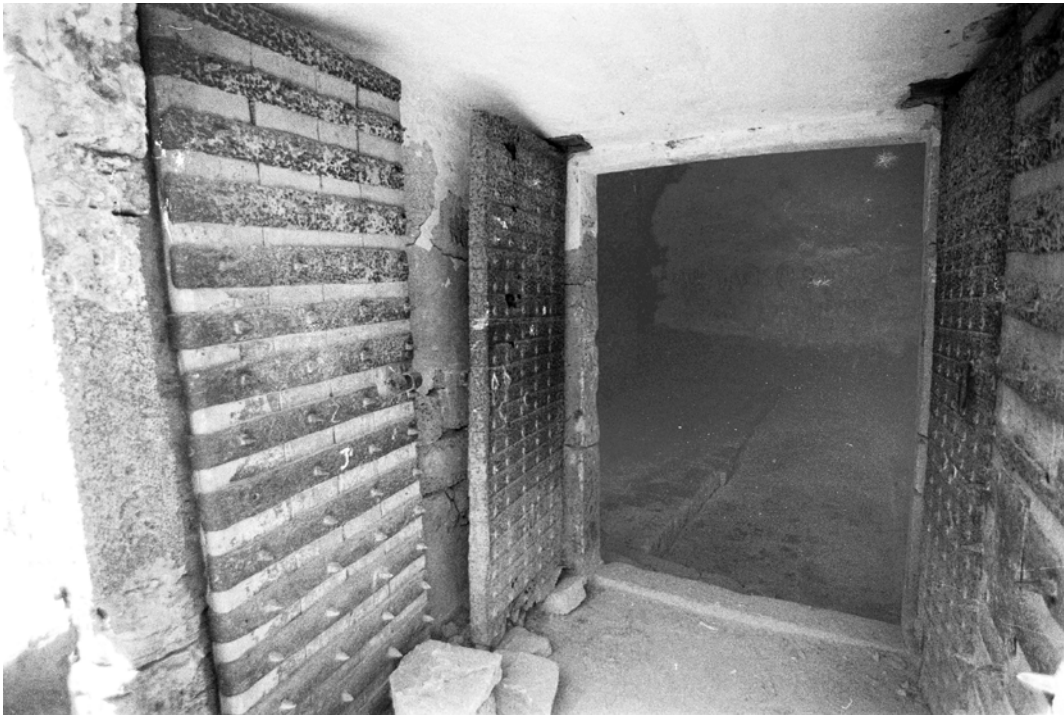


PLATE 3.34 The Powder Magazine, the eastern entrance still preserving its two sets of double-leaved doors which are made of thick wooden planks reinforced by strips of steel.



PLATE 3.35

The Powder Magazine, interior looking west and showing the vaulted ceiling. An additional partition wall, seen in the photograph, divides the interior into two chambers. Portuguese tombstones from Diu have been stored in rows on the floor.

Muslim,<sup>42</sup> one fragmentary dating from 949/1542 and containing historical information regarding an endowment, and the other, again fragmentary and badly eroded, from a grave.

#### 4.3 *The Former Cathedral of St Thomas (Sé, São Thomé) in the Fort*

A grand and perhaps the most prestigious building in the fort seems to have been the Sé, or cathedral (21), built originally near St Lucy's Gate, but nothing of the Sé has been left and according to Lopes Mendes it was already in ruins in the mid-nineteenth century. Correa's engraving (Plate 3.7) gives an impression of this structure which seem to have been orientated east-west with a sizeable nave and with the west façade flanked by two belfries with tall pointed roofs surmounted by flag-posts with cross finials. The belfries appear to have been designed to be seen from a distance at sea. This church is presumably the same as that of St Thomas (*São Thomé*) reported by Gaspar Correa<sup>43</sup> to have been the first church founded in Diu, and constructed by Governor Nuno da Cunha in 1536. Only ten years later we have the epitaph of Dom Fernando de Castro<sup>44</sup> 'who battled for the Cross and upheld the honour and glory of the name of Portugal, who fell mortally injured on 10 August 1546, during the explosion of the tower of St Thomas, undermined by the soldiers of the king of Cambay under the command of Rumeçao (Rūmī Khān) during the second siege of Diu, counting only 19 years of age'. It is not known how long the Sé in the fort remained in use, but the Cathedral of St Thomas (*Igreja de São Thomé*) was built in the town in 1598 and is discussed in Chapter 4.

#### 4.4 *St James's Chapel (Capella de São Thiago)*

Correa's engraving (Plate 3.7) also shows in the background (top right) St James's Chapel with its

layout similar to how it is today. The chapel was apparently intact until 1961, when it was damaged by an Indian navy bombardment during the brief encounter when the Portuguese were forced to hand over the island. The mortar shells demolished the roof of the chapel, the vestry and other associated chambers to the south of the building facing the sea and left scars on the standing walls. The foundation date of the chapel is not known but the dates of its rebuilding and restorations have been recorded in three inscriptions dating from 1623, 1777 and 1852 respectively.<sup>45</sup> The chapel therefore appears to date originally from the sixteenth century but its present appearance relates to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although small, the chapel represents a good example of Portuguese churches in northern India which differ in many respects from those in Goa and elsewhere in the south.

The chapel has a simple plan (Figure 3.9) consisting of a nave at the west with a rectangular choir and apse at the east. At the western end the building is attached to the fortification walls, hence it does not have the prominent front elevation seen in most other Portuguese churches. Instead, the entrance is at the western end of the northern wall (Plate 3.36) in the form of an arched portal framed by a cornice and two engaged columns resting on podiums. Above the cornice is a finely cut and moulded plaster crest with a circular medallion of St James the Greater in the legendary guise of Santiago Matamoros (St James the Moor-Slayer), on a galloping horse brandishing a sword (Plate 3.37). His emblem as a pilgrim, the shell, crowns the composition. The shell, as a symbol of pilgrimage and of Portuguese marine power, is a common Portuguese emblem, found on both the exterior and interior of Portuguese colonial churches, including those in Diu. The crest is a fine example of cut and moulded plasterwork in Diu, more refined than those seen on the Church of St Paul, the present cathedral of the

42 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 7 and 167.

43 Correa, III, p. 688.

44 Appendix, Inscription no. 14.

45 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 39, 108 and 131.

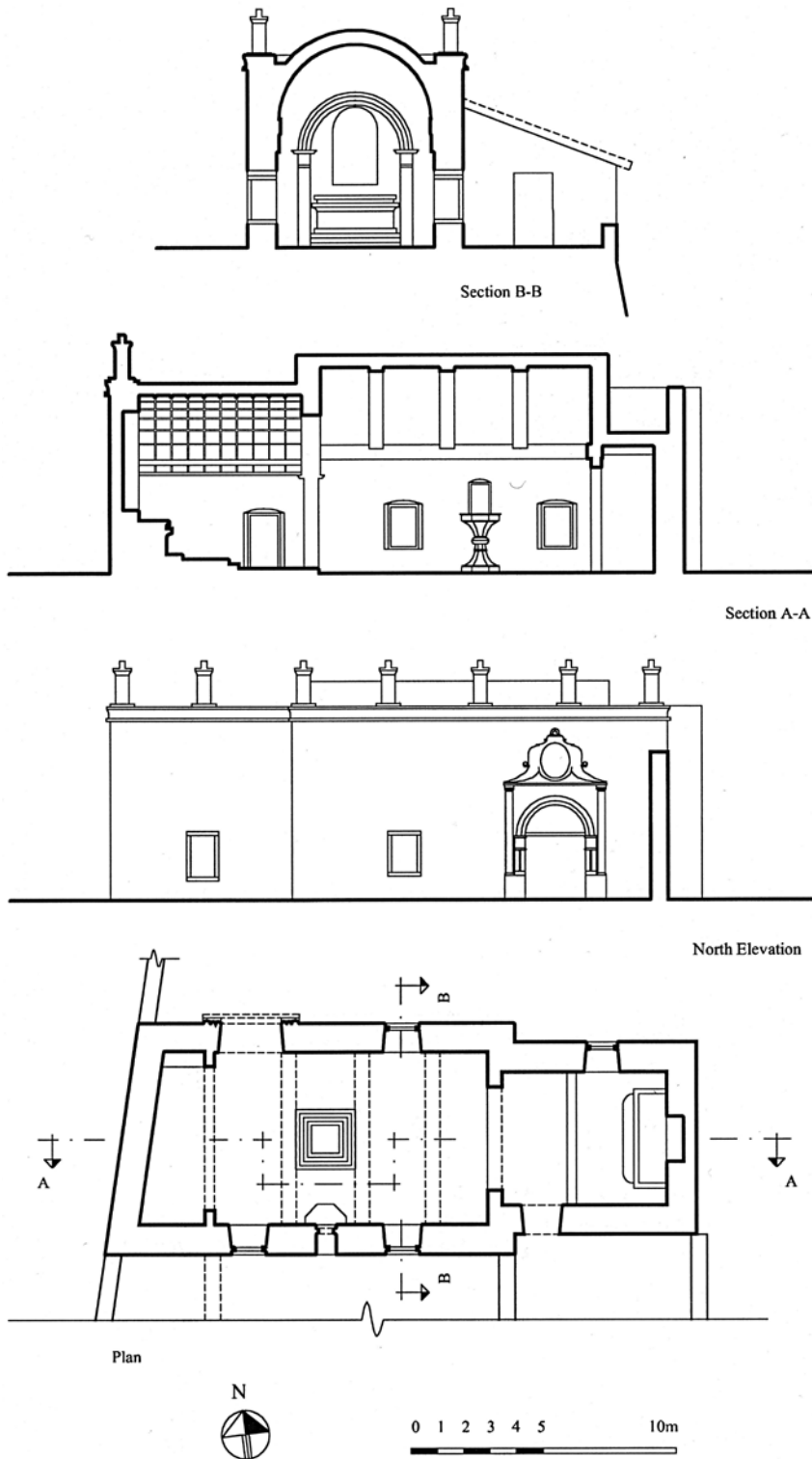


FIGURE 3.9 St James's Chapel (22), plan; north elevation showing the entrance; longitudinal section A-A and transverse section B-B showing the building in its original form. In the plan the commemorative monument erected in 1906 at the centre of the nave is marked but in Section A-A the monument, obscuring the pulpit, is not shown.



PLATE 3.36 St James's chapel (*Capella de São Thiago*, 22), northern elevation also showing the entrance. Some of the plasterwork of the wall has survived including the crest above the entrance. A number of the older windows (now blocked) can also be seen, along with alterations such as a blocked up triangular feature over the open window. To its left is the inscription of 1810.

town, on its western façade (Plate 4.56) and interior (Plate 4.57).

The entrance opens to a simple rectangular nave, which, as in many other churches in the town does not have a transept. The west end of the nave has been extended in a trapezoid form in order to join the building with St James's Tower (13) and the fortification wall which lies at an angle to the chapel. This extension is connected to the nave by a wide spanning arch (Plate 3.38) and has a flat roof, the wooden joists of which can be seen from the interior. This small area is the only part in the building in which timber has been used.

There were a number of windows in both the northern and southern sides of the nave, some of which have been blocked and plastered over both on the interior and on the exterior, but their

position can be seen on the exterior wherever the plaster has fallen (Plate 3.36). The vault of the nave has also fallen, but enough remains of its lower parts to indicate its original form. It was originally a slightly flattened semi-circular vault with three re-enforcing ribs or arches at equal intervals across the nave (Plate 3.38). At the eastern end an arch standing on two pilasters opens to the choir, the roof of which has survived intact (Plate 3.39). It is also a barrel vault, the imposts of which are at the level of the capitals of the pilasters, considerably lower than the lost vault of the nave. This arrangement is again common in the churches of Diu. The inner surface of the vault is embellished with decorative plaster coffering in the style of a wooden ceiling. In the last phase of the life of the chapel the ceiling has apparently been



PLATE 3.37 St James's Chapel, details of the entrance surmounted by a crest with a medallion in the centre, of St James as a mounted knight, with the pilgrim's emblem of a shell above.



PLATE 3.38 St James's chapel, interior view of the nave from the choir looking west towards the entrance, seen on the right. On the left is the pulpit and high up on the right above the wall part of the vault and two of its re-enforcing arched ribs can be seen. The commemorative pedestal erected in 1906 in the centre of the nave is inscribed with a transcription of an older but undated text found in the ruins of the old cathedral of the fort.



PLATE 3.39 St James's chapel, the choir from the north-west looking towards the door to the ante-chamber of the vestry and the altar, constructed with stone and plastered over. The niche in the eastern wall was partly damaged, apparently by a mortar shell in the Indian Navy attack of 1961, but has been repaired later. The barrel vault, however, is intact and is decorated with plaster coffering in the style of a wooden ceiling.

whitewashed, but it is possible that the coffering was originally painted. In the Portuguese churches in South India, where wood is abundant, timber is employed extensively in the structure of the buildings and particularly their roofs. Gujarat, however is dry and although there was a tradition of timber architecture in Muslim Gujarat, on the island structural timber was scarce and not freely available to the Portuguese. The Chapel, like all other churches in Diu, has, therefore, been designed with a minimal use of structural timber and with barrel-vaults for the roof structure.

The apse is an extension of the choir with a flat wall at the eastern end, signified by a simple step, instead of the more elaborate semi-circular design common in European churches. The form seen in the chapel is again common in Portuguese colonial churches, but in most of the important monuments the entire eastern wall is faced with an ornately carved wooden altarpiece. In the case of Diu the timber for such altarpieces must have been imported from a distance. It is not clear whether or not the chapel ever had a wooden altarpiece; it is more likely that the wall had painted decoration. The altar attached to the eastern wall is also constructed with stone and plastered over. Above the altar is an arched niche which had been partly destroyed, apparently by a shell, but has since been repaired. At the south side of the choir a door opens to what seems to have been an ante-chamber to the vestry (Plate 3.40). This room also had direct access to the outside on the eastern side and opened to a relatively large vestry on the west. These rooms were almost entirely destroyed in the naval attack and only some walls or their foundations have survived. However, the remains of the comparatively thin walls, covered originally by a light sloping roof, are not keyed into the walls of the chapel and seem to have been later additions, although the rooms might have replaced earlier chambers with similar functions.

At the north side of the vestry a small opening gives access to the pulpit which is attached to the middle of the southern wall of the nave. The opening is well above the floor of the vestry and might have been reached by means of wooden steps, but such steps have not survived. The pulpit (Plate 3.41), as with other features in the chapel, is again constructed of stone, plastered over. It is semi-octagonal in plan and in profile is in the shape of an enlarged chalice with a semi-octagonal foot and a narrow stem reinforced with a bulbous cushion in the middle decorated with foliage. Above and below the cushion are two simple rings of mouldings and the stem opens at the top to form the speaker's platform in the form of a semi-octagonal cup. On the stem and just above the foot, in place of repoussé work or settings with



PLATE 3.40 The site of the vestry of St James's chapel, apparently demolished in the 1961 mortar attack. The room with the traces of a sloping roof in the foreground is an antechamber with a door at the right opening to the choir and another door to a larger chamber which must have been the vestry. Behind the fallen wall the eastern end of the nave can be seen, with a window to the roof of the trapezoid area which adjoins the chapel and the fortifications, and St James's Tower visible behind the nave.



PLATE 3.41 St James's chapel, the pulpit in the form of a semi-octagonal chalice.

gemstones in the case of a chalice, are five carved severed heads of demonic figures, presumably 'Moors' (Plate 3.42). The decorative work is not very refined, nevertheless the pulpit represents an unusual design which does not appear in any other church on the island.

Although there are no longer any inscriptions on the building related to its construction, we have seen that one existed before, recording its restoration in 1623. We have also noted that the building was recorded in early maps and there is no reason to presume the date of its construction as being later than the mid to late sixteenth century. The chapel may therefore be the oldest church on the island and amongst the earliest Portuguese churches in India. Many of the features seen in this chapel appear in other churches of the island, establishing a particular style which is related to the Portuguese architecture of western India and can also be found in the churches of Daman. St James's chapel, however, does not seem to have



PLATE 3.42 St James's chapel, the base of the pulpit, imitating the foot of a chalice which instead of having repoussé work or being set with oval gemstones is carved with severed demonic heads of 'Moors'.

remained in use entirely as a religious building throughout its life. An inscription<sup>46</sup> on the exterior of the northern wall records that in 1810 the building was designated to serve as a wine cellar. It is not known whether the whole building was used for this new function or if part of it continued to be a chapel, but another inscription indicates that the building was still regarded as a religious edifice at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1906 a commemorative plinth was erected in the middle of the nave bearing an inscription<sup>47</sup> on its eastern face. The inscription gives the transcript of an undated but much earlier text recording the burial of the ashes of some soldiers, found in the ruins of the old cathedral of the fort. The chapel must have been regarded as a suitable place for the memorial, but the position of the plinth occupying a prominent place in the middle of the nave and reducing the space for the congregation and

obstructing the view of the altar for those behind it may indicate that the building, although probably maintained as a chapel, was no longer used for everyday worship.

By the end of the eighteenth century the fort no longer had a major military significance and the life of the Portuguese colony had already moved to the town of Diu. In the subsequent decades the old buildings of the fort, with the exception of St James's chapel and what was left of the Old Governors' Residence were left to decay. Even many of the later buildings gradually lost their roofs. For nearly two centuries the fort seems to have been no more than a barrack, a prison and a vast – and mostly open air – storehouse, until it was designated as a historic monument after 1961.

#### 4.5 Forte do Mar (Sānkhal Kuth or Panikotha)

A discussion of the fort of Diu would not be complete without considering the unusual and impressive structure shown on the old maps as Forte do Mar or Baluarte do Mar, and known locally as the Panikotha. Almost all of the present building

46 Appendix, Inscription 119.

47 Appendix, Inscription no. 148. A transcript of the text is also given in *Arquivo*, 11, ii, p. 619.

appears to be Portuguese work, but as already noted a feature known as Sānkāl Kuth existed in the channel as part of the Islamic defences of Diu well before the arrival of the Portuguese. According to the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, completed in 1000/1591–2:

“Malik Ayāz was amongst the grandest commanders [of the sultan] ... There are many great edifices left in Gujarat bearing his name, among them was the fort of Diu, which was built by him, but has now been demolished by the Farangīs who have built another fort in its place. He also built a bastion (*burj*) known as Sānkāl Kuth in the middle of the sea, and an iron chain was fixed between it and the shore, so that the Farangī ships could not pass through. This building is still standing as it used to be. After the death of Sultan Bahādur, at the time of the great-grand-son of the martyred Sulṭān Maḥmūd,<sup>48</sup> that bastion and the port fell into the hand of the Farangīs.”

Nothing much is left of the old Muslim town. Muslims, of course, still live in Diu and there is a neighbourhood known as Muslim Wada (96) situated near the town-wall and between the *Porta da Terra* (58) and the southern postern gate (m). A large part of this less-prosperous quarter is built on the site of a quarry, the stone of which was used for building the Portuguese town wall, so while this side of the town is part of the historic Muslim town, Muslim edifices in this area are not that old. There are, however a number of other Muslim sites, scattered in the town: one for example (r) adjacent to the modern Nehru Park; there are also tombs set beside the streets, one (g) at the west end of the short street which leads to the northern postern gate; another (b) near the western wall of the Karao Jāmi' and yet another (i) slightly further away to the south of the Jāmi'. These edifices show that the Muslim population, presumably

larger than today, was once spread in many areas of the town.<sup>49</sup>

An impression of Sānkāl Kuth as a part of Malik Ayāz's port of Diu can also be obtained from an old engraving,<sup>50</sup> apparently prepared before the Portuguese fort was built. As with other old illustrations the engraving shows the town and its harbour from the north – a viewpoint from the shores of Ghoghla (Figure 3.10).

The engraving shows the town on the skirts of some hills, while the island is relatively flat and the engraver has exaggerated the land features. Nevertheless, the Sānkāl Kuth and the iron chain is shown. The pre-Portuguese origin of the engraving is apparent, as the Portuguese fort is not shown, otherwise the fort would have occupied the area at the left side, behind the Sānkāl Kuth, as seen in later maps. Many other features of this engraving are also of interest in establishing the layout and condition of the Muslim town and will be discussed in the next chapter.

The position of the present Forte do Mar corresponds with that of the *Sānkāl Kuth* described in the historical sources and shown in the old engraving. Furthermore, the engraving shows *Sānkāl Kuth* with a square layout, possibly preserved under the present structures. The method of operation of the Muslim's chain seems to have differed from that of the Portuguese, as seen in Plate 3.7, which shows the chain supported by stationary boats between the bastion in the sea and the fort. In the Muslim design a single line of unsupported chain between the island and the tower appears to have blocked

48 A reference to Sulṭān Maḥmūd III (1537–1554) the great-grandson of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Baigara.

49 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 161–3: یکی از امراء کبراء ملک ایاز بود... از ملک کارنامها در گجرات مانده چنانچه قلعه دیو را او ساخته بود که الحال فرنگیان او را ویران کرده قلعه دیگر عمارت کرده اند و برچی از میان دریا برآورده الموسوم بسانکل کوته از او تا ساحل زنجیر آهن بسته تا چهارزات فرنگ به آن راه عبور نتوانند نمود تا الاحال آن عمارت بحال خود است بعد از شهادت سلطان بهادر در زمان نبره سلطان محمود شهید آن قلعه و بندر در دست فرنگ افتاده.

50 Original in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, reproduced here from Danvers, I, facing p. 400; a version of this engraving is also given in Frederic P. Marjay, *Portuguese India, a historic study*, Lisbon, 1959, pl. 16.

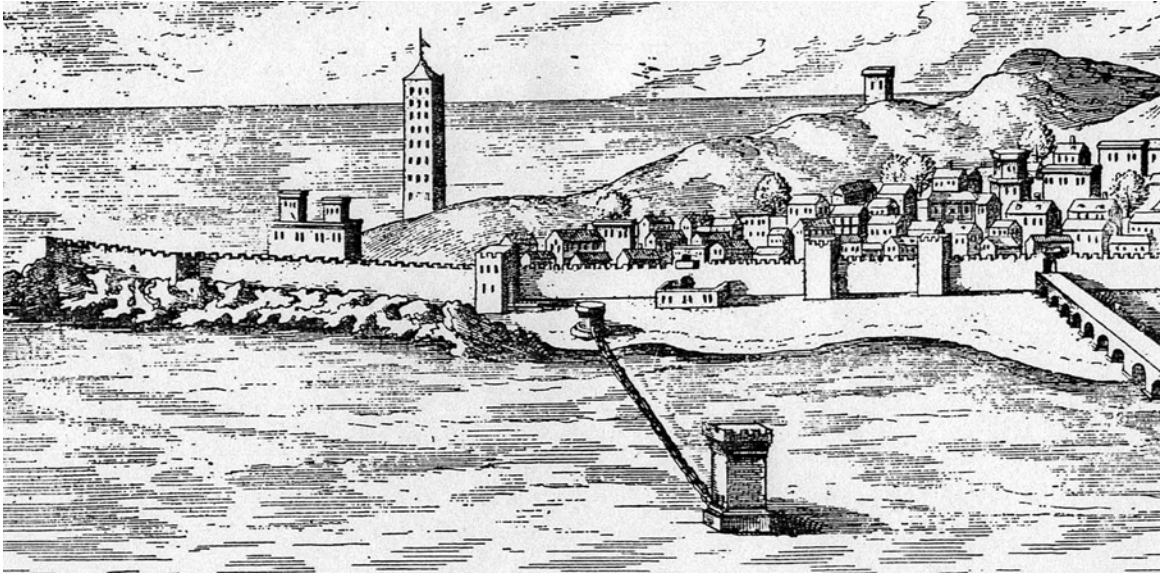


FIGURE 3.10 Details of an old engraving of Muslim Diu before the arrival of the Portuguese, showing the Sankal Kuth tower set in the water and the device – a large winch – for lowering the chain to enable friendly ships and merchant vessels to enter the harbour. The early Portuguese engravings show that the chain system was also used by them in their early years of controlling the town, but was later abandoned in favour of protecting the fort and town by heavy cannon.

FROM DANVERS, FACING P. 400

the navigable pass to the harbour. To allow merchant fleets and friendly ships to enter the harbour there would have been devices for lowering the chain, housed in the tower and a small drum-like structure on the coast, shown in the old engraving.

The Forte do Mar as it stands today is a small bastion built in the middle of the mouth of the navigable channel opening to the old port (Plates 3.4–3.7). The well-preserved structure forms a long and narrow fortification – wider at the south-eastern end – with two small courtyards and a tower or keep in the middle (Plate 3.43, Figure 3.11). In the core of the keep, or – judging from the mid-sixteenth century map of Correa (Plate 3.7) – at the east end of the present structure may lie the foundations of the Sankal Kuth of Malik Ayāz. Almost all of the present work seems to be Portuguese, but the position of the bastion corresponds well with that of Sankal Kuth, as shown in the old engraving of the sultanate town (Figure 3.10). This chain between the island and

the tower could indeed block the navigable pass to the harbour. The winch on the shore is shown in the old engraving, but the function of Sankal Kuth itself, would have been an observation post and support for the other end of the chain.

The method of lowering and raising chains for controlling harbours was apparently known in India. An engraving in the Braun and Hogenberg Atlas<sup>51</sup> shows similar chains protecting the harbour of Goa (Plate 3.44). In spite of the caption on the engraving mentioning Goa as a town in the Christian world, the date of the engraving is 1509, at the time when the town was still under the control of the ‘Ādil Shāhīs, and under threat of takeover by the first Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco de Almedia. The Mamluk fleet was helping Ismā‘il

<sup>51</sup> Georg Braun, ed. and Franz Hogenberg, engraver, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (known as Braun and Hogenberg Atlas), 1542–66 (colour edition 1572), p. 57 and following plate.

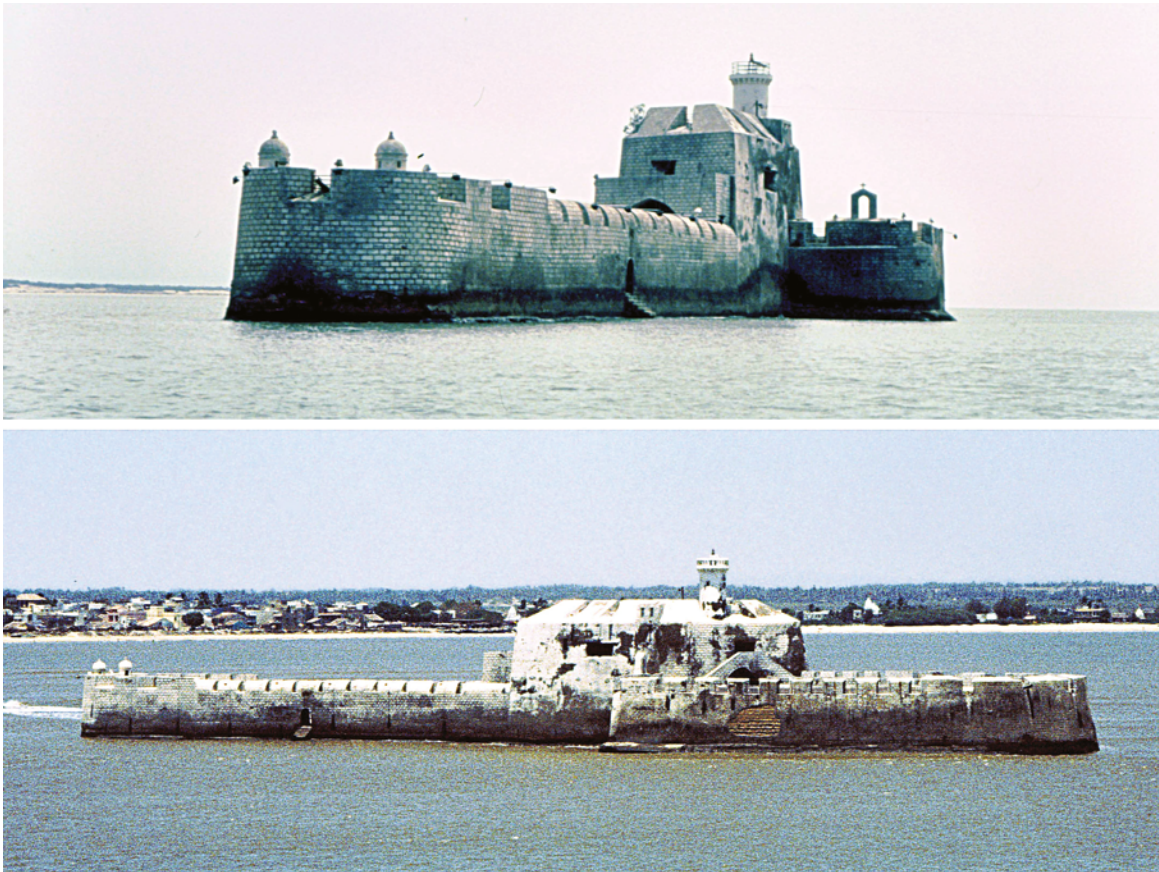


PLATE 3.43 Forte do Mar. Above: view from a boat approaching the fort. The two domed features at the far left (north-west) end are one-man observation posts, common in Portuguese forts. Steps lead from the water to the southern entrance of the north-west courtyard. In front of the keep, the grand arch, partially visible, is a later addition over a small entrance to a corridor passing through the keep to the south-eastern courtyard. Below: view from the top of St Lucy's Tower looking north. Two flights of steps can be seen leading to a chamber in the south-east of the keep. Other features, including chambers at each end of the two yards, are hidden by the walls and battlements.

‘Ādil Shāh protect the town, which was eventually lost to the second Viceroy, Afonso de Albuquerque a year later. It is possible that the chain in Goa was introduced as a layer of defence by the Ottomans, who were familiar with the method from much earlier times.

In Diu, Malik Ayāz might have been already familiar with the concept or have learnt the practice directly from the Ottomans, but the idea was not new, and not only was exercised by the Ottomans but was apparently a well-known practice in some of the early Islamic ports. One of the early records of the method is known to have been

implemented in the historical town of Darband on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, as given in the tenth century *Hudūd al-‘ālam*:<sup>52</sup>

52 *Hudūd al-‘ālam min al-mashriq il’al-maghrib*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran, 1962, p. 164:

در بند خزران شهرست بر کران دریا میان این شهر و بر دریا زنجیری کشیده عظیم چنانک هیچ کشتی اندر نتواند آمدن مگر بدستوری، و این زنجیر اندر دیوارها بسته است محکم کی از سنگ و ارزیز کرده اند. Authors' translation, for another translation see Vladimir Minorsky (tr. and ed.), *Hudūd al ‘ālam ‘the regions of the world’, a Persian geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D.*, London, 1937, p. 145.

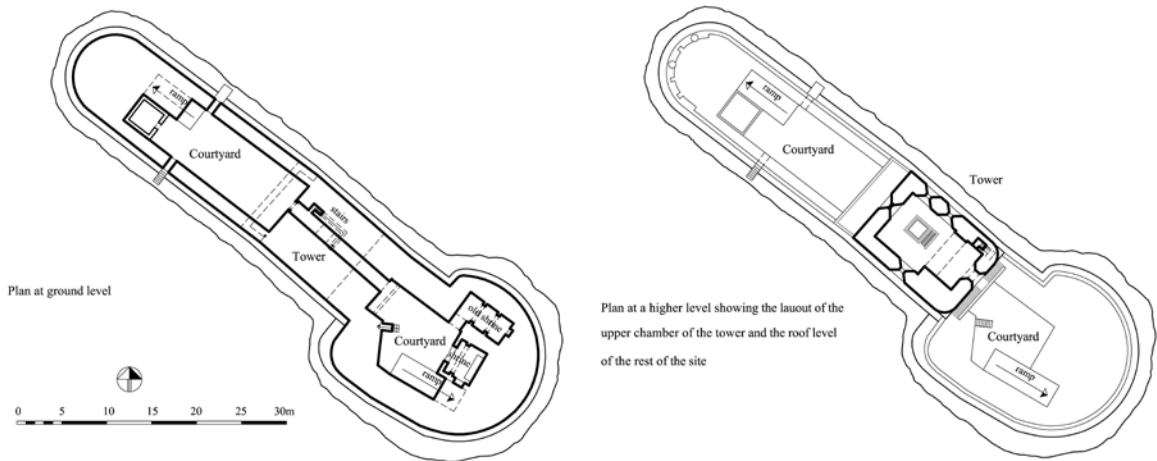


FIGURE 3.11 Plans of the Forte do Mar at two levels, showing at ground level the two small courtyards. A chamber, which may have been a powder magazine, is at the far end of the north-west court and another chamber is to the north of the chapel of the Invocation of Our Lady of Victories at the far end of the south-east court. The narrow corridor connects the two courts through the keep. The plan of the upper level shows the interior of the chamber below the roof of the keep with a central shaft giving light to the lower floors and access for hauling cannon and ammunition to the chamber and the top of the keep.



PLATE 3.44 The town of Goa from the north shore of the Mandovi River looking south. The engraving dated 1509 shows pre-Portuguese Goa at the time of the conflict between the Portuguese and the ‘Adil Shāhīs supported by the Ottoman Mamluks. Two types of barrier protect the entry to the town: two rows of piles and a row of chains. The substantial building at the right is on the site of the modern town of Panjim, now the capital of the district. Around the mouth of the river galleons and carvels are bombarding each other, illustrating the conflict between the Portuguese and Ottoman armadas. The barriers seem to have been effective; no ships can be seen beyond them.

BRAUN AND HOGENBERG ATLAS, P. 57 AND THE FOLLOWING PLATE

“Darband of the Caspian is a town on the sea coast. Between the city and over the sea they have strung a massive chain in such a way that no ship can enter except by permission. This chain is firmly fixed to walls built of stone and lead.”

The account of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* is confirmed by the tenth-century geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī:<sup>53</sup>

53 Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa mamālik* (11–12th century Persian tr.), ed. Iraj Afshar, Tehran, 1961, pp. 156–7.

“Darband is by the sea and at both sides of the shore they have built two embankments on the water abutting the town. These two barriers are built of stone and lead. At the mouth of this harbour, they have aligned a chain so that ships may enter or depart only by permission ... A part of the fortification wall that is built of stone goes into the water ending in a tower so that the ships do not come close to the fortified walls of the town. This is a formidable structure among those of Nūshirwān the Just.”

Darband, set at the east end of a formidable mountain, was a Sasanian town and major border post by the Caspian at the north of their territory. The town was well protected with defensive walls<sup>54</sup> stretching from both north and south right into the water, at either side of the harbour. Protecting harbours with chains may therefore have been a Sasanian practice, inherited by the Muslims at later dates. Another example is the ancient port of Acre or ‘Akkā on the east coast of the Mediterranean (now in Israel). The Persian scholar and poet Nāṣir Khusrau, who visited Acre in Sha‘bān 438/February 1097, records in his travel account:<sup>55</sup>

در بند بر دریاست و بر دو کرانه دو سد بنا کرده اند بر آبی که از دریا در شهر می آید. و این دو سد از سنگ و رصاص ساخته اند. و بر دهانه آب سلسله کشیده اند کی کشتی به فرمان در آید و برون شود... پاره ای از این دیوار بارو کی به سنگ کرده اند در دریا آمده است مقدارش برج تا کشتی نزدیک باروی شهر نیاید و این بنائی محکم است از بناهای نوشروان عادل.

The Persian text is given here, see also: *al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (Arabic Text) ed. Muh. G. Abd el Aāl, Cairo, 1961, p. 110. Authors' translation.

54 The reference to walls built of stone and lead mortar is also an indication of the pre-Islamic origin of the installation as this method of construction is well known to be associated with the Sasanians.

55 Nāṣir Khusrau Qubādīyānī, *Safar nāma* (Persian) ed. Mohammad Dabir Siyaqi, third reprint. Tehran, 1369 (1990–91), pp. 24–5 (Authors' translation).

چون از آنجا (صور) هفت فرسنگ برفتیم بشهرستان غنکه رسیدیم و آنجا مدینه عکا نویسند. شهر بر بلندی نهاده زمینی کج و باقی هموار و در همه ساحل که بلندی نباشد شهر نساوند از بیم غلبه آب دریا و خوف امواج که بر کرانه میزند ... باره بغایت محکم و جانب غری و

“After we travelled for seven leagues (from Sour), we arrived at the town of ‘Akkah that is written Madinat ‘Akkā. The town is set on a high elevation on partly sloping ground with the rest level. They do not build towns along the coast where there is no high ground, for fear of the rising of the sea water and the high waves which beat the shore ... The fortification walls, extremely strong, extend into the sea at the west and the south and at the southern side is the harbour. Most of the towns by the sea have harbours. This is a feature that is built for the protection of ships, as an anchorage backing the town. The walls extend into the sea with an opening as wide as fifty yards (*gaz*) without any barrier, except that chains are set between one wall and the other so that when they want a ship to enter the harbour they lower the chains into the water and the ship passes over the chains. They then raise the chains so that no outsider can harm those ships.”

It seems that the Portuguese found such a – rather clumsy – method of protecting the harbour ineffective. At first, as Correa's map (Plate 3:7) shows, they kept the chain, but soon found a cannon or two on the bastions of the fort and on the Forte do Mar would be a better deterrent, so most of the old engravings show no chains between the feature and the fort. Over time the Forte do Mar was expanded and many times reconstructed. In the present fort two arched entrances of similar size

جنوبی آن با دریاست و بر جانب جنوب میناست، و بیشتر شهرهای ساحل را میناست، و آن چیزی است که جهت محافظت کشتیها ساخته اند مانند اسطبل که پشت بر شهرستان دارد و دیوارها بر لب آب دریا در آمده و درگاهی پنجاه گز بگذاشته بی دیوار الا آنکه زنجیرها از این دیوار بدان دیوار کشیده اند که چون خواهند که کشتی در مینا آید زنجیرها سست کنند تا بر آب فرو روند و کشتی بر سر آن زنجیر از آب بگذرد و باز زنجیرها بکشند تا کسی بیگانه قصد این کشتیها نتواند کرد.

The geographer al-Muqaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, also confirms the method of protecting the port of Acre with chains. He notes that the system was also used for the harbour of Šūr (Sour), see al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm* (Arabic), Leiden, 1906, pp. 163–4.



PLATE 3.45 The royal coat of arms and the symbol of the Holy Sacrament set over the southern entrance of the Forte do Mar. The entrance is small and narrow, but wide enough to take cannon on gun-carriages. Both bas-reliefs seem to have been reset in the wall after its restoration. The representation of the Holy Sacrament indicates that the sacrament was kept in the chapel.

give access to the western courtyard. The main entrance, however, must have been that in the south, as over the arch are set the royal coat of arms and the symbol of the holy sacrament (Plate 3.45). This entrance is visible from the observation towers in the fort. The water at the north side of the bastion is shallow, so although the northern side of the feature is also fully fortified (Plate 3.46), this side would not have been exposed to enemy fire and the northern entrance is accessible by fishing boats and small craft.

The small courtyards are surrounded by massive walls with walks or *terrepleins* behind the battlements. The long western court (Plate 3.47) has a chamber at its western end with a ramp to the side for taking cannons to the semi-circular solid

platform or the banquettes which it seems housed originally only three cannons, two facing the south – the navigable strait – and one facing east. Here a cannon bearing an embossed royal coat of arms is now set on a modern stone and concrete support, but the other two are no longer in place. At this end of the bastion there are also two small domed observation posts, characteristic features of most Portuguese forts. The small chamber appears to be a later addition and does not seem to have been a barrack for the guards, but could have been an armoury. The bastion lacks obvious accommodation for the soldiers and it is likely that they lived in the main fort and plied back and forth by boat for guard-duty. At the eastern side of the yard a small entrance gives access to the corridor



PLATE 3.46 Forte do Mar, northern wall seen from the platform of the northern entrance looking east. The bulging lower part of the middle tower serves to reinforce the massive walls above it. The two openings on the wall of the keep are apertures for cannon, but also provide light for the otherwise dark chambers housing the cannons.

which passes through the central keep. In front of the entrance a sizable arch has been constructed, apparently at a later date. The arch is purely decorative and has no defensive function.

The south-eastern courtyard (Plate 3.48), irregular in outline, is smaller than that at the north-west. At its western end a set of steps ascend to the walk, giving access to the corridor of the central keep. Two sets of steps, again later additions, lead at either side of the wide arch giving access to the chamber below the roof of the tower. This opening seems to have originally been a cannon aperture. At the south-eastern end of the court is a round platform (banquette) accessed by a ramp. To the side of the ramp is the Chapel of the Invocation of Our Lady of Victories (*Capella da invocação de Nossa Senhora da Vitoria*) and beside the shrine is another chamber suitable for keeping the Holy Sacrament (Plates 3.49–3.50). The solid round banquette is partly set on natural rock facing the open sea, housing a number of cannons.

The massive keep is constructed on a rectangular – near square – plan and rises twice the height of the rest of the fortification walls (Plates 3.43, 3.48). It consists of a chamber below the roof with a light-well right passing through the corridor at parade level for providing some light but, as noted, mainly for taking cannon and ammunition to the chamber and the roof of the keep (Plates 3.51–3.52). Access to the roof is also provided by stairs at the parade level in the corridor between the two courts and from the walks of the south-eastern court. There seem to have been a number of cannons both in the chamber below the roof as well as on the roof, but in modern times the keep has simply been used as an observation post, with a light house built in the south-east corner of the roof.

As for the dates of construction, reconstruction and expansions of the Forte do Mar, apart from the historical records and a number of old engravings already seen or to be discussed in the next chapter,



PLATE 3.47 Forte do Mar, north-western courtyard seen from an aperture in the upper chamber of the keep. While the wide walks behind the battlements are for guards to circulate, they are not wide enough for placing cannon. The cannon emplacements were restricted to the main keep and the two ends of the building.

we have many inscriptions which throw light in the development of the feature. The Sānkā Kuth must have been constructed well before the 1520s, while Malik Ayāz was alive. The feature was handed over to the Portuguese in 25th October 1535, and perhaps for a decade or so would have been kept as it was. Our first inscription,<sup>56</sup> by Aries Falcão, dates from 1588, fifty-three years after the Portuguese treaty with Bahādur Shāh. The text refers to the feature as *Baluarte do Mar* (bulwark in the sea) and implies that the first alteration to the Sānkā Kuth was probably made at this time. The configuration of this phase of the reconstruction could be seen in an engraving in the *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental* first published in 1635 (Plate 3.6).

56 Appendix, Inscription no. 27.

Fifty years after Aries Falcão's alterations, the Chapel of the Invocation of Our Lady of Victories was constructed, recorded in two inscriptions<sup>57</sup> of 1638, set at either side of the exterior arch of the chapel (Plate 3.49). This clearly indicates that by this date at least the south-eastern court – if not the whole feature – had developed to its present form. The representation of the Holy Sacrament over the north entrance of the Forte do Mar may also date from this time, although it seems to have been re-set when the entrance, or at least the upper part of it was reconstructed at later dates. Our next inscription dates from 1861, over two centuries later, and records not building or addition to the Forte do Mar but its complete restoration by the order of the Governor of the town, Romao José de Sousa.<sup>58</sup> It probably indicates that after the feature had lost its military importance it had fallen to decay and needed thorough restoration. Another inscription of the same governor concerning the restoration of the Fort and its jetty in 1861,<sup>59</sup> points to the sad state of the Portuguese military installations in Diu, when the town, the fort and Forte do Mar did not present their earlier might. The Forte do Mar has also been repaired in modern times, although this is not recorded in any inscriptions.

The Fort of Diu and the Forte do Mar are amongst the best-preserved monuments of the Portuguese legacy in the Indian Ocean and today the Fort and Forte do Mar are protected monuments open to the public, apart from a part of the fort which is designated as a prison. The Forte do Mar is only accessible to visitors by a few boats, and, as with Diu in general, visitors are mainly local or from nearby Gujarat, rather than it being a major international tourist destination. It has therefore been spared the environmental impact and damage that could have been inflicted on these vulnerable monuments of its cultural history by droves of tourists.

57 Appendix, Inscription nos. 47, 48.

58 Appendix, Inscription no. 137.

59 Appendix, Inscription no. 138.



PLATE 3.48 Forte do Mar, south-east court looking north-west towards the keep. The wide arch, along with the steps from the walks, ascending to the opening of the chamber below the keep, are later additions and the opening seems to have originally been an aperture for a cannon. The small opening under the arch is an entrance to the corridor which leads to the north-west yard. The lighthouse on the roof of the keep is fairly modern.



PLATE 3.49 Forte do Mar, south-east court, looking south-east towards the Chapel of Our Lady of Victories and the ramp to the banquette at its right. The opening at the left of the chapel is to a small room, where the Holy Sacrament might have been kept. Both the chapel and the chamber next to it are light in structure and added later.



PLATE 3.50 The Chapel of Our Lady of Victories, interior. The light ceiling built with wooden rafters shows that it was not built into the solid south-east banquette, but is a later addition with a lighter structure.



PLATE 3.51 Forte do Mar, chamber below the roof of the keep. The balustrades around the opening in the floor are modern, but the opening, and that in the ceiling to the roof is part of the original design.



PLATE 3.52 Forte do Mar, chamber below the roof looking down the shaft in the middle of the floor to the corridor which connects the two courts. The shaft is wide enough for cannon and other equipment to be lifted up to the chamber and to the roof of the keep. The window to the left provides meagre light to the stairs from the corridor to the chamber.

## The Town of Diu, Its Layout and Historic Edifices

“Fifty leagues further along the coast, towards the south, there is a promontory, and joining close to it is a small island, which contains a very large and fine town, which the Malabars call Diuixa, and the Moors of the country call it Diu. It has a very good harbour, and is a port of much trade in merchandise, and of much shipping from Malabar, Baticala, Goa, Dabul and Cheul; and the people of Diu sail to Aden, Mekkah, Zeyla, Barbara, Magadoxo, Brava, Melinde, Mombaza, Xer, Ormuz and all parts of the kingdom. And the Malabars bring hither rice, cocoa nuts, jagara, wax, emery, iron, and sugar from Baticala, and all the spices that can be got in India and Malacca; and from Chaul and Dabul they bring a large quantity of cotton stuffs, which they call *beyranis*, and caps for women, which are carried from this place to Arabia and Persia. And they load at this port for the return voyage cotton cloths of the country and silk stuffs, horses, wheat, vegetables, sesame, cotton, oil of sesame, and opium, both that which comes there from Aden, and that which is made in the kingdom of Cambay, which is not so fine as that of Aden; and they export many coarse camlets and silk stuffs made in this kingdom of Cambay, and thick carpets, taffeta, scarlet cloth, and of other colours. They also export the spices and things brought to them from India, by the people of the country, to Aden, Ormuz, and all parts of Arabia and Persia, so that this town is the chief emporium of trade which exists in all these parts. This town gives such a large sum of money as revenue to the king, for the loading and unloading of such rich goods, that it is a subject of marvel and amazement; for they also bring to it from Mekkah much coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, alum, madder, rose-water, saffron, and much gold and silver coined and uncoined.”

Thus Barbosa<sup>1</sup> describes Diu in 1515, when the town was in the hands of Malik Ayāz, many years before Bahādur Shāh’s treaty with the Portuguese for building their fort. Baticala (Batticaloa, Sri Lanka), Goa, Dabul (Dabhol),<sup>2</sup> Cheul, Malabar, and Malacca are all south of Diu, while Aden, Mekkah (Mecca), Zeyla (Zeila, Somaliland), Barbara (Berbera, Somaliland), Magadoxo (Mogadishu), Brava, Melinde (Malindi), Mombaza (Mombasa), Xer (Ras al-khair) and Ormuz (Hurmuz) are towns and ports of the foreign lands to the west. Barbosa’s expression ‘all parts of the kingdom’ refers to the ports within the territory of the Gujarat Sultanate, the Portuguese ‘Kingdom of Cambay’. Barbosa’s wide-ranging list of goods and livestock – especially horses – imported to and exported from Diu, evokes a rich port teeming with maritime traders. The final destination for goods shipped to Arabian ports could often be Europe, explaining the Portuguese appetite for Diu, but Barbosa’s account also makes it clear that at the beginning of the sixteenth century Diu was already a large fortified town, and apart from its considerable commercial importance, its strategic position was also well understood, not just by the sultanate, but by outsiders.

The accounts of later travellers also confirm the continuing significance of the town, even during the Portuguese era. The London merchant, Ralph Fitch, leaves us this picture of the town at the end of the sixteenth century:

1 Duarte Barbosa, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century*, London, 1886, pp. 59–60.

2 Dabul is the present town and port of Dabhol in Maharashtra and should not be confused with the port of Daibul, the site of which is now called Banbhore, 65 kilometres (40 miles) east of Karachi (Pakistan).

“The first citie of India that we arriued at vpon the fift of Nouember [1583] after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales haue in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diuerse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of the Christians. But the Moores cannot pass, except they haue a passeport from the Portugales.”<sup>3</sup>

In due course, with the appearance of the Dutch and the British in the arena, Portuguese colonial power declined gradually and in the process Diu's function was transformed from a principal stronghold to just a staging post for the Portuguese Indian Ocean trade. At the end of the seventeenth century Alexander Hamilton<sup>4</sup> described Diu as:

“The City pretty large, and fortified by an high Stone Wall with Bastions at convenient Distances well furnished with Cannon to flank it, and a deep Mote hewn out of an hard Rock, to defend it on the Land Side, which is about one third Part of the City. The other Parts are fortified by Nature, having the Ocean thick set with dangerous Rocks and high Cliffs, who forbid any Approaches on that Side, and a rapid deep River, that affords a good Harbour, on the North-east Side. The Harbour is secured by two Castles, one large, that can bring above 100 large Cannon to bear on the Mouth of the Harbour, to forbid Shipping Entrance without Leave. The other is but small, and is built irregularly on a Rock in the Middle of the River, and

Chanel for Shipping to pass by it, within ten Yards of its Wall. It is made use of for a Magazine for Powder and other warlike Stores.

It is one of the best built Cities, and best fortified by Nature and Art, that ever I saw in *India*, and its stately Buildings of free Stone and Marble, are sufficient Witnesses of its ancient Grandeur and Opulency; but at present not above one fourth of the City is inhabited. It contains five or six fine Churches, which are great Ornaments to the City, which stands on a rising Ground of an easy Ascent from the great Castle; and the Churches, being built wide from one another, and standing gradually higher than one another, make the *Visto* from the sea admirably pleasant, by shewing all their beautiful Fronts that Way. And within they are well decorated with Images and Paintings. ...

At present there are not above 200 *Portuguese* both in the Castle and City. The rest of its Inhabitants are *Banyans* of all Sorts. There may be about 40000. but few of them of Fortune or Figure, because the Insolence of the *Portuguese* makes it unsafe for money'd Strangers to dwell among them.<sup>5</sup> The King of *Portugal* has about 12000 Pounds *per annum*, of Poll Money paid into his Treasury, and the Customs and Land-tax may come to about 6000 Pounds more: But if that Island were in the Hands of some industrious *European* Nation, it would be the best Mart Town on the Coast of *India*.”

Hamilton's 'two castles' is a reference to the fort of Diu and to the Forte do Mar. His observation that only a quarter of the area within the wall was built up is worthy of attention, as the pattern has not yet changed entirely, but we shall see that his implication that the town was larger in the past may not have been accurate. His account of the small number of Portuguese in the town, both civilians and men at arms, is also noteworthy, as in time

3 *The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch, merchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East Indies. ... begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591* (published originally in London, 1599) in John Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch, England's pioneer to India and Burma, his companions and contemporaries with his remarkable narrative told in his own words*, London, 1899, p. 57.

4 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, London, 1930, I, pp. 82–4.

5 In the second half of the eighteenth century the Portuguese blamed the *banyans* – with some justification – for the decline of the Arabian Sea trade via Diu. See *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 518–20.

their numbers continued to decrease, but asserting that the rest of the inhabitants comprised of some 40,000 members of the Hindu merchant cast of Banians seems to be inaccurate. A statistical table of 1794 shows that, as with the other cities of Gujarat, Diu had a mixed population. By then the number of inhabitants was much smaller than Hamilton's estimate, and totalled 6,522 of whom 1,645 were Banians; 442 Muslims; 104 Zoroastrians and the rest of various Indian castes.<sup>6</sup> It is unlikely that the population would have decreased dramatically at the time when the city was still flourishing.

The Portuguese urban plan of Diu – perhaps the best-preserved example of its kind in India – is in itself of considerable interest, and, in spite of Portuguese alterations to the urban form, from careful examination of the street layout and historical accounts, along with an engraving of the pre-Portuguese town, we can learn much of its

old layout and its edifices, both standing and non-extant.

From 698/1298–9, when the region was taken by the army of 'Alā al-dīn Khaljī, Diu had remained under Muslim domination and old engravings of Diu show that the fifteenth-century town differed considerably from that of the Portuguese, which developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Portuguese had no control over the town initially and were confined to their fort. It was only after the death of Maḥmūd Shāh in 961/1553–4 and the disintegration of the sultanate of Gujarat that the Portuguese were finally able to take total control of the town. The changes in the planning and demographics of the town of Diu must, therefore, have been a gradual process as it evolved from a Muslim defensive post to a Christian settlement with a mixture of foreigners, including Arabs, Turks, Persians and Armenians, as well as various Indian communities of Hindus, Jains, Muslims and Zoroastrians, all present in the town before the arrival of the Portuguese.

<sup>6</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 404–5. Other sources also record the diversity of Diu's population, with many people of foreign origin. For statistics regarding the demography of Diu at different times Lopes Mendes records (II, p. 278) that at his time the population of Diu consisted of Christians, Hindus, Zoroastrians (*parses*) and Muslims (*mouros*). Elsewhere (II, p. 257) he mentions that according to the 1881 census the total population of the district of Diu consisted of 2,929 men-at-arms (*fogos*) and 12,636 inhabitants of whom 303 were Christians and 12,333 non-Christians, but he does not give a breakdown for the non-Christian population. There are some conflicting figures concerning the present population. According to a local estimate in the late twentieth century the population consisted of 35,000 Hindus, 15,000 Sunni Muslims, 200 Ismā'īlis and 200 Christians (See Proença, p. 10). N.K. Sinha, however, reports (apparently on the basis of figures from a 1990s Indian Government census) that the total population was 30,421 of which 93.1% were Hindus, 6% Muslims, 0.76% Christians, 0.09% Jains, 0.03% Sikhs and 0.01% others. See B.R. Solanki, N.K. Sinha, Jaime F. Pereira (eds.) *People of India: Daman and Diu*, Anthropological Survey of India, XIX, (Bombay 1994), p. 10. This source mentions the entire Muslim population to be of the Ismā'īli sect (which seems unlikely) and does not mention the Zoroastrians, who by the time of this survey had all left the island. By 2011 the census recorded a total population of 52,074 (see <https://censusindia.gov.in> accessed 10.8.2022).

## 1 Pre-Islamic and Sultanate Diu

Unlike many Indian ports engaging in maritime trade and known since the tenth century and earlier, Diu seems to have been an insignificant town until as late as the fourteenth century, and when in 721/1321 it was described by Abu'l-fidā<sup>7</sup> he speaks of a place with houses built of bamboo and only rainwater for the freshwater supply. Other early Muslim geographers who mention the ports of Gujarat with Muslim maritime settlements omit Diu, perhaps indicating its minor status before the Khaljī period. The island is not short of fresh water, but as with the rest of Saurashtra – and northern India in general – the monsoon rain would be manipulated in reservoirs and man-made lakes; the remains of one such lake on Diu, still holding water, are at Naida (Plates 6.19; 6.21), not far from

<sup>7</sup> See opening of Chapter 2.

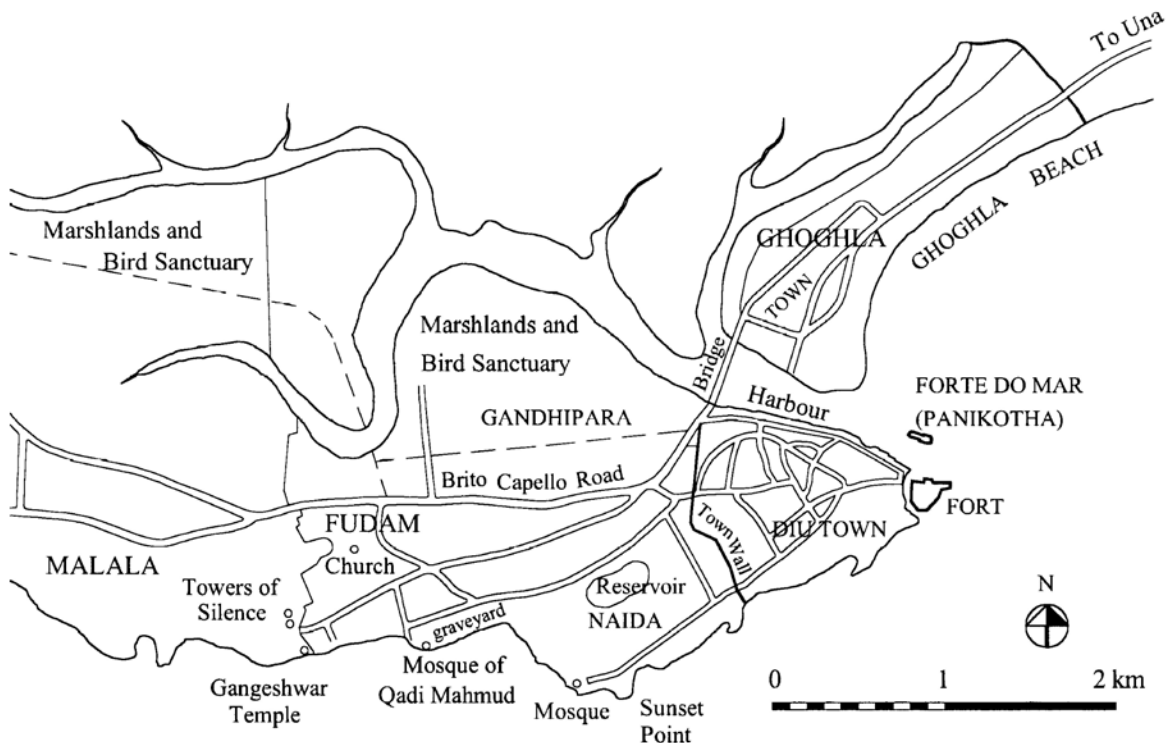


FIGURE 4.1 Diu Town and its immediate environs, including the marshlands to the north-west of the town, where salt – a major export – is produced. Naida, to the south-west of the town, has developed into a suburb since the beginning of the twenty-first century, but preserves an old reservoir – once a main water resource – now partially restored for recreation. The fishing village of Ghoghla is shown on the mainland to the north of the town.

the western walls of the town (Figure 4.1). As for the houses, the general population might have lived in modest structures, but judging from the pre-Islamic architectural fragments found in Diu it is clear that the island was also rich with Hindu and Jain temples.

The fate of Diu seems to have changed after the Khalji take-over of Gujarat. The city must have gradually grown to a trading port during the fourteenth century, well before the establishment of the sultanate of Gujarat. The Karao<sup>8</sup> Jāmi‘, the

main congregational mosque of Diu, described below and datable to the time of ‘Alā al-dīn Khaljī or a little later, is built of temple spoil and many

8 The name Karao might be argued to have derived from the Portuguese *carão*, meaning ugly, perhaps a Portuguese derogatory term for this Muslim edifice, but it is more likely that the name has derived from *alcorão*, or *alcoran*, meaning the Qur’ān. In early Portuguese sources the term was also applied to Muslim edifices, particularly mosques and minarets. There is at present no minaret associated with this mosque but a reference the *alcorão* of Diu is

given in Fernão Lopes de Castanheda’s *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portuguezes*, Coimbra, 1551, Book 8, Chapter 193, quoted in *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 423, in association with the alliance between the Gujarat sultan and the Ottoman forces from Cairo in 1538, announced in the *alcorão de Diu*, which could mean inside the mosque or from a minaret for all to hear. It is likely that Castanheda is referring to the Karao mosque itself, but if the call was from a minaret, it could have been from another mosque – the Caravan Masjid, which had a minaret. If the Karao ever had a minaret, it must have long disappeared. An old engraving, discussed below, shows a building with towers, which may be interpreted as minarets. For the use of the term *alcorão* or *alcoran* for mosques and minarets elsewhere in the Portuguese territories see an engraving of Hurmuz Island in Danvers, II, fig. facing p. 211 where the mosque with its tall minaret is marked as *Alkoran*. Other examples are numerous.



PLATE 4.1

Above: fragment of a temple architrave or lintel, probably from a Jain temple, kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. Below: Jain image kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine in the fort. Iconoclasm made the damaging of the heads of images a common practice.

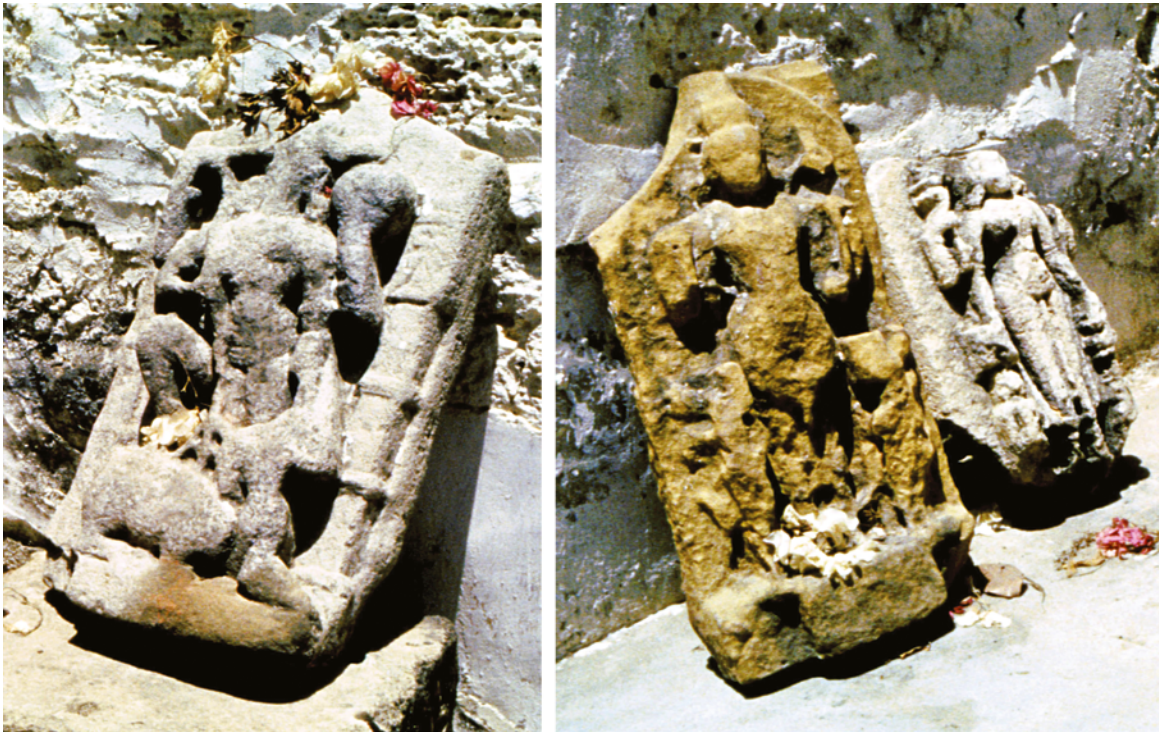


PLATE 4.2 Loose Jain and Hindu images from ancient temples found in the island and preserved in the yard of the Powder Magazine.

other fragments have been found in the vicinity of the town of Diu and elsewhere in the island (Plates 2.1, 4.1, 4.2). Its large size and its spacious prayer hall also indicate that by this time the city must have had a large Muslim population, of local people and foreign merchants.

Most of the temples of Diu would have been destroyed at the time of the conquest, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the town developed into a significant sultanate stronghold, all traces of ancient monuments seem to have disappeared gradually. Today, only carved fragments have come to light, mostly collected by the Archaeological Department and preserved in the fort, the garden of the Office of the Collector, or in the Sé Museum. These fragments are the only witness to the rich pre-Islamic architectural traditions in the island, and indicate that, as with the rest of southern and western Saurashtra, Diu would have been populated mainly by Jains and Hindus.

### 1.1 *The Gangeshwar (Gaṅgeśvara) Temple*

While there are now many modern temples in Diu town (Plate 4.71) and elsewhere on the island, the only Hindu place of worship which seems to relate to earlier times is the Gangeshwar Temple, a natural cave formed by the waves of the Indian Ocean, about three miles (4.5 kilometres) to the west of the town. The cave is in a dramatic setting in the cliffs of the southern coast and is reached via steps carved into the rocks descending to the water. A number of religious features are carved in the floor and walls of the cave, which is continuously washed by the waves and submerged at high tide (Plate 4.3). These features include two large Śiva *lingas* and a number of smaller ones on the floor, a seven headed *naga* on the northern wall and a Gaṇeś at the left side of the foot of the stairs. There are also a number of small modern images installed in the walls, but, as the carvings are being eroded continuously, the older ones are re-carved



PLATE 4.3  
Gangeshwar (Gangeśvara) cave temple looking west down the steps. The steps are carved into the rock and have recently been covered with mosaic. On the wall to the left of the steps is a Ganeś image, and waves gush over the Śiva *lingas* carved in the floor of the cave, which also has a seven-headed cobra (*nāga*) and other images above.

or replaced from time to time. The cremation platforms are also situated along the southern coast in the vicinity of Gangeshwar (Figure 5.8), and there are many Hindu memorial stones in the area.

## 2 Early Engravings and Town Plans

We are fortunate in having a number of old European engravings, many showing the configuration of the fort or the town. In addition, a detailed town plan of Diu was produced by Lopes Mendes in 1865 which identifies most of the main buildings of the time.<sup>9</sup> This plan is reproduced here with its original key (Figure 4.2) together with our plan of the present town (Figure 4.3). In our

<sup>9</sup> Lopes Mendes, 11, pp. 280–1, town plan facing p. 280.

plan Lopes Mendes's reference numbers have been maintained, but the present plan shows alterations to the old street layout, as well as marking new streets and some features which were not shown in the old plan and are identified with letters of the alphabet. The 1865 plan was carefully examined on site, and only minor errors were found.<sup>10</sup> Through the old engravings, along with early descriptions of Diu at the dawn of the Portuguese appearance in India, we can obtain a fairly comprehensive understanding of sultanate Diu, although today, with the exception of the Karao Jāmi', the Caravan Mosque, two small mosques and some extensive

<sup>10</sup> Minor errors are in the transposition of the names of two of the bastions (São Pedro and Santa Catharina), in spite of the bas-relief naming and depicting St Catherine. The two postern gates of the town wall were also omitted.

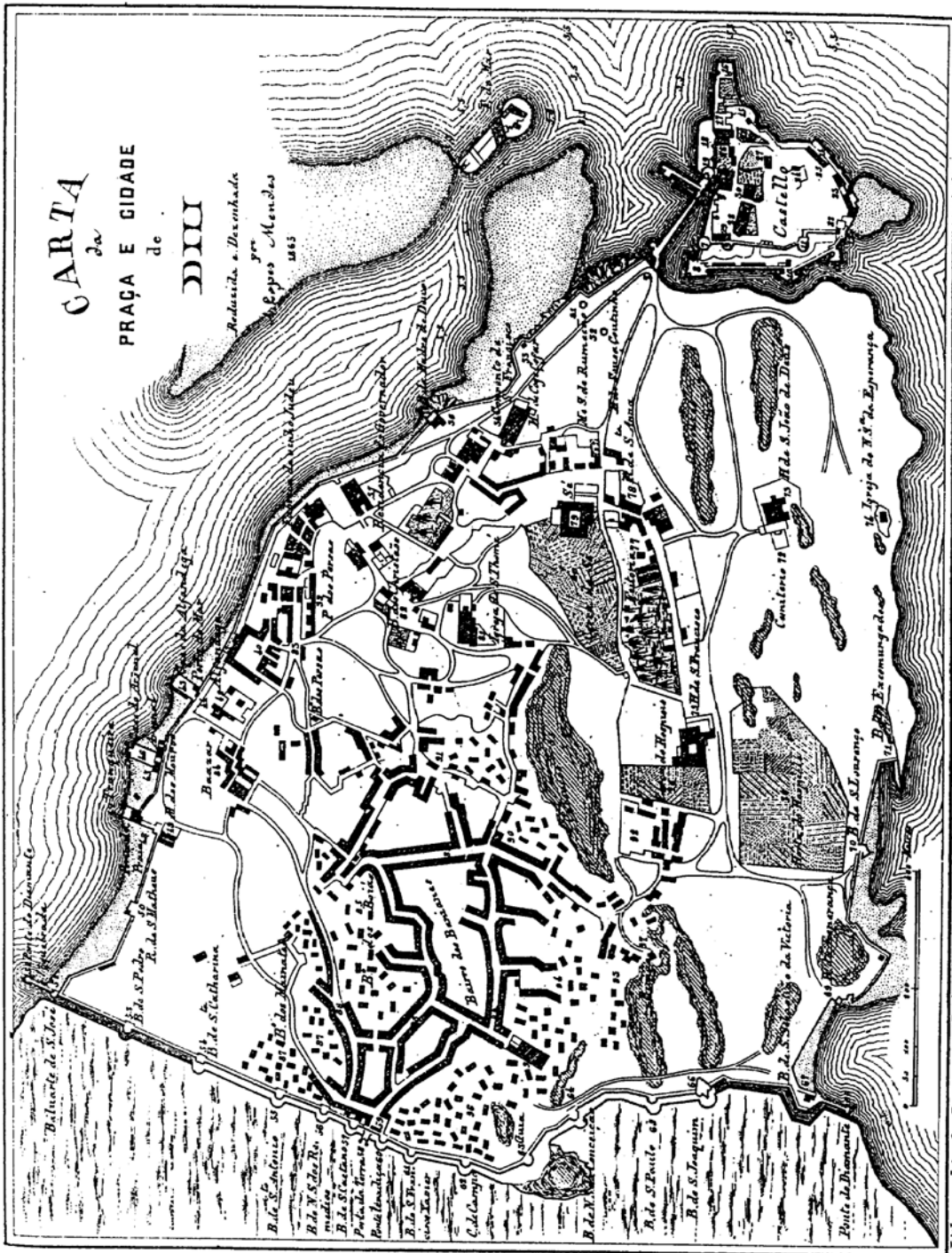
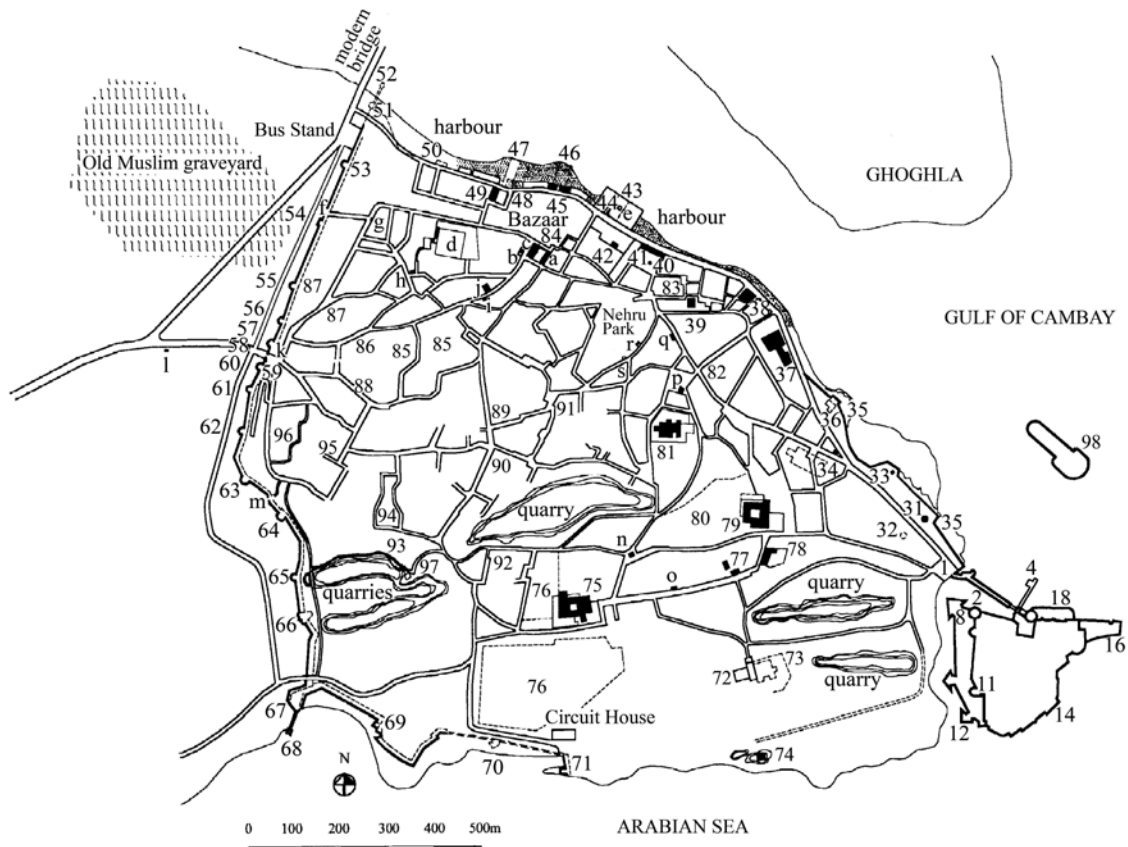


FIGURE 4.2 Map of Diu fort and town (*Carta da praça e Cidade de Diu*) of 1865 by Lopes Mendes (for key see Figure 4.3)

FROM LOPES MENDEZ, II, OPP. P. 280



**Key:**

1–30 Features in the fort (given in Chapter 3, Figure 3.1); 31 Monument and sepulchre of Rūmī Khān (Rumecão); 32 Monument of Sousa Coutinho and Dom Fernando de Castro (no longer extant); 33 Monument of Khwāja Šafar (Coge Çofar); 34 The cross of the St Francis Xavier monastery (no longer extant) (*Convento de São Francisco*); 35 Embankments (*caboucos*); 36 Tower of the Mother of God (*Baluarte da Madre de Deus*, only its ramparts have survived); 37 Governor's residence (remodelled and enlarged after 1865); 38 Jewish wine factory (no longer extant); 39 Zoroastrian fire temple (*Pagode dos parses*, now converted to St Anne's convent and kindergarten); 40 Commemorative column erected in 1799 (*pelhourinho construída em 1799*, known locally as the whipping post); 41 Market square established in 1799; 42 Custom house (*Alfandega*, the pre-1865 structure has been replaced by an early-twentieth-century building which now serves as the public library); 43 Custom House Jetty (*caes da alfandega*, the old jetty has been extended at both sides. In 2004 it was further extended towards the east); 44 St John's Tower and the Sea Gate (*Baluarte de São João e Porta do Mar*) (tower has not survived); 45 Arsenal (now warehouses, apparently rebuilt in later dates); 46 Arsenal Jetty (*Caes do Arsenal*, now dilapidated and used by fishing boats); 47 St Philip's Tower or the Stockade (*Baluarte de São Filipe ou Tranqueira*) (the tower and the fortification walls at this point are lost and the site is used as a dry-dock by fishermen); 48 Gate to the shore (*Porta da praia*, no longer extant); 49 Caravan Mosque (*Mesquita dos Mouros*); 50 St Matthew's bastion (*Reducto de São Mateus*, no longer extant); 51 St Joseph's Tower (*Baluarte de São José*, no longer extant); 52 Headland or Diamond Point, defence-work and its bridge (*Ponte do Diamante, quebrada*, no longer extant, already in ruins in 1865); 53 St Catherine's Tower (given in 1865 plan erroneously as *Baluarte de São Pedro*); 54 St Peter's Tower (given in 1865 plan erroneously as *Baluarte de Santa Catharina*); 55 St Anthony's Tower (*Baluarte de Santo Antonio*); 56 Tower of Our Lady of the Rosary (*Nossa Senhora do Rosario*); 57 St Cajetan's Tower (*São Caetano*); 58 The Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*); 59 Houses of the guards (*casas das guardas*, rebuilt and occupied by townspeople, the outline of the square facing the gate has been preserved); 60 Outer bastions and drawbridge (*reducto e ponte levadiça*, rebuilt and modernized, the drawbridge has been replaced by a permanent structure); 61 Tower of St Francis Xavier (*São Francisco Xavier*); 62 Tower of the Cavalry of the Camp (*Cavalliero do campo*); 63 Tower of our Lady of Guidance (*Nossa Senhora da Guia*); 64 Tower of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (*Nossa Senhora da Conceição*); 65 St Paul's Tower (*São Paulo*); 66 St Joachim's Tower (*São Joaquim*);

67 Tower of St Sebastian of Victory (*São Sebastião da Victoria*); 68 Headland defence-work and its bridge (*Ponte do Diamante*) (has survived but is in poor condition); 69 Bastion of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*); 70 St Lawrence's Tower (*São Lourenço*); 71 Tower of the Excommunicated (*Excomungados*); 72 Christian cemetery established in c. 1840–41 (still in use); 73 Church and hospital of St John of God (*São João de Deus*, in ruins, originally extensive); 74 Site of the Church of Our Lady of Hope (*ruínas da igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*, foundations); 75 Church and monastery of St Francis of Assisi (*Hospício de São Francisco*, now hospital); 76 Hospital kitchen garden and yard (now still partly vacant); 77 Trading post (*feitória*) (ruined area under development); 78 St Anne's Chapel and home for the elderly (*Recolhimento de Santa Anna*); 79 St Paul's Church and Seminary (*Sé, antiga igreja de São Paulo*, the church was already Diu's cathedral in 1865, the seminary is now Nirmala Mata high school); 80 Cathedral yard (*cerca de Sé*, now partly built up); 81 St Thomas's Church (*São Thomé*, originally the cathedral, now Sé Museum); 82 Christian quarter (*Bairro dos cristãos*, known locally as the *farangī wada* or European ward, still occupied by the present small Christian community); 83 Parsi quarter (*Bairro dos parses*); 84 Market street (*bazaar*); 85 Temple-priests' quarter (*Bairro dos boiás*, locally known as *bhoi wada*); 86 Dyer's street (*Rua dos tintureiros*, locally known as the *sanghadia wada*, or area of tortoise-shell craftsmen but tortoise-shell is, of course, no longer traded); 87 Washermen's quarter (*Bairro dos mainatos* locally known as *dhobī wada*); 88 Blacksmith's street (*Rua dos ferreiros* locally known as the *luhār wada*); 89 Banians' street (*Rua dos banianes*); 90 Tailors' quarter (*Bairro dos alfaiates* locally known as *darzī* or *darjī wada*); 91 Shoemakers' or leatherworker's quarter (*Bairro dos sapateiros* locally known as *mochī wada*); 92 Weavers' quarter (*Bairro dos tecelões*); 93 Stonecutters' quarter (*Bairro dos cabouqueiros* locally known as *khanī wada*; ditch diggers' or stone carvers' ward); 94 Potters' and grain hullers' quarters (*Bairro dos oleiros e piladeiras* locally known as the *kumbhār wada*); 95 Hindu temple of the Banians (*Pagode dos banianes*); 96 Muslims' quarter (*Bairro dos mouros*); 97 Tower of the Wagers (*Torre das apostas* ou *Bimão*, no longer extant); 98 Forte do Mar (*sānkhal kuth* in the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī* and locally known as *Panikotha*).

a Karao Jāmi' Mosque; b Muslim shrine; c Old town square (market square); d Site of the Muslim citadel; e Column of Governor Vasco Louis Carmêino de Souza recording the renovation of the jetty in 1782; f Postern gate by St Peter's Tower (northern postern gate); g Muslim shrine; h Underground reservoir with arched roof; i Muslim shrine; j Hindu temple; k Christian shrine by the *Porta da Terra* consecrated in 1702 by Governor Lourenço da Cunha; l Landmark of the Brito Capello Road established in 1876; m Postern gate opening to the Muslim quarter (southern postern gate); n Shrine of the Mother of God; o Christian shrine; p Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception; q Gate to Torres Novas Street established in 1857 (the gate has survived but the street has been built over); r Muslim site; s Inscription of 'Hospital for the Poor' (dated 1611 now fixed on the modern wall of Nehru Park).

FIGURE 4.3 Town plan of present Diu showing the modern street layout, which follows the older layout in most areas, in spite of extensive modern developments. Numbered features in the key from Lopes Mendes. Non-extant features are shown with broken lines, and historical features not included in Lopes Mendes's map are distinguished by letters of the alphabet.

graveyards outside the town, little evidence of the Muslim period remains above ground. To these we may add the traces of the pre-Portuguese governor's mansion, of which little has survived.

### 3 The Muslim Town: Its Layout and Its Citadel

The history of the town can be traced through many passages in the Muslim historians, and descriptions of the town appear both in Indian and in European sources. Today at first glance little of the mediaeval town can be readily recognized except, of course, the Karao Mosque which must have stood in the heart of the fourteenth-century Muslim town. Nevertheless, an engraving of old

Diu<sup>11</sup> (Plate 4.4), apparently produced some time before the construction of the Portuguese fort, provides an impression of the Muslim town.<sup>12</sup>

11 Original in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Our version is from Georg Braun, ed. and Franz Hogenberg, engraver, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (known as Braun and Hogenberg Atlas, 1542–66, p. 57 (colour edition 1572), and reproduced in Wikipedia. An uncoloured engraving is reproduced in *Arquivo*, 11, ii, figure facing p. 400, and in Frederic P. Marjay, *Portuguese India*, Lisbon, 1959, pl. 16; a simpler version of this engraving is also given in Danvers, 1, facing p. 400. A detail of this version is given in Figure 3.10.

12 We have already noted that the engraving dates clearly from the pre-Portuguese era, as otherwise the Portuguese fort would have occupied the area at the left side, behind the Forte do Mar.



PLATE 4.4 Above: a sixteenth-century colour engraving showing the Muslim town of Diu before the construction of the Portuguese fort. Below: details of the same engraving with the fortified structure on the heights at the right (1), and near the shore a building with three belfry-type towers on the site of the present Caravan Masjid (2) to the right and another building with three belfry-type towers which may represent the Karao Jāmi' (3) on the far left. The open space (4), an urban square in front of the Caravan Masjid has been left unbuilt until recent dates, in the background stands one of the watch towers (5) while in the foreground vessels are being built or repaired in a manner still current. On the outer wall of an old structure on the shore, now replaced by the Caravan Masjid, are two circular windows. These features are characteristic of Diu architecture, still found in recent buildings.  
BRAUN AND HOGENBERG ATLAS, P. 57 AND THE FOLLOWING PLATE

The engraving depicts the town from the north – a viewpoint from the shores of Ghoghla on the mainland – and shows the town to have been built compactly, and surrounded by a fortified wall set some distance from the sea. There are a number of gates towards the sea, some opening onto jetties, which seem to have been constructed with masonry, with steps at the end descending to the water. These installations are not usual in Muslim ports, which traditionally had no facilities for docking ships, and the ships had to anchor in the waters well away from the coast.<sup>13</sup> The jetties

may, however, indicate an influence from Ottoman Mediterranean ports, themselves inherited from Byzantine designs.

Two prominent structures are the two tall towers (5), which may have been watchtowers. The ruins of one of these towers – the one depicted in the middle of the engraving – may have existed until the nineteenth century as such a tower is illustrated in an engraving of Lopes Mendes (Figure 4.4).<sup>14</sup> At the right end of the shore in

13 See Chapter 2, the discussion of the horse trade, for the advantages and disadvantages of this arrangement.

14 Lopes Mendes, II, 261. The location of the tower over a mound at the south-west of the town corresponds closely with that shown in the right of the centre of the engraving, when viewed from the shores of Ghoghla.

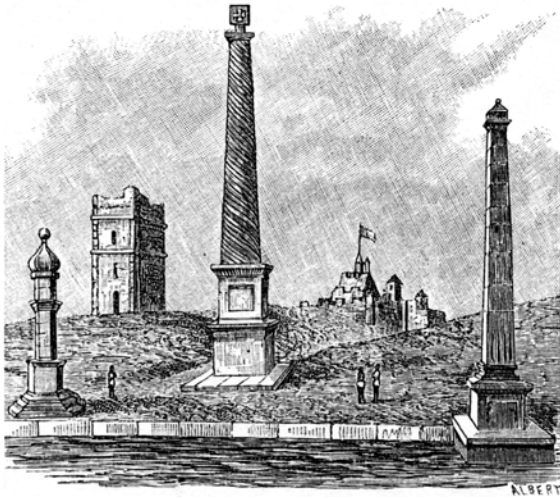


FIGURE 4.4 Mid-nineteenth-century engraving showing some of the monuments of Diu. From left (numbers as in town plan): the monument of Rūmī Khān (31, Rumiçao); a ruinous tower known as Tower of the Wagers (97 *Torre das apostas* or *bimão*, no longer extant); the cross of Dom Fernando de Castro (32, no longer extant); the fort in the background, and, on the far right, the monument of Khwāja Şafar (33, Coge Çofar) FROM LOPEZ MENDES, II, P. 261

the engraving of pre-Portuguese Diu (Plate 4.4) is a graveyard with a small building, which must have been the mosque of the site. This graveyard is still partly preserved and is situated just outside the western walls of the town. Some graves are of recent origin, but there are also many old tombstones, the stepped-pyramidal design of which is characteristic of those of the early Muslim settlers

Lopes Mendes describes the monument (p. 277) to have been a watchtower, the ruins of which were the look-out point for gamblers placing bets on the condition of incoming vessels: their cargo, number of passengers, length of voyage and the time it would take to come to shore. On 24th April 1856 the governor, the Count of Torres Novas, banned gambling and consequently ordered the door of the tower to be blocked off. Gambling, however, did not stop and the 'cruel Banians', who participated in the wagers, simply shifted the operation to nearby land controlled by the British, who tolerated gambling.

in Gujarat<sup>15</sup> and the southern coasts of Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> Until 1999 there were also the remains of the foundation of an old building – although perhaps later than the fifteenth century – which could have been a mosque or a shrine of the graveyard but the site has now been cleared.

The houses within the town are not particularly distinguishable in the pre-Portuguese engraving, except that many are shown to have sloping roofs, more in common with the buildings of the Malabar coasts of South India, rather than having the flat roofs popular in the interior of Gujarat. The few prominent features include an urban square (4) behind a gate to the right of the centre of the town, and in the middle of the built-up area, a single wide street leading to a large walled complex (1) set over a hill or raised ground, but apparently within the town walls. The engraver seems to have exaggerated the heights of the land features, which were perhaps intended in the original sketch to represent a view from an artificially high level showing the interior of the island. The hills shown behind the town can therefore be ignored. However, the walled structure on the raised ground at the east of the town appears – again in a pronounced and exaggerated scale – in later engravings when the town was entirely under Portuguese domain. An example is in a 'map' given originally in Dom João de Castro's *Roteiro*<sup>17</sup> (Figure 4.5), which is said to show Diu in 1538–39, but several features indicate that it represents the town at later dates, perhaps the late sixteenth or more likely the seventeenth century. The Forte do Mar appears in de Castro's map in its extended form, much as it appears

15 M. Shokoohy, *Bhadreşvar, the oldest Islamic monuments in India*, Leiden – New York, 1988, pp. 17–18, pl. 11.

16 S. Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandigräber*, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 99.

17 Original in Dom João de Castro's *Primeiro roteiro da Costa da Índia*, Porto, 1843, reproduced in *Arquivo*, II, ii, plate facing p. 424, reproduced here from Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956, pl. 7 (in set of plates following p. 87).

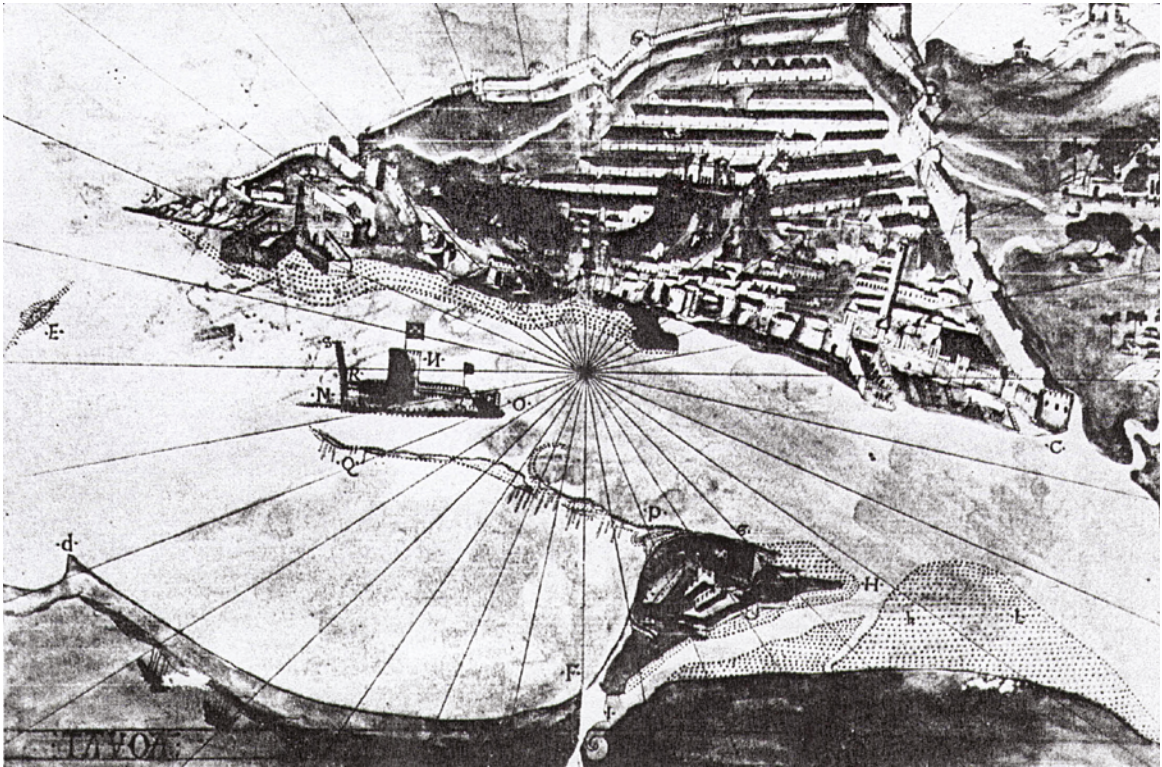


FIGURE 4.5 An old 'map' of Diu (looking south) said to show the town in 1538–39, but probably based on seventeenth-century sketches.

ORIGINALLY IN DOM JOÃO DE CASTRO'S *ROTEIRO* REPRODUCED HERE FROM CARLOS DE AZEVEDO, PL. 7

today. This form dates at least partly from 1588.<sup>18</sup> The map also shows the eastern town-wall constructed by the Portuguese between 1570 and 1584.

The de Castro map depicts a mosque with a tall minaret in the foreground. Its location near the coast at the north-west corner of the town corresponds with that of the Caravan ('Karwan') Masjid, although the minaret no longer exists and the present mosque, discussed below, seems to have been heavily restored or reconstructed. The site of the mosque also corresponds roughly with the square building with three square towers, next to the gate right of centre in the engraving of the pre-Portuguese town (Plate 4.4, no. 2).

The building on the raised ground – the castle (1) – is likely to have been the governor's palace

or mansion, which, as appears in both engravings was enclosed and fortified, in the form of a small citadel. It could have also provided a residence for the Gujarat sultans whenever they visited Diu. We have seen that Bahādur Shāh was particularly fond of Diu and in the final years of his reign he stayed there regularly for long periods. He also took refuge in Diu when faced with the army of Humāyūn, and was residing there when he lost his life.

Little remains of the Muslim citadel today, but its site is still vacant ground, roughly square in plan, which rises towards the south (Figures 4.3 d; 4.6; Plate 4.5) and as, apart from the Portuguese fort, it provides the highest point in the town, the southernmost part of the site is now used for accommodating two mobile-telephone relaying towers. The retaining wall at the north side of the site (Plate 4.6) is relatively recent, but at the south and south-west sides the stonework of the original

18 Appendix, Inscription no. 27. Also discussed in Chapter 3.

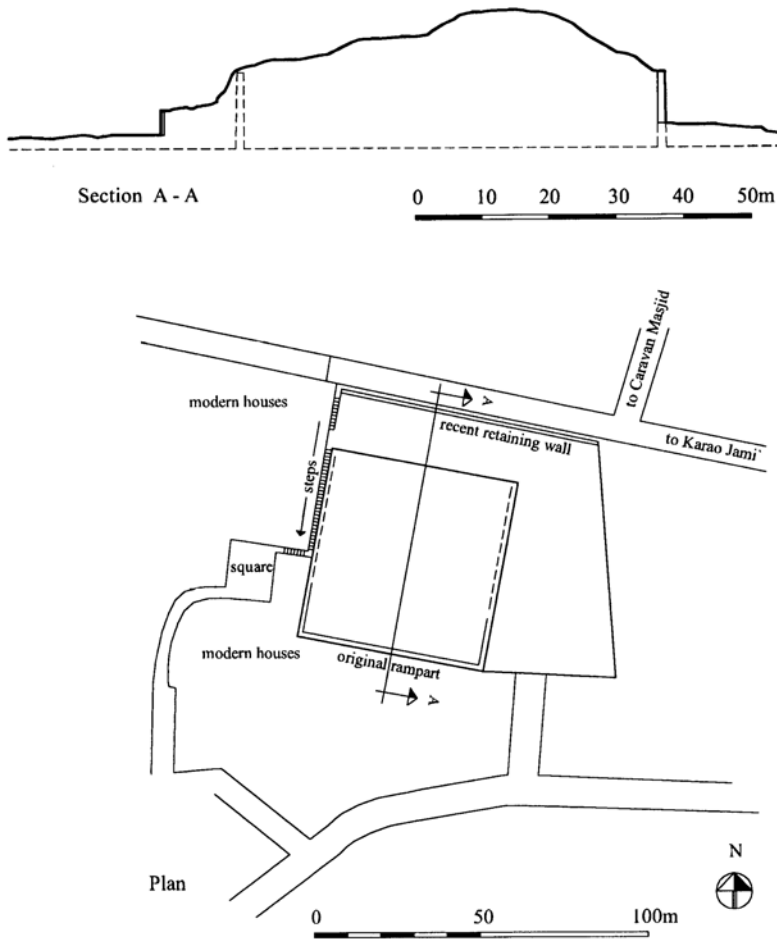


FIGURE 4.6  
Sketch plan and section of the site  
of the Muslim citadel as it stood  
in 2004.

rampart has been preserved (Plate 4.7), although modern buildings obscure most of this feature. At the time of the survey in 2004 new houses were under construction in the area immediately surrounding the site, and, in a heap of rubble by the side the site, the fragment of a slab carved with a rosette was noticed (Plate 4.8). Such rosettes were frequently employed in mediaeval Indian buildings, including on the spandrels of arches. If the fragment was not originally from the citadel itself it was probably from a nearby mediaeval building.

The relationship of the citadel with both the Karao Jāmi' and the Caravan Masjid is worthy of attention (Figure 4.7). In mediaeval Muslim towns a spinal street usually leads from the ruler's palace to the congregational mosque, often with a public square at each end. A similar layout can

be seen in Tughluqabad<sup>19</sup> and Bidar<sup>20</sup> as well as in Ahmadabad,<sup>21</sup> founded by the Gujarat Sultan Aḥmad Shāh in 1410. For Friday prayers the sultan or the local governor would pass through these

19 M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad*, London, 2007, p. 28, fig. 5.1, pp. 138–141.

20 For the foundation of Bidar by the Bahmanī sultan Aḥmad Shāh in 832/1428–9 see: *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Pers.), III, pp. 23–5. For the town plan see G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*, Oxford, 1947, Archaeological Map of Bidar Town at the end of the book; also see Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad*, p. 31, fig. 5.2.

21 For the date of the construction of Ahmadabad see: *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 31–8. For the plan of the old town of Ahmadabad see James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part I, AD 1412 to 1520, London, 1900, pl. 2; also see Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad*, p. 92, fig. 9.2.



PLATE 4.5 Panoramic view (above) and detail (below) of the town of Diu from the modern bridge on the Ghoghla side looking towards (1) the elevated site of the pre-Portuguese citadel (d on Figure 4.3), still unbuilt and covered by trees, flanked by two modern masts. To the left are (2) the Caravan Masjid (49 on Figure 4.3) and (3) the roof of the Karao Jāmi' (a on Figure 4.3) partly obscured by other buildings. As a whole the similarity of the modern townscape with the engraving of the pre-Portuguese town is striking.



PLATE 4.6 Diu Town, the site of the Muslim citadel seen from the north-east. The fairly straight street at the north of the site leads to the Karao Jāmi' and might be a reminiscence of the fourteenth-century street layout.



PLATE 4.7 The rampart of the Muslim citadel at the north-western side, still preserving its original stonework.



PLATE 4.8 Stone panel carved with a rosette found in a heap of rubble at the Muslim citadel.

streets, sometimes with a lavish procession, an event which was often the main interface between the ruler and the common people.

In fourteenth-century Diu the route seems to have followed the layout of the modern east-west street at the north of the palace, which ends in an urban square at the western side of the Karao Jāmi'. This square still acts as an open-air market even though, in the Portuguese remodelling of the town in 1799, another market square was established nearby (Figure 4.3, no. 41). The older square is now smaller than its original size as the western side of it was taken for a covered fish market (described below) that was in use until the 1990s, before the fish market was relocated outside the town walls, leaving the former building vacant. The spinal street continues on the western side on a straight line towards the perimeter of the town and might have led originally to a gate in the Muslim town wall. The engraving of pre-Portuguese Diu (Plate 4.4) shows that there were in fact a number of gates in the western wall of the town.

The town seems to have been remodelled under the sultanate of Gujarat mainly in the mid to late fifteenth century by Malik Ayāz, its powerful and semi-autonomous governor, who kept the Portuguese at bay as far as he was alive. He was extremely wealthy and his processions are known

to have been particularly lavish. According to the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*:<sup>22</sup>

“Although he (Malik Ayāz) was a slave bought with gold, he was fit to govern a country. He had an extraordinary household (*sāmān*). It is known that he had over one thousand men as water-carriers, apart from their apprentices, and they had made him a reservoir out of leather which was taken to the battlefield, and the soldiers took their water from it, and the horses and elephants also drank from its water. ... It is said that at the time of serving public feasts it was the order of the Malik that trumpets be played and the guards at the door (of the palace) had to stand up and anyone who wished to eat could attend the table and be served. They set the same types of food from the top to the end of the table and the Malik all the time looked to the right and left of the table. If he observed that an attendant had made the slightest change in the type of food presented in a place his life would have been in danger. They presented all kind of gastronomy, both food or drink, from the Persian, Indian and Turkish (*ahl-i rūm*) cuisine, which had the fragrance of heavenly ambrosia. After dinner shares of what remained were given to the servants of each person with a care which was beyond imagination. After that they served *pan* and other fragrant substances and the feasts

22 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, pp. 162–3:

ملک ایاز ... اگرچه غلام زرخید بود اما حکومت اقلیمی می ارزید سامان غریبی داشت میگویند وراء شاگرد پیشه دیگر هزار نفر سقا در سرکار او آب کشی میکرد حوضی از چرم ساخته بودند که در ایام لشکرکشی او را پر میکردند اهل لشکر از آن آب می بردند و اسپ و فیل و غیره از همان آب میخوردند... نقل است که وقت کشیدن طعام حکم ملک بود که بوق می نواختند و دربانان بر میخواستند تا هرکسی که میل طعام میداشت بر سفره حاضر می آمده و میخورد از صدر تا پائین مجلس طعام یکسان میچیدند و ملک هر زمان به چپ و راست سفره نگاه میکرد وای بر جان سفره چین اگر اندک تفاوت در طعام چیدن میدید و از هر جنسی طعام چه از ماکولات اهل عجم و چه از اهل هند و چه اهل روم که یاد از ماکولات بهشت میداد بر سفره حاضر می آوردند بعد از فراغ طعام الوش هر کدام را بخادمان او میرساندند بااحتیاطی که فوق آن متصور نباشد بعد از آن پان و عطریات می آوردند دائماً طرز تناول طعام باین طریق می بوده نقل است که تمام لشکر ملک زربفت و مخمل میپوشیدند... بند و بار طلا و نقره ملائیس شمشیر و ترکش و خنجر جمیع سپاه بود.

were always held in this manner. It is (also) said that in his army all wore velvet and textiles woven with gold ..., and the sheathes of their swords and daggers, and their quivers were all covered with silver and gold.”

Malik Ayāz was responsible for the construction of many buildings of Diu including the noted Sānkāl Kuth, and the Muslim citadel, as well as for establishing many gardens and orchards in the island.<sup>23</sup> The original Caravan Masjid, as appears in the pre-Portuguese engraving (Plate 4.4) and de Castro’s ‘map’ (Figure 4.5), might have been his addition to the town and the only prominent route shown in the engraving of the pre-Portuguese town corresponds closely with the route from the Muslim citadel to the Caravan Masjid (Figure 4.7). The mosque probably acted as a new *jāmi‘* or perhaps as a major new mosque where the Malik attended Friday prayers. In addition to the *jāmi‘* many sultans built a royal mosque (*masjid-i shāh*), but mosques constructed by governors did not carry a royal appellation. However, the Malik’s remodeling of the town does not seem to have altered the urban pattern of the old fourteenth-century core extensively, and, as shown in Figure 4.6 it seems likely that there had been an older governor’s mansion, later rebuilt by Malik Ayāz, and the surviving Karao Jāmi‘, a grander building than the Caravan Masjid, indicates that Diu was already a substantial town in the fourteenth century.

## 4 Mosques

### 4.1 Karao Jāmi‘

In the heart of the port of Diu, the Karao Jāmi‘ mosque (Figures 4.3 a; 4.7) is perhaps one of the most significant buildings in the island and also the oldest standing edifice, the origin of which goes back to the sultanate period, while its components date from even earlier times. The mosque

is not marked in the Portuguese town plan of 1865 and the omission might suggest that at that time the building was not used as a mosque, but is more likely to be a draftsman’s error, as although there is an additional gate in the local Portuguese style, the building shows no sign of change to another use. On the other hand, there are repairs and a number of additions to the mosque which date from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and also, both inside the mosque and outside to the west of the building, there are tombs of local religious leaders still venerated by the Muslims.

The mosque itself is a relatively large building with a colonnaded prayer hall 25.30 × 18.00 m. with six large domes and three *mīhrābs*, built at the west side of a courtyard (Figures 4.8–4.9, Plate 4.9). The main entrance is in the middle of the eastern wall, with two other entrances in the north and south. The eastern side of the courtyard has another colonnade 4.60 m. deep, with a relatively low ceiling (Plate 4.10), but unlike many other sultanate mosques there is no indication of a colonnade on the northern and southern sides. The whole structure is set over a platform which was originally about two metres above the ground at certain points. The street level has now changed, and at the southern side the street is almost at courtyard level. At the east the courtyard is about 1.50 m. above street level, and at the west the platform can be seen below the *qibla* wall in the form of a rampart at almost the original height (Plate 4.11).

In general form the building displays a variation of the local style of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century mosques of Gujarat, many of which can be found in the coastal regions of Kathiawad (Saurashtra). In spite of many additions and alterations the original building is preserved, and its original plan is shown by omitting the later features (Figure 4.9). The Karao Jāmi‘, however, does differ from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Gujarati mosques, as in this building the colonnade is open to the courtyard while the later Gujarati mosques usually have a screen wall with one or more large arched openings set in front of the prayer hall. These screen walls usually also

23 *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī*, p. 162.

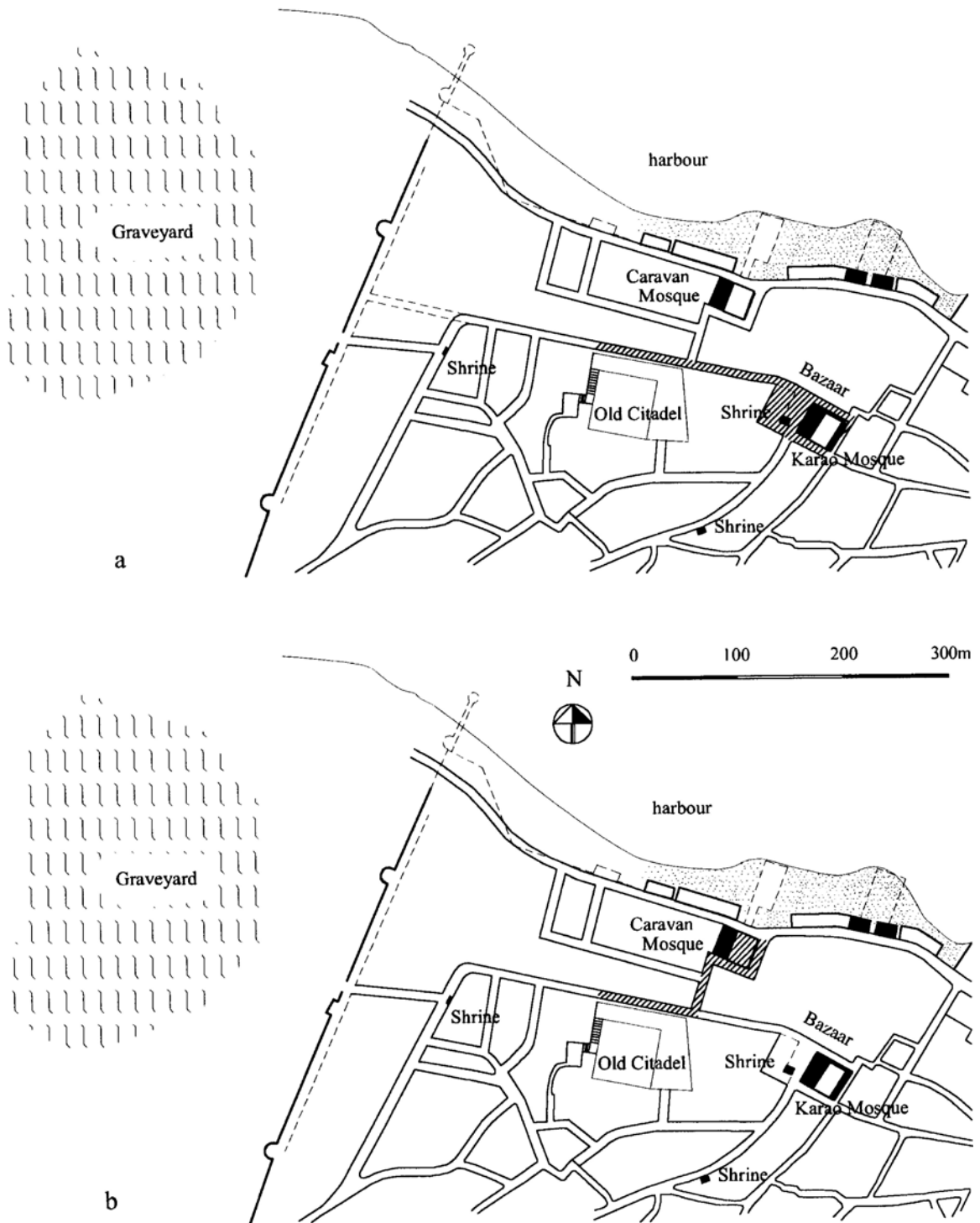


FIGURE 4.7 Town plan of the north-west of Diu Town, where many of the pre-Portuguese features have been retained. Above: map a, the hatched route shows the fourteenth-century processional street from the governor's residence to a town square and the Karao Jāmi' Masjid. Below: map b, the hatched area shows later remodelling of the town, most likely by Malik Ayāz, diverting the processional route towards the Caravan Masjid.

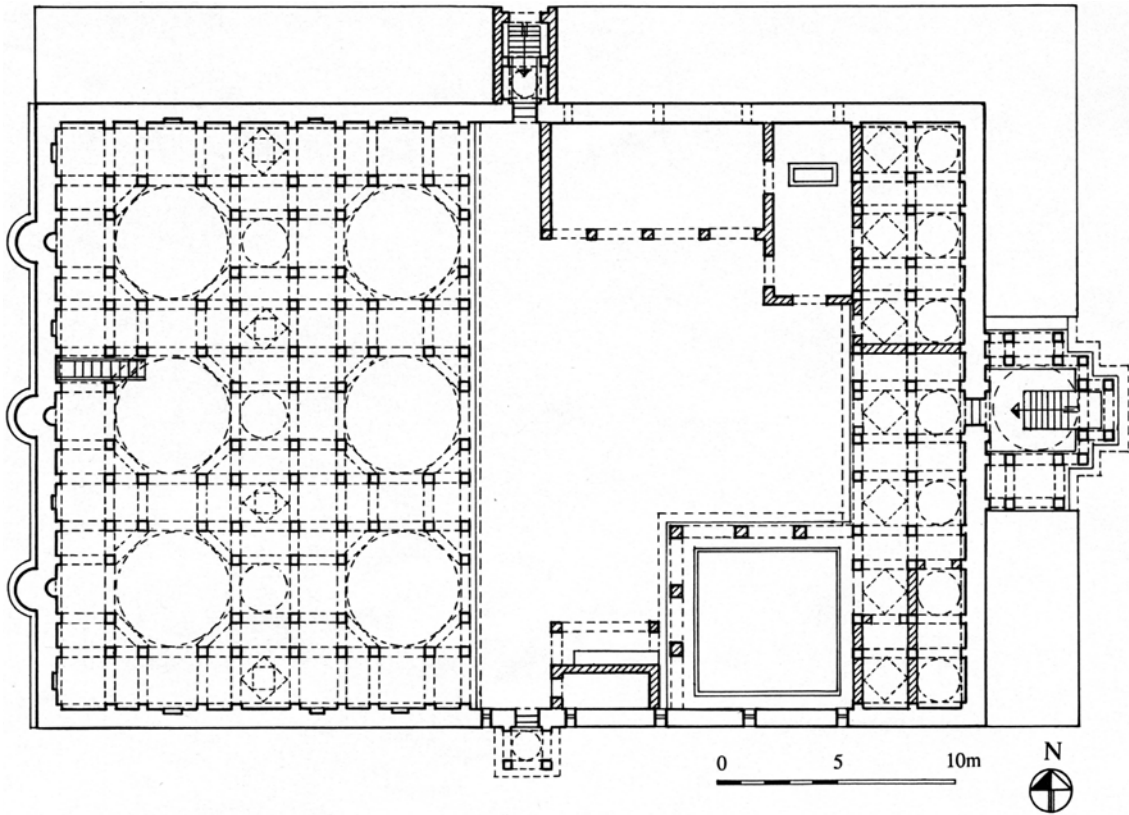


FIGURE 4.8 Diu Town, Karao Jami', plan showing its present condition. While the original structure is intact, many parts of the eastern colonnade have been walled up and a number of chambers have been constructed in the courtyard. The later additions and alterations are hatched.

incorporate the bases of two massive minarets, often displaying fine stone carving. Such characteristics are missing in this mosque, and the small plain turrets in the corner of the prayer hall also seem to be later additions.

In the Karao Jami' the columns of the prayer hall are made from two superimposed columns each with its own base and bracket capital (Figure 4.9, Plates 1.2, 4.9). The upper columns have a shorter shaft than those below. The brackets of the lower columns are not functional, but those of the upper columns support the stone lintels of the ceiling. The composition of the colonnaded hall follows a well-known pattern characteristic of the early mosques of the Delhi sultanate as well as most of the Gujarati mosques.<sup>24</sup> It consists of units of

eight columns, each supporting a corbelled dome, with the intervening narrow bays roofed by a combination of flat slabs and small corbelled domes or lozenge patterns formed of superimposed triangles (Plate 4.12). This type of structure goes back to Hindu and Jain architecture, where the form usually consists of a single dome and the ceilings are comparatively low. The technique of combining the various types of units developed mainly in the early Islamic period in India, where large areas of the lofty prayer halls had to be covered, often by re-using temple spoil. In North India this method was later abandoned in favour of masonry

24 James Fergusson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, revised by James Burgess, London, 1910,

pp. 310–18; these mosques are studied extensively in James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part I, AD 1412 to 1520, London, 1900, and in James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The architectural antiquities of northern Gujarat*, London, 1903.



PLATE 4.9 Karao Jāmi', prayer hall, exterior from the courtyard looking east. The columns are each composed of a full-height ancient column together with its bracket capital, superimposed with a short column. These columns do not seem to have been cut to size but are in their original form and height, although their details are now obscured by modern cement plaster.



PLATE 4.10 Karao, Jāmi', colonnade to the east of the courtyard. The re-used temple columns are of a standard size and while now plastered over, it seems that they were composed of monolithic shafts in at least two registers, square in plan below and cylindrical above. The upper register could have been fluted or had ornamentation, which has been chopped off. The lintels of the ceiling, which are not plastered over, display their original carving.

architecture with vaults and true domes – techniques imported from the Islamic world – but in Gujarat the corbelled method continued to be practised until the Mughal period, although the later Gujarati buildings do not usually employ temple spoil, and are constructed of purposely carved stone.

In the prayer hall of the Karao Jāmi' the three *mihrābs* are similar in form and size, each composed of a niche, semi-circular in plan, with a pointed arch surrounded by a rectangular frame (Figures 4.8, 4.9; Plate 4.13). The form of the *mihrābs* is characteristic of Gujarati mosques, as outside Gujarat in North and West India the *mihrābs* are usually rectangular in plan.<sup>25</sup> Between the *mihrābs* there are large arched niches built into the *qibla* wall about 0.50 m. above the floor level,

25 M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, *Nagaur, Sultanate and early Mughal history and architecture of the district of Nagaur, India*, London, pp. 109–10.



PLATE 4.11 Karao Jāmi', western (*qibla*) wall, exterior. The projection of the three *mihrābs* is characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century mosques of the Sultanate of Delhi, but the practice continued in later dates. The floor of the mosque is at the level of the first step of the projection of the *mihrābs*. The platform and the steps, where some people are sitting, are modern, yet the street level seen at the left corner is still higher than what it was in the early fourteenth century. Building a mosque on a high platform, to give a lofty appearance, was a common practice during the Delhi Sultanate.

and these are echoed by three similar niches in the northern and the southern walls of the prayer hall.

To the north of the central *mihrāb* is the stone pulpit (*minbar*), a solid structure with nine steps ascending to the speaker's platform. The *minbar* (Plate 4.13) is relatively plain but is of a size appropriate for the main congregational mosque of a town. Other mosques usually have no *minbar*, or only a small feature with three steps. A *minbar* with seven or nine steps is usually reserved for the *jāmi'*, and its appearance here leaves little doubt that the Karao was indeed the Jāmi' of Diu.

As is usual with Indian mosques, the *mihrābs* of the Karao Jāmi' project outside the *qibla* wall (Plate 4.11). The projections are semi-cylindrical,

topped with a half dome, with the central projection being slightly taller than the others. In many Gujarati mosques these elements are decorated with highly elaborate carving, but in this mosque the external walls have been plastered and no details of the stonework of the *qibla* wall and the projections of the *mihrābs* can be seen. Judging from other features of the mosque discussed below, it seems likely that if the plaster were removed the stonework of the projection of the *mihrābs* would also be found to display fine carving.

The three entrances of the mosque each have a domed canopy in front, but their canopies differ considerably in design. This arrangement is somewhat unusual in the mosques of the region,

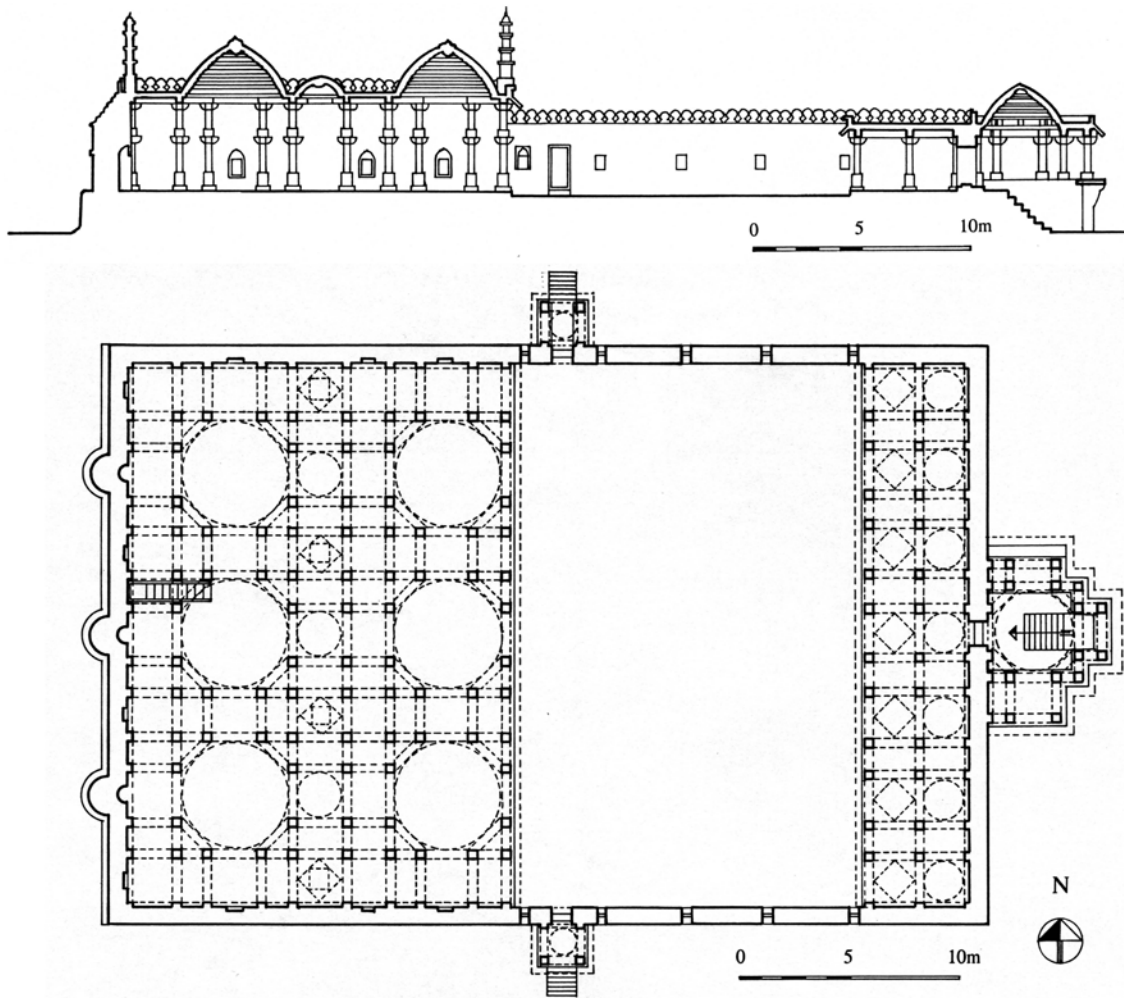


FIGURE 4.9 Karao Jāmi', plan and longitudinal section of the original structure. There has been no alteration to the building itself, but the modifications and later structures built in the courtyard obscure some of the original features.

but may be partly due to the variation in the height of the mosque's platform against the original street levels. At the south side the canopy is a simple *chatri* type structure  $1.60 \times 1.90$  m., with four columns supporting a small corbelled dome (Plate 4.14). The base of the structure is now just slightly above street level, but may have originally been a few steps above the ground. The entrance to the north (Plate 4.15) is a domed canopy of the same size as that in the south, but here four squat columns are set on two solid piers at either side of the entrance. The upper stone course of the piers corbels outwards with stone slabs above

providing a wide surface, like the seats common in the porches of temples in western India, although the piers are well above the normal height suitable for the purpose.

The small dome of the canopy rests on an octagonal transitional zone made out of corbelled slabs, with those at the corners triangular. The structural principle applied here follows a long-established tradition in Indian architecture for covering small spaces. In this mosque the same principle has also been applied to the dome of the southern entrance, as well as the small domes inside the prayer hall and the colonnade at the east of the

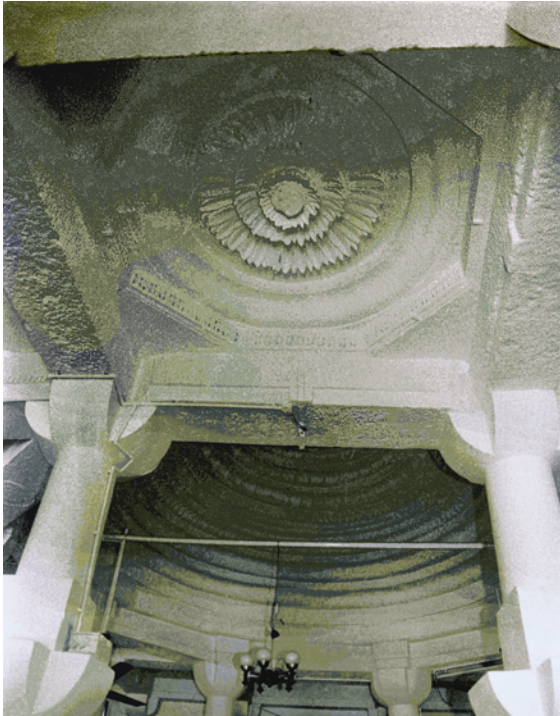


PLATE 4.12 Karao Jāmi', ceiling of the central bay, composed of carefully re-set temple spoil, which unlike the columns, is not covered with plaster and the details can be seen.

courtyard. In the northern porch, apart from the columns, other features have not been covered with paint or plaster, and the details of the carvings can be seen, which include half lotus motifs on the upper lintels, and lotus petals on the lower course of the corbelled dome.

While the original form of the canopy is well preserved on the interior, the outside look of the entrance has been altered by addition of a gate, apparently in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Plate 4.16). The gate is in the Portuguese colonial style with a pseudo-Gothic three-lobed arch flanked by two engaged columns with pseudo-Ionic capitals each topped by a stout pinnacle. Over the roof at the centre of the gate is another pinnacle in the form of a two-tiered lantern or small turret, different from the turrets at the corners of the prayer hall, but similar to the one over the central *mihrāb*. As we have noted, all the turrets are later additions, but these two seem to belong to a different date, probably when the additions to the gate were being built. The builders of this gate must have been familiar with the Portuguese style of architecture, and probably



PLATE 4.13 Karao Jāmi', central *mihrāb* with the *minbar* (pulpit) at its north (right).

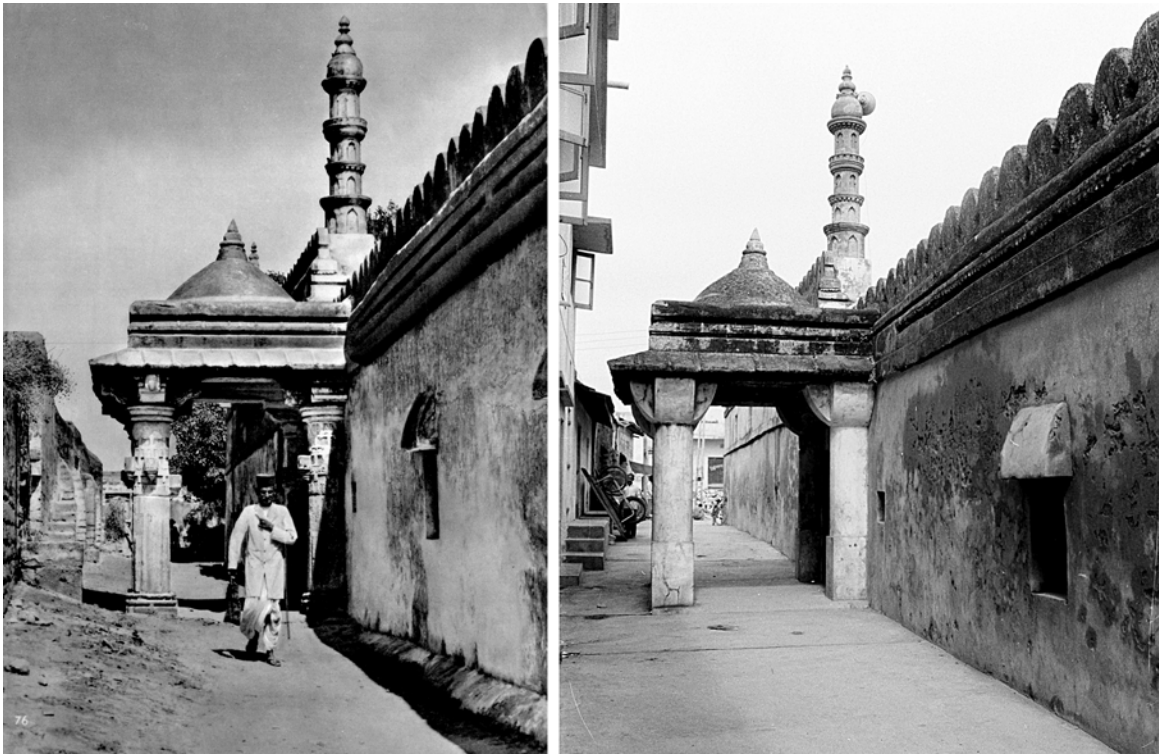


PLATE 4.14 Karao Jāmi', south entrance porch. Left: an old photograph looking west, showing the canopy before the recent renovations. A Parsi in Zoroastrian garb is passing by. The original form of the reused temple columns with their elaborate carving can be seen. From Marjay, Plate 76. Right: the same view in 1996 showing the present condition of the porch, with the details of the columns covered with plaster, and some features such as the corbels above the lower tiers of the shafts chopped off.

followed a prototype designed for churches, as appears from the three-lobed arch representing the Trinity. In the unlikely event that the building served other than as a mosque at any time, this arch could be seen as an indicator, but there would be nothing unacceptable about the three-lobed arch form to Muslims, whether or not they were aware of its Christian significance. Such arches – based on much earlier Buddhist symbols – were also employed in earlier Muslim buildings in India, such as the Khaljī gate to the mosque of Quwwat al-Islām in Delhi,<sup>26</sup> and the *mihrābs* of the Shāhī mosque of Pandua in Bengal.<sup>27</sup>

26 J.A. Page, *An historical memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 14, pl. 14b.

27 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic period*, Bombay, 1981, p. 37, pl. 25; Catherine Asher, Inventory

The main entrance of the mosque (Figure 4.10, Plates 4.17, 4.18), however, is that to the east, with a larger domed canopy and more complex design. The canopy is built with squat columns over a platform now about 1.60 m. above street level, but perhaps originally as much as two metres. It consists of a central corbelled dome over the entrance gate, flanked by platforms on each side with flat ceilings. The decoration of the dome includes lotus petals at the lowest course with a course of rosettes above. At this point there are a number of corbelled stones, which in an old Hindu or Jain temple would be likely to support images. Above these is a course carved with large lobes, representing another version of lotus petals. The upper

of key monuments, *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, ed. George Michell, Paris, 1984, pp. 109–10.



PLATE 4.15 Karao Jāmi', the north entrance to the courtyard, interior of the original domed porch looking north. The columns are plastered over, and the space between them walled up, but the carved details of the lintels and corbelled dome are exposed.

courses are plain, and terminate with a central lotus motif. The exterior of the dome is plain, with the usual lotus finial, and around the roof ran a series of eave-stones, most now broken, but shown in the reconstruction drawing of the porch.

The entrance to the canopy is a rectangular opening under a projection of the canopy, with two extra columns standing on two thick piers. The entrance leads to a flight of steps ascending to the gate of the mosque, opening to the colonnade at the east of the courtyard. Much of the exterior features are now covered with modern cement, but an old photograph shows the columns and other features before they were cemented over, displaying the kind of intricate carving found in Gujarat temples (Plate 4.17). The archaic form of the canopy, with an entrance and stairs below, also recalls the entrances of early Jain temples of the region, such as the Naulakha temple at Gumli and the Amera Mata temple at Mount



PLATE 4.16 Karao Jāmi', the north entrance, exterior from the south-west showing the Portuguese style of the gate, with pseudo-Ionic columns, a three-lobed arch, finials at the roof level over the arch and topping the columns. The ornamentation, however, depicts nothing which would be objectionable to the Muslims.

Jirnar near Junagadh, both built more elaborately, but on the same principle.<sup>28</sup> The entrance of the late twelfth-early thirteenth century Shāhī mosque at Khatu – itself probably based on earlier Jain designs – follows the same principle, but on a much larger scale.<sup>29</sup> The east entrance of the Karao Jāmi' is unlikely to be the actual entrance of a temple, as it lacks the proper symmetry, but

28 James Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, London 1876, pp. 174, 178, pls. 36, 40, 42.

29 M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, London, 1993, p. 110, pl. 31a.

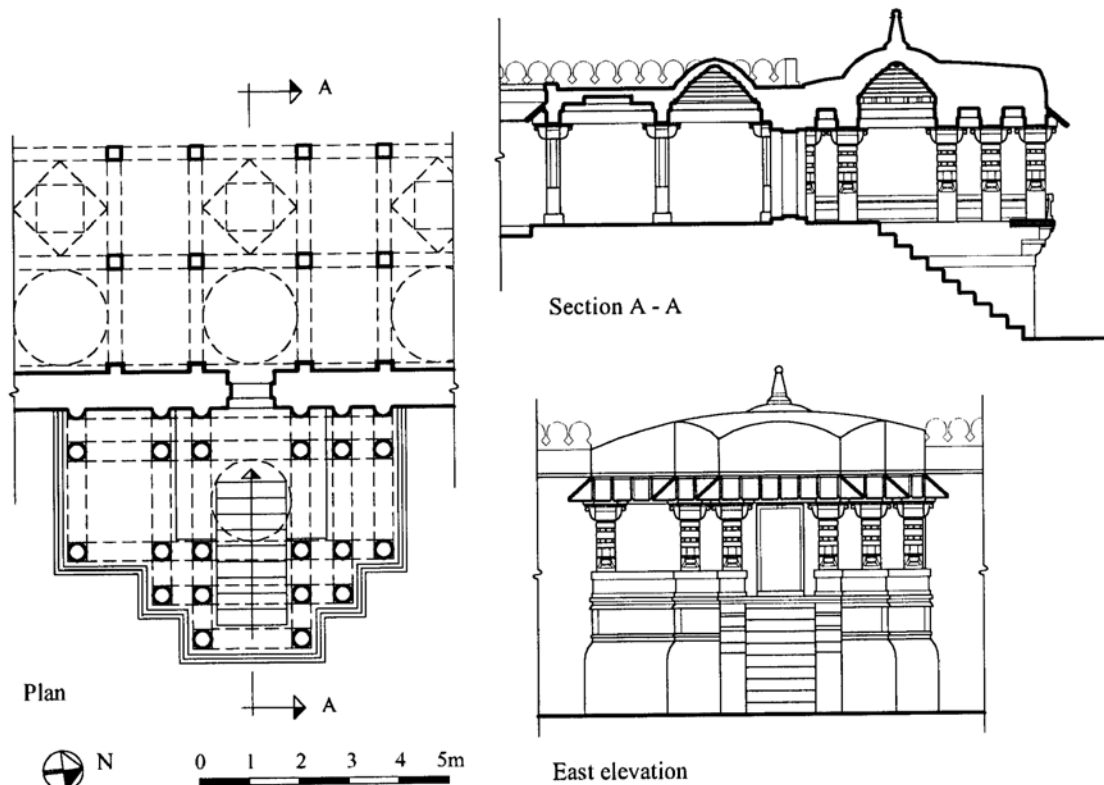


FIGURE 4.10 Karo Jāmi', east entrance, plan, east elevation and section. The drawing is after the measured sketches made during the survey of the mosque, but the details of the reused ancient columns are based on what could be deduced from the old photograph.

could be the spoil of such an entrance, adapted and re-assembled for the mosque.

About the date of Karao Jāmi' certain points should be considered. The construction of the mosque out of temple spoil, and the planning of the building, leave no doubt that the building is closer in style to those of the fourteenth century in the region, as opposed to mosques of the later periods, distinguished by a screen wall in front of the colonnaded prayer hall. The lack of any inscriptions, historical or otherwise prevent us suggesting an exact date on the grounds of content or calligraphic style. The construction differs greatly from the Gujarati mosques of the fifteenth century and later, but as mentioned above, we do know that in 1538 when Sulaimān Pāshā's fleet arrived in Diu the alliance between the Gujarat sultan and the Ottoman forces was announced in the '*alcorão de Diu*' a reference most likely to the Karao Jāmi'.

An examination of construction and building material of the mosque also reveals certain interesting points. The temple spoil seems unlikely to have been from the locality. Diu's sandstone is soft and unsuitable for fine carving with sharp edges. It also has a relatively short life and the surface wears out over a few centuries. This is evident in the few Portuguese carvings on local stone in the fort, and also the few Islamic carvings in the mosque. The old temple stones are firm and could take detailed carving, and appear to have been imported from the mainland. It is unlikely that the Muslims would have brought temple spoil from elsewhere, as it would not have served the purpose of manifesting conquest. It is more likely that the stones had been imported long before for the construction of an eminent temple – or several temples – for which the local stone would be inappropriate. The spoil of such temples would in turn have been



PLATE 4.17 Karao Jāmi', eastern (main) entrance, built of temple spoil with fine carving. It lacks the symmetry of ancient temple entrances, but follows their general plan and structural form. Left: an old photograph. From Marjay, Plate 68. Right: present condition with the carvings plastered over.



PLATE 4.18 Karao Jāmi', eastern entrance canopy looking north. The original re-assembled carved stone is plastered over, except the soffit of the corbelled dome, of which the lowest course appears in this photograph.

more appropriate for an edifice of the sultanate. This method of demonstrating conquest may also explain the absence of any pre-Islamic structure in the island.

The reassembly of the ancient elements is not as careful as one could expect. For example, the carvings of the stone lintels – some with modest decoration – differ from each other, but they are employed randomly. Some of the lintels in the building have a lotus motif on the lower face, which one would expect to be in the middle, but which is in many cases off-centre (Plate 4.15), indicating that an old lintel has been shortened to fit the span, without much attention being paid to centralising the motif. This is markedly different from most Gujarati mosques of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, where the stone is purposely carved. In Diu the original features of the ceiling and particularly that corbelled dome above the central *mīhrāb*, are, however, reassembled with some care, displaying the intricate Hindu and Jain carvings. The corbelled domes carved purposely for Islamic buildings of later dates are usually plain, sometimes decorated only with a lotus motif on the top courses capping the dome. This is particularly the case with provincial mosques, which are in general plainer than those of the capital Ahmadabad, or other mosques of major royal cities such as Champanir. The assembly of the columns of the Karao also tells its own story. Although the recent plastering covers all the original features of the columns, the composition of the columns, one on the top of the other, is also an early practice. The Muslims usually found temple columns too short for the lofty ceilings required for their mosques, and for their early mosques superimposed as many as three shafts to achieve the desired height.

In the mosque there are other details specific to Indo-Muslim architecture, particularly that of Gujarat. Among such elements are the external form of the domes with their Muslim type of pinnacles, and the turrets at the corners of the prayer hall. A few stone carvings which seem to be

specific to the mosque have also been preserved. These include the stone screens (*jālī*) with floral patterns set into the windows of the courtyard, and the arched niches of the prayer hall, as well as the decorated arches over a small window in the south wall just outside the prayer hall (Plate 4.19). The spandrels of the arch are carved with arabesques in the Gujarati style, but the feature is relatively simple, and is not as finely executed as those seen in the well-known mosques of Ahmadabad.

The Karao Jāmi', therefore, bears all the hallmarks of an early conquest mosque, which would date it from the early days of the fourteenth century, soon after the Muslim take-over of Diu. Such structures were built in a hurry, and as appears from the re-assembled domes in this mosque, aesthetic issues were not ignored entirely, but speedy establishment of the mosque was the prime concern, leaving little time for matching up the details of minor elements such as the lintels. In date therefore, Karao Jāmi' should be placed amongst the earliest of the mosques of the Sultanates in Gujarat, such as the Jāmi's of Sidhapur and Manjapur in northern Gujarat,<sup>30</sup> and, closer to Diu, the Jāmi's of Somnath (fourteenth century) and Mangrol (1364) as well as the Raḥimat Masjid (1381) and the Rāvalī Masjid (1401) both in Mangrol.<sup>31</sup> Two other pertinent examples are in Somnath, which although undated, must be of a similar date to that in Diu.<sup>32</sup> The prayer halls of most of these abovementioned mosques – all built of temple spoil and generally with corbelled domes standing on columns formed of two superimposed column shafts – are closely comparable to the Jāmi' of Diu. It should, however, be noted that these buildings are by no means

30 J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The architectural antiquities of northern Gujarat*, 1903, pp. 68–9, pl. 45 and p. 93, pls. 72–3.

31 Henry Cousens, *Somanātha and other mediaeval temples in Kāṭhiāwād*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 28 pls. 10–11 and pp. 64–6, pls. 74–82.

32 Surveys in M. Shokoohy, 'The legacy of Islam in Somnath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LXXV, ii, 2012, pp. 321–329, figs. 13–22.



PLATE 4.19 Karao Jāmi', decorative features of Muslim origin. Above: carved arch over a small window in the south wall, on the outside of the prayer hall. Below: one of the stone screens with floral patterns set into the windows of the courtyard.

the earliest mosques in Gujarat, as long before its conquest by the Sultanate of Delhi, the region had Muslim trading communities, each with their own places of worship, the earliest examples of which have survived at Bhadreśvar.<sup>33</sup>

During the long life of the mosque there have been a number of alterations and later additions, some of which, such as the turrets around the roof and the Portuguese style gate of the northern

entrance, have already been noted. In the prayer hall a few arches are built between the columns, apparently to support broken lintels of the roof (Plate 4.20). Some of these arches are of considerable age, and may date from fifteenth and sixteenth century restorations. In the south side of the eastern colonnade the spaces between the columns have been walled up to provide a chamber which opens to two additional chambers built in the courtyard to house the tomb of a local religious leader (Figure 4.8). The arches of these chambers are in the style of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century arches of the region. Next to the chambers is a porch which extends to the side of the northern entrance. This porch has a light sloping roof covered with terra-cotta tiles, and seems to be a recent addition. Similarly, at the south of the courtyard are modern latrines and a pool for ritual ablutions before prayer, again roofed with terracotta tiles.

The survival of the mosque under the Portuguese has a further significance. The Portuguese were known for their lack of tolerance towards the Muslims of South India. In Calicut,<sup>34</sup> Cranganur<sup>35</sup> and Goa the mosques were burnt, while in Goa – where they were in total control – they virtually eliminated the Muslim population.<sup>36</sup> Only in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, and after the rise of Dutch and British power, did the attitude of the Portuguese towards the Muslims begin to change, and a small community of Muslims returned to Goa and built new mosques for themselves. In Diu, on the other hand, the shrines within and outside the Karao Jāmi' – and most probably the mosque itself – seem to have remained in continuous use. Elsewhere in the island we shall see that there are other mosques

33 M. Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, 1988, pp. 19–33.

34 Nernani Cidade and Manuel Murias, *Ásia de João de Barros*, II, Lisbon, 1945, pp. 153–63; Dalboquerque, II, pp. 64–71; Firishta (Pers.), II, p. 372; Zain al-dīn, *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*, (Arabic) Lisbon, 1898, p. 42.

35 Danvers, I, p. 115.

36 R.F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains or six months of sick leave*, London, 1851, pp. 105–7.



PLATE 4.20 Karao Jāmi', exterior of prayer hall showing later added arches where the stone lintels supporting the roof have cracked.

and Muslim shrines along with many old graveyards of historic interest, all indicating that in Diu the Portuguese had to tolerate the Muslims, to avoid unnecessary conflict with the Sultanate of Gujarat and later the Mughals. Tolerance was indeed the Portuguese policy in regions where the population was entirely Muslim such as Aden and Hurmuz. The South Indian chapter of brutality by the Portuguese towards Muslims should perhaps be seen as an exception rather than the norm.

#### 4.2 *The Caravan ('Karwan') Masjid*

At present there are a number of small mosques in the town, mostly in an area north of the south postern gate of the town (Figure 4.3 area between 88, 95 and 96) called Muslim Wada or the Muslim ward, where many families descend from the black slaves – known in India as Ḥabashī or Habshis – brought to India from the east coasts of Africa by both the Muslims and the Portuguese. The mosques of this quarter are not of considerable age or architectural merit.

The only historic mosque of the town, other than the Karao Jāmi', is the Caravan Masjid (Figure 4.3 no. 49), near the harbour, and set by the side of what appears in the engraving of the pre-Portuguese town to be a public square

(Plate 4.4, no. 4). In this engraving the building representing the original Caravan Masjid (no. 2) is depicted schematically to have a belfry like structure, which may represent a minaret, two round windows and a colonnade at roof level. A similar feature also appears on the top of a smaller building with a door opening to the shore, adjoining the larger building, but the relationship between the two buildings is not clear. One or two other buildings with colonnades on the roof appear in the engraving, although their colonnades are presented differently. These depictions may represent architectural features found in fifteenth-century Gujarat in general, and Diu in particular. Although it is not clear whether the colonnades would have been of stone – in the usual Indian trabeate style – or of timber, it should be born in mind that wooden structures were also once common in Gujarat, outnumbering the stone ones, which have survived better. Colonnaded roofs can still be found as far away as in traditional buildings of the islands of the Persian Gulf dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere, such buildings

37 Most of the traditional architecture of the Persian Gulf islands is now disappearing rapidly, without having been studied or recorded.

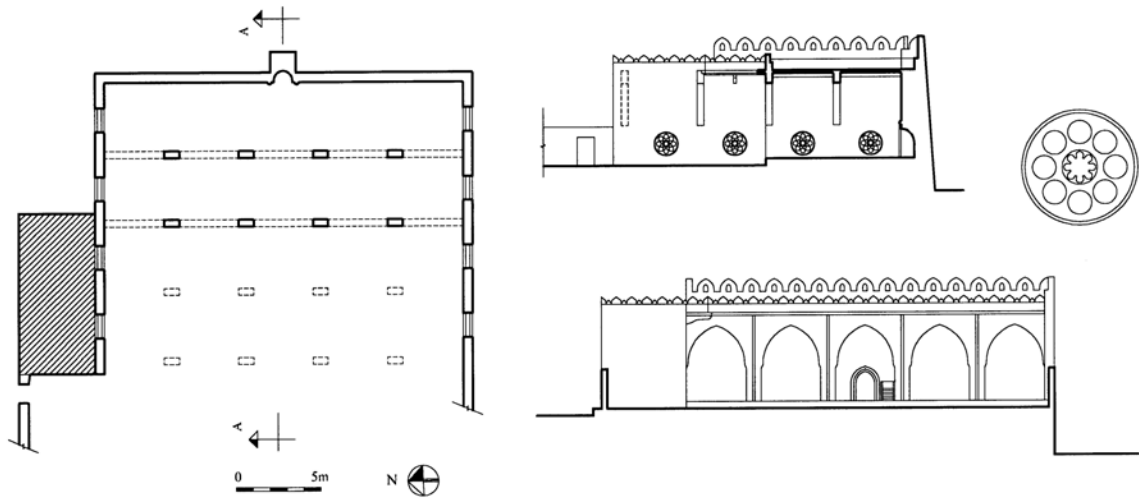


FIGURE 4.11 Caravan (Karwan) mosque (no. 49), plan, longitudinal section, east elevation of the prayer hall and details of one of the pierced stone round windows. The impost of one of the arches of the lost bays can be seen on the southern wall in the section.

were also known on the Iranian mainland, a good example of which is the ‘Ālī Qāpū; the gate to the Safavid palaces at Isfahan,<sup>38</sup> but it is interesting that in the islands of the Persian Gulf such a feature is referred to as a *hindī* (Indian) pavilion, apparently indicating a relationship between the architectural features of the two regions through the Indian Ocean trade.

A more realistic depiction of the old Caravan Masjid appears in de Castro’s ‘map’, published in 1538–39 (Figure 4.5) discussed above. It includes details that merit attention, firstly that the mosque is larger and higher than the surrounding structures. It also shows, on the northern wall facing the harbour, two round windows with what seems to be an arched entrance at ground level between

them. Around the roof are fairly large crenelations, rounded on top, a feature common in mosques and other grand buildings of the mid-fourteenth century and later. At the corner of the roofs are five colonnaded canopies – *chattrīs* – features appearing first in the Tughluq period and widely seen on the roofs of palaces, mansions and mosques. In the middle of the roof a dome seems to be shown, but this is not very clear in the engraving. Together with the tall minaret, it is evident that the building is a mosque, its location corresponding not only with the structure shown in Plate 4.4, but also with the present Caravan Masjid.

The mosque, as it stands today, does not seem to resemble either of the two representations in the old engravings. The minaret has long gone, and the structure of the present building, could not be datable – wholly or partly – to the sixteenth century or earlier with any certainty. The reason for the reconstruction of the mosque is unknown, but Diu is subject to frequent earthquakes, and it may well be that in its long history the mosque was rebuilt more than once.

The present building (Figure 4.11) consists of a prayer hall set at the west of an enclosed courtyard, which unlike the bare paved yards of most mosques, is lush with trees and flowering plants. Part of the courtyard is, however, now occupied by

38 Registered monument no. 104 in Nosratollah Meshkati (compiler), *A list of the historical sites and ancient monuments of Iran*, tr. by H.A.S. Pessyan, National Organization for the Protection of the Historical Monuments of Iran, Tehran, 1974, pp. 45–6; A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London – Tokyo, 1977, III, pp. 1193–4; VIII, pp. 463, 477. ‘Ālī Qāpū is well known and is mentioned in most general books on Islamic and Iranian Architecture, see for example David Talbot Rice, *Islamic Art*, London, 1975, pp. 237–40, figs. 233, 236; Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, Edinburgh, 1994, pp. 431–2, figs. 7.133, 7.139, 7.144.



PLATE 4.21 Caravan Masjid (no. 49), prayer hall seen from the south east looking at the five standing bays and the two aisles. The high wall outside the bays is original and was once part of the prayer hall, the impost of a fallen arch and the round pierced stone windows are preserved.

later constructions. The prayer hall, five bays wide and two aisles deep, measures about  $21 \times 8.70$  m. and consists of two rows of five arches supporting a flat roof (Plate 4.21). The prayer hall has a single *mihṛāb* (Plate 4.22), semi-circular in plan on the inside with a rectangular projection outside, much in the style of traditional Gujarati *mihṛābs*, but unlike the early *mihṛābs* which are often elaborately decorated, it is fairly plain.

The present prayer hall is, however, half its original size, as it once had two more rows of arches facing the courtyard. The side walls of the original prayer hall (Plate 4.23) still stand and the remains of the springing of the fallen arches can still be seen on both walls enabling us to provide drawings showing the original plan of the structure. The wide arches and fairly slim piers ( $0.35 \times 0.88$  m.) and the wide span of the ceiling, measuring about 4 m. between the two rows of arches, all indicate a relatively late date for the building, but the 1865 town plan shows the present building

apparently with its original layout. The mosque may therefore be datable to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, employing the advancements in Portuguese structural techniques which can be widely observed in other buildings of the period in the town.

On each of the side walls of the prayer hall are four round perforated stonework screens (*jālī*), each set in the axis of their respective aisle. José Pereira,<sup>39</sup> although not concerned with the mosque itself, notes one of these round screens and describes it as a rose window which must have been taken from a church. This is unlikely, as not only would the reuse of architectural elements from a church in an eighteenth – nineteenth century Indian mosque be improbable, all eight screens are closely similar, presupposing they were all from the same building. Furthermore,

39 José Pereira, *Baroque India*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 108, 110, fig. 9.



PLATE 4.22

Caravan Masjid, the single *mihrāb* with a semi-circular arch, but framed by a decorative border with an ogee arch. The stone *minbar* (pulpit) is integral to the building, suggesting that the mosque was once considered as the *Jāmi'*. Neighbourhood mosques either have no *minbar* or a small *minbar* with three steps.



PLATE 4.23 Caravan Masjid, south wall and part of the prayer hall. The high side wall, with its round *jālis* and the remains of the impost of an arch, enables us to visualise the original form of the prayer hall with its front arcades. Around the roof, the small crenellations seem to have been added to give a finished appearance to the standing prayer hall. However, above the southern wall of the prayer hall some of the old crenellations have survived, conforming in shape and scale to those shown in De Castro's 'map'.

circular screens are shown in the engraving of the pre-Portuguese town (Plate 4.4) in the wall of the mosque, and are a common feature in the Muslim architecture of Diu; examples with slight variations in design are to be found in the wall of a graveyard to the north-west of the town.

Apart from the street layout which may go back to the pre-Portuguese era, little else remains of the old Muslim town. The edifices in the Muslim Wada (96) are not old, but there are a number of other Muslim sites scattered in the town – a reminder of the old Muslim Diu. One of the edifices (Figure 4.3, r) is adjacent to the modern Nehru Park and there are also tombs set beside the streets, one (g) at the west end of the short street which leads to the northern postern gate; another (b) near the western wall of the Karao Jāmi‘ and yet another (i) slightly further away to the south of the Jāmi‘.

## 5 The Portuguese Town

The town seems to have fallen firmly into the hands of the Portuguese at least from 1570 when the remains of the Muslim town-walls appear to have been removed or partly incorporated into a new wall with a wide moat at the western side. The moat extends from the canal at the north-west corner of the town to the Arabian Sea at the south-west making the town virtually an island. The wall and most of the moat are still preserved although the northern part of the moat – shown as still holding water in the Lopes Mendes town plan of 1865 (Figure 4.2) – is now filled in at the point of the new bridge and road (Figure 4.3). Under Portuguese administration the island was divided into two districts with the area within the town wall, the Forte do Mar and the village of Ghoghla known as the district of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and the rest of the island as the district of St Andrew of Brancavará.<sup>40</sup> The fishing village at the westernmost end of the island

is called Vanakbara, apparently derived from the old name of the district.

### 5.1 Town Wall and Gates

Portuguese Diu was walled, at first apparently only at the western side, as depicted in a number of old engravings (Plates 3.5 and 3.6), but later also at the northern and at least part of the southern sides. Most walls were still intact until the mid-nineteenth century and are shown in Lopes Mendes's town plan, but almost all of the northern walls have now been removed, leaving only some of the ramparts facing the water at the north-east corner of the town near the fort. The towers and the gates on the northern wall facing the harbour have also disappeared, including the tower of the Mother of God (36); St Philip's Tower and gate (47); St Matthew's and St Joseph's Towers (50–51) as well as a gate to the shore (48). St John's Tower (44) shown in the old town plan to be set to the east of *Porta do Mar* (the Sea Gate) has also been removed but the ceremonial gate, opening to the main jetty (the Custom House Jetty) (43) has survived and will be discussed below. One of the main features of the northern wall, removed entirely to give way for the modern bridge and road, was a tower built in the water at the north-western corner of the town and joined to the town wall by a wall of the same height with a causeway above. The tower – armed with cannon – and known as *Ponte do Diamante* (Diamond or Headland Point) (52) provided an observation post and defence for the outer face of the northern town wall. The feature is clearly shown in de Castro's map (Figure 4.5) which also shows St Philip's Tower, built by the order of Pero da Nhaia in 1594<sup>41</sup> and a jetty to the east of the Point and in front of the Caravan Mosque. The jetty (47) is shown to have been walled at both sides, as is also expressed in Lopes Mendes's town plan, and at that time still bore an inscription<sup>42</sup> recording its construction by the Governor of the Fort Luis de Mello Pereira in 1723. If this inscription indeed

<sup>40</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 395.

<sup>41</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 92.



PLATE 4.24

Bas-relief of St Catherine, on the outer face of the tower (no. 53) dedicated to the saint, at the northern side of the western town wall.

refers to the construction and not a restoration of these features, de Castro's map should be treated as being as late as of the eighteenth century. In the map the Custom House Jetty (43) is also shown but the Arsenal buildings (45) and their jetty (46) are not. These structures were added in 1777–1778,<sup>43</sup> but whatever has been left from the Arsenal buildings has been reconstructed<sup>44</sup> and the jetty, now dilapidated, is used as a dry dock by fishermen who repair and maintain their boats there.

From the extent of the walls shown in de Castro's map we can conclude that the town walls seem to have all been constructed within the same period and were complete by the last decades

of the sixteenth century. The dates of construction of the walls are also recorded in some of the inscriptions, the earliest, dating from 1570, is over the postern gate (f) by St Peter's Tower (54) at the north side of the western town wall.<sup>45</sup> This tower is erroneously given as St Catherine's Tower in the 1865 town plan, but St Catherine's Tower<sup>46</sup> is to the north of St Peter's Tower and distinguished by her bas-relief (Plate 4.24). The image<sup>47</sup> is within a twisted rope frame with a fringe of acanthus leaves and depicts a frontal view of St Catherine with her

43 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 109, 110 and 112.

44 According to the *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 464, this section of the wall, including St Philip's tower and gate (47) and St Joseph's Tower (51) were demolished in 1891.

45 Appendix, Inscription no. 21.

46 The tower was restored in 1712 recorded in an inscription, see Appendix, Inscription no. 86, reported to have been *in situ* by Cunha Rivara. The inscription refers to the tower as 'this tower of St Catherine' (*este baluarte S. Catarina*) and records its restoration by Governor of the Fort, Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes.

47 Appendix, Inscription no. 22.



PLATE 4.25 Western town wall, St Peter's Tower (no. 54) and the postern gate to its north seen from outside the town. Above the gate is an arch which has been blocked. The inscribed slab of 1570 over the gate and of 1584 on the north face of the tower can also be seen.

right hand outstretched in front of her attribute, the broken wheel, and bearing her other attribute, a sword, in her left hand. The treatment is clearly inspired by European design although the image might have been carved by a local craftsman. Few figurative bas-reliefs are to be found in Diu as most of the carved panels usually include only coats of arms. The other figurative examples include the images of St Dominic (Plate 3.10) and St Lucy, (Plate 3.23)<sup>48</sup> both in the fort.

To the south of the demolished Headland Point, St Catherine's was the first of the towers of the western wall and from this point our examination of the wall continues southward. The next tower is St Peter's (Plate 4.25), which, as with some other towers of the town wall, is rectangular in plan, but most are round. To the north of the tower is the dated postern gate (f) – a simple arched opening in the wall – which had originally an arched niche or opening, now blocked, above it. An inscription

above the gate<sup>49</sup> records that the gate and the encircling wall 'from sea to sea' were built by the order of Aires Telez, the Captain of the Fort, in the year 1570. However, the construction of the wall took several years to complete and St Peter's Tower adjoining the postern gate also bears an inscription on its northern face recording that the tower was constructed in 1584 by the order of Manoel de Miranda, the Captain of the Fort and the Town, to enhance the defence of the gate and the wall.<sup>50</sup> The date is fourteen years later than that of the gate, but we have already noted that the lost St Philip's gate and tower and its walled jetty were constructed as late as 1594.<sup>51</sup> Taking over fifteen years to build a simple town wall is unusual, as the Portuguese were able to build their impressive fort in Diu in a period of eight years between 1534 and 1542, and the Muslims are known for their ability to build a walled town together with its fort and

48 See also *Arquivo*, II, ii, figure facing p. 472.

49 Appendix, Inscription no. 21.

50 Appendix, Inscription no. 25.

51 Appendix, Inscription no. 30.



PLATE 4.26 *Porta da Terra* or the Inland Gate (no. 58) from the fields outside the town looking east. The two towers in the foreground originally flanked a drawbridge which has been removed and, in its place, a solid foundation constructed for the road leading to the gate.

citadel in less than four years.<sup>52</sup> It may be that the major work was carried out in the first few years and only improvements and some additional towers and gates were gradually inserted later. If the actual construction took that long it may indicate that the Portuguese were short of resources or labour. The stone used for the construction of the wall, however, seems to have been readily available, mainly from the moat in front of the western wall and also from a number of quarries inside the town. These quarries also seem to have provided building material for all other structures in the town including domestic dwellings.

52 Tughluqabad, for example, was built in about two years, Hisar in two and a half years and Bidar in less than three years. See respectively *Ḍiyā' al-dīn Barnī, Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Pers.), Calcutta, 1862, pp. 442, 449–50; Shams-i Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Pers.), Calcutta 1891, pp. 124–128; *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Pers.) III, p. 25. See also M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad*, 2007, pp. 32–37 for a discussion on how this could be achieved.

From St Peter's Tower the wall runs in a slight south-west direction toward the main gate, with St Anthony's Tower (55), the Tower of Our Lady of the Rosary (56) and St Cajetan's Tower (57) in between. The main gate (58) known as the Inland Gate or *Porta da Terra* (Plates 4.26, 4.28) is again a simple arched portal,<sup>53</sup> plain from the town side but on the outside elevated visually by an arch set at the level of the top of the wall opening to an imposing semi-oval balcony supported by nine carved corbelled brackets. Below the balcony and over the gate is a niche housing a life-sized stone statue of St Ignatius of Loyola (Plate 4.27) in the habit of a Jesuit monk with an open book – the

53 Unlike Indian town gates which are usually high and wide to allow the passage of elephants with howdahs, the gates of Diu are relatively low and narrow, suitable for the passage of horses, carriages and bullock carts. In Daman too the surviving gates are comparable in scale to those at Diu, showing that the Portuguese must have perceived such gates, usually protected by drawbridges, as more defensible.



PLATE 4.27 *Porta da Terra* (no. 58), the arched niche above the gate housing a life-size image of St Ignatius.

Holy Scripture – in his left hand and his right hand in the pose of carrying a staff, which is missing. This is the only stone sculpture of its kind found in Diu, as the few other smaller religious images from churches are usually carved in wood. The arch housing St Ignatius stands on two pilasters each decorated with a row of St Andrew's crosses (*crux decussata*). On the spandrel of the arch are two stylised cherubs and above the arch is an oval frame with the monogram IHS – a contraction of the name ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (Jesus) in Greek. Below the image was originally the Portuguese royal coat of arms,<sup>54</sup> in low relief, but this feature has been cemented over after the Indian take-over of the island in 1961.

The gate would have been constructed originally as part of the early stages of building the wall, perhaps between 1670 and 1674 when the two postern gates were also built, but the present form appears to be the result of several additions, renovations and restorations. The earliest dated inscription<sup>55</sup> associated with the gate is from the guardhouse recording its construction in July 1698. This inscription is now lost and it is not clear if the guardhouse is the same as a chamber built into the fortification wall at the south side of the gate with a door towards the town square, or a larger structure in front of it which has disappeared.<sup>56</sup> One of the latest inscriptions was once fixed on the town side of the gate recording a renovation of 1807.<sup>57</sup>

Outside the town and in front of the gate there was originally a drawbridge (no. 60) which bore an inscription of 1701 set on the retaining wall to the right side of the bridge, recording the repairs to the

bridge<sup>58</sup> by the order of the governor, Lourenço da Cunha Souto Maior. The drawbridge was removed in 1876 and was replaced by a stone bridge,<sup>59</sup> which itself was substituted later with a solid foundation for a modern road. The two towers at either side of the outer end of the bridge, shown in Lopes Mendes's town plan, have, however, survived although they are now partly buried in the ground (Plate 4.26). Lourenço da Cunha Souto Maior also constructed a small shrine attached to the north side of the gate on the town side facing a small square. This shrine still stands and apart from the inscription of the governor over the altar, dated 1702,<sup>60</sup> another inscription on the interior north wall records the restoration of the chapel by one Ramachande Motichande in 1950.<sup>61</sup>

The wall continues south-west from the Inland Gate for another 200 m. reaching a cliff and then continues over the natural contours of the land. Over the cliff is the sizable and commanding Tower of Our Lady of Guidance (63) and between this tower and the Tower of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (64) to its south is the second postern gate (Plate 4.29) bearing another *in situ* inscription of Aires Telez with a text<sup>62</sup> closely similar to that of the northern gate, but dated 1574. The date may signify that the construction of the wall began from the north and progressed slowly toward the south. However, the structure of this postern gate is not keyed properly into the wall, indicating that the gate might have

54 Cunha Rivara, p. 26, note under inscription no. 62 (given in Appendix, Inscription no. 80).

55 Appendix, Inscription no. 77.

56 The chamber appears to be the original guardroom built together with the walls, and, as it appears from the Lopes Mendes town plan, the 1698 guardhouse might have been a structure attached to the wall and perhaps connected to the chamber in order to increase the guards' accommodation.

57 Appendix, Inscription no. 117.

58 Appendix, Inscription no. 78.

59 Appendix, Inscription no. 141. Another loose inscription (no. 139), now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum, records the construction of a bridge in 1862, but it cannot be determined to which bridge it refers. The inscription, not reported previously, reads: '*em 1862 foi construida esta ponte*'. In 1876 the road from the town towards Fudam and Vanakbara seems to have been completed and was named the Brito Capello Road (*Estrada Brito Capello*) recorded with the date on a stone monument set at the beginning of the road and slightly to the west of the Inland Gate.

60 Appendix, Inscription no. 80.

61 Appendix, Inscription no. 152.

62 Appendix, Inscription no. 23.



PLATE 4.28 The open space in front of the Inland Gate (no. 58) is still an area for public gatherings, festivals, recreation and an open marketplace. On such occasions people assemble in festive mood.



PLATE 4.29 Western town wall, southern postern gate (m in map) from north-west. The stonework of the gate is not properly keyed to the wall showing that the gate might have been opened some time after the construction of the wall. Above the gate is the *in situ* inscription of Aires Telez, the captain of Diu in the 1570s, who was also responsible for the construction of the wall and the northern postern gate. The platform in front of the gate lead originally to a drawbridge, no longer extant.

been opened some time later. The gate is similar in scale and proportions to that in the north, and opens to the Muslim Wada (Plate 4.30). The area is fairly large and compactly built but little of its old layout is preserved. A modern road, which may not be on the line of the original road, leads to near the gate, but not to the gate itself which is abandoned and surrounded by houses. Some Muslim families living near the gate are of African origin – probably a reminiscence of the Ḥabashīs, the slave soldiers of the Gujarat sultanate who gained considerable power by the end of the sultanate period and for a short while, before Akbar's annexation of Gujarat to his empire, had control over parts of the region.<sup>63</sup> The presence of Ḥabashīs in Diu is also apparent from one of the major shrines in the island attributed to a saint known as Ḥabash Pīr Bābā (Plate 6.29) situated at Naida village two miles (3 kilometres) east of Vanakbara.

In front of the west side of the gate is a platform which led originally to a drawbridge over the moat, but no trace of the drawbridge remains today and at present there is no access to the gate from outside the town. A loose inscription<sup>64</sup> from a drawbridge of one of the gates of the town records its construction by the governor of the town, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira in 1718. Although the original location of this inscription it not known, it is likely that it belonged to this gate, as we have already



PLATE 4.30 Western town wall, southern postern gate (m) from the town side. The wide and deep niche over the entrance might have been vaulted and used originally as an observation post. Through the opening the overgrown moat can be seen where once a drawbridge stood.

63 The affair of the Ḥabashīs is recorded extensively in *Zafar al-wāliḥ*, in particular the second part of vol. II and most of vol. III. Akbar's conquest of Gujarat is detailed in the *Akbar nāma* (Pers.) III, pp. 6–33, particularly p. 32 which records Akbar ordering the execution of Jajhār Khān Ḥabashī and effectively curbing Ḥabashī power in Gujarat. For a short account of the Ḥabashīs see John Burton Page's entry under the term Ḥabshī in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (2nd ed.), Brill, Leiden, III (1971), p. 16. For accounts of the Ḥabashīs in different regions of India see Kenneth X. Robbins and John McLeod (eds), *African Elites in India: Habshi Amarat*, Ahmadabad, 2006. Ababu Minda Yimene, *Transplant and Ampersand Identity: The Siddis of Diu, India, Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, IV, 1, 2015, pp. 19–33.

64 Appendix, Inscription no. 90.

seen that the drawbridge in front of the main gate had another inscription dated 1701.

The western wall ends at the south with the massive Tower of St Sebastian of Victory (67) and another fortified Headland or Diamond Point (*Ponte de Diamante*) set into the water (68). Unlike that in the north, this feature, although dilapidated, still stands and consists of a tower built in the water and a wall linking it to St Sebastian's Tower. The town wall immediately to the north of the tower is, however, partly in ruins and a section of it has been removed to give way to a modern road. St Sebastian's Tower is a massive structure with a commanding view over the waters of the Arabian Sea. It has been recently renovated and is

now popular with the townspeople, who enjoy the panoramic view, but it originally bore an inscription<sup>65</sup> recording its construction by the order of the Captain of the Fort, Manoel de Mello in 1676. From this point the wall continued originally for over another 200 m. reaching the Bastion of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*, 69). Over the bastion is the shrine of Our Lady in the form of a domed chamber. There are two inscriptions associated with this tower, the first, now lost, recorded that the ‘works on this tower’ – presumably restoration work – were carried out by the order of Caetano Correa de Sá, Castellan (Provincial Governor) and Governor of Diu in 1758.<sup>66</sup> The other inscription, now detached is kept in the Sé Museum yard, recording the reconstruction of the bastion from its foundations in 1835.<sup>67</sup> Passing this tower, the wall continues for about 300 m. on the high contour of the cliffs facing the sea, as shown in Lopes Mendes’s town plan, but parts of the wall have now been eroded by the sea and its easternmost tower, the Tower of the Excommunicated<sup>68</sup> is now partly in ruins (71). There are no traces of any wall to the east of this tower, nor a wall as shown in Lopes Mendes’s plan. As appears from the early engravings (Plates 3.5 and 3.6) the coasts on the eastern side of the town were not fortified, but de Castro’s map shows that the town was originally enclosed all around.

## 5.2 *The Urban Fabric*

When the town wall was constructed, it must have enclosed a town with most of its old Islamic layout still intact, but over time Diu was gradually transformed into a Portuguese colonial town. With the disappearance of the fabric of other Portuguese towns in India, such as Portuguese Cochin, and Old Goa, preservation of the urban fabric of Diu and its architectural components gives us an insight to the urban patterns of such

settlements in the region. Many inscriptions indicate that at least from the seventeenth century on, Diu was developing continuously, with new churches and monasteries being founded, streets being established and public and domestic structures added. Although, as in the case of the area of the Muslim citadel and the two main mosques (Figure 4.7), the layout of some streets may go back to pre-Portuguese times, the present fabric dates mostly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some changes in the street layout are modern and a comparison between our town plan (Figure 4.3) and that of Lopes Mendes (Figure 4.2) reveals some of the modern developments, but it is likely that the Lopes Mendes plan omitted some of the secondary streets and small lanes shown in our plan.<sup>69</sup> As a whole, in spite of rapid development in all directions the atmosphere of the colonial town, reinforced by the survival of many of the eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings is still maintained.

At the north of the town is the mouth of the channel which separates the leeward side of the island from the mainland. The water is calm and suitable for a harbour. The windward coasts of the town, however, are partly over high cliffs on the south, and unsuitable for landing ships. The old Portuguese harbour, together with the main jetty (43), the market square (41), and many of the official buildings – mostly still in use – are in the north of the town. Behind the waterfront, and to the south of the Karao mosque the winding narrow streets still recall the organic layout of the pre-Portuguese town. The south coast, however, as appears from an old aerial photograph, seems never to have been built up (Plate 4.31). The area is still mainly vacant, but new buildings are gradually being constructed along the modern road towards the Tower of the Excommunicated (71), including a hotel run by the Department of Tourism and at the end of the road the Circuit House – a rest house for high-ranking government officials.

65 Appendix, Inscription no. 70.

66 Appendix, Inscription no. 100.

67 Appendix, Inscription no. 125.

68 Appendix, Inscription no. 126.

69 For the sake of clarity, we have also omitted some of the smaller lanes.



PLATE 4.31 Left: a mid-twentieth century aerial photograph of Diu Fort from the north-east with the town in the background showing that the Christian quarter (top right) was scarcely built and the unbuilt southern areas of the town were cultivated fields.

REPRODUCED FROM A FADED ORIGINAL PRESERVED IN THE SÉ MUSEUM, DIU

Right: 2006 satellite image of the town showing, with the exception of some southern areas, most of the town, including the old Christian quarter, being compactly built. Since 2006, parts of the brown land have also been built up.

GOOGLE EARTH

The residential areas of the Portuguese town in the mid-nineteenth century were located mainly at the east of the town and conforming to Indian traditions, Hindus of different castes occupied different quarters and the residential areas of the Hindus, Muslims and Christians were also separate from each other. An area was devoted to a community of Zoroastrians (83) who had their own fire temple there (39). This wealthy community has now left Diu altogether and their houses, many on a grand and ostentatious scale, have been divided into tenements. The fire temple, founded in 1830, is still well preserved but has been deconsecrated and converted to a convent.<sup>70</sup>

Since the return of Diu to India in 1961 the population of Diu has gone through some transformations; the social divide between the quarters, although still preserved, is not as strong as in the past. The Europeans and many of the local Christians have left and while the remaining

Christians still live in their old quarter, members of other communities now occupy the vacated buildings, and vacant land in this quarter is also being developed – a number of houses were under construction during the 2004 fieldwork. Other areas, such as the public core and the residential quarters at the centre and west of the town have remained without much change and many of the traditional houses, dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, have also survived. In the Bazaar area (84) some residential buildings were of considerable age, but these are being rapidly replaced by modern structures. The Bazaar area itself seems to have been renovated in 1852<sup>71</sup> and the area is still occupied by Muslims, with their shops mainly concentrated around the mosque. Part of the open space north-west of the Karao Mosque – perhaps the pre-Portuguese market square – was taken by

<sup>70</sup> The legacy of the Zoroastrians of Diu is discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>71</sup> Only a date 1876 is preserved in an oval medallion above the central arch of the Bazaar (Plate 4.37), but Cunha Rivara (p. 24, no. 58) mentions that the Linen Market had an inscription of 1852.



PLATE 4.32 The old fish market when it was still in use at the turn of this century. Later a new covered fish market was established outside the western town walls. The arcaded structure of the old fish market still stands at the west end of the market street (Figure 4.3, no. 84) just behind the Karao Jami'.

a purpose-built fish market constructed in 1839, in use until the beginning of the twenty-first century (Plate 4.32). The fish market was, somewhat unusually, away from the waterfront, but according to its inscription<sup>72</sup> the structure was built by the town council (*Camara Municipal*) and by the order of the governor, Francisco de Mello d'Eça.

By the end of the eighteenth century the historic fort no longer functioned as a stronghold and the administration was transferred to the

town, leaving the fort as a barracks, prison and storehouse. The core of the town was then shifted to a new market square (41), near which the new custom house (42) and its jetty (43) were established, parallel to the shore leading to the gate of the fort. By the mid-nineteenth century a number of roads – still with little sign of buildings near them – led from the new urban core to the older residential sites at the west of the town. At that time within the town walls not only were the built-up areas sparse and scattered; large areas were left unbuilt. The aerial photograph of the mid-twentieth-century also shows that these areas were fields, apparently under cultivation (Plate 4.31). This land might have been originally intended to provide the necessary fresh food in case the territory was faced with a long siege. In later dates when the Portuguese were in control of the whole island such precautions were no longer necessary, but the population of the town never grew to the extent that the vacant land within the perimeter of the town became built up.

### 5.3 *The Harbour and the Market*

Apart from the traditional Bazaar (84), the social life of the town was – and still is – concentrated around the harbour and the Portuguese market square (Figure 4.12). In the nineteenth century there were two jetties, the Arsenal Jetty (46) which has not survived, and the Custom House Jetty (43) which is preserved and extended at its eastern side to over twice the original size. An inscription on a commemorative column set at what seems to have been the eastern edge of the original jetty records the erection of a crane there by the governor, Vasco Luis Carniero de Souza, in 1782.<sup>73</sup> With the extension of the jetty, the feature now marks the line of the old jetty and the modern extension. Another inscription,<sup>74</sup> now loose and preserved in the yard of the Sé Museum, records the restoration of a jetty in 1844, but this restoration does not seem to have affected the outline of the jetty at that time.

72 Appendix, Inscription no. 127.

73 Appendix, Inscription no. 113.

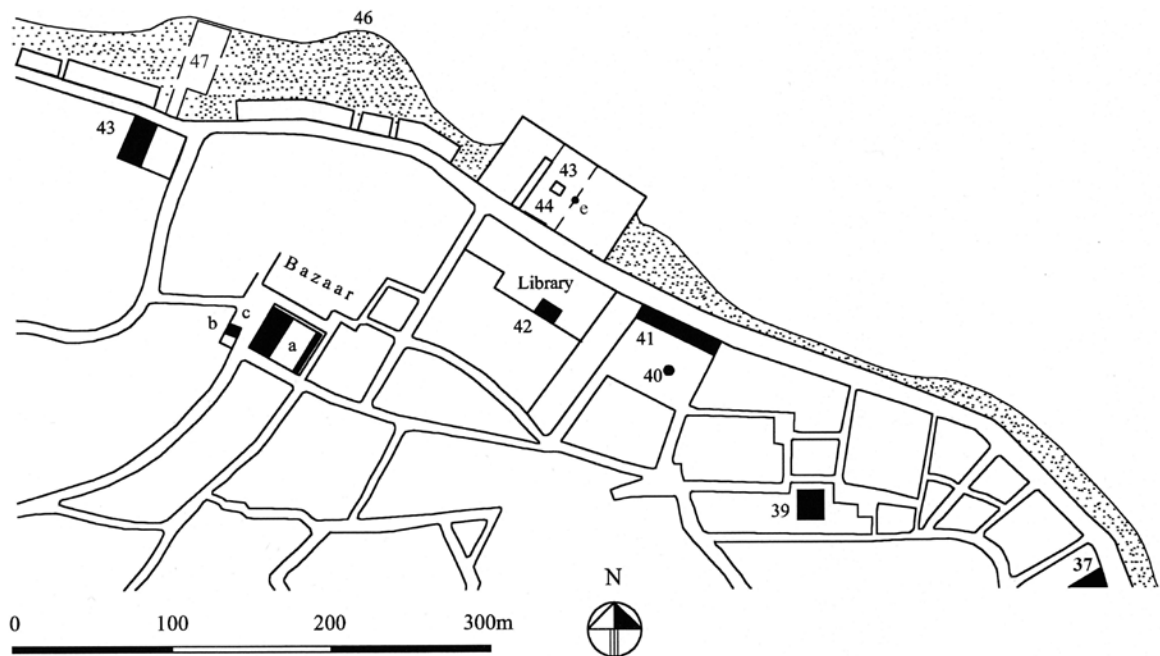
74 Appendix, Inscription no. 129.

#### 5.4 *The Sea Gate (Porta do Mar)*

The old Jetty opens to the town at the south side via a ceremonial gateway, the Sea Gate or *Porta do Mar*, built of the local stone and plastered over (Figures 4.12, no. 44, 4.13; Plates 4.33, 4.34). The single arch of the gate, about 3.90 m. wide and 5.60 m. high is in a three-lobed form, representing the Holy Trinity and common in the later Portuguese monuments of India, but occasionally seen earlier, in the sixteenth-century. Above the portal is another arch which houses a large bell, presumably for announcing the arrival of vessels and other important civic matters. The arch is accessed via two sets of narrow stairs at the southern façade, flanking the portal and ascending to a balcony above it. The stairs continue further to a small platform above the belfry, forming the base

for an image or a cross, but the object itself has been removed. There is also a small shrine built as a niche in the west pier of the portal, but the image inside has again been removed.

The northern façade is simpler, but includes two buttresses flanking the portal and reinforcing the otherwise narrow structure, which is hardly more than a simple wall. The buttresses are each in three registers, cubic below, semi-octagonal in the middle and cylindrical above, topped with a solid pinnacle. Above the belfry at this side there is a small disc in relief, which – as with many late Portuguese monuments – must have contained the date, but if any figures have ever been carved there, they have been eroded and the surface is covered by layers of whitewash. The building however, is much in the style of the late eighteenth



#### Key:

37 A corner of the garden of the Governor's residence (remodelled and enlarged after 1865); 39 Zoroastrian fire temple (now converted to St Anne's convent and kindergarten); 40 Commemorative column erected in 1799 (*pelhourinho construida em 1799*, known locally as the whipping post); 41 Market square established in 1799; 42 Site of the Custom house (*Alfandega*), reconstructed early in the twentieth century and now the public library; 43 Custom House Jetty (*caes da alfandega*, original middle section has been extended at both sides, broken lines show further extension under construction in 2004 at the time of survey); 44 The Sea Gate (*Porta do Mar*); 46 Site of Arsenal jetty; 47 Site of St Philip's fortification and gate now used as a dry-dock by fishermen; 49 Caravan mosque; a Karao Jami' mosque; b Muslim shrine; c old town square (market square); e Column of Governor Vasco Louis Carmêino de Souza recording the renovation of the jetty in 1782.

FIGURE 4.12 Waterfront and the town centre of Portuguese Diu (numbers as in Figure 4.3).

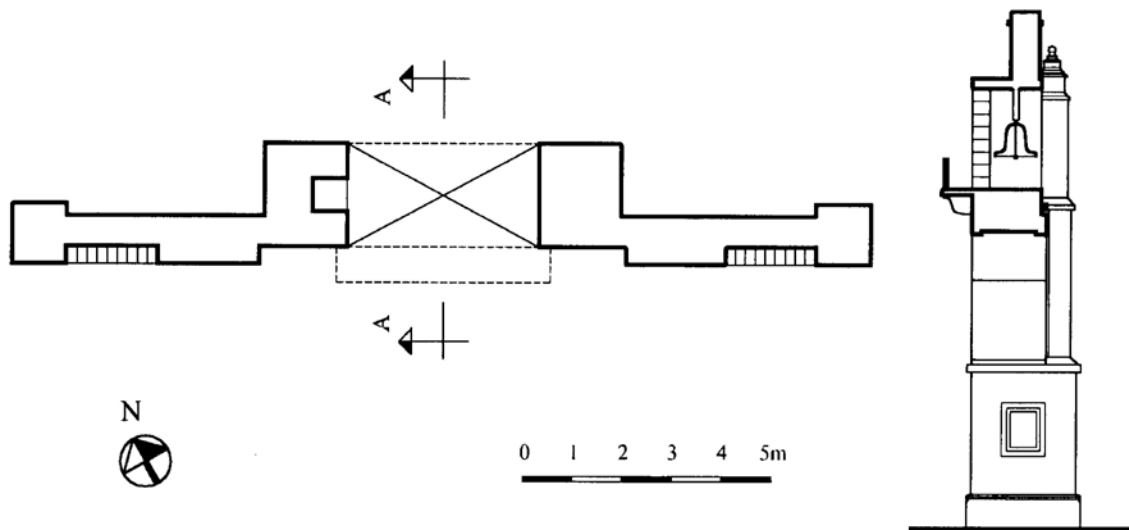


FIGURE 4.13 The Sea Gate (*Porta do Mar*, 44), plan and section A–A.



PLATE 4.33 *Porta do Mar* (44), southern façade seen from the street. The buildings of the Custom House Jetty (43) can be seen through the ceremonial gate.



PLATE 4.34 *Porta do Mar*, left: northern façade and right: view from the west. The niche which once had an icon can be seen in the right pier of the arch.

and early nineteenth century and its date must be close to the time of the remodelling of the jetty in 1782 or perhaps that of 1844.<sup>75</sup>

### 5.5 *The Market and the Market Square*

In no other Portuguese colony in India has the original urban fabric of the city core, together with its market square, survived as completely as in Diu. The Portuguese market (Figure 4.12, no. 41), set near the shore to the east of the old Bazaar, marks the eastern end of the commercial centre. It consists of a small but pleasant market square (Plate 4.35) with an arcade at the northern side and surrounded by other buildings on the other sides. These buildings are all of relatively recent origin, but the old perimeter of the square is retained. In

the middle of the eastern end of the square stands a monumental column (40) raised on a high pedestal bearing the date 1799. The date is 17 years later than that of the jetty, indicating that the late eighteenth-century remodelling of the town was an extensive, but relatively slow process. The column is sometimes referred to locally as the pillory or whipping post (*pelourinho*) (Figure 4.3, no. 40), perhaps a reminder of the practice of punishing offenders in public at the town square. However, the monumental scale of the column clearly indicates that its main function was to commemorate the construction of the new town square.

The arcade at the north of the square (Plates 4.36 and 4.37) is a simple structure facing the street on the waterfront. The arcade consists of a central cross-vaulted bay with six arched openings at either side, built of local stone with a light roof which has recently been renovated. The central bay is larger than the other arches and its cross-vault appears as a dome standing well above the flanking roofs. Under the arcade are market stalls built in concrete which also seem to be recent.

75 Appendix Inscription no. 122. Cunha Rivara, inscription no. 46, mentions that to the right of the Custom House Gate (*porta da alfandega*), now known as *Porta do Mar*, there was another gate known as the gate of the corps of guards (*corpo da guarda*) dated 1832. This gate has not survived.



PLATE 4.35 Market square (41), above seen from the west at dawn before the town has woken up, below seen from the south in the busy early morning. In the background stands the commemorative column (40) erected in 1799.



PLATE 4.36 The market arcade (41) facing the waterfront at the northern side and the market square, seen from the Custom House Jetty looking south-east.



PLATE 4.37 The large central arch of the market arcade bearing the date 1876. It seems that only this arch was built in that date and the rest of the arcade dates from 1799.

The arch at the western end has also been recently walled-up and turned into a shop. The arcade is recorded in the 1865 town plan to have been constructed in 1799 at the same time as the market square and its column. However, the frieze above the central arch bears the date 1876, perhaps recording the restoration or the reconstruction of the central bay but more likely the whole of the arcade and particularly its roof. On the south side facing the square the market has been extended recently by a poorly constructed colonnade which obscures the original arches.

The daily life of the town is still concentrated around the market. The market square operates only in the morning when fresh fruit and vegetable are bought from the villages of the island and also from the nearby mainland, but the market stalls (Plate 4.38) operate throughout the day selling cloth, household and simple consumer goods. Larger retail shops for more luxurious goods are spread in the streets near the square, but the wholesalers and grain importers are still located in the old Bazaar in the streets surrounding the Jāmi‘ mosque. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century a few inns and hostels seem to have developed



PLATE 4.38 The market arcade (41) with the stalls taken by traders selling cloth, ready-made garments and household goods. The stalls, built of concrete, seem to be of a much later date than the arcade.

near the market square catering for sailors, visiting merchants and other occasional travellers. Some of these structures have survived and still function as hotels and hostels, although the large hotels catering for the modern tourist industry are located outside the town.

### 5.6 *Civic and Administration Buildings*

The modern financial and administrative offices of the island are located mostly in the street to the west of the market square. Between this street and the market square is a broad open space which includes the old Custom House (42 *Alfandega*) and has been partly built up, with a civic square facing the Custom House Jetty (43 *Caes da Alfandega*). Such a square is among the essential components in the design of a Portuguese town, seen, for example, in ports such as Lisbon, as well as in the colonies. These squares are usually surrounded by civic and financial institutions, and the modern institutions of Diu appear to have followed this trend.

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Custom House seems to have been a prominent office of the colony.<sup>76</sup> Its location is

<sup>76</sup> Six inscriptions are associated with the old Custom House: see Appendix, Inscription nos. 52, 88, 96, 105,

shown in Lopes Mendes's town plan to be in the middle of the civic square, but now there is only a small colonial building converted to the Municipal Library. The building, probably dating from the 1920s and '30s, has a simple entrance flanked by two columns with Ionic capitals and an 'art deco' decorative feature on the roof parapet crowning a curved bay over the entrance.

The most impressive civic building is the Governor's Residence (37) now housing the Office of the Collector<sup>77</sup> of Diu. The sixteenth century gov-

123 and 124. The first (no. 52) mentions the collapse of the wall in 1640 which killed nine people. The second (no. 88) dates from 1713 and records the restoration of the building by the order of the Governor of the Fort, Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes. The third (no. 96), dated 1732 was originally on the great table of the Custom House recording that Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello ordered it to be surfaced and rebuilt. The fourth (no. 105) is dated 1767 and was originally by the scales of the Custom House, recording the settlement in 1765 of a fixed payment of 150 *xerafins* to be paid by the *banian* merchants of Diu for every bar of ivory they shipped to Goa. A *xerafin* was equal to 2.08 of the *réis* of Portugal. See *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 529. The last two inscription (nos. 123 and 124), undated but c.1832, contain moral precepts.

<sup>77</sup> In modern India the Collector is the high official in charge of the revenue of a region, but with far wider



PLATE 4.39 Governor's Residence (37), now the Collector's Office. Above: view from north-west with the main building in the centre extended at both sides. Below: from the garden looking south-east with a statue of Nuno da Cunha on the right. The 1865 plan shows only the main building, indicating that the extensions are all later.

ernor's residence was in the fort, but when, by the turn of the seventeenth century the administration was moved to the town, a new mansion was constructed for the governor on the waterfront and halfway between the civic core and the fort. The new residence (Plate 4.39), set within a garden, now consists of several structures of different dates. The main building, already shown in the 1865 town plan, is two-storied with a number

of rooms at the ground floor and a *piano nobile* on the first floor with three windows set into semi-circular arches facing the sea. The building has thick walls of local stone and is plastered over and whitewashed. It is a relatively simple but elegant structure, with the façade decorated with mouldings, one running below the windows and the other at the level of the impostes of the arches and continuing around the arches as borders. In spite of a large extension of recent origin at the east of the building the original mansion is still well preserved, with only superficial alterations.

To the east of the mansion another two-storeyed building has been added with an arcade at the ground floor at the western side, but with

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responsibilities than simply collecting taxes, acting virtually as a regional governor. The Collector's Office is a term inherited from British administration, in turn apparently adopted from the office of the *bakhshī* (tax collector and paymaster) in the Mughal court.

simple rectangular casings to the windows at the first floor. The mouldings running along the arches are intended to reflect the style of the mansion, but the arches are relatively flat and less elegant. The building seems to date from the late nineteenth century, but has been altered in recent years with outdoor stairs added on the western façade leading to a concrete portico and providing direct access to the rooms on the first floor. At the east of the building a bridge, again built of concrete, has also been added at the first floor to connect the building directly to the first floor of the original mansion. In recent years the large and pleasant garden of the Office of the Collector has gradually turned to a depository for numerous Hindu and Jain architectural fragments discovered on the island, but there is no record to indicate where they were found.

Many of the other civic institutions, including the state museum and the hospital, are now housed in disused churches and monasteries, described below. Little remains of the older civic sites and buildings but some foundation stones have survived. An example is the inscription<sup>78</sup> stating grandly that the ‘Governor of India’ Manoel de Sousa Coutinho visited Diu in 1590, and as part of the improvements to the security of the fort ordered an open square to be created in front of the fort and removed some mounds. Manoel de Sousa Coutinho served as Governor of India from 1588 to 1591.<sup>79</sup> The open ground in front of the fort is still unbuilt (Plate 4.31), although the rapidly developing town is gradually encroaching on the area.

Another inscription is from a hospital for the poor dated 1611,<sup>80</sup> and is now fixed on the wall of the recently developed Nehru Park. Nothing of the old hospital itself has remained, but it is likely that it was the one mentioned in a royal decree issued

in Lisbon on 22nd February 1611 ascertaining that the hospital should be open throughout the year.<sup>81</sup> Later another hospital was established in the south of the town. The 1611 inscription, found in the old Christian quarter, may indicate that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century not all institutions were confined to the fort and at least a few – particularly charitable institutions associated with the churches and monasteries – had already been established in the town.

### 5.7 *Monuments*

Three monuments, probably dating from the eighteenth century have been illustrated by Lopes Mendes (Figure 4.4), of which the cross of Dom Fernando de Castro (32) has not survived, but the other two, the monument to Rumeçao (31 Rūmī Khān) and Coge Çofar (33 Khwāja Şafar), still stand (Plate 4.40).<sup>82</sup> According to a loose inscription kept in the Sé Museum,<sup>83</sup> Dom Fernando de Castro died of wounds in 1546 aged nineteen, during the second siege of Diu by the soldiers of the King of Cambay under Rumeçao. Although the epitaph refers to commanders of the Gujarat forces, the Portuguese held Khwāja Şafar and his son in high regard, and it is interesting to see that they erected commemorative monuments for them, apparently on the site of their tombs. That of Khwāja Şafar is a handsome obelisk, 26 m. high with fluted sides in a commanding position on the coast near the entrance of the fort. The monument of Rūmī Khān is only 12 m. high and is in the form of an octagonal column in two registers standing on a high podium, square in plan (not octagonal as shown in the engraving). The stepped octagonal platform below the podium is also much larger than what appears in the illustration. However, Lopes Mendes’s engraving shows the column to be surmounted by a domical form, which has now been lost.

78 Appendix, Inscription no. 28.

79 For a list of all viceroys and governors of the East Indies see Carlos Alexandre de Moraes, *Cronologia geral da Índia Portuguesa 1498–1962*, Lisbon, 1997, pp. 213–16.

80 Appendix, Inscription no. 38.

81 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 564.

82 Cunha Rivara, p. 31, no. 80 mentions the three monuments being named according to oral tradition.

83 Appendix, Inscription no. 14.



PLATE 4.40 Left: the obelisk of Khwāja Şafar (33). Right: the monument of Rūmi Khān (31).

## 6 Churches, Monasteries and Street Shrines

Portuguese Diu would have looked very different from other towns and cities of northern and western India. A mid-nineteenth century engraving<sup>84</sup> (Figure 4.14) shows a view of the harbour with the fort to the left and the Forte do Mar to the right. The Portuguese ramparts are set against the water rather than being some distance away from the coast as seen in the pre-Portuguese town. Beyond the town walls rise the churches, monasteries, and other religious institutions. Residential and other

smaller buildings that were presumably out of sight behind the trees and walls are not depicted. It is difficult to identify the buildings with certainty, but it seems that the three major churches and the monastery of St Francis Xavier are depicted in the engraving. The monastery (34) no longer stands but its entrance on the south-east side, and the side wall with buttresses on the north-eastern side are detailed. Today the only feature remaining from the once imposing monastery is its monumental cross (*cruzeiro*) (Plate 4.41) as the site seems to have long been cleared and its location is now occupied by a high school.

Another institution was the church and hospital of St John of God (São João de Deus) (73), once a substantial edifice established as the Carmelite

84 Original in Lopes Mendes, figure facing p. 266 (reproduced here); also see *Arquivo*, II, ii, figure facing p. 409.



FIGURE 4.14 Diu townscape, mid-nineteenth century engraving, signed and apparently sketched by Lopes Mendes, probably in c.1865, the date of his map of the town. Between the fort on the left, and the Forte do Mar at the right, the grand buildings with belfries standing above the ramparts may be identified from centre to right as the church and hospital of St Francis of Assisi (75), St Paul's church and seminary (79), St Thomas's church (the old cathedral, now Sé Museum) (81), and the monastery of St Francis Xavier (34).  
FROM LOPES MENDES, FIGURE FACING P. 266

monastery of São José,<sup>85</sup> but the order was later expelled from the monastery and the building given to the Hospitaller friars. In 1685 Friar João do Nascimento converted their friary (*ermida*), which was attached to the southern side of the church, into a hospital.<sup>86</sup> The church and hospital were at the south of the town, east of the fort in an unbuilt area, a location favourable for keeping the sick and the infirm away from the built environment. However, in the eighteenth century the structure, apparently undermined by an earthquake (frequent in the region), was damaged heavily and eventually collapsed. The site was abandoned and the monastery of St Francis of Assisi was designated as the new hospital. Today little remains of

the old hospital, but the foundations of its church still stand, with many carved stones from various architectural elements scattered on the site. The church seems to have been more elaborate in design and details than those standing today. A flight of steps at the north of the site ascended to a wide terrace in the western front of the church and hospital, which unusually for Diu were both orientated towards the east.<sup>87</sup> The Christian cemetery – a walled ground established in 1840<sup>88</sup> – is set at the eastern side of the church's terrace and is still in use.<sup>89</sup>

85 Appendix, Inscription no. 76 of 1690 includes a Carmelite motto.

86 *Arquivo*, 11, ii, pp. 631–4.

87 In Portuguese churches in India the altar is usually at the west (facing Jerusalem), but there are many exceptions.

88 Lopes Mendes, 11, p. 281, gives the date as 1840 and Cunha Rivara, p. 45 as 1841.

89 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 130, 132. There was also a tombstone of much earlier date, apparently brought to



PLATE 4.41 The cross (*cruzeiro*) of the Church and Monastery of St Francis Xavier (34), the sole surviving feature of this once commanding monument.

To the south of the church and hospital of St John of God, at the top of a small hill, there once stood the Church of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*) (74). The church was already in ruins in 1865, and now only the site and some outlines of the foundations can be seen. It seems that the church was a small structure, with a commanding view over the ocean. In spite of its size, it would have been visible far out to sea and would have been a landmark for navigation. Another lost edifice is the church and monastery of St Dominic (*São Domingos*). The site was already in ruins in 1838<sup>90</sup> and was not recorded by

the cemetery from the ruinous church. See Appendix, Inscription no. 97.

90 *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 622–4.

Lopes Mendes in his plan of 1865, but its altarpiece inscription of 1683 has been reported by Cunha Rivara.<sup>91</sup> Today the location of the site is no longer known and is probably built over.

To these, one should also add the old cathedral and the chapel of St James in the fort, the first lost long ago and the other damaged in the Indian naval bombardment in 1961, both discussed in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, even today the townscape of Diu is still highlighted by the grand structures of its old Christian institutions, although some of them no longer preserve their original functions. These monuments include St Paul's church and seminary, the church and monastery of St Francis of Assisi, the old cathedral or Sé, dedicated to St Thomas, the diminutive chapel of St Anne, and three street shrines.

#### 6.1 *The Church of St Thomas (São Thomé or São Tomé) Now Sé Museum*

The grand, but somewhat archaic-looking Church of St Thomas (81) is situated in the Christian quarter in the centre of the town. According to a now obliterated inscription, the church was built in 1598 by the order of Bishop Dom Aleixo Menezes (Alexius Menezius)<sup>92</sup> to serve as the cathedral (*Sé*) of the town. To the north-east of the cathedral (Plate 4.43) is a *cruzeiro* probably of 1658,<sup>93</sup> but in 1834 the church was deconsecrated<sup>94</sup> and St Paul's was designated as the cathedral. An inscription over the interior of the south entrance, records that in 1913 the building was inaugurated as the archaeological museum of Diu.<sup>95</sup>

91 See Appendix, Inscription no. 49; also see Inscription no. 74, from the high altar of the Church of St Dominic recording the making of the altarpiece by the Prior, Friar João de Brito.

92 Appendix, Inscription no. 31. The date of the establishment of the church and the content of the inscription is also known to the Christian community of Diu. See Proenca, 1997, p. 12.

93 Appendix, Inscription no. 65.

94 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 616.

95 Appendix, Inscription no. 149. Today the building still functions as a museum, but according to Father Proenca, the Portuguese museum did not last long.

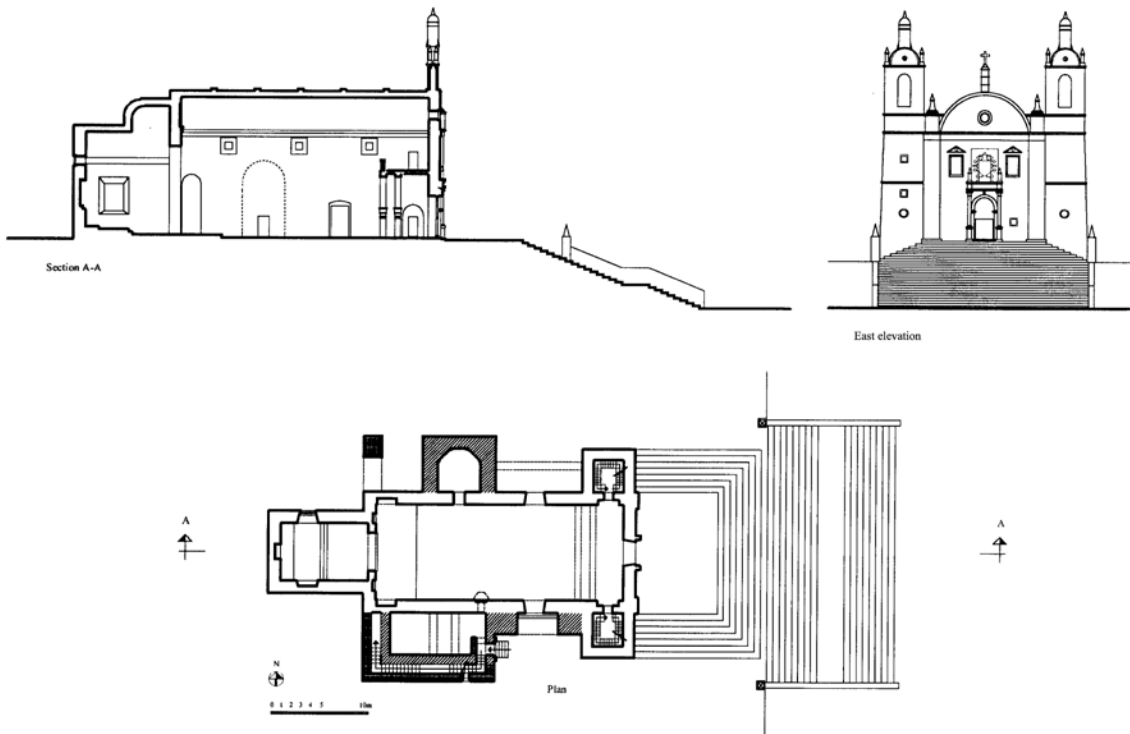


FIGURE 4.15 St Thomas's church (81), plan, longitudinal section A–A, showing the *cruzeiro* to the north, and the east elevation. The hatched areas are later additions, serving as the vestry and rectory, but modern additions – unrelated to the church – are not shown.

The church is built with local stone set on a sloping site and while the western end of the church stands only a little above street level the eastern front is made into a raised platform over 6 m.

He notes: 'prior to liberation it housed the Angolan Battalion. Post liberation, it was abandoned and the building was in custody of the Parish Priest of the Church of Immaculate Conception, Diu. As Diu Parish had no funds whatsoever to maintain these beautiful churches, the condition of this church was miserable, it was dilapidated and the roof of the Rectory collapsed in August 1983. At times local youth played badminton inside. In August 1992 out of a friendly talk between Mr Vijay Kumar Dev, Collector of Diu and Rev. Fr. Mariano Goes Proenca, the Parish Priest of Diu and administer of this church, there was born an idea to set up a museum in this church and the work started in mid-August ... Most of the exhibits in the museum belonged to St Paul's church and were in the custody of the parish priest and Confraria de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, Diu. The four hundred years old statue of Jesus, Mary and many saints was a collection from different

above ground with a flight of steps at the east as wide as the façade of the church itself (Figure 4.15). The churchyard has also been levelled at both the northern and southern sides of the church, with retaining walls at the eastern and southern sides (Plate 4.42). Elevated settings with terraces and grand flights of steps were later favoured for churches wherever such locations were available. The church and hospital of St Francis of Assisi in Diu has a similar setting, but perhaps the best example is cathedral of Panjim, Goa, dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, and set

churches that were abandoned and later collapsed and some of them belonged to the very convent of St Paul'. See Proenca, p. 12. The collection of the museum has now expanded and, as already noted, the churchyard has become a depository for loose inscriptions found scattered in the town and the island.



PLATE 4.42 St Thomas's church (81), now Sé Museum, general view from south-east also showing the retaining walls of the southern churchyard.

on the side of a hill overlooking the sea with a truly grand stairway ascending to the entrance.<sup>96</sup>

As with the chapel of St James in the fort, St Thomas's represents a typical example of early Portuguese church design in India, particularly as, unlike other churches of Diu, most of its original features are preserved. The imposing but plain eastern façade (Plate 4.43), the display of its battered walls, the lack of extensive decoration, and the unusual exposed view of the masonry vault seen on the exterior all contribute to the massive and sober appearance of the church. Vaulted naves are characteristic of Portuguese churches in Gujarat. In South India while some churches are vaulted – mostly with European style cross-vaults – others have light wooden roof structures, but with the gradual deforestation of western India by the time of the Portuguese, local

timber suitable for large beams to span the naves of the churches was not readily available. On the other hand, local masons were experienced vault and dome builders. It seems, therefore, that the Portuguese adjusted their designs to make use of local expertise. As a result, the roofs of all the Diu churches are vaulted and, as we shall see, sometimes domes are employed.

The general form is not much different from the other churches of Diu and consists of a nave about 24 m. long by 10 m. wide with a relatively large choir at the western end (Plate 4.44). In St Thomas's, however, the outline of the vaulted nave is reflected on the eastern façade in the form of a plain semi-circular gable flanked by two bell-towers. The layout follows the norm for early Portuguese colonial churches, with the main entrance at the east and two side-entrances at the north and south, leading to a single nave with no side aisles. In general Portuguese colonial churches lack the formal curved apse at the end of the choir,

96 Antony Hutt, *Goa, a traveller's historical and architectural guide*, 1988, p. 81, pls. 5–6.



PLATE 4.43 St Thomas's church, eastern façade with a semi-circular gable reflecting the profile of the vault of the nave and flanked by two belfries, which no longer retain their bells. The shaft above the gable bore a cross originally, shown in our drawing of the façade. The wide flight of steps ascending to the terrace in front of the entrance can also be seen, and the *cruzeiro* to the far right.



PLATE 4.44 St Thomas's Church, now Sé Museum. Left: the nave, view towards the wide and long choir, with objects on display. Right: view towards the east entrance also showing the upper gallery.

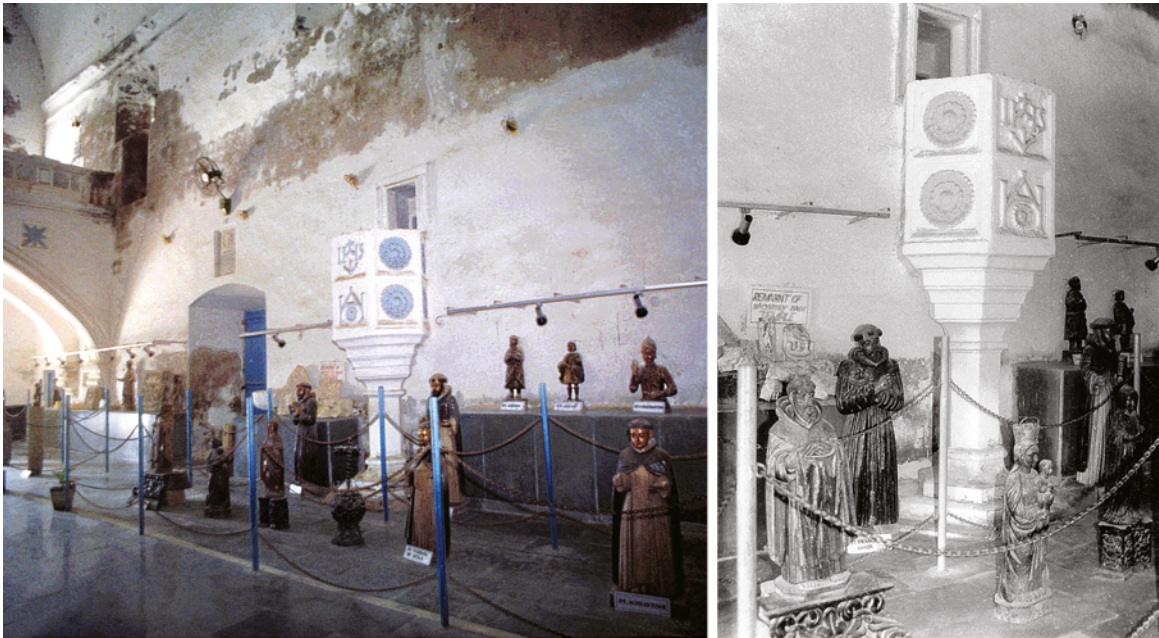


PLATE 4.45 St Thomas's Church, interior looking south. Left: two arches supporting the mezzanine gallery can be seen as well as the pulpit, with a small entrance which leads via a staircase to the vestry. Above the southern entrance is the inscription of 1913 recording the conversion of the de-consecrated church to a museum. Right: details of the pulpit. The IHS monogram on the upper register of the front panel of the parapet incorporates an anchor and is crowned with a cross.

while the altar and its retablo cover the surface of the flat wall. St Thomas's also follows this arrangement, but the altar and retablo are no longer preserved. At the eastern end is a small mezzanine gallery about 4.50 m. wide over the main entrance and supported by two flat arches spanning the width of the nave (Plate 4.45). Two windows in the east wall provide much of the light for the gallery, and indeed for the church as a whole. Following a mediaeval European tradition, early Portuguese churches had fairly dark interiors, as in the Church of Bom Jesus at Old Goa,<sup>97</sup> and apparently in the original design of St James's chapel in the fort of Diu. In this chapel the windows were set just below the vault on the northern and southern walls, but these windows were later blocked and other windows opened at a lower level (Figure 3.9;

Plate 3.36) to conform with the neo-classical taste for well-lit interiors.

In St Thomas's too there are a number of small square windows set below the springing line of the vault in the north and south walls and there is also a circular window above the main entrance on the eastern façade – a pale reflection of a grand rose window. The vault is plain on the interior but is reinforced with masonry ribs on the exterior. Access to the roof is via stairs in the two side towers, which also lead to the mezzanine gallery – again the norm in most Portuguese colonial churches. Inside the nave and attached to the south wall is a small semi-octagonal stone pulpit supported by a free-standing octagonal pillar with carved decorative roundels on the panels of its parapet and an IHS monogram on the top front register. The pulpit is in the usual form and position for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century churches of the region, but is simpler than the elaborate and finely carved pulpits constructed of

97 Ibid., pp. 95–8; S. Rajagopalan, *Old Goa*, (Archaeological Survey of India) New Delhi, 1982, pp. 23–7.



PLATE 4.46 Sé Museum, examples of Indo-Portuguese wood carving on display near the pulpit

imported wood – characteristic of later churches. Now functioning as a museum, some fine examples of Indo-Portuguese wood carving, surviving from other Christian edifices in the town, have been collected and are displayed in the nave. The carved images, although in the genre of European religious works, show the hands of local craftsmen (Plate 4.46).

Later additions to the church have hardly affected the interior, but have altered the exterior, particularly the northern and southern façades. At the north side a chamber has been added which is rectangular in plan on the exterior but a stilted semi-octagon on the interior. Its ceiling reflects the plan, vaulted over the side walls with a half-dome over the semi-octagonal end, decorated with ribs. The roof-structure exposed on the inside (Plate 4.47), does not, however, appear on the outside, where the walls are taken up and the void between the walls, the vault and the half-dome are filled with masonry to provide a flat roof (Plate 4.48). The chamber has no windows and is accessible through a single door inside the church. It may have been added as a chapel or a vestry, but its thick walls and the massive construction of its roof – set just below the vault – seem to indicate that the true reason for its construction might have been to stop the outward shift of the

wall under the pressure of the vault. The chamber alone does not seem to have provided adequate stability as a bridge, 7 m. wide built in the form of an arch over the northern entrance, connects the roof of the chamber to the northern tower. In addition, a flying buttress of no architectural merit has also been added – probably at a later date – at the western end of the northern wall.<sup>98</sup>

The south wall has also been reinforced, this time by the addition of a two-storeyed structure which served as the vestry at ground level with a staircase at its southern side leading to the chambers above, used in the past as the rectory. The upper chambers are connected to an arcade with three semi-circular arches and connected to the southern tower (Plate 4.42). The arcade is set above an arch built over the south entrance of the church and is supported by two massive piers. The northern and southern additions do not seem to be of the same period; that of the north is plain and massive and appears to be earlier, constructed mainly for its structural function. That on the south, which may date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, is more elaborate,

98 The problem seen in this church does not appear in other churches where the side-walls are reinforced by buttresses.



PLATE 4.47 St Thomas's Church, interior of the chamber added to the north of the nave seen from the south. The ribbed ceiling as a semi-dome does not appear in this view. The niches might have originally been decorated with altarpieces of carved-wood, but today only bare walls remain. On the floor, framed pictures of the Stations of the Cross lean against the wall, and other objects – mostly of late origin – are deposited in this chamber, as well as some carved heads from lost statues.



PLATE 4.48 St Thomas's Church, north façade from the northern churchyard. The additional chamber can be seen in the middle of the original wall with a retaining vault between the chamber and the north tower and a flying buttress to the right of the chamber. The extension to the right is a later addition and the colonnade with a light roof in front is modern. In the churchyard numerous inscriptions are kept, some of them leaning against the wall of the colonnade.

while functional, and built with some consideration for aesthetics.

There are also other structures built at later times attached to the building. At the south-east of the church the rectory has been extended and the extension is now used as a residence. At the north there are also some modern additions, including a colonnade of no architectural merit with a light roof along the whole of the north wall, now used as a restaurant. These additions have obscured some of the features of the historic church, which would benefit greatly by their removal.

## 6.2 *The Church and Monastery (Hospital) of St Francis of Assisi (Hospicio de São Francisco)*

Less than half a kilometre (500 yards) to the south of St Thomas's stands the church and monastery of St Francis (Figures 4.3 no. 75; 4.16–17), built again on sloping ground. At the eastern and southern sides, the ground is levelled to form a spacious raised terrace with a set of stairs across the whole width of the terrace at both sides (Plate 4.49). The concept of the terrace is similar to that in front of St Thomas's, but here is much larger, and could function as an urban square. According to a Latin inscription once over the eastern door of the church<sup>99</sup> the complex was founded by Pero da Nhaia (Petrus Nhais) in 1593 'to raise his fame to the lofty stars'. Another inscription of this personage dated a year later has been found on St Philip's Tower (*São Felipe*) recording him as the Captain of the Fortress of Diu.<sup>100</sup> As noted, after the destruction of the church and hospital of St John of God the hospital was transferred to the monastery of St Francis. Lopes Mendes records that in the mid-nineteenth century it was a military hospital with an 'excellent quality of hygiene and sufficient accommodation'<sup>101</sup> and today – including additions and alterations – it houses the main hospital

of Diu managed by the district government, while the church – although rarely used – has preserved its original function.

The date of St Francis's is five years earlier than St Thomas's, but the appearance of the two buildings differs. This is partly due to the many renovations and restorations carried out at St Francis. Most of the surface detail both on the interior and the exterior is in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century style, similar to that seen in the church and monastery of St Paul, discussed below, but records of the dates of the renovations are lacking. The design principles of the church are, however, the familiar ones seen at St Thomas's and other churches of the region. The church once again consists of a single nave covered with a high vault, leading to the choir with its vault lower than that of the nave. The church is orientated on a north-south axis with the altar at the north and the main entrance at the south, while the monastery is adjacent to the west of the church. The northern façade of the church is plain except that at its north-western corner stands a belfry in three tiers, twice the height of the church (Figure 4.17; Plates 4.49, 4.50, 4.54). The lower two tiers are plain, but the top tier, housing the bell, has an arched opening at each side and is roofed with a hemispherical dome topped by a lantern. The belfry is entered via a door in the choir inside the church.

The southern façade seems to have originally been plain, with the main entrance flanked by two windows at ground level and three corresponding windows above, opening to the mezzanine gallery, but an arched porch or loggia with a flat roof has been added across the width of the church in front of the entrance, altering the appearance of the building considerably (Plate 4.49). In concept the arched porch may recall the narthex of early mediæval churches, but in style is clearly neo-classical. On the southern façade the vaulted roof of the nave is screened by a gable with concave sides crowned with a cross, and, perhaps referring to a grand rose window, there is a plain circular blind window in the centre. The end of the vault of the

99 Appendix, Inscription no. 29.

100 Appendix, Inscription no. 30; also see: *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 625.

101 Lopes Mendes, II, p. 273.

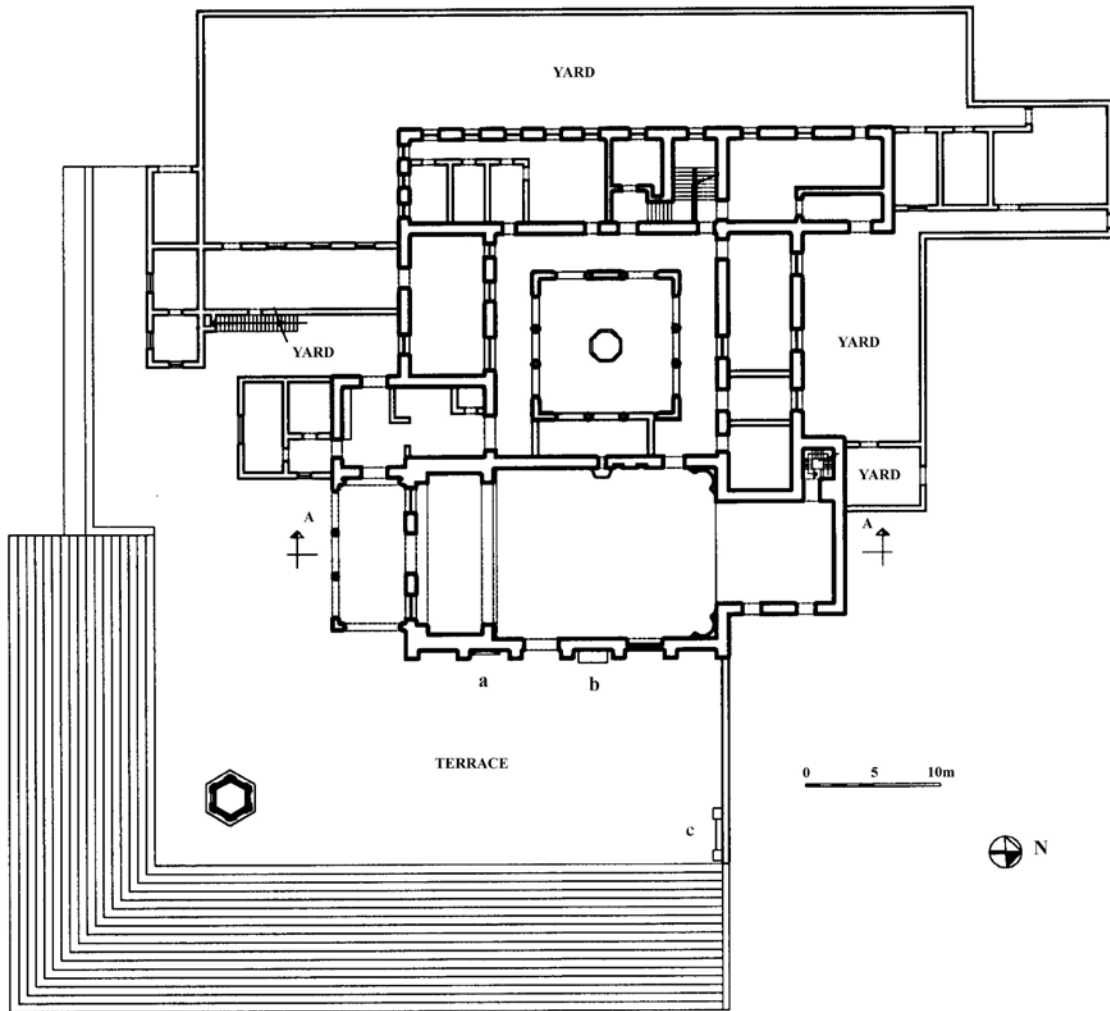


FIGURE 4.16 St Francis's church and monastery (now hospital, no. 75), plan of the complex.

choir at the northern side is simply screened by a plain parapet topped with crenellations. The eastern façade – a dominant elevation facing the wide terrace – is re-enforced with buttresses, each ending with a pinnacle above the roof parapet, dividing the wall of the nave into six bays (Plate 4.50). A string course further breaks the height into two registers, with the lower registers plain except for the side entrance with the foundation inscription noted above. The upper register features a window in the middle of each bay with the one at each end being blind. The elevation of the choir is plain with two large windows, the only source of light for the northern end of the church. On this elevation the

vault is partly obscured by a parapet and railing which in its present form appears to date from one of the later renovations.

On the south-east corner of the expansive terrace stands the *cruzeiro*, a sizable structure on a hexagonal plan (Figure 4.16, Plates 4.49, 4.51). The feature is plastered over and in many parts the plaster has peeled off, revealing the rough stone structure beneath. All the faces are similar and consist of a base standing over a plinth and decorated with an embossed horizontal oval medallion in the middle with smaller vertical oval medallions at either side. The central medallion seems to have been inscribed, perhaps with the IHS monogram,

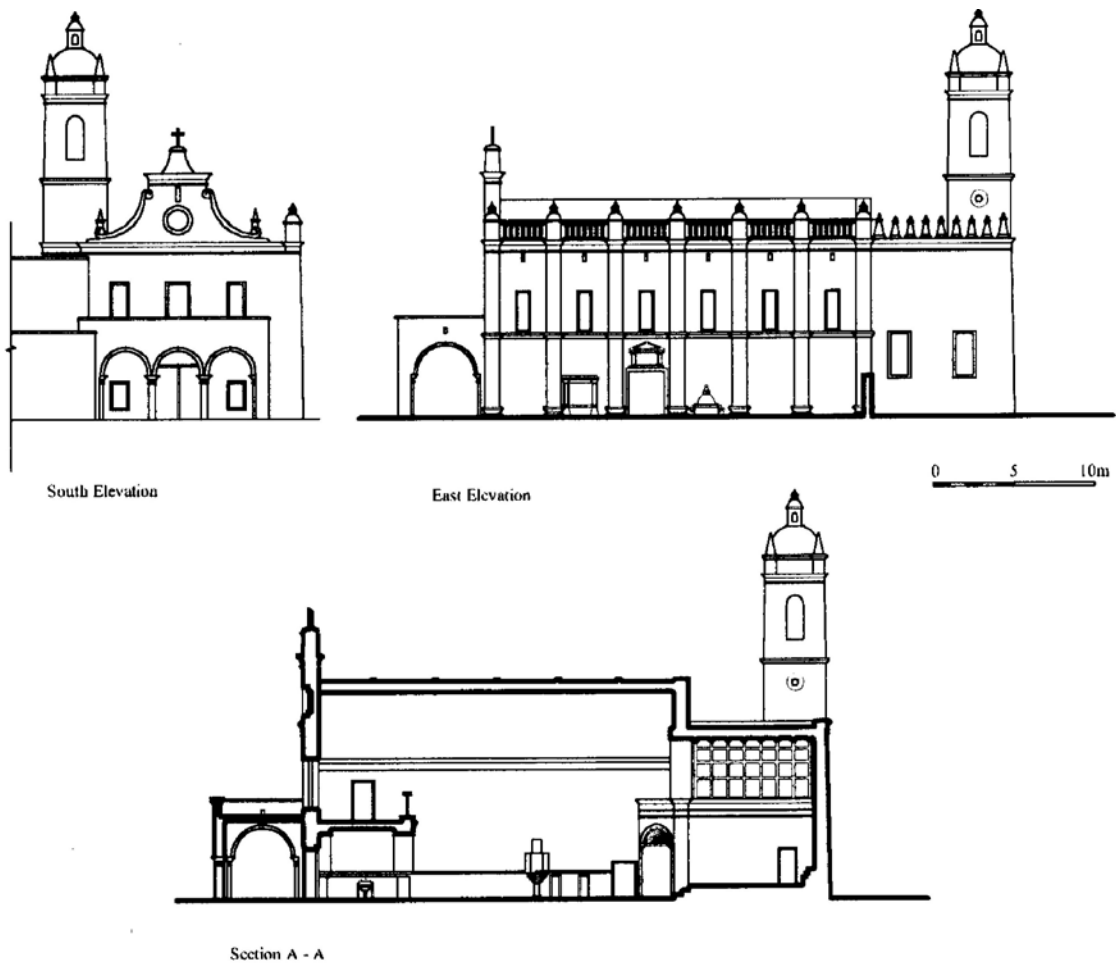


FIGURE 4.17 St Francis's church, south and east elevation, and longitudinal section A-A through the church.

but not much of the original plaster is left. Above the base, deep niches with semi-circular arches standing on pilasters on each side may have had icons or images, none of which remain. The entire feature is roofed, over a cornice decorated with a series of whorls and topped with a small cross. The whorls are commonly seen in the *cruzeiros* of other churches (Plate 4.41), as well as small shrines (Plate 4.51). The stone cross at the pinnacle of the structure seems disproportionately small and thin; it may have replaced an earlier original one.

The church's interior is plain (Plate 4.52), but most of the original features are preserved. The only decorative elements are the mouldings on the wall at the impostes of the vault, the lacunars of

the vault of the choir and the later ornamentation of the side altars. The vault of the nave is, however, unadorned. The mezzanine gallery over the entrance has no direct access through the church and is entered from the upper level of the cloister of the monastery. Although not a rule, in many Portuguese colonial churches where there are two side doors they oppose each other, and their line of access versus the axis of the church generates a cruciform (*crux immissa*) diagram. Here, however, while the eastern door is in the expected position near the vault of the mezzanine the western door is near the choir, opening to the north-east corner of the cloister. This arrangement could be the result of a later alteration, if an entrance on



PLATE 4.49 Church and Monastery of St Francis (now hospital, 79), view from south-east showing the grand stairs leading to the terrace and entrance arcade of the complex. The structures to the left of the church are modern extensions to the hospital.



PLATE 4.50 Church and Monastery of St Francis from the north-east. To the left of the belfry of the church the top of the vault of the nave can be seen behind the parapet, but the vault of the choir is not visible. To the right of the belfry is the arched balcony of the monastery. The structures to the far right are modern extensions to the hospital.



PLATE 4.51 Church and Monastery of St Francis. Left: the street cross; right: two small street shrines to the north of the compound, apparently associated with the church and monastery. In general form they reflect the design of the main *cruzeiro* although one is on a square plan.

the west – opposite that on the east – had been blocked up and the present openings made when part of the cloister was converted into a chamber.

In the middle of the western wall is a semi-octagonal pulpit, supported by a free-standing pillar, octagonal in plan, all built out of local stone, much in the style of that at St Thomas's, but here the panels of the parapet are more elaborately decorated. Elsewhere in the island a similar form appears in the pulpit of the Church of Our Lady of Remedies (*Nossa Senhora de Remedios*, Plate 6. 23) dating from 1667 at Fudam.<sup>102</sup>

St Francis's church has preserved its altar with a finely carved reredos or retablo, and the two smaller altarpieces at the Epistle (right) and the Gospel (left) sides of the choir, but they all seem to be of later dates, probably late-seventeenth or eighteenth century. The main retablo is in three registers divided by twisted engaged columns framing seven oil paintings of the Madonna and other female saints (Plate 4.53).<sup>103</sup> Although perhaps not outstanding works of art, they are not

<sup>102</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 69.

<sup>103</sup> For a note on the retablo and comparative material see Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000, p. 345, pls. 70c and 80b. Pereira records the church by its old name *Nossa Senhora dos Anjos* (Our Lady of the Angels), recorded



PLATE 4.52 St Francis's Church, interior from the south-east under the vault of the mezzanine, looking north towards the choir and the main altar. The carved altarpieces at either side of the choir can also be seen, set into niches which appear to be later additions and end at the level of the imposts of the choir vault.

without merit among Portuguese colonial paintings. Furthermore, they are the only surviving examples of their kind in Diu, and among the very few in Portuguese India. The pictures appear to be by European hands, in contrast with the religious sculptures at Diu (Plates 4.45–4.46) and elsewhere, where the employment of local craftsmen is apparent.

The two side altars each fill up a niche, semi-circular in plan with the field of the arch decorated in the form of a shell. These features are partly obscured by the altarpieces, but shell-shaped niches are common in Portuguese churches of India from the seventeenth century on. The shell form, while widespread in Christian art in general, and also the badge of pilgrims, may have had a particular appeal for maritime

colonisers. The niches are set in the corners of otherwise plain walls, the upper parts of which can be seen at above the top of the niches. They seem, therefore, to be later additions, perhaps constructed to house the altarpieces. The side altars are similar in design, each with a pair of twisted engaged columns at either side supporting an entablature topped with an arched panel, all exquisitely carved.<sup>104</sup> The hardwood for these pieces – and indeed other Portuguese woodcarvings in India – is said to have been imported from elsewhere: rosewood from Mozambique or teak from Burma. So far there has been no scientific testing to establish the nature and the origin of the wood, but many in Diu favour the rosewood theory on the grounds that the Banians were in the business of importing ebony and rosewood from

in the *Arquivo*, II, ii, 625, but the name is no longer current and is not noted by Lopes Mendes.

104 For another photograph of the epistle side altarpiece see Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000, pl. 66b.



PLATE 4.53 St Francis's Church. Above, details of the carved and painted retablo; below left, Gospel side altarpiece with the image of Our Lady Star of the Sea (*Nossa Senhora Stella Maris*) and on the right the Epistle side altarpiece with the image of St Anthony. Stella Maris, as protector of seafarers, is revered by Portuguese mariners.

Africa, which was then used locally or exported to other parts of India.<sup>105</sup> Another point which requires further investigation is to what extent the pieces were actually carved in Diu or carved elsewhere in the colonies and shipped in. There are certain similarities in patterns and style of carving in the altarpieces throughout India, some gilded, but many – such as these pieces – simply oiled and polished. While the European patterns could have been imported, Gujarat is known as a centre of wood carving from mediaeval times, and it is not unlikely that local carvers were employed by the Portuguese to execute these pieces and perhaps others in Portuguese churches elsewhere in India. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the altarpieces in Diu are as a whole relatively modest in detail compared to the grand churches of Daman and Goa. Unlike the churches of Goa<sup>106</sup> there has been little study of those in Daman, where well-preserved wood carvings are found in the churches of Our Lady of the Rosary and Bom Jesus. The carvings include three-tiered altarpieces and pieces set in the flanking niches, as well as a finely carved pulpit.<sup>107</sup>

The hospital, originally the Franciscan monastery, is built in two storeys around a cloister at the west of the church. Under the Portuguese, even though the building served as an infirmary, little alteration was made to the original layout of the structure, but in the last fifty years it has been modernised, with extensions added particularly at the northern and southern sides. In our drawing modern additions are shown with lighter lines. The drawing, however, reveals that little alteration has been made to the layout of the original monastery, although the outer additions, and replacement of the original windows with larger ones have affected the appearance of the building.

The main entrance to the monastery is at its south-east corner, under the arcaded porch of the church. A wide corridor, now partitioned into three smaller compartments leads to the south-east corner of the cloister, with three arches at each side facing the courtyard at ground level and four arches at the upper level (Plate 4.54). The courtyard is provided with a large underground cistern with an octagonal opening in the form of a wellhead in the middle of the courtyard. The cloister was surrounded originally by three large halls, with the church occupying the eastern side. At the north-west of the cloister a staircase leads to the upper level, which follows the ground floor layout, although the halls at both levels have now been subdivided into a number of rooms and wards. At the north-west corner of the cloister and north of the stairs is another hall which extrudes northward. This hall is part of the original design and corresponds on a focal symmetry with the entrance corridor at the south-east. An interesting feature of the hall is a balcony with three arches facing east at the upper level. The balcony provides a panoramic view of the fort and the once open fields of the eastern areas of the town, and when seen from a distance (Plate 4.50) enlivens the otherwise severe elevation of the exterior of the monastery, harmonising it aesthetically with that of the church.

St Francis's is also the burial site of a number of notables including six of the governors of Diu, a Captain of the Fortress and a factor, dating from 1661 to 1774. Some of the tombstones have been removed and the inscriptions of the others have been obliterated, but were reported by Cunha Rivara.<sup>108</sup> Three of the sepulchres on the terrace of the church are still preserved (marked as a, b, c, in our plan), one in a 'classical' style framed with pilasters and an entablature, but the other two (Plate 4.55) more elaborate with carved decorations and images. With the obliteration of the inscriptions the identity of these sepulchres remains uncertain, but it seems that the inscriptions are

105 Proenca, *op. cit.*, 11.

106 For a general discussion on the wood carvings of the retables in Portuguese churches in India see Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000, pp. 303–5; for the carvings in Goa also see Antony Hutt, *Goa*, 1988, pp. 90–2, 100–102, colour pls. 14, 16, pls. 16, 23–4.

107 Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000, pls. 72, 84, 94a, 96b.

108 Appendix, Inscriptions nos. 32, 66, 67, 68, 71, 75, 82, 106, 111.



PLATE 4.54 St Francis's Monastery, view of the cloister looking north. The arches of the east side of the cloister have been walled up, and the space is made into a room, but under the modern walls the original structure is intact and the arches can still be seen. The octagonal well-head in the centre of the courtyard opens to a cistern.



PLATE 4.55 St Francis's Church, two of the three surviving sepulchres on the terrace of the church. Above: the sepulchre (c in plan) is at the north-east corner of the terrace near the stairs, and once bore an inscription while the three niches above might have housed religious icons. The semi-circular motifs each bearing a different bas-relief, such as a palm, a portcullis, a chalice and arrows presumably related to the coat of arms of the family of the personage buried there. Below: the tomb (b in plan) attached to the wall of the church again bore an inscription (now plastered over) flanked by two angels and surmounted with a female figure (perhaps the Virgin) in prayer over the IHS monogram and a pile of spheres, probably representing pomegranates, a symbol of the purity of the Virgin.

simply cemented over and it might be possible to restore them by careful removal of the rendering.

### 6.3 *St Paul's (São Paulo) Cathedral and Seminary*

St Paul's Church and Seminary, now the Cathedral and Nirmala Mata High School (Figure 4.3, no. 79) is located in the heart of the Christian quarter of the town, on a site apparently chosen to be roughly equidistant from the four other main religious institutions: the church and monastery of St John of God, the church and monastery of St Francis of Assisi, the church and monastery of St Francis Xavier and the old cathedral of St Thomas. However, unlike the other churches the complex is on level ground and at its eastern side faces a sizable urban square. The complex was designed by a Jesuit priest, Father Gaspar Soares da Companhia de Jesus and its first stone was laid in 1610 by the governor, Duarte de Mello and Father Vigario da Vara Manoel Fernandes, as a Jesuit church and seminary.<sup>109</sup> The construction was completed in 1612 and renovated in 1807 when the church was dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception,<sup>110</sup> and designated as the new Cathedral of Diu. Many of the decorative details and wood carvings may date from this time.

St Paul's is the grandest and most elaborately decorated building in Diu, and a fine example of the later Portuguese colonial churches of India. In design the church follows earlier principals, again having a single vaulted central nave, with the altar at the west and no side aisles (Figures 4.18–4.19).<sup>111</sup>

The seminary attached to the north of the church is also on a simple layout with a number of rooms around a square cloister. The decoration of the southern and eastern façades (Plate 4.56), as well as of the interior of the church and the elevations of the cloister, however, incorporates elements and motifs borrowed from Baroque and neoclassical European architecture, interpreted by local craftsmen. The entrance façade of the church is in two tiers, with a central vaulted door flanked by two rectangular windows below, while the upper tier has three corresponding windows, one above the entrance. At ground level the façade is divided into three bays by four pairs of free-standing Corinthian columns, and in the middle register by fluted pilasters, which are repeated above on the 'Dutch' gable supporting a decorative pediment. Both the exterior and the interior of the church are plastered, and finished with string courses and other mouldings.

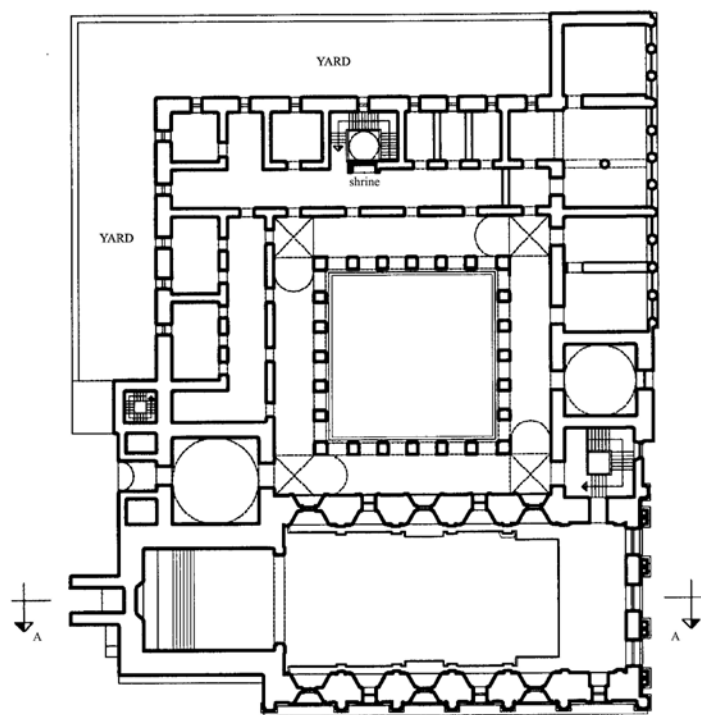
As with the Church of St Francis and other Portuguese colonial churches, the maritime motif of shells is employed, but in this complex is used extensively both on the exterior – such as on the gable of the church – and on the interior, filling the fields of the arches of the niches (Plate 4.57). On the interior the traditional arrangement of a mezzanine gallery over the entrance can be seen, but here the wooden balustrade of the mezzanine extends to the north and south walls, forming a decorative rather than a functional balcony and dividing the interior into two registers. The lower register has deep niches with windows at the south side facing the street and doors at the north side opening to the cloister. The niches of the upper register are smaller, with alternate circular and rectangular windows. This is the only church in Diu in which all the vaults, including that supporting the mezzanine are decorated with lacunars or coffering. The lacunars of the grand

<sup>109</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 85. Rivara reports that the inscription was painted on a blind window of the church. Also see: *Arquivo*, II, ii, 627. The only blind window in the church is at the ground level easternmost bay of the southern elevation, and the panel of the inscription can still be identified. The inscription, however, did not date from the time of the foundation of the church, but was set up in 1710, over a century later.

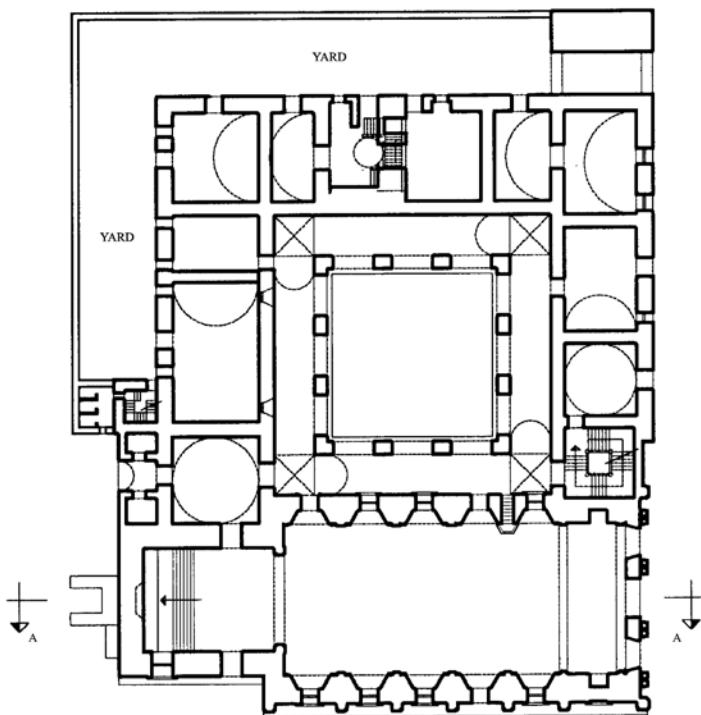
<sup>110</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 628.

<sup>111</sup> For an earlier plan and eastern elevation of the church (not the seminary) see Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, 1956, 34, figs. 8 and 10. The same plan is also reproduced in Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000,

p. 279, fig. 35. For more illustrations of the church and its details, wood carvings and other objects see Pereira, p. 368, fig. 55; p. 391, fig. 60 and pls. 23a, 52, 74a, 85a, 87a, 102a.



Upper Floor Plan



Ground Floor Plan

FIGURE 4.18  
St Paul's church and seminary (*São Paulo*, no. 79), below: ground plan: above: plan of the first level. Modern partition walls are shown with lighter lines.

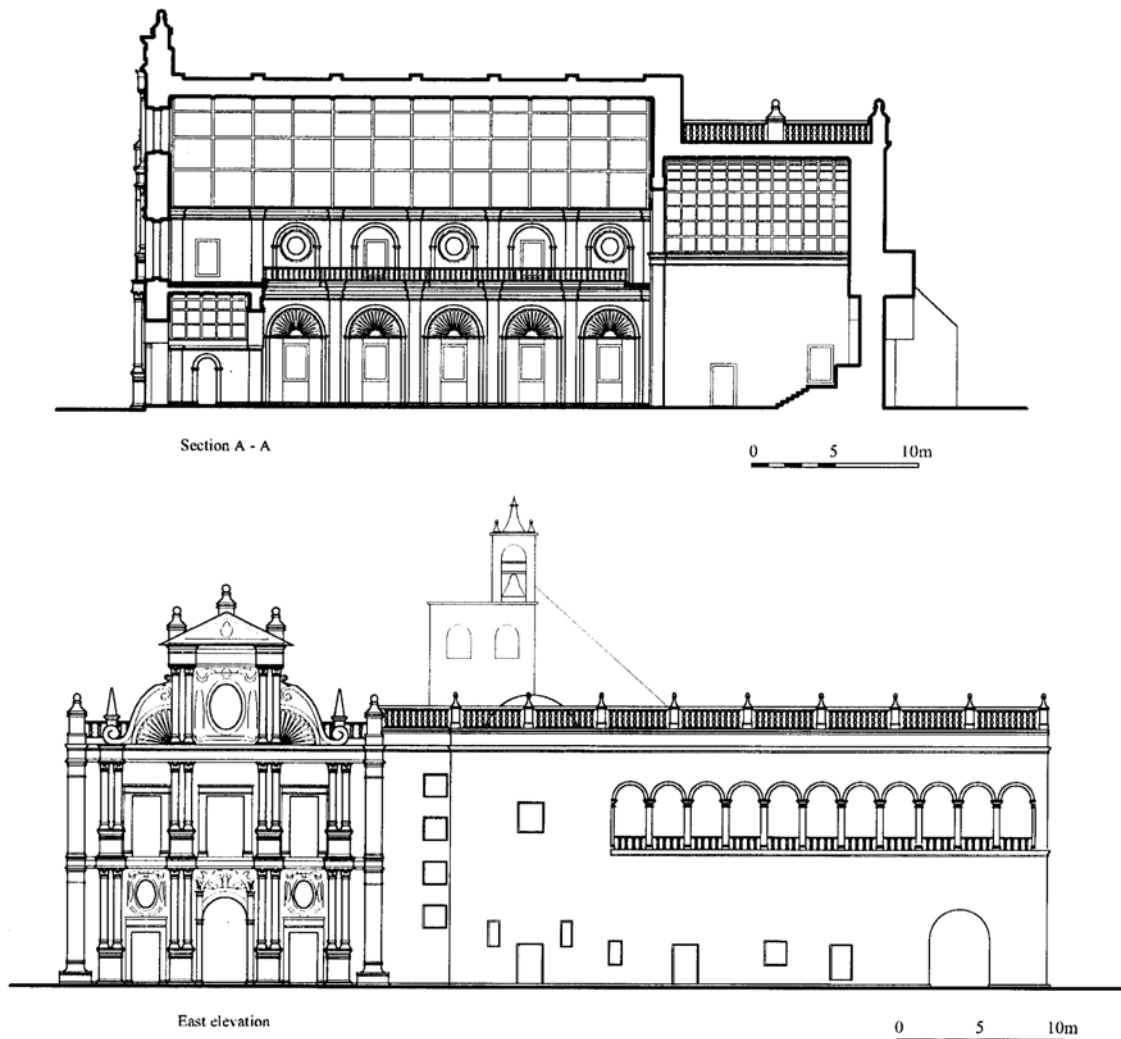


FIGURE 4.19 St Paul's church and seminary, above: longitudinal section A-A through the church; below: east elevation of the complex.

vault are larger and their fields are filled with arabesques based on a cruciform pattern. Among the prized possessions of the church are its carved altarpieces at the Gospel and Epistle sides of the choir, and the pulpit. In quality the carving resembles that in St Francis and may indeed date from a similar period, but that of St Paul is more elaborate. Unlike the painted retablo of St Francis, in St Paul's it is made entirely of carved wood with an arched niche in the centre housing the image of the Virgin (Plate 4.59). The niche is framed by a set of two pilasters on each jamb, and the retablo itself consists of three twisted engaged columns

at each side supporting an arch, all framed with further pilasters and stringcourses. The altarpieces at either side of the choir<sup>112</sup> are similar in design and reflect, on a smaller scale, the form of the main retablo. They are each framed by three pairs of twisted engaged columns supporting an arch in three registers and topped by a heavenly crown born by two angels (Plate 4.58).

<sup>112</sup> For a photograph of the Epistle side see M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, 'The town of Diu, its churches, monasteries and other historic features', *SAS*, XXIII, 2007, fig 53.



PLATE 4.56 St Paul's Church and Seminary, now the Cathedral and Nirmala Mata High School (75), general view from south-east with the seminary on the right of the church. In front of the church the large urban square is partly partitioned with railings. The church cross (*cruzeiro*) to the left is the largest and most elaborate example of its kind in Diu.



PLATE 4.57 St Paul's Church, interior. Left: the nave looking west towards the choir, which, as with other Portuguese colonial churches has no curved apse, and the carved wooden retablo fills the flat end wall of the choir, flanked by smaller side altarpieces on the Gospel and Epistle sides. Right: looking east towards the entrance. The balustrades of the mezzanine gallery above the entrance continue around the side walls of the nave, but there is no passage between the 'balconies' and the feature is purely decorative. The arches of the doors and windows are decorated with shells and the lacunars of the coffered vault have arabesques based on a cruciform pattern.



PLATE 4.58 St Paul's Church, the carved altarpiece at the Gospel (left) side of the choir. In the central niche stands the crowned Virgin and Child, in carved and painted wood.

The design of the exquisitely carved pulpit of St Paul's differs entirely from the earlier masonry examples seen in other churches. It is in the form of a small balcony with a canopy above (Plate 4.59) cantilevered from the northern wall and with no other support, a flight of steps from the cloister giving access. Its location near the eastern end of the church and well away from the choir is unusual. The decorative elements of the pulpit again include apparently earlier twisted engaged columns, represented in sets of three on the parapet and at either side of the door jambs – a reminder of the Holy Trinity, occurring in many ecclesiastical decorative motifs. The columns of the parapet stand over mermaid caryatids – an allusion to the



PLATE 4.59 St Paul's Church, left: the impressive and finely carved retablo; right: the wooden pulpit set in the northern wall. Many details showing triple elements are references to the Holy Trinity.

maritime nature of the colony – converging to a pendent at the lowest end of the pulpit. Above the door is a bas-relief of the Virgin and Child.

The design concept of a hanging pulpit seems to have been employed in the seventeenth century and examples closely similar to that in St Paul can be found in the Church of Bom Jesus at Old Goa<sup>113</sup> and in the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário*) in Daman.<sup>114</sup> In Diu a much simpler example, without a canopy and constructed of local stone, can be seen in the 1630 Church of Our Lady of Mercy (Plates 6.38, 6.39) in Vanakbara village at the western end of the island.

St Paul's Seminary or *colégio*, converted to a high school in 1962, is built in two storeys around the cloister attached to the north of the church (Plate 4.60). From the time of its establishment, it was a centre of learning and one of the main subjects was Arabic.<sup>115</sup> For the Jesuits a command of the lingua franca of the Indian Ocean trade from the coasts of Africa and the Arabian peninsula to South East Asia was essential. Some Jesuits must have also been fluent in Persian, such as those

113 S. Rajagopalan, *Old Goa*, 1982, 24, pl. 7.

114 Pereira, *Baroque India*, 2000, pp. 356–65, pl. 92a.

115 *Arquivo*, 11, ii, pp. 629–30.



PLATE 4.60 St Paul's Church and Seminary, cloister seen from the north-east. The vaults of the rooms at the ground floor create ceilings higher than those of the upper level. This is reflected in the proportions of the two levels of the cloister with three tall arches at each side below balanced by six smaller arches at the upper level and a fairly high parapet surmounted with balustrades around the roof. The structure on the roof housing the bell and the parapets of the flight of steps to its right can also be seen.



PLATE 4.61 St Paul's Seminary, upper room at the far end of the eastern side with a light roof supported by wooden beams and rafters. The arched windows to the right are part of the row of windows seen on the eastern elevation.

from Diu who were invited to take part in the dialogue at the court of Akbar between the authorities of all faiths<sup>116</sup> and who eventually built a church in Agra.<sup>117</sup>

On the exterior the seminary has plain elevations at the northern and western sides where it faced a courtyard which was originally much larger than what remains today. The eastern elevation, adjoining the main façade of the church and facing a large urban square is very different (Figure 4.19, Plate 4.56). A row of well-proportioned arched windows at the upper level breaks the otherwise sober façade, making a pleasant balance between

the elevations of the church and the seminary, and flooding the upper chambers with light (Plate 4.61). On the other sides simpler and much smaller windows light similar chambers, so it is clear that aesthetic effect was the reason for the arches of the main façade. At the northern end at ground level a vaulted gate opens to the seminary yard, and the three arched windows of the chamber above it continue in line with those of the seminary adding to the elegance of the façade by extending the line of arches beyond the line of the actual layout of the square seminary. The hands of Muslim builders could perhaps be traced in the construction of the seminary, as four of the chambers are domed. Furthermore, the domes stand on transitional zones formed by squinches, much in the tradition of the Muslim domes of the period in the region, but here the soffits of the squinches are decorated in the form of shells (Plate 4.62).

116 *Akbar nāma* (Persian), III, pp. 254–5, 270.

117 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'Architectural relics of the Catholic missionary era in Mughal India', *Arts of Mughal India*, edited by Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge and Andrew Topsfield, Ahmadabad, 2004, pp. 141–151.



PLATE 4.62 St Paul's Seminary, upper domed room at the eastern side, with the dome standing on squinches constructed in the manner of late and post-Mughal buildings and finished with plasterwork with shell patterns.

The seminary has three entrances on the ground floor, those on the eastern and western sides each opening to a domed chamber giving access to the cloister. The chamber on the east also opens to a large and spacious staircase to its south ascending to the upper cloister. The staircase also gives access to the mezzanine gallery of the church, which is otherwise inaccessible from the inside of the church or from the cloister. By the entrance at the western side are the remains of the original belfry, but it is not clear whether it was ever completed and fell later, or was left incomplete in the first place. The church bell is now fitted into an improvised arch set above a chamber built on the roof at a later date, with a flight of open steps giving access to the bell. The third entrance is at the north, but gives no access to the cloister at ground level, leading rather to two adjacent chambers, and to a staircase to the upper floor. The rooms at

ground level are all vaulted and many of them do not open to the cloister but can be accessed from the yard, except one, which also has a door to the urban square.

The upper floor plan differs, as a wide corridor runs at the northern and western side of the cloister and the rooms at these sides are smaller. The chambers above the two domed chambers of the ground floor are again domed, but the rest of the rooms have a lighter roof structure with wooden beams and rafters (Plates 4.61–4.62).

The present appearance of the church and the seminary seems to have been greatly affected by the renovations of 1807 and today it is difficult to distinguish clearly the original features from the later ones. The general layout of the compound seems, however, to be entirely original, as well as certain elements such as the domed chambers and the row of windows on the eastern façade. The



PLATE 4.63 St Paul's cloister, surviving wall painting depicting the Christ Child holding a globe surrounded by emblems and architectural elements. The rest of the decorative scheme has been covered with whitewash over the years.

whole building has been whitewashed on the exterior and painted on the interior many times, but the original church and seminary might have been quite different in their appearance: plainer, more restrained and with wall paintings at least in the cloister. Alexander Hamilton has already informed us that 'the Churches ... make the *Visto* from the Sea admirably pleasant ... and within they are well decorated with Images and Paintings'. Today only one fragment of these paintings has survived under the arcade at the north-east corner of the ground floor of St Paul's cloister, just below the vault (Plate 4.63). The painting depicts the Christ Child holding a globe surmounted with a cross in his left hand and his right hand raised with two fingers open in the usual sign of blessing. The rest of the features depicted in the painting are architectural elements, including the tops of

pilasters – which presumably continued down to the floor level – supporting an entablature with pyramidal pinnacles, like those around the roofs of churches. Some of the colours have faded and the dominant surviving colours are red, brown and yellow ochre as well as grey, probably indigo. The fragment is not just the sole surviving specimen of figurative wall painting in Diu, but a rare example of Portuguese wall painting in India.

In front of the complex a grotto (Plate 4.64) built in 1960 by Mariana de Trindade Rodrigues in memory of her father who had died in 1945,<sup>118</sup> is probably the last religious edifice erected in Diu before the departure of the Portuguese.

118 Appendix, Inscription no. 156.



PLATE 4.64 The grotto outside St Paul's, housing the image of the Virgin in devotional posture and shaded by bougainvillea, was erected in 1960, a year before the departure of the Portuguese from Diu.

#### 6.4 *Other Christian Edifices*

In addition to the churches there are a few other Christian structures, which include St Anne's chapel and home for the elderly (Figure 4.3, no. 78), and three street shrines still in use. St Anne's chapel (Plate 4.65) is located at the crossroads south-east of St Paul's and to the south of the chapel is a single storey structure, underused and in need of repair, but still maintaining its original function. The foundation date is not known, but the institution seems to go back to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century and was already in operation when Lopes Mendes prepared his town plan in 1865. An inscription dated March 1905 records its restoration by the order of the Portuguese governor

general of India, Arnaldo de Novaes; the governor of Diu, Commander Herculano de Moura; and the president of the local assembly, Dr João X. d'Andrade.<sup>119</sup> The home for the elderly is a simple, unpretentious and functional structure consisting of a number of rooms, with a courtyard at the southern side and a small yard at the north separating it from the chapel, which is oriented east west, but unusually has the altar at its north-eastern end (Figure 4.20 Plate 4.65). The chapel, rectangular in plan, is similar in general layout to the other churches, but on a much smaller scale with the nave measuring 4.50 × 7.30 m. and a large choir, over 4.00 m. wide and 4.40 m. deep. The nave is roofed with a light timber structure, but the choir is vaulted. Three pairs of windows in the northern and southern walls provide ample light, and the only entrance is under an arched portico at the western end of the nave. Both the interior and the exterior are plain and the decorative elements are restricted to some mouldings highlighting the arches and the piers.

Street shrines, characteristic of traditional urban environments in Mediterranean Catholic towns are also a feature of Diu, and in spite of the present Christian community being reduced in number, are still tended. We have already seen an example established by the governor Lourenço da Cunha Souto Maior in 1702 near the *Porta da Terra*, now no longer in everyday use. Another is opposite the Zoroastrian fire temple (39) and is attached to a house, indicating a Christian presence in the quarter. The shrine seems to have been deconsecrated long ago and the icons removed. Many other public and private buildings also incorporated a small shrine, including the *Porta do Mar*. Here the shrine is in the form of a rectangular niche in the western pier of the gate and is shown in our drawings of its plan and section (Figure 4.13). The icon of this shrine has also been removed (Plate 4.34). There are, however three functioning shrines which are well-maintained and together with the churches

<sup>119</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 147.



PLATE 4.65 St Anne's Chapel and home for the elderly. Left: general view from the west with the whitewashed chapel in the foreground and the home in the background. Right: interior looking towards the altar.

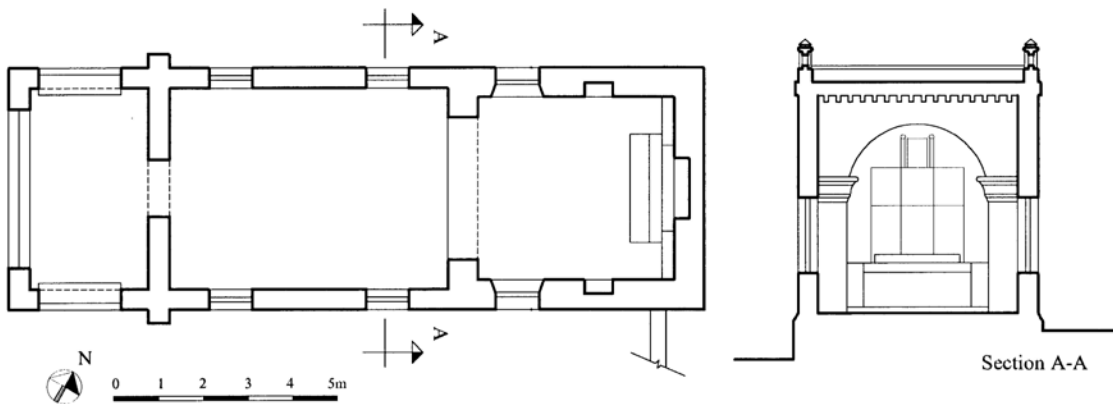


FIGURE 4.20 St Anne's chapel, plan, and section A-A through the nave looking towards the vaulted choir and the altar.

determine the stages for Christian processions, such as on Good Friday when the Christians of the island and other neighbouring regions congregate in Diu to take part in the ceremony of the Stations of the Cross.

The largest and most elaborate of these shrines is the shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (*Nossa Senhora da Conceição*) (Figure 4.3, p) in the square of the same name. It is a small vaulted structure with the altar at the northern end, and is flanked by two subsidiary shrines (Figure 4.21; Plates 4.66–4.67). The western one

houses an image of St Roque and the eastern one an image of St Sebastian, both carved in wood and painted. The image of the Madonna and Child in a niche over the altar within the main shrine, however, seems to be modern. The central shrine has a small enclosure in front with stone seats around, like those built around the *maṇḍapas* of historic temples in Gujarat,<sup>120</sup> a reminiscence of a

120 See for example the finely carved seats of the *maṇḍapa* of Navalakha temple at Sejakpur in Henry Cousens, *Somanātha and other mediaeval temples in Kāthiāwād*,

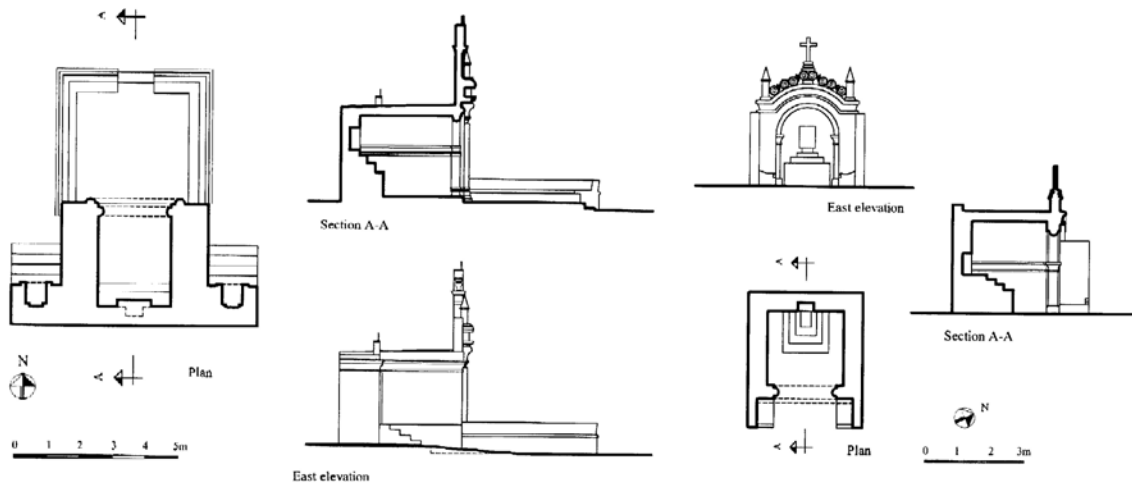


FIGURE 4.21 Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (left, p) and Shrine of the Mother of God (right, n), plans, sections and elevations.

deep-rooted local architectural tradition appearing in a relatively late Christian building. The elevations of the shrine are plain and the vault is exposed, except on the front elevation, where it is obscured by a raised 'Dutch gable' with the sides carved in the form of palm leaves and a pinnacle at each end. A central rectangular panel framed by fluted pilasters is surmounted by a pediment with a bust of the Risen Christ emerging from the clouds, his right hand raised in blessing, and his left bearing the globe with a cross. The pediment has a cross above, and is further embellished with a pair of fluted flower vases. The panel below has the usual emblems of the blessed sacrament, as depicted over the door of the sacristy of a church: two kneeling angels bearing the Eucharist below

the drawn-back curtains of the tabernacle, indicating that this shrine was also built to house the consecrated elements of bread and wine. It is inscribed in capital letters: 'LOVVADO SEIA O SANTISSIMO SACRAMENTO' (praise be to the blessed sacrament).<sup>121</sup>

Below the gable carved stone blocks form a string course with the middle block depicting angels' wings and flanked by blocks decorated with the diamond pattern used extensively in the traditional architecture of Gujarat. Here, this might be seen as an influence of older traditions, but it is more likely that these blocks were reused material from earlier Hindu or Muslim buildings, which are found extensively throughout the island.

The other shrine (Figure 4.3, o) is located in the middle of the street connecting St Paul's and St Anne's to St Francis's. The vaulted structure itself is again on much the same scale of the previous example, but without the side shrines. However, here the front elevation is treated in a neo-classical manner with a pair of Tuscan style engaged columns at either side of the vault with a fairly plain entablature and pediment above (Plate 4.68). The pediment was originally surmounted by a cross, the pedestal of which still stands but the cross

Calcutta, 1931, 57–8, pls. 62–5. The tradition continued in the Muslim architecture of Gujarat and such seats occasionally appear in the balconies and entrance canopies of mosques. An example is in the entrance of the Jāmi' of Somnath, reassembled from temple spoil, in *ibid.*, 28–9, pls. 10–11. Many later examples can be found in the monuments of Ahmadabad, including in the entrance to the royal *maqṣūra* of the Aḥmad Shāhī Masjid, in the entrance of Haibat Khān Masjid, around the upper gallery of the mosque of Bibī Achūt Kūkī and the balcony of the mosque of Muẓaffar Khān, see James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad, Part I, A. D. 1412 to 1520*, London, 1900, pls. 11, 13, 21, 78, 101, 103 respectively.

121 Appendix, Inscription no. 159.



PLATE 4.66 Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (p), general view from north. Above the arch of the main shrine the string course with blocks decorated with diamond patterns can be seen and above that is the inscribed panel carved with two angels holding the tabernacle. On the pediment above the bust of Jesus emerging from the clouds can just be identified. Two small shrines attached to the main shrine are that of St Sebastian at the east (left) and that of St Roque at the west (right).



PLATE 4.67 Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, left: details of the image of St Sebastian with marks of arrow wounds; right: St Roque bearing the accoutrements of a pilgrim and pointing to a plague sore, with his dog.



PLATE 4.68 Left: Shrine with 'neo-classical' design (p) in the street from St Anne's Chapel to St Francis's Church, general view from south. Right: Shrine of the Mother of God (n). A peculiar feature of the shrine is a series of whorls above the arch of the façade.

itself is missing. In the centre of the pediment is a rectangular panel carved with the usual image of the tabernacle, but much simpler than the earlier example and without the inscription. The image is worn out, and whitewash obscures most of its details. It is not entirely clear if the image was carved for the shrine or, more likely, is an older panel reused here. No doubt the earlier churches and shrines would have had such panels, and at present a very fine and apparently early example is preserved in the Sé Museum. In front of the shrine at either side of the vault is a bench encroaching into the street, but this seems to be a modern addition of little architectural merit.

The third shrine (Figure 4.3, n), known as the Shrine of the Mother of God, is now in the middle of a crossroads north of St Francis's, but is marked in Lopes Mendes's town plan to be by the side of the road. With the recent development of this area of the town new roads have been laid and at

this point the road passing the west of the shrine is modern. The shrine (Figure 4.20, Plate 4.68) is similar in general form and scale to the other two examples, but simpler in decoration, which includes mouldings and a series of whorls set around the eastern façade of the vault, which is crowned by a cross. Each of the roundels, resembling snail shell motifs, is carved with a spiral pattern, and the feature as a whole may be a reminder of the waves of the ocean, again a reference to the maritime nature of the settlement. As usual there are seats for contemplation at either side of the shrine. In this case the seats have carved stone arms and are only about one metre wide each accommodating one or two persons. As the three shrines are marked in Lopes Mendes's town plan they must be earlier than the mid-nineteenth century. He does not give them any number, however, presumably regarding them as fairly ordinary features of the townscape.

## 7 Living Environment: Residential Houses

A discussion on Diu would not be complete without a mention of the residential buildings both in the town of Diu and in the village of Ghoghla on the mainland opposite the town. Both in Ghoghla and in Diu a number of old houses have survived, and while they display a certain Portuguese colonial flavour (Plate 4.69) they also represent characteristics of the traditional houses of eighteenth to early-twentieth century Gujarat, which are fast disappearing in the region. The houses are mostly in two or three storeys, and often have a colonnade or arcade at the upper level, sometimes cantilevered out in the form of a balcony (Plate 4.70). These colonnades are themselves an echo of the style of the older timber fronted Gujarati houses much admired by travellers. We

have also seen a reflection of such houses with the upper colonnade in the old engraving of pre-Portuguese Diu. As with all living urban environments, the houses of Diu and Ghoghla have undergone repairs and reconstruction, but the foundations of some houses can be traced to the eighteenth century, sometimes preserving original features such as the entrance doors. The carved stone surrounds and the heavy doors, sometimes two-leaved, can display elaborate details reflecting the traditional stone carving of temple doors and frames.

In Diu town there are also a number of neighbourhood temples, mostly fairly late in date, perhaps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. One of the grandest and most elaborate is the Sri Vanza Guati Yuvata temple in the Banians' quarter, where the wealthy Hindu merchant caste,



PLATE 4.69 Ghoghla, traditional and modern residential buildings on the street leading from the north-east gate, view looking south-west. The old house on the right combines Portuguese colonial influences with Gujarati features such as the stone brackets supporting the balcony, and the old carved doors, which were falling out of favour with a preference for rebuilding plain practical houses in concrete. More appreciation is now being felt for the old styles and craftsmanship.



PLATE 4.70 One of the grander houses in the Banians' quarter of Diu. While the general design displays some Portuguese colonial features, the design of the columns, particularly at the ground and middle floor are inspired by those of Hindu temple architecture.

with guarded Portuguese compliance, traded with Mozambique and beyond. The temple is built around a sizable central courtyard (Plate 4.71), with its octagonal columns, set over square bases, echoing the older traditions. However, the capital brackets are more characteristics of the eighteenth and nineteenth century architecture of Diu, seen in many houses of the town.

In most towns and cities of India, with the rapid disappearance of the historic built-up areas and changes in the urban fabric, often as a result of widening old streets or creating new ones, the old urban heritage is being lost without being replaced by carefully planned structures or urban forms. The new concrete buildings tend to be utilitarian, poorly constructed, and lacking in thoughtful design. Ahmadabad is an example: a once elegant city with strong urban characteristics marked by buildings of great architectural value, now crowded, polluted and submerged in traffic and noise. Its historic buildings stand isolated from each other, alien to their surroundings. Diu too has not escaped characterless modern development, but its isolation from Gujarat under the Portuguese, and now under its own separate administration – together with the absence of heavy industry – has resulted in its maintaining salient qualities of its urban environment. The whole town is accessible on foot within a reasonable time, and with care could remain a largely pedestrian town in a quite setting. Modern Diu differs significantly from the towns of Gujarat, including its immediate neighbour, Una which was once a historic site and still preserves a fine sultanate mosque, but is now overcrowded, polluted and expanding constantly. If the environment of Diu town – and what has not already been built over on the island – could be conserved with planning for careful development while sustaining its cultural integrity, there is little doubt that not only would the townspeople and islanders benefit greatly, but the Diu of the future could serve as a model for the preservation of other urban environments in the region.



PLATE 4.71 Diu town, Sri Vanza Guati Yuvata temple in the Banians' quarter, general view the courtyard. The temple is in a single storey building and has an unassuming appearance from the outside.

## The Zoroastrian Legacy in Diu

“Then ended th’ Zaratashtrian epoch,  
Thus in Zaratashtria’s thousandth year  
When Yazdigard’s kingdom was o’erthown,  
Then was Iran laid waste and bare,  
Then priests, pontiffs and Bahdeenians  
They left their huts, palaces and estates.  
They hid in the hills for quite a century  
At last a Dastur, wise as the Magi  
Looked up the old charts and tables  
‘If we but leave this cruel city,  
Afraid of life honour and religion,  
Oceanward their ship they did bend  
When their ship th’ Indian waters did reach  
For nineteen long years lived they there  
‘Go we must from this isle elsewhere

None sought religion, tho’ all did mock, (94)  
None followed religion, nor God did fear, (95)  
Came the Jud Deen to capture th’ throne. (96)  
And faith and people enslaved were (97)  
Hid themselves as leaves beneath snowfalls (99)  
But many became even apostate (100)  
Racked by privations, in deepest misery (101)  
Whom none could best in Astrology, (106)  
‘ended Here,’ averted he, ‘are our victuals’, (107)  
Happy we may win prosperity’. (108)  
They all embarked for shores of Indian. (111)  
Hoisted th’ sails and their way did wend (112)  
Anchored they near the Deep isle’s beach (114)  
Till their fate an astrologer laid bare (116)  
For our destined welfare is only there’. (118)”

These lines from of *the Tale of Sanjān*, relate a mixture of history, fragmented memories and legend concerning the migration of Zoroastrians from Iran to India, composed in Persian verse by Bahman b. Kayqubād, in 1008/1599–1600 during the reign of the Emperor Akbar.<sup>1</sup> The English translation does

not follow the Persian verses entirely, but nevertheless conveys the idea that after the fall of the Sasanian Empire and the domination of Islam, many Zoroastrians, under increasing pressure to convert, left Iran for the safety of India. The story does not mention when this migration began, and perhaps presumes that it was just after the Arab conquest of their homeland. However, the migration was slow and continuous and may have begun several centuries after Muslim domination, as we learn from Iṣṭakhrī<sup>2</sup> – amongst others – that in the eleventh century, five hundred years after the fall of the Sasanians, there were still large communities of Zoroastrians in most major Iranian cities, worshipping in great fire temples. Even in the fourteenth century the revered mystic poet,

1 Bahman Son of Kaykobad Son of Ormazdyar Sanjani, *Qissa-e-Sanjān, the story of migration of Zoroastrians from Iran to India (Qissa-yi Sanjān, قصه سنجان)* Haiderabad, India, 1963, Tri-lingual with original Persian and line by line translations into Deccani Urdu and English, pp. 26–33; Lines 94–97, 99–101, 106–108, 111–112, 114, 116, 118.

سرآمد روز زرتشت از زمانه	نچسته کس ز بهدینی نشانه
چو از زرتشت سال آمد هزاره	زدین به چنین آمد کناره
چو از شه یزدگرد شاهی برفته	که جد دین آمد و تختش گرفته
از آن مدت شکسته گشت ایران	دریغ آن ملک و دین افتاد ویران
چو بهدینان و دستوران سراسر	ز کار دین نهان گشته بیکسر
مقام و جای و باغ و کاخ ایران	همه بگذاشتند از بهر دین شان
بکوهستان همه ماندند صد سال	چو ایشان را بدین گونه شده حال
بدان جایی که بد دستور دانا	همیشه در نجوم او بد توانا
همو در زیج هائی کهنه دیده	که بر ما آبخور آخر رسیده
اگر این بوم بگذاریم شاید	کنون زین ملک بیرون رفته باید
ز بیم جان و بهر دین همه کس	گریزان سوی هندوستان شده پس
سوی دریا به کشتی جای کرده	همانکه بادبان بر پای کرده
چو کشتی سوی هند آمد یکایک	بدیپ افتاد لنگروار بی شک

در آن بودند بهدین نوزده سال  
ازین جا رفت باید جای دیگر  
پس آنکه زد منجم شان یکی فال  
که در آنجا بود ماوای دیگر

2 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī: *Al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (Arabic Text) ed. Muh. G. Abd el Aál, Cairo, 1961, pp. 68, 74; *Masālik wa mamālik* (Persian text), ed. I. Afshar, Tehran, 1961, pp. 97, 106.

Shams al-dīn Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz speaks frequently of the Zoroastrians' sacred fire and their tavernas in his home town.

Nevertheless, the *Tale of Sanjān* clearly mentions that the first port of call for the Zoroastrians – taking the Indian Ocean route<sup>3</sup> – was Diu ('Deep' according to the translation). The *Tale* also mentions that after many years the Zoroastrians left Diu for Sanjān, an inland town set about 9 kilometres (5.5 miles) from the sea on the south-western coast of Gujarat, 34 kilometres (21 miles) south of Daman. At the time of their migration Diu must have been a minor coastal town, well before it became a major trading port under the Sultanate of Gujarat. The resources of the small island were also perhaps insufficient for the Zoroastrians to make it their permanent home. However, some families probably stayed there, with others joining them in the coming years and centuries. Whatever the origin of the later Zoroastrian community may have been, it survived until the 1950s, when they left the island for other cities in Saurashtra, particularly Rajkot.

Judging from their grand houses – now subdivided and occupied by families of other faiths – it appears that the Diu community was small and prosperous. The houses are in the 'European' style, mostly in the Iberian colonial tradition with arched windows, doors and porticoes but some are in a 'neo-classical' style with a local version of Greco-Roman columns. As a whole these houses

compare with the finest Portuguese buildings and residences of the rich Banian (merchant) Hindus, and when the Parsis decided to leave the island, they left behind a fire temple and two *dakhmas* (Towers of Silence). These edifices, apart from their intrinsic interest, provide indications of the size and the prosperity of the community. An old photograph (Plate 4.14) shows a person in Zoroastrian garb walking by the Karao Jāmi'.

## 1 The Fire Temple

The Agiary<sup>4</sup> or fire temple (Figure 4.3, no. 39) is in the middle of the old Parsi quarter on Parsiwada Road, in a garden with high walls, preventing the complex from being seen from the outside.<sup>5</sup> The survival of the fabric of the fire temple for over half a century without much alteration is mainly a result of decisions made by the last members of the community. The sacred element in a fire temple is, of course, the fire which should be kept alive at all times. If a community leaves an area the fire should be taken away, but the building itself has no sanctity. After the fire is removed the building can be de-consecrated and left abandoned or used for other purposes. This has been the fate of many of the grand fire temples in Iran over their long history and particularly after the dominance of Islam.<sup>6</sup> The community in Diu, however, con-

3 *The Tale of Sanjān* implies that the Indian Ocean was the only Zoroastrian migration route, and this has become firmly accepted by both the Parsis (Zoroastrians of India) and scholars in general. However, the land route from Iran to India should not be dismissed, as it would have been easier and more practical for the Zoroastrians of northern Iran and Greater Khurāsān (present Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and the Iranian province of Khurasan). A curious building in Tosham, in Haryana (M. and N.H. Shokoohy, *Ḥiṣār-Firūza*, London, 1988, pp. 111–114), seems likely to have been a fire temple, complete with openings for ventilating the fire chamber provided in the walls rather than the dome, so that smoke would not be released directly to the sky – a liturgical requirement of at least post-Sasanian fire temples.

4 Agiary, Ātashkadeh (Persian: آتشکده), Ātashgāh (آتشگاه) or Dar-i Mihr (در مهر) are among the names used for fire temples.

5 In ancient Iran fire temples were built on a grand scale with a lofty central dome to be seen from all directions. However, after the time of Muslim domination fire temples were gradually built on a modest and unobtrusive scale, so that the function and the rituals carried out inside could be concealed from the impure eyes of outsiders. See Maxime Siroux, 'Le temple Zoroastrien de Sharifābād', *Āthār-é Īrān*, 111 (1938), p. 83.

6 For the sacred fires and traditions concerning their lighting, protection and occasional transport from one place to another see Rashid Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdi, pp. 209–228; Mary Boyce, *A Persian stronghold of Zoroastrianism*,

sidered that the building should not be sold out and should be used in an appropriate way for the benefit of all communities of the island. When in the 1950s the sacred fire was to be taken to Surat, the Zoroastrians made their wishes known to the Portuguese Governor of Diu, and, on the recommendation of Archbishop D. José Alvarez a group of nuns from the order of the Handmaids of Christ were sent from Calangute, Goa, to establish a convent there.<sup>7</sup> The building, now St Anne's Convent, is a centre for service to the island's community and also has a successful infants' school accepting children of all castes and creeds.

In general form and in its structural elements the building is a product of the Portuguese colonial methods employed in Diu and Daman, with stone being used, as in churches and monasteries, rendered with plaster and painted over both on the interior and on the exterior. In the exterior details in particular, there has been an effort to give the building a European – or rather a neo-classical Iberian – appearance. This has been achieved by designing arched porticoes in the form of loggias, corner pilasters with quasi-classical proportions and a raised podium or plinth, as well as cornices decorated with *cyma recta* moulding (Figures 5.1–5.2, Plate 5.1). Similar features can be seen in most of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Portuguese buildings in the town, including the Governor's Residence that now houses the office of the Collector of Diu (Plate 4.39). Setting a building over a raised platform, however, is also common in Indian architecture to minimise

rising damp and to keep the monsoon water away from the foot of the walls.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, as with most modern – and indeed historic – fire temples the building has a simple layout, in this case consisting of two interconnected halls each with an arched portico and two domed chambers, one with adjoining rooms (Figure 5.1). The rest of the structure has a flat roof supported by wooden joists and rafters exposed on the interior (Figure 5.2, Plates 5.2–5.4). The building is set on a rectangular plinth and can be entered via two sets of steps leading to the loggias or porticoes set at the east and the west, but the main entrance is at the western side where the portico (a) opens through a door flanked by windows to the main hall. The portico has a single arch at the north and three arches at the western side with steps in front of the central arch.<sup>9</sup>

The eastern portico (d) (Figure 5.3, Plates 5.1, 5.5) is a mirror image of the western one, except that in recent years three of its arches were blocked up. On this side the steps are in front of the still open southern arch and are set opposite the door to the smaller hall (c). In front of these steps, in the garden, is a well with clear and refreshing water which is still used by the sisters of the convent and children of the school. Water is integral to fire temples, as not only is one of the four sacred elements which should never be polluted, it is also a representation of Anahita, one of the most important *izads* (heavenly beings) revered and celebrated in the *Āvān* (*Ābān*) Yasht, the first chapter of the Book of Yashts in the Avesta. The well also has a pragmatic use, providing water for the congregation.

Hall (c) opens to the main hall through an arch spanning 3.34 m. To the north of the smaller hall (c) is a small square domed chamber (e) with a

Oxford, 1977, pp. 68–76. Also see Carlo G. Cereti, *An 18th century account of Parsi history, the qesse-ye zartoštīān-e hendustān, text, translation and commentary*, Naples, 1991, Pers. pp. 69–74 verses 602–664, tr. pp. 117–120 for a detailed description of lighting the Fire of Varhrām at the temple of Navsari on the day of Hurmuzd of the month of Tir, 1334/29th June 1763.

7 Proença, p. 13. The information was also confirmed by the nuns at the convent. Rohinton Temurasp, a Zoroastrian from Diu now living in Lisbon, however, notes that the fire was taken to Rajkot, see: *Parsiana* (February 1993), p. 12. The Archbishop's name is given as D. Jose Alveraz, but the publication is not entirely free of printing errors.

8 Examples are numerous. In Diu, for example, see the raised platform of the Karao Jāmi' Masjid (Figure. 4.9, Plate 4.11).

9 The plinth is about 16.60 × 17.80 m. in plan and 0.7 m. high, the portico (a) measures 3.35 × 8.50 m. and the main hall (b) about 5 × 8.50 m.



PLATE 5.1 Diu town, the Zoroastrian fire temple, now St Anne's Convent and School. Left: view from north-east showing two of the walled-up arches of the loggia style portico. Right: view from north-west, with the portico left in its original condition. The corner pilasters and raised podium, as well as cornices decorated with *cyma recta* moulding can also be seen. The steps to the portico at the far right are original.

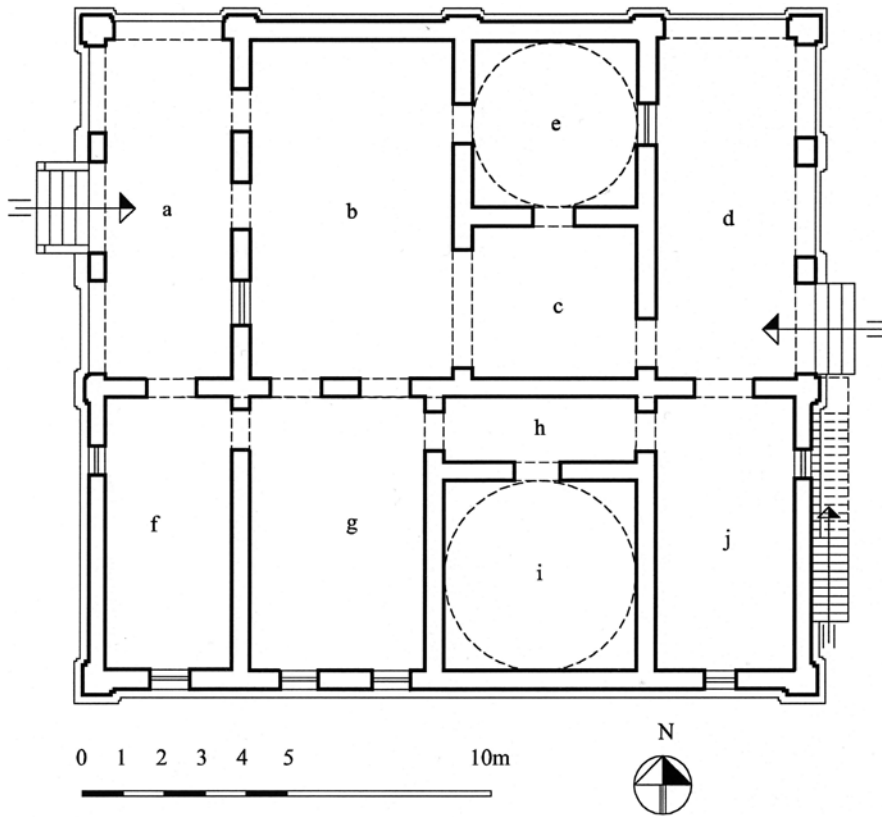
single entrance to the hall and two windows, one opening to the larger hall (b) and another at the opposite side opening to the eastern portico (d). It appears that the northern part of the building consisting of this small domed chamber, the two halls and the porticoes, was for the use of the congregation with the domed chamber in a focal position<sup>10</sup> (Plate 5.6). The chamber was apparently to house the fire altar where the sacred fire was brought for public worship, but as we shall see would not

have been the main chamber where the fire was kept alive permanently. It is not surprising that the northern chamber has been chosen to serve as the present chapel of the Convent.

The form of the chamber is of considerable interest as it seems to have been designed to refer to the form of a *chahār-tāq*,<sup>11</sup> a traditional Sasanian square domed chamber standing on

<sup>10</sup> For the various functions of the interior spaces in a modern fire temple see James W. Boyd and Firoze M. Kotwal, 'Worship in a Zoroastrian fire temple', *Indo Iranian Journal*, xxvi (1983), pp. 297–8.

<sup>11</sup> The *chahār-tāq*, is a well-known structural form in Sasanian architecture. For a description of the form and its characteristics see for example Kurt Erdmann, *Das Iranische Feuerheiligtum*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 14, 32–4; Arthur Upham Pope, *Persian Architecture*, London, 1965, pp. 65, 70; André Godard, 'Les monuments du feu', *Āthār-é Īrān*, III (1938), pp. 7–80. This source gives



Key: a western entrance portico; b hall; c hall; d arcaded eastern portico; e shrine for showing the sacred fire (*atashgāh*); f room; g room; h corridor; i permanent place for the sacred fire; j room.  
 FIGURE 5.1 Diu town, fire temple (no. 39), ground plan.

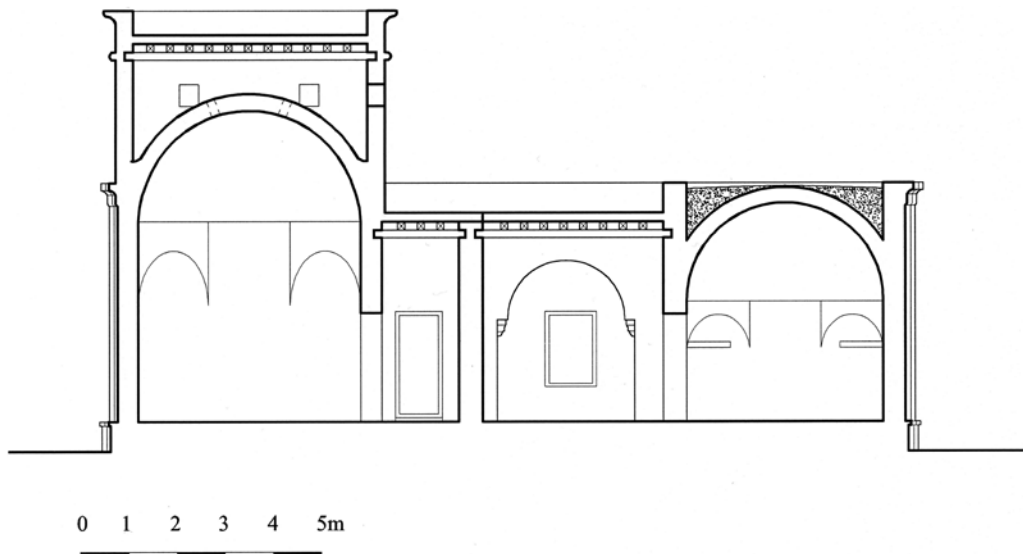


FIGURE 5.2 Fire temple, transverse section A–A through the two domed chambers, the corridor (h) and the hall (c), also showing the raised plinth and the flat roof structure.



PLATE 5.2 Former fire temple, now St Anne's Convent School, western portico (a) looking north with the door to a hall (b) at the right. The exposed wooden structure of the ceiling can also be seen.

four massive piers with open vaults or vaulted niches at each side, which occupied the centre of most ancient fire temples. In this building although the chamber is relatively small, as with the traditional *chahār-tāq* its dome is raised on squinches with its summit rising over 0.5 m. above the level of the roof and concealed within a platform (Figures 5.2, 5.4, Plate 5.6). The dome further recalls the Sasanian fire temples in its hemispherical form and its semi-circular squinches, although in the ancient fire temples the profiles of the domes and arches are mostly parabolic rather than semi-circular. In the Islamic period the form of a *chahār-tāq* was adapted for free-standing tomb chambers and also for the main domed chambers in mosques and palaces, but Islamic domes and

a detailed description of the *chahār-tāq*, and studies some of the best-preserved examples.

arches have a pointed profile which gives them an appearance distinct from those of the Sasanian fire temples. In Diu, however, although the semi-circular profile serves its purpose in alluding to the traditional fire temples, the form seems to be related to Portuguese architecture, rather than being the result of a conscious design decision to avoid Islamic pointed profiles. In Diu the local builders had known about the construction of semi-circular arches and vaults since the sixteenth century and pointed profiles are indeed a rarity in the island. Near Vanakbara, at the west of the island, a Muslim shrine (Plates 6.29–6.30) which is comparable in date to the fire temple also has a hemispherical dome and semi-circular arches and squinches, indicating that this was the structural method of choice in the locality.

In the fire temple an interesting feature of the smaller domed chamber is that there is no opening in the top of the dome for ventilation and discharging excess heat and smoke. Such an opening may at first glance be expected for a chamber dedicated to fire, but as Maxime Siroux<sup>12</sup> has already observed, in the case of both historic and modern fire temples there should be no opening to the sky, to secure and protect the sanctity of the fire from any possible pollution. In this chamber, the ventilation is provided by small circular openings in the northern wall (Plate 5.6). The doors and windows of the halls and portico would also have aided air circulation (Figure 5.1).

Other notable features of the chamber are its location at the north side of the structure and the arrangement of the plan, which does not allow circumambulation around the chamber. An examination of existing fire temples<sup>13</sup> reveals that unlike

12 M. Siroux, 'Le temple Zoroastrien de Sharifābād', p. 85.

13 See for example the random orientations of Bāz-i Hūr in Khurāsān; Kunār Siāh, Tall-i Jangī (Tall-i Ġangī) and Bishāpūr (Bīšāpūr) in Fārs; Chahār-dih (Āhār-dih) and Bard-i Nishānda (Bard-i Nišānda) in Khūzistān; Qaṣr-i Shīrīn (Qaṣr-i Šīrīn) in Kurdistān; Takht-i Sulaimān (Taht-i Sulaimān) in Adharbāyjan and the well-known fire temple at Hatra, in Klaus Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, Berlin – New York, 1971, pp. 15,



PLATE 5.3 Former fire temple, interior of hall (b) looking south-east through the arched opening to hall (c), showing at the right the two doors to a room (g) and to the left the southern blank wall of the hall (c).



PLATE 5.4 Former fire temple, interior of hall (c) looking north-west through the arched opening to hall (b) with the entrance to the domed chamber (e) at right, the place for displaying the sacred fire, now a chapel.

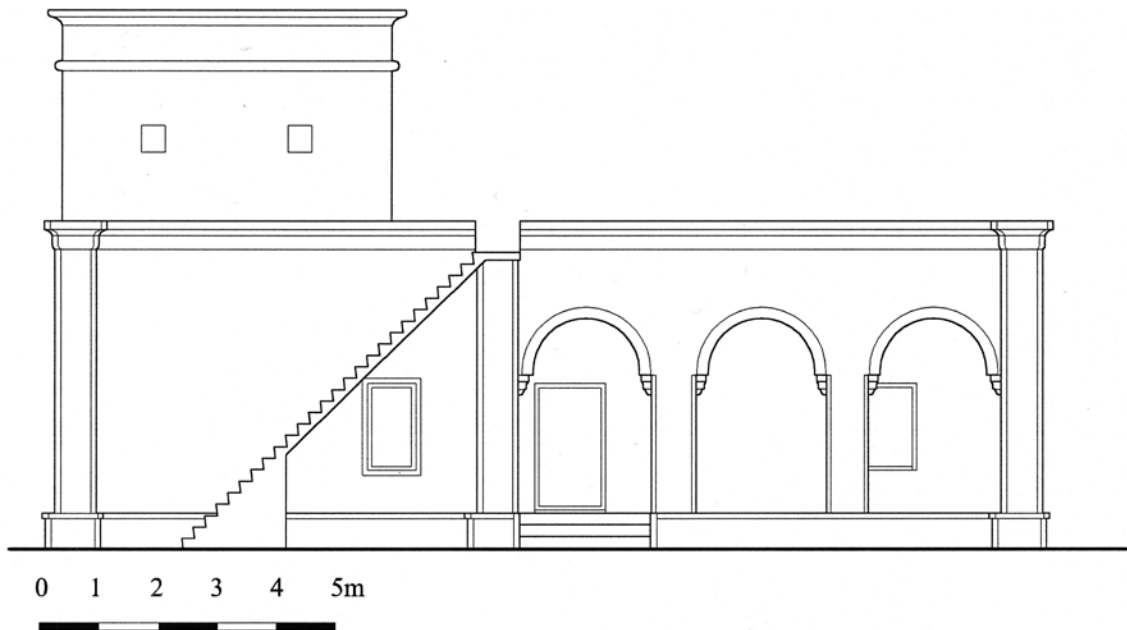


FIGURE 5.3 Fire temple, east elevation showing the arcaded portico (d) with the door to a hall (c) and the window to the domed chamber (e) as well as the steps to the roof and above the roof the eastern façade of the chamber enveloping the dome of the larger chamber (i).



PLATE 5.5 Former fire temple, view of the east side of the building showing the arches of the eastern portico, two of which are now blocked up. The arch at the north side of the portico, not seen in this photograph, is also blocked converting the portico to a chamber. Cantilevered stone steps lead to the roof. In the foreground is the well with a bucket for drawing the water with a rope and a pulley.



PLATE 5.6 Former fire temple, left: interior of the smaller domed chamber (e) looking north and showing part of the hemispherical dome rising above semi-circular squinches. The two circular openings in the wall are for ventilating the smoke, via the roof, not directly to the outside. The chamber has now been converted to the chapel of St Anne's Convent with a modern altar replacing the original fire altar. Right: view of the roof looking north and showing the platform concealing the dome of chamber (e).

places of worship in most other religions, in a fire temple orientation towards a particular direction has never been a matter for consideration. This is not surprising as in all other religions the direction for worship is external such as the prominence of the cardinal points in Hindu and Buddhist temples, the direction towards Jerusalem in Christian churches or the *qibla* (direction towards Mecca) in Islam. In Zoroastrian tradition, however, the focal point is the fire itself which resides within the fire temple. An external orientation seems therefore to be irrelevant. Nevertheless, it seems that the

Zoroastrian community in India holds the view that the northern wall of the chamber should be blind, as in the chamber at Diu.<sup>14</sup>

99, 133, 144, 213, 253, 284, 332, 490 respectively. Other examples are numerous.

14 According to Farrokh Vajifdar (personal communication, 2010) some Zoroastrians in India hold the view that the chamber should not be sited at the north side of the building, and in any case should have no opening on the north side. Such a view does not seem to be held generally and like in Diu, in one of the fire temples of Bombay the chamber is located at the north side but the north wall is blind. Mr Vajifdar has also pointed out that in the modern temple of Wadia Ātash Bahrām at Bombay, designed by Karani and Sanghoi, Architects, it is in fact the south wall of the fire chambers which is blank. See J.W. Boyd and F.M. Kotwal, 'Worship in a Zoroastrian fire temple', *Indo Iranian Journal*, xxvi

Circumambulation of the fire, on the other hand, is not in modern Zoroastrian practice an integral part of worship. However, the layout of most of the ancient fire temples indicates that such a practice would have been common in earlier times. In most – but not all – historic fire temples such as the Achaemenid temple at Kūh-i Khwāja<sup>15</sup> and the Parthian temple at Hatra<sup>16</sup> there

is a corridor around the chamber housing the fire altar. Most of the Sasanian temples also have a similar arrangement. In some others such as the Sasanian temple at Qaşr-i Shīrīn<sup>17</sup> and the modern temples at Tehran<sup>18</sup> and Yazd<sup>19</sup> although there is no corridor, there is access for circumambulation through courts, halls and chambers which surround the fire chamber. However, there are many fire temples such as the temple of Bāz-i Hūr also known as Ribāt-i Safid<sup>20</sup> in Khurāsān and the temple at Abarkūh (Abarqū) converted to a mosque,<sup>21</sup> which do not have any circumambulation access around the domed chamber indicating that the congregation might have circumambulated the fire altar itself. Many of the grand fire temples such as the temple at Bishapur,<sup>22</sup> while having

(1983), architect's drawings, p. 296. In many modern Iranian fire temples where the chamber is in the centre of the building, the north wall is blank, such as at Yazd and Taft. However, some Iranian examples have an opening at the north side or in the old *chahār tāq* tradition have openings at all four sides. See for example the Daulatkāna and the Ātash-i Bahrām fire temples at Kirmān in Gerd Gropp, 'Die Rezenten Feuertempel der Zarathustrier', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, New Edition, IV (1971) pp. 271–4; for the survey of the fire temple at Bombay see *ibid.*, pp. 263–8.

- 15 K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, Berlin – New York, 1971, pp. 57–70; Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East, archaeological studies presented in the Lowell lectures at Boston*, New York, 1988, p. 292 and pl. 97. The fire temple was reconstructed during the Sasanian period, but the general layout was preserved. The fire temple has a slightly unusual plan consisting of a chamber behind the grand fire chamber. This second chamber, which, except for a door to the grand chamber had no other opening was probably for preserving the fire permanently, enabling it to be brought to the grand chamber only during ceremonies. However, the corridors surrounding the chambers are designed to go around both chambers enabling visitors to circumambulate the fire even outside the time of formal ceremonies and when the fire would not be in the main chamber. Boyce suggests that in the compound another smaller domed chamber added during the Sasanian period might have been for the fire of *Ādhar Gushnasp*. This seems, however, unlikely as such an important fire would not have been kept in an ancillary chamber, which from the architectural point of view is relatively insignificant. See Mary Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian temple cult of Fire', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCV (1975), p. 465.
- 16 M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian temple cult of Fire', pp. 489–91; K. Erdmann, *Das Iranische Feuerheiligtum*, Leipzig, 1941, p. 25; for a more detailed study of this temple also see: W. Andrae, *Hatra*, I, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 19–21; II, Leipzig, 1912, p. 142, pls. IX–1, XI–1; also see Roman Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians*, Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (trs), London, 1962,

pp. 35–6. The inscriptions found at Hatra, however, indicate that the building might have been a Temple of the Sun God, the Mesopotamian Shamash or the Persian Mithra, whose names appear frequently in inscriptions. Whether or not the temple also housed a sacred fire still remains to be determined. For the inscriptions see Francesco Vattoni, *Le iscrizioni di Hatra*, Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Supplemento n. 28 agli Annali, XLI, fasc. iii, Naples, 1981, pp. 12–14; *idem*, *Hatra*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Supplemento n. 81 agli Annali, LIV, fasc. iv Naples, 1994, pp. 13–16.

- 17 K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, pp. 282–91.
- 18 G. Gropp, 'Die Funktion des Feuertempels der Zoroastrier', pp. 149–51.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 157; *idem*, 'Die Rezenten Feuertempels der Zarathustrier', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (New Series)*, IV (1971), pp. 273–4; Iraj Afshar, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, II, (Tehran, 1975), pp. 829–34.
- 20 K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, pp. 13–21.
- 21 Mehrdad Shokoohy, 'Two fire temples converted to mosques in central Iran', *Acta Iranica, Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, XI (1985), pp. 546–562.
- 22 K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, pp. 145–53. Schippmann gives a full account and bibliographical references to the temple which has several chambers. The one given after Ghirshman's plan marked as the Grand Hall (B) is indeed the main domed chamber with circumambulatory corridors. He marks, however a smaller chamber to the north-west of the Grand Hall as (a), the fire temple. Recent excavations have revealed that what appeared in the first instance to be corridors running around the chamber

ample space within the chamber, also had the circumambulation corridors. In these temples the main chamber is usually large enough to accommodate the congregation. In most of the modern Iranian fire temples the plan is designed in a manner that circumambulation is possible. Among such buildings are the fire temple of Yazd and the Ātash-i Bahrām in Kirman already noted as well as the Ātash-i Ādurān in Taft.<sup>23</sup> Others, such as the Aduriān and the Daulatkāna in Kirman and the Pīr Hirisht<sup>24</sup> near Yazd do not have layouts suitable for circumambulation but the chamber itself is again large, leaving sufficient space around the altar for such a function. Conforming to modern practices for worship the relatively recent fire temple at Tehran does not have any facility for circumambulation.<sup>25</sup> While this might have been the case in Diu, although the chamber in Diu is not very large, measuring only four metres square, it could accommodate a few members of the congregation

of the small community at any time<sup>26</sup> who may have worshipped in this manner.

In Diu, the southern part of the fire temple consists of four chambers and a corridor which appear to have been for administration and for the maintenance of the fire (Figure 5.1). This section was probably not open to the public at all times, but could be entered from two doors, one at each of the porticoes leading to rooms (f) and (j).<sup>27</sup> These relatively long and narrow rooms have windows to the outside (Plate 5.7) and could have been for the use of the priests and other administrators. Alternatively, the rooms – and particularly that on the eastern side (j) next to the southern domed chamber (i) – could have been used for keeping objects utilised by the priest during worship or simply for storing wood. All fire temples have specific areas for these purposes. Inside the main hall (b) two doors open to a relatively large room (g) which is well lit and ventilated by two windows at the south. This room seems to have been for the use of the priests tending the fire. The southern domed chamber (i), slightly larger than that in the north, appears to have been for the permanent preservation of the fire. The chamber is flanked by rooms (g) and (j) and can be accessed only by corridor (h) which opens to these rooms. Apart from the indirect access through a door opening to this corridor there are no other doors and windows to this chamber, protecting the fire from all probable pollution.

Unlike the northern chamber the southern chamber has a grand dome which rises well above the roof level. There are a number of circular holes

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were in fact water-courses which were connected to an underground water canal (*qanāt*). It seems therefore that this structure might not have been a fire temple but a temple for Anahita, celebrating the sanctity of water. See Ali Akbar Sarfaraz, 'Bishāpūr', *Iranian Cities*, ed. M.Y. Kiani, II, Tehran, 1987, pp. 22–74. The relationship between fire and water in the Zoroastrian temples has not yet attracted the attention it deserves, but such a relationship appears to have been strong. The well known minaret of Fīrūzābad (Aradashīr Khūrā) in Fārs which housed the fire also had, according to Iṣṭakhri, 'a pavilion on top and water was piped from a nearby mountain to the building and gushed out as a fountain'. See Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhri: *Al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (Arabic Text) ed. Muh. G. Abd el Aál, Cairo, 1961, p. 76; *Masālik wa mamālik* (Persian text), ed. I. Afshar, Tehran, 1961, p. 110; For the minaret of Fīrūzābad see Dietrich Huff, 'Zur Rekonstruktion des Turmes von Firuzabad', *Istanbulur Mitteilungen*, XIX–XX (1969–70), pp. 319–38, pls. 63–4.

23 G. Gropp, 'Die Rezenten Feuertempels der Zarathustrier', pp. 284–5.

24 Ibid., pp. 268–9, 271–2 and 282–4 respectively.

25 G. Gropp, 'Die Funktion des Feuertempels der Zoroastrier', p. 156.

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26 We have seen that in 1794 the number of Zoroastrians in Diu was 104 (*Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 404–5). The relatively small size of the halls of the fire temple, accommodating a maximum of about 70 people, gives an indication of the size of the community in 1829, when the fire temple was constructed. Although it would not be expected that all Zoroastrians assemble in the temple at one time, the size of the halls indicates that there may have been little change in the number of Parsis of Diu since a generation earlier.

27 Rooms (f) and (j), each measure about 6.80 × 3.40 m.

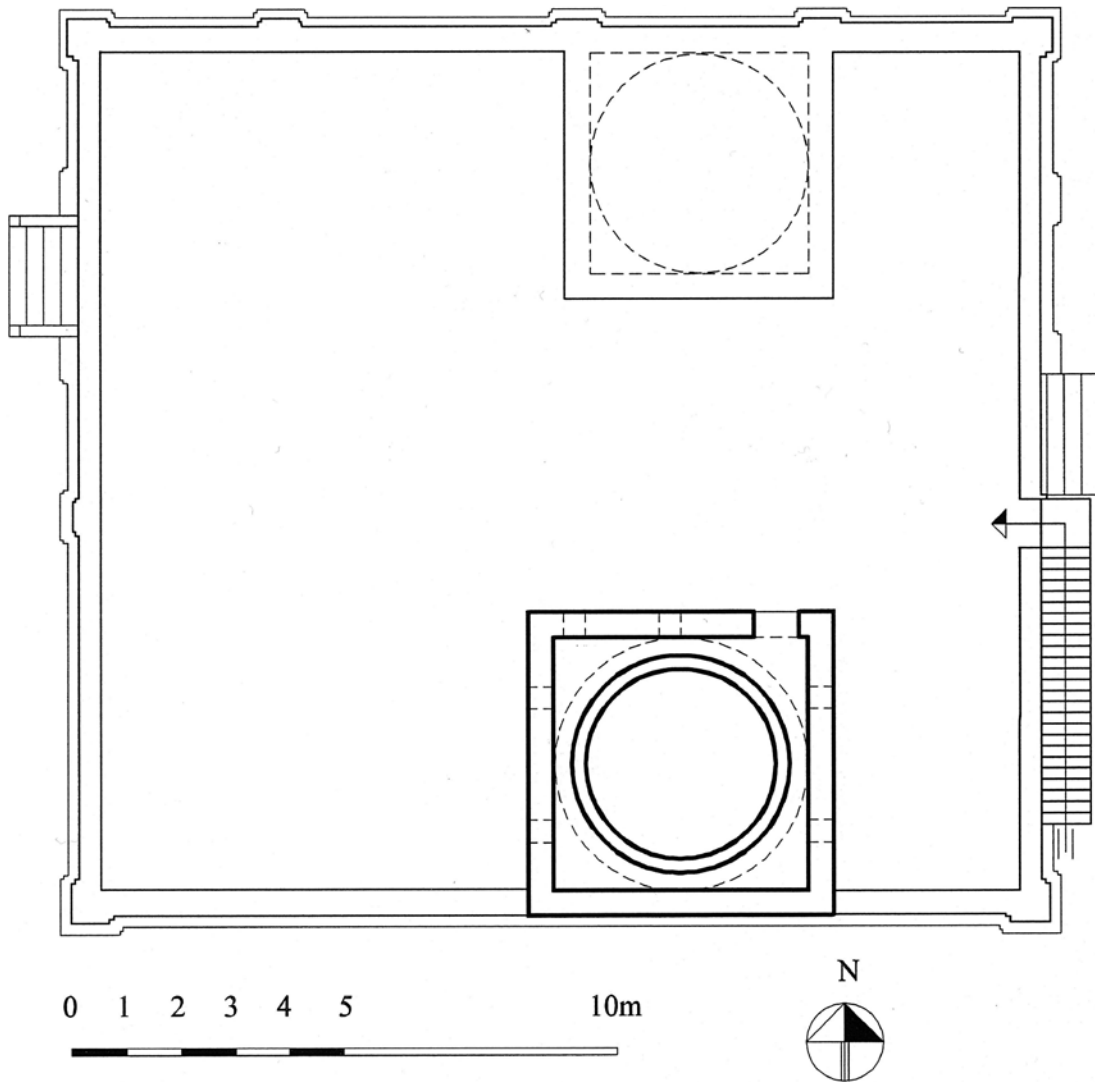


FIGURE 5.4 Fire temple, roof plan showing the platform built over the dome of the smaller chamber (e), the chamber enveloping the dome of the larger chamber (i) and the flight of steps at the east of the building ascending to the roof.

in the dome to allow ventilation and help discharge excess smoke. However, as the fire should not be exposed to the open sky, the dome is concealed within a chamber (Figure 5.4, Plate 5.8) constructed on the roof, and decorated on the exterior with a cornice with the usual *cyma recta* profile, similar to that of the main structure. Two windows at each of the three sides of the chamber provide ventilation, but there is no window at the southern side and no opening in the ceiling. The arrangement is somewhat similar to that in

the modern fire temple at Yazd (Plate 5.9), where above the main chamber housing the fire altar there is again a chamber on the roof which protects the fire from the open sky and yet ventilates the building through large windows. In Diu access to the roof is provided by a flight of stone steps cantilevered out from the wall of the chamber (j). The roof is well drained and, to assure that rain water does not seep into the dome, the chamber is set above a raised platform about 0.20 m. high. The chamber serves no other purpose except to



PLATE 5.7 Fire temple, left: eastern side of the southern wall of the fire temple showing the plinth and the cornice of the building as well as the windows of the rooms (f) and (g). Right: eastern side of the wall showing the blank wall of the southern domed chamber (i) and the chamber which conceals the dome at roof level. The window to the right opens to a room (j).

cover the dome, but aesthetically gives the building a sense of loftiness which apparently fits well with the intention of designers to give a grandiose character to an otherwise simple structure.

As far as the date of the building, its benefactor and the consecration of the fire are concerned Shahmardan<sup>28</sup> records that the building was

constructed through the efforts of Dīnwar Mihr Jahāngīr Nasrawān Vādiyā<sup>29</sup> and the fire was consecrated on the day of Ashtād of the month of Amardād 1199 Yazdgirdī. This is confirmed by an inscription in Devanagari above the entrance to

<sup>28</sup> R. Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdī, p. 234. There are some discrepancies between the three calendars used by different communities of Parsis. These divergencies have been caused by different calculations of the length of the year by the Parsis (Indian Zoroastrians) and the eighteenth-century Zoroastrian community in Iran, who at that time re-introduced their calendar to India. The old Indian calendar is known as the Shenshāi or Shāhanshāhī (imperial) calendar, and the Persian

calendar is known in India as the Kadmī or Qadīmī (old) calendar. There is, of course, a third astronomical calendar, mathematically calculated to the fraction of a second to correspond with the true length of a year: this calendar, known in India as the Faṣlī (seasonal) calendar, is now commonly used by both Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians of Iran, but is not yet gaining popularity in India. The date of the inauguration of the fire temple, as recorded by Shahmardan corresponds with Wednesday 24 February 1830 of the Shāhanshāhī calendar; Monday 25 January 1830 of the Qadīmī calendar.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Jahāngīr Nasrawān Vādiyā also paid for the construction of the *dakhma* discussed below.



PLATE 5.8 Fire temple. Left: the chamber on the roof concealing the southern dome, exterior view looking south-west and showing the platform of the chamber and the door which provides access for the maintenance of the dome. The gap in the cornice is for ladder access to the roof. Right: the dome of the southern domed chamber (i) as it appears from inside the chamber on the roof which conceals it. The flat ceiling of the chamber can be seen as well as one of the ventilation holes in the dome.

the temple, recording that the *agiari* was built in 1199 with the Christian date given as 1829, some months before its consecration.<sup>30</sup> The building should, therefore, be regarded as one of the earliest prototypes of the modern fire temples in India.

The good state of preservation of the structure at Diu provides us with an opportunity to gain an insight into what are perceived as recent architectural traditions for Indian fire temples. The sacred nature of these buildings often forbade immediate

access for the purpose of survey and photography. As a result, there has been little study on the architecture of functioning fire temples and much needs to be done before a cohesive picture of the design development of modern temples can emerge. On the other hand, liturgical requirements which tie these building to their historical predecessors need also to be considered. One such link, for example, is the presence of two fire chambers in the Indian fire temples and the question as to how far this arrangement takes its roots from the ancient temples. In modern temples in Iran there is not usually a second chamber dedicated to

<sup>30</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 121.



PLATE 5.9 An old photograph of the fire temple at Yazd, central Iran, built in the early twentieth century to reflect the ancient Persian architectural style. The chamber on the roof level is comparable to that of the fire temple of Diu.

the permanent fire. Mary Boyce,<sup>31</sup> therefore, holds the view that traditionally the fire was always kept in the main altar and the introduction of a second chamber in India must have been a recent innovation. However, in a few functioning temples in Iran, such as the temple at Sharīfābād<sup>32</sup> and the Pīr-i Hirisht already noted, although there is no grand chamber for the permanent fire there is still a special place for it in a side chamber attached to the congregational hall which houses the altar. The existence of a second chamber in the historical fire temples is not easy to determine. None of these temples have survived intact and our knowledge of their plans comes only from the excavated sites. Often neither is the plan complete nor can

the details of the function of the spaces or circulation within the building be asserted with certainty. In some temples, however, the presence of a prominent second chamber is apparent. We have already noted the Achaemenid temple at Kūh-i Khwāja in Sīstān, where the second chamber is directly behind the main chamber and the circumambulatory corridors are wrapped around both chambers. This fire temple continued to be used throughout the Parthian and Sasanian periods and was reconstructed many times, but the layout of the two chambers and corridors was not apparently altered. Many other fire temples have adjoining secondary chambers which could have been used for the permanent preservation of the fire,<sup>33</sup> one of the best examples of which is the

31 M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian temple cult of Fire', pp. 464–5.

32 M. Siroux, 'Le temple Zoroastrien de Sharīfābād', pp. 85–7 and fig. 50.

33 See for example the temples at Kunār Siyāh, Bīshāpūr, Chahār dih, in K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligümer*, pp. 97–9, 142–53, 212–15 and at Abarkūh, in

fire temple at Takht-i Sulaimān,<sup>34</sup> where a grand *chahār-tāq* without circumambulatory corridors adjoins the main and even grander *chahār-tāq* on its western side which does have such corridors. A secondary chamber may, therefore, be associated with early Zoroastrian traditions, still preserved in India, while the absence of this feature in Iran may be due to the limitations imposed over the Zoroastrians and the need to keep their places of worship on a modest and inconspicuous scale, if not secret, during the period of Muslim dominance.

## 2 The *Dakhmas* (Towers of Silence)

“For variety’s sake turn we now to another sort of Gentiles in Surat and Gusurat called Parsees, who are a people descended out of Persia, banished hither (to avoid Mahometry and circumcision) upon the death of valiant Jezdgird, the Persian king who died AD 635 or thereabout.

Their funerals these: they neither burn nor bury their dead, but, having first put the body into a winding-sheet, all the way as they pass towards the grave his kindred beat their breasts, but with little noise, till they come within 50 or 100 paces of the burial-place, where the Herbood meets them, usually attired in a yellow scarf and on his head wearing a thin turban. The necesselars (or bearers) carry the corpse upon an iron bier (for wood is forbidden, in that it is dedicated to the fire) to a little shed, where (so soon as some mystics are acted) they hoist it up to the top of a round building, some of which are twelve foot high and eighty in circuit: the entrance is most part at the N. E. side, where through a small grate they convey the carcass into a monument – good men into one, bad into another: ’tis flat above, open to the air, plastered with white loam, hard and smooth like that of Paris; in the midst thereof is a hole descending

to the bottom, made to let in the putrefaction issuing from the melted bodies, which are thereupon laid naked in two rows, or ranks, exposed to the sun’s rage and appetite of ravening birds, who spare not to devour the flesh of these carcasses, tearing asunder and deforming them in any ugly sort; so that the abominable stink of those unburied bodies (in some places 300) is so loathsome that (did not a desire to see strange sights allure a traveller) they would prove much worse seen than spoken of. The dislike the Parsees expressed at my taking a view of this golgotha made it appear they do not delight that it should be seen by strangers.”

So we learn about the Zoroastrian *dakhmas* or towers of silence from Thomas Herbert who travelled to India and Persia between 1627 and 1629.<sup>35</sup> Unlike other population groups which he describes at length even to the colour of their shoes, on the Parsis, of all their customs, habits, way of life and conduct he speaks only of their funerary practices. It seems as with many other European travellers<sup>36</sup> he had been astounded by what must have appeared to him as most unusual, if not repulsive. He also produced a drawing of one of the *dakhmas* (Figure 5.5) which in spite of inaccuracies is not only informative, but one of the earliest visual records of such structures.

M. Shokoohy, ‘Two fire temples converted to mosques in central Iran’, *Acta Iranica*, XI (1985), pp. 546–562.

34 Schippmann, op. cit., pp. 309–357, plan in figs. 43–44.

35 Sir William Foster (ed.), *Thomas Herbert travels in Persia, 1627–1629*, London, 1928, pp. 37–8 and pl. 5 facing p. 38; also see Nora K. Firby, *European Travellers and their perceptions of Zoroastrians in the 17th and 18th centuries*; Berlin 1988. Firby discusses Thomas Herbert’s perception of the Zoroastrians on pp. 29–31.

36 For selections of European accounts on the Zoroastrians see Delphine Menant, *The Parsis* (tr. from French by Anthony D. Mango), 111, Bombay, 1996, pp. 76–90; Mary Boyce, *Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism*, [1984] Chicago, 1990, pp. 123–152 particularly pp. 148–152 relating to the nineteenth century accounts of *dakhmas*. The accuracy of the accounts of the travellers varies from fairly accurate to fantasy. In most cases they combine their limited observations with tales they have heard from local people, mainly non-Zoroastrian, who if not hostile to the community, knew very little of their traditions and practices.

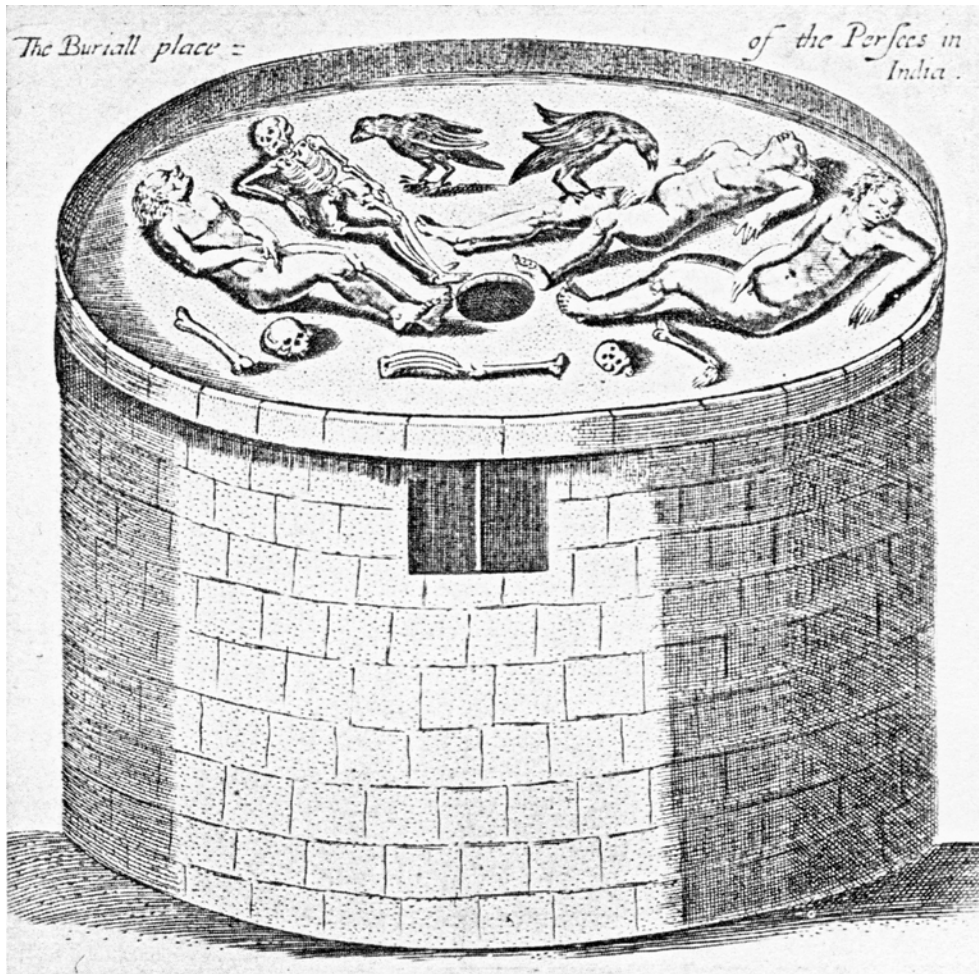


FIGURE 5.5 'The burial place of the Parsees in India'.

FROM WILLIAM FOSTER, *THOMAS HERBERT TRAVELS IN PERSIA*, PLATE 5 FACING P. 38

The wall around the top of the tower, which should screen the bodies from view, is reduced to a thin balustrade and the door, which should open into this wall, is shown to open into the core of the tower which at this point would have been solid. Nevertheless, there are many details in the engraving and in his long and fairly accurate description which need consideration. He notes and shows in his drawing that the towers were circular and implies that they were different in size, with some as large as eighty feet (24.4 m.) in circumference (7.70 m. in diameter) and twelve feet (3.70 m.) high. The example shown in the engraving seems to be smaller, with space for only one row of bodies

and considering the scale of the bodies it could not have been over five meters in diameter. His mention of the entrance being at the north-east side also seems to be confused. The entrance is always set at a location to admit the morning sun into the tower, and in Gujarat this location is at the east, occasionally bearing very slightly towards the north-east.

Although Herbert's claim that in spite of the disapproval of the Parsis he had ventured to 'take a view' of the inside of the tower, he could not have had more than a glance, if he saw it at all, as his description of the floor of the tower being plastered with gypsum seems inaccurate. Gypsum – a

‘white loam, hard and smooth’ – would dissolve in the monsoon rain and the fragments of decomposing bodies would mix with the plaster polluting the earth. The surface is usually covered with stone carved with a number of *pāvis*<sup>37</sup> – shallow receptacles – to protect the earth from defilement. In Gujarat, where, unlike most other regions of India, marble is abundant the floor could have been laid with marble. His description, however, is likely to be based on his distant observation and mainly from what he had heard from local people. The scene of the decomposing bodies in the engraving seems to be purely imaginary.

While the practice of exposing the dead in the open goes back to the early days of the Zoroastrian faith, the origin of the *dakhma* as a circular tower seems to be a later innovation. On the costumes and traditions of the Persians, Herodotus<sup>38</sup> records:

“I can mention these Persian customs with confidence because I know about them, but there are others, to do with the dead, which are talked about obliquely, as if they were secrets. It is said that a body of a Persian man is not buried until it has been mauled by a bird or a dog. I know for certain that the Magi do this, because they let it happen in public; but the Persians cover corpses in wax before burying them in the ground.”

37 Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, ‘On the funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their origin and explanation’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (1890–92), p. 421. The feature seems to have developed in India in response to the humid climate and tropical rainfall. In the early post-Islamic *dakhmas* of Iran, where the climate is dry with occasional seasonal rainfall, *pāvis* were not essential. The surface of a *dakhma* was usually paved flat and sometimes the interior was divided by a partition wall, one side for depositing bodies for decomposition and the other as an ossuary, see Mary Boyce, ‘An old village *dakhma* of Iran’, *Mémorial Jean de Menace*, Louvain, 1974, pp. 3–6.

38 I, 140. Quotation from Robin Waterfield (tr.), *Herodotus, The Histories*, Oxford – New York [1998], repr. 2008, pp. 63–4; for another translation see David Grene (tr.), *Herodotus, The History*, Chicago – London, [1987], paperback edtn. 1988, p. 98.

No embalmed body has so far been found in Iran as the Achaemenid and other rock-cut tombs have all been opened in the distant past and human remains removed or destroyed. It is these tombs which were originally referred to as *dakhma*, and the term did not carry the meaning of a tower.<sup>39</sup> Even in today’s Iran, outside the Zoroastrian community, the word carries the meaning of a crypt, a hole in a rock, or a cave, manmade or otherwise. In Persian literature too the word alludes to a cave-tomb for royalty or the nobility.<sup>40</sup> Firdausī, in the eleventh century, frequently uses *dakhma* with this meaning and even in the fourteenth century, when we have evidence that the tradition of building towers of silence had already been established, Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz uses the word in his *Sāqīnāma* (the ode to the cup-bearer) with the same meaning:

“This ruinous world is the same halting place which has seen the *īwān* (audience hall) of Afrāsiyāb ...

39 See Aliakbar Dehkhodā, *Loghatnāme (Encyclopedic Dictionary)*, Tehran, 1993–4, under the word دخمه (Dehkhodā’s work is also available on line at www.loghatnameh.com). Dehkhodā quotes sources in Persian literature, including Firdausī, where *dakhma* is mentioned as a permanent burial place for royalty and the nobility and, on Pūrdāwūd’s authority, notes that the term has derived from Pahlavi *dakhmak* meaning cremation ground. Mary Boyce holds the view that *dakhma* derives from the ancient Indo-European verbal root *dhmbh* meaning a burial place. See M. Boyce, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, i, *The Early Period*, Leiden – Cologne, 1975, p. 109; Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians, their religious beliefs and practices*, London – New York, 1979, pp. 13–14.

40 See for example the twelfth-century Persian historian and geographer Ibn Balkhī’s mention of the Achaemenid rock-cut tombs at Iṣṭakhr: جمشید ... بر سر کوه دخمه های عظیم کرده است و عوام آنرا زندان باد خوانند ‘Jamshīd ... has created large *dakhmas* on the mountain and the common people call them prisons for the wind.’ At the time the legendary king Jamshīd was believed to be the founder of Persepolis and all other Achaemenid work in the region of Pārs or Fārs. See Mansour Rastegar Fasaei (ed), *The Fars-nameh of Ibn Balkhi according to the text edited by Le Strange and Nicholson*, Shiraz, 1995, p. 301.

Not only have his *iwān* and palace gone with the wind, no one even remembers his *dakhma*.<sup>41</sup>

Ḥāfiẓ would have been familiar with the Achaemenid kings' rock-cut tombs, which still stand in the mountains of Fars not far from his home-town. Ancient rock-cut tombs are indeed numerous in Iran, dotted about in most regions, and many earlier than the time of the Achaemenids,<sup>42</sup> although the practice seems to have been restricted to royalty and nobility as the preparation of such tombs would have been expensive, time consuming and laborious, far beyond the means of ordinary people. The bodies of the common people, as Herodotus implies, might have simply been exposed to dogs and birds.

Whatever the religion of the Achaemenids may have been, it seems apparent that the zealous Zoroastrian Sasanians did not bury their royal dead as there are no rock-cut tombs known to be associated with the Sasanian emperors and we are not certain whether or not the concept of a tower developed in this period or later as there are no

towers existing from pre-Islamic times<sup>43</sup> or indeed associated with the post-Sasanian Zoroastrian communities in mediaeval Iran or India. Such towers, if they existed, would have been demolished once they went out of use and replaced with new ones, according to the belief that the body of the deceased turns truly to dust after the *dakhma* is destroyed.<sup>44</sup>

As a result, none of the existing towers can be dated firmly to earlier than the eighteenth century, although through literary sources and European travel accounts we are informed that the practice of building circular towers may well go back to mediaeval times if not earlier. One of the earliest records of a Parsi *dakhma* in the form of a tower comes from the Dominican Friar Jordanus, who visited Gujarat in the 1320s.<sup>45</sup>

“There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven.”

In spite of much discussion on Zoroastrian beliefs, rites and rituals regarding disposing of the dead<sup>46</sup>

41 همان منزل است این جهان خراب که دیدست ایوان افراسیاب

....

نه تنها شد ایوان و تختش بیاد که کس دخمه نیزش ندارد بیاد

Here we have given a literal translation, a more lyrical translation is given by Wilberforce Clarke in *The Divan written in the fourteenth century by Khāwja Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ-i-Shīrāzī*, II, Calcutta, 1891, p. 996:

Verily, the stage is this ruined world  
That the halls of Afrāsiyāb hath seen.

....

Not alone to the wind (of destruction), went the  
hall and palace of him

Whose tomb, even, in recollection none hath.

Clarke gives these verses under the *Mughamī nāma* (the ode to the musician) which follows the *Sāqīnāma* and is its finale, but notes that the copy he was using was at this point badly corrupt. The more modern standardised *dīwāns* give these verses in the *Sāqīnāma*.

42 For an extensive study of the known rock cut tombs in Western Iran see Oric P.V. L'vov-Basirov, 'The evolution of the Zoroastrian funerary cult in Western Iran', unpublished PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1995.

43 For the existence of rock-cut depressions for the deposition of the dead during the Sasanian period see: D. Huff, 'Zum Problem zoroastrischer Grabanlagen in Fars I. Gräber', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, XXI (1988), pp. 145–176.

44 M. Boyce, 'An old village *dakhma* of Iran', p. 5; idem, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, Leiden – Cologne, 1975, p. 326 refers to *Vendidad* 3.9 and 3.13 and notes: 'it is a great merit to destroy *dakhmas* and the man who does so turns his sins to good'.

45 Catalani Jordanus, *Mirabilia descripta: the wonders of the East*, tr. from Latin by Henry Yule, London, 1863, p. 21.

46 For a brief but informative account of Zoroastrian rights and rituals, and a bibliography of major studies on the subject see: Mary Boyce, 'Some points of traditional observance and of change among the Zoroastrians of Kerman', in: *Ātaš-e dorun: The Fire Within, Jamshid Soroush Soroushian commemorative volume*, Carlo. G. Cereti and Farrokh Vajifdar (eds), Bloomington, Indiana, 2003, pp. 44–56.

there has been very little study of the physical and architectural features of such towers, as approaching close to a *dakhma* is forbidden to all, even Zoroastrians, apart from the corpse bearers. The attitude of Zoroastrians toward approaching *dakhmas* is perhaps best described by Edward Browne when visiting the towers of Kirman in 1888:<sup>47</sup>

“Towards evening I rode out with Gushtásp and Ferídún to the lonely *dakhmé* situated on a jagged mountain-spur at some little distance from the town. ... We stopped twice on the way to drink wine, at a place called *Sar-i pul* (‘Bridge-end’), and at a sort of halfway house, where funerals halt on their way to the *dakhmé*, or rather *dakhmés*, for there are two of them, one disused, and one built by Mánakjí, the late Zoroastrian agent at Teherán, a little higher up the ridge. At the foot of this we dismounted, Mullá Gushtásp remaining below to look after the animals, while I ascended with Ferídún by a steep path leading to the upper *dakhmé*. ... Observing an inscribed tablet on the side of the *dakhmé* (which was still some twenty yards above us) I called my companion’s attention to it, and made as though I would have advanced towards it; but he checked me. ‘None’, said he, ‘may pass beyond this spot where we stand, save only those whose duty it is to convey the dead to their last resting place, and a curse falls on him who persists in so doing.’”

Browne gives the date of the *dakhma* as 20 Dhi'l-Hijja 1283 (25 April 1867) and 1236 of Yazdgirdi era, recorded on an inscription on the spot where he stood at a distance from the *dakhma*. Our knowledge of the form of the interior of a *dakhma* and its details has therefore been somewhat limited.<sup>48</sup>

47 Edward G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, pp. 471–2. Spellings and diacritical marks are Browne’s.

48 The few studies on the subject are generally on Iranian disused and abandoned towers, as the Parsi prohibition of entering towers is still observed strictly. The studies are all descriptive, relying on observation without any

Monier Williams<sup>49</sup> who visited the *dakhmas* of Bombay almost at the same period as when Browne was in Iran, had the privilege of arranging his visit through the influential Sir Jamsetjee and was in a position to say ‘no obstacles impeded my advance’. He was taken to ‘the highest point in the consecrated ground ... on the terrace of the largest of the three *Sāgrīs* or Houses of Prayer which overlook the five Towers of Silence’ and gives a detailed description of the towers and the prayer halls. Although his description of the interior of the towers, or at least the largest and most recent tower,<sup>50</sup> is fairly detailed and accurate, from his account it is clear that he did not actually enter the towers and as we shall see his knowledge has apparently come from elsewhere:

“And now as to the interior of the Towers, the upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings, the last of the three encircling the central well. The ridges are grooved – that is, they have narrow channels

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systematic survey and are often without illustrations apart from occasional photographs of the exterior of the towers. Nevertheless, they are informative and provide groundwork for future in-depth research. See for example M. Boyce, ‘An old village *dakhma* of Iran’, pp. 3–9; Dietrich Huff, ‘The dadgah of Kerman: some observation on the Zoroastrian *Dakhmas* in Iran’, in: *Ātaš-e dorun: The Fire Within*, Bloomington, Indiana, 2003, pp. 183–197. Huff, although an architect and archaeologist does not give survey drawings of the *dakhmas*, but only photographs of the *ātashsūz* of Kirman, a construction similar in concept to the Parsi *sagrī* (described below) in which a fire or a lamp was kept burning.

49 Monier Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, London, 1879, pp. 80–96, quotation from pp. 84–5.

50 Rashid Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdi, p. 261 records that the latest *dakhma* of Bombay was inaugurated in 1213 Yazdgirdi/AD 1844.

running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well, and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster's three moral precepts, 'Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' (*Vand.* v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his *Yaśna*, a portion of the *Zand-Avestā*.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of stone coffins, which stands for 'good deeds', are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolising 'good words', those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, representing 'good thoughts', those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers – not even a high-priest – is allowed to enter, or to approach within 30 feet of the immediate precincts."

The last sentence of Monier-Williams makes it clear that he had not actually seen the interior of any of the towers, all in use at the time. Some of his information could have perhaps been obtained from Nasarwānjee Byramjee, the Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat at the time, who was his host when he visited the *dakhmas*, but as Byramjee himself could not have seen the interior of the towers Monier-Williams's detailed description must have come from another source. We can indeed identify this source, which is the architect's drawings produced for the construction of a *dakhma*, perhaps in Nausari and most likely also used for the then recently inaugurated largest *dakhma* of Bombay. Some of these drawings were published

by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi<sup>51</sup> in 1922 and the plan is reproduced here (Figure 5.6). Monier-Williams's description and these drawings have been responsible for forming the view of scholars<sup>52</sup> as to the architectural layout and details of such towers. However, while in many aspects the drawings observe and include the liturgical requirements of the towers the design incorporates many modern architectural concepts and interpretations (including implementing the numbers three and seventy-two into the design), which were not necessarily part of established tradition.

Although in a footnote Monier-Williams mentions that: 'I hear from Mr. Cursetjee Rustamjee Cāma (who is a great authority on all points connected with his own religion) that all the *Dakhmas* have not seventy-two receptacles; smaller towers have fewer receptacles; the number is not a fixed one, but depends on the needs of the place where

51 J.J. Modi, 'On the funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their origin and explanation', pp. 405–41, plate facing p. 505; idem, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1922, pp. 244–52. Modi does not give the section but it is given in Bomanjee Byramjee Patell, 'Notes on the towers of Silence in India', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 11 (1890–92), pp. 55–64, plate facing p. 64. This source also gives a list of all *dakhmas* in India. The drawings and even a three-dimensional model seem to have been freely available as many other sources give the section of the *dakhma*, and a photograph of the model, as well as one of the opening ceremonies, is given by Marijan Molé, *L'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1965, pp. 61–62.

52 See for example: James Hope Moulton, *The Religious Quest of India, the Treasure of the Magi, a Study of Modern Zoroastrianism*, Oxford, 1917, 149–50; M. Molé, *L'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1965, 60–64; Sven S. Hartman, *Parsism, the religion of Zoroaster*, Leiden, 1980, p. 22, pl. 14 b; John R. Hinnells, *Zoroastrianism and the Parsis*, Kettering, Northamptonshire, 1981, pp. 46–8; D. Menant, *The Parsis*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 71–4. Firoze M. Kotwal, 'The Parsi dakhma: its history and consecration', *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, Louvain, 1974, pp. 161–170. Kotwal gives a simplified version of Modi's drawings and mentions that the plan was applied first in the construction of the *dakhma* at Navsari. He also notes a few *dakhmas* with different number of *pāvis*, some built after the standard design was made, including one with 35 *pāvis* in two rows built in Surat in 1884.

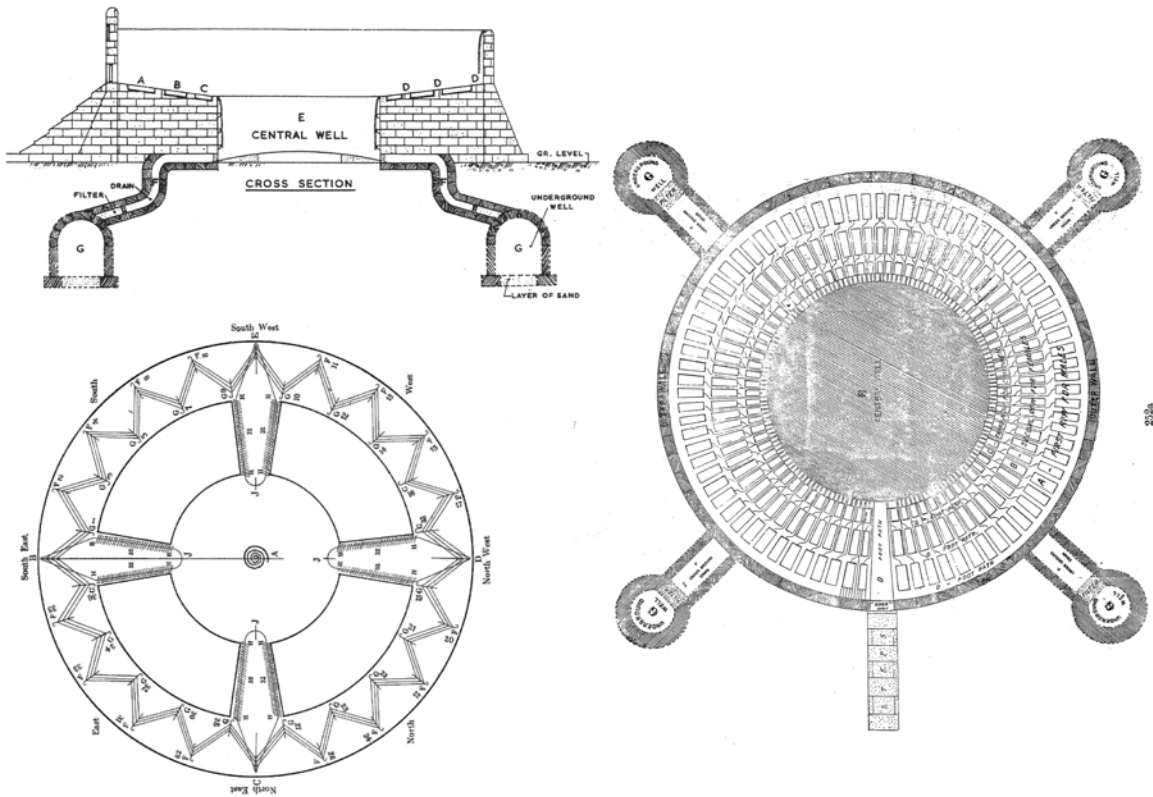


FIGURE 5.6 Late nineteenth-century architectural drawings for the construction of a *dakhma*, probably designed for and first built in Nausari, but used many times later for *dakhmas* of other cities including one in Bombay. Left, below: diagram for marking the ground and laying the foundation; above: cross section of the structure. Right: plan showing the floor of the tower and arrangement of the *pāvis*. The plan is orientated towards the cardinal points with the west at the top and the entrance on the east at the bottom. The diagram, which also shows the orientation of the drains, is turned 45 degrees with north-east at the bottom. All later published drawings of *dakhmas* are versions of these drawings.

PLAN AND DIAGRAM FROM MODI, FACING P. 505, AND SECTION FROM PATELL, PLATE FACING P. 64

a *Dakhma* is erected' his note has not been given the attention it deserves, nevertheless it is well known that old *dakhmas* of Iran did not have any receptacles, and some later examples both in Iran and in India have two rows or even four rows of receptacles.<sup>53</sup> We shall see that the *dakhmas* of Diu share certain design elements with the published drawings but they also represent considerable differences in detail. In fact, we know very little of the interior of any other *dakhmas*, even those few (mainly in Iran) which have not been destroyed

when abandoned. An example is the *dakhma* for the Zoroastrian community of Tehran built in the mid-nineteenth century<sup>54</sup> on a high ridge at

53 M. Boyce, 'An old village *dakhma* of Iran', p. 5.

54 The *dakhma* was built with Parsi funds and by the efforts of Manekji Limji Hataria, who also constructed other *dakhmas* for the Zoroastrian communities of Yazd and Kirman. Although most of Manekji's *dakhmas* have the Parsi plan with a central shaft, the design of that in Ray seems to have been influenced by an older Iranian tradition. See M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians, their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, London – New York, 1979, pp. 210, 221 dating the *dakhma* of Ray to the 1850s; Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*,

the town of Ray, south of Tehran. Browne<sup>55</sup> visited the *dakhma* of Tehran, but, unlike in Kirman, on this occasion he was able to climb the nearby ridge and observe the interior of the *dakhma* from a distance:

“The Guebres’ *dakhmé* is situated midway up a sharp ridge which descends from the summit of this mountain on the northern side, and is a conspicuous object from a distance. It consists of a circular tower of clay or unbaked brick, of the greyish colour common to all buildings in Persia. The wall, which is provided with no doors or gate, is about forty-five feet high on the outside; inside (as we could see by ascending the spur on which it stands to a point which overlooks it) its height, owing to the raised floor, is probably not more than ten feet. The floor of the tower consists of a level surface broken at regular intervals by rectangular pits. Whenever a Zoroastrian dies, his body is conveyed hither, and deposited by two of his co-religionists (set apart for this duty) inside the *dakhmé* and over one of these pits.”

Browne, in spite of his respect for their faith, frequently uses the term Guebre when referring to the Zoroastrians. This is a derogatory term (more correctly pronounced *gabr*) meaning ‘infidel’ and used by Muslims so commonly in the past that it had become synonymous with Zoroastrian. The mountain on which the ruins of the *dakhma* can still be seen is Mount Bibī Shahr-bānū, associated with – and named after – the last Sasanian emperor Yazdgird III’s daughter, who eventually converted to Islam and married the third Shi‘ite Imām Ḥusain b. ‘Alī. The *dakhma* does have a door and a further opening above, but Browne’s noting that the *dakhma* did not have a door is not an error. As the local Muslims were constantly breaking into the *dakhma* and disturbing the bodies, during the

nineteenth century the door of the *dakhma* was blocked off and the bearers had to take the bodies by ladders over the wall and into the *dakhma*.<sup>56</sup> More interesting is Browne’s description of the interior with the receptacles being arranged on a grid-iron pattern, as it clearly indicates that the circular arrangement of the receptacles is not a liturgical requirement and other patterns could have also been employed. The tower was abandoned in 1937 when the progressive Zoroastrian community of Tehran (and later all Zoroastrians of Iran) adopted the practice of building underground concrete chambers, which after laying a body inside are sealed, so that the elements are not polluted by the decomposition of the corpse – a concept similar to that of the ancient Persian practice of building rock-cut tombs, the doors of which were also sealed by heavy stone blocks after the burial. An old photograph of the *dakhma* of Tehran, again from a vantage point at some distance from the feature has been published<sup>57</sup> and although the quality of the image is poor it shows that the open coffins were indeed arranged on a grid-iron pattern (Plate 5.10).

When the feature was eventually surveyed by Wolfram Kleiss<sup>58</sup> some four decades ago, the walls of the tower had partly crumbled but the door and the opening above it, as seen in the old photograph, were still preserved. The receptacles were not preserved and it is likely that they had been intentionally destroyed when the *dakhma* was abandoned. However, Kleiss’s survey (Figure 5.7) revealed that instead of a central shaft, vaulted tunnels were constructed below the floor of the tower, one almost opposite the entrance (the roof

Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdi, p. 265, gives the date as 1231 of Yazdgirdi Era/1861–2.

55 E.G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, pp. 88–9.

56 R. Shahmardan, op. cit., p. 253. The door was later re-established, *ibid.*, p. 265.

57 D. Menant, *The Parsis*, Bombay, 1966, III, p. 83; also see Leo Trümpelmann, ‘Sasanidischen Gräber’, in *Zwischen Persepolis und Firuzabad: Gräber, Paläste und Felsreliefs im alten Persien*, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1992, p. 9, fig. 29 a, reproduced here.

58 Wolfram Kleiss, ‘Der Turm des Schweigens bei Teheran/Rey’, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, XX, (1987), pp. 369–72.

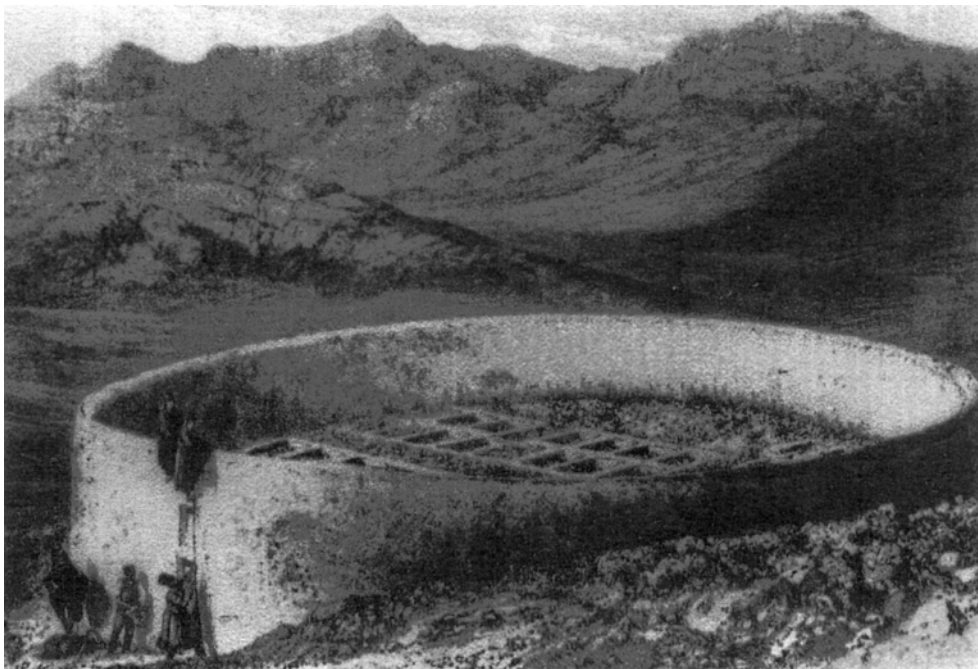


PLATE 5.10 An old photograph of the *dakhma* at Ray, south of Tehran.  
FROM LEO TRÜMPELMANN, 1992, FIG. 29 A

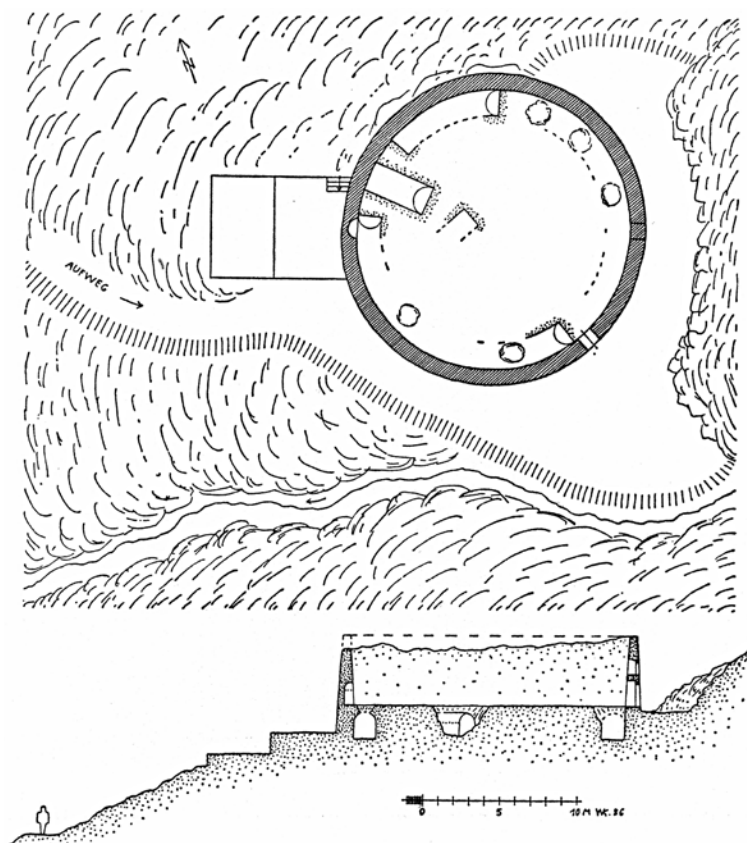


FIGURE 5.7  
Tehran *dakhma*, plan and section.  
AFTER WOLFRAM KLEISS, P. 370, FIG. 3

of which could also be distinguished in his drawing) and two semi-circular ones running along the wall at either side of the entrance, probably for the deposition of the bones.

Although our information on the design of *dakhmas* is still scanty we can now say with certainty that the published architect's drawings should not be taken as a model for all such features and the design varied considerably in different times and different places. Thomas Herbert's account and his engraving, however, indicate that at least since the sixteenth century in Gujarat *dakhmas* with circular central shafts were common. The survival of one of the two abandoned

*dakhmas* at Diu in its entirety – where all the details are preserved – is, therefore, a unique opportunity to study at least one of these features in some depth.

### 3 The *Dakhmas* at Diu

When the Zoroastrian community left Diu in about 1950, their two *dakhmas*, at some distance from Diu town, were abandoned and together with other features in their enclosure were later put under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India. The site (Figure 5.8, Plate 5.11), on a serene

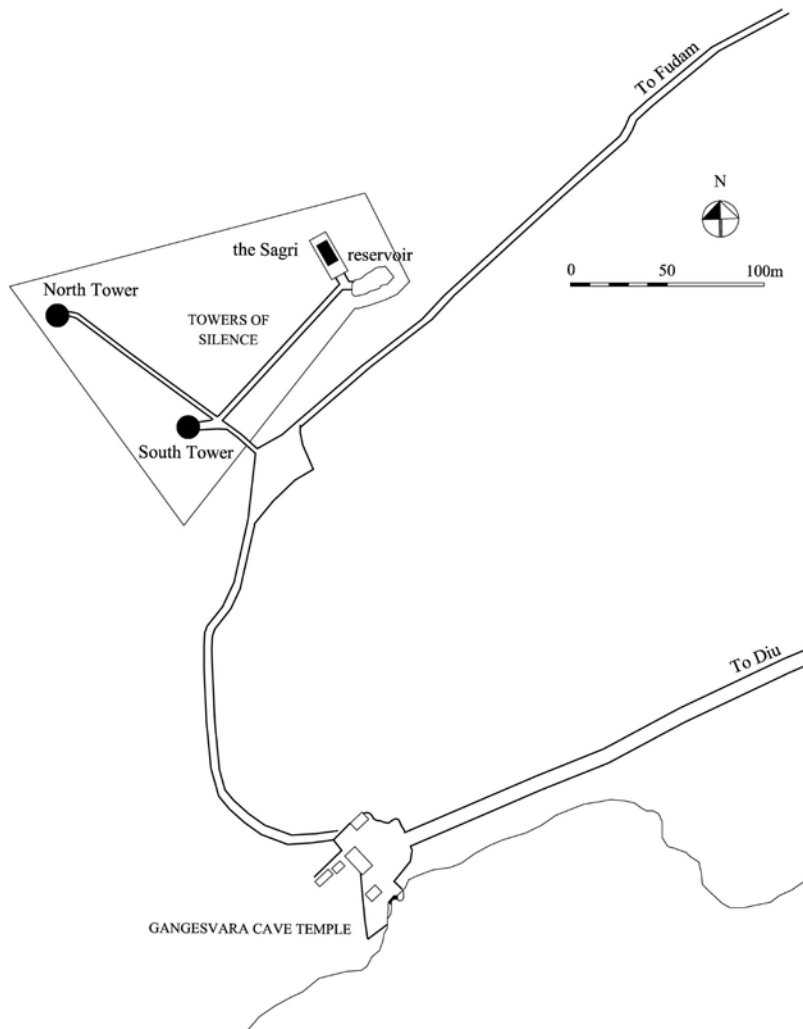


FIGURE 5.8 Diu, site plan of the Gangesvara cave temple and the enclosure of the Zoroastrian *dakhmas*.

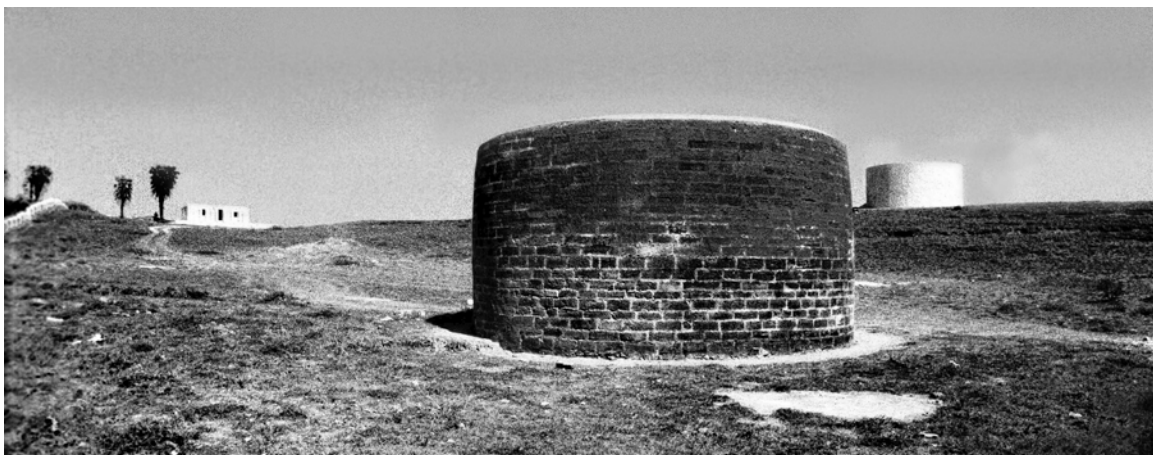


PLATE 5.11 Diu, general view of the *dakhmas* from the north-west corner of the enclosure looking south-east with the North Tower in the foreground, the *sagri* to its left in the background and the white-washed South Tower to the right.

hill-top overlooking the Arabian Sea, is located to the south-west of the village of Fudam (Figure 6.8), a little north of the coast and the Gangeśvara cave-temple (Plate 4.3). The old and modern roads from Diu town to Fudam pass through the middle of the island and a modern road now leads from Fudam to the Gangeśvara temple, passing by the Zoroastrian site, but this was not apparently the route taken for funeral processions. The route was alongside the coast, passing a vast old Muslim graveyard and various cremation grounds before reaching Gangeśvara. It is common for *dakhmas* to be sited near the funerary sites of the host religion, both in Iran and in India.

### 3.1 *The North Tower*

The site is a rough trapezoid with the two towers to the west and a *sagri* or prayer hall to the east. South of the *sagri* are the ruins of an old reservoir and a well. The North Tower seems to be the older structure, apparently left disused and probably partly demolished after the South Tower was built. The North Tower is about 5.80 m. in diameter from the inside with the walls about 0.87 m. narrowing slightly towards the top (Figure 5.9, Plates 5.12–5.13). On the outside the total height is 3.60 m., but on the interior the floor of the tower is only about 1 m. above the ground level, and the small entrance, only 1.10 m. high, stands about 0.97 m. above the floor level. This seems unusual as the corpse bearers, once entering the opening

would have had to climb down to reach the floor and as we shall see the door of the other tower is level with the floor. It seems that once the tower was deconsecrated the floor, which would have been surfaced with stone *pāvis*, was demolished along with part of the wall above. The walls have now been rebuilt but there is no central shaft – the ossuary – in the tower and it is likely that, if it once existed, it was filled in with the rubble of the floor. This may account for the level being so much below the entrance. The door is orientated closely towards the correct geographical east – a liturgical requirement for a *dakhma*, so that the rising sun shines on the bodies through the door.

There is at present no ramp in front of the entrance to give access to the interior. Such ramps are seen in other *dakhmas* in India and there is one in front of the entrance of the South Tower. Although there is no mark on the surface of the tower below the entrance to show that it was once keyed into to the structure of a ramp, traces of one, 1.30 m. wide and 4.10 m. long and originally constructed with rubble stone can be seen on the ground. It therefore appears that a ramp had once been erected, and that at this point the wall of the *dakhma* may have been restored and lined with new blocks of stone. Such permanent ramps, however, are a later concept,<sup>59</sup> as in earlier

59 M. Boyce, 'An old village *dakhma* of Iran', pp. 4–5; F.M. Kotwal, 'The Parsi *dakhma*: its history and

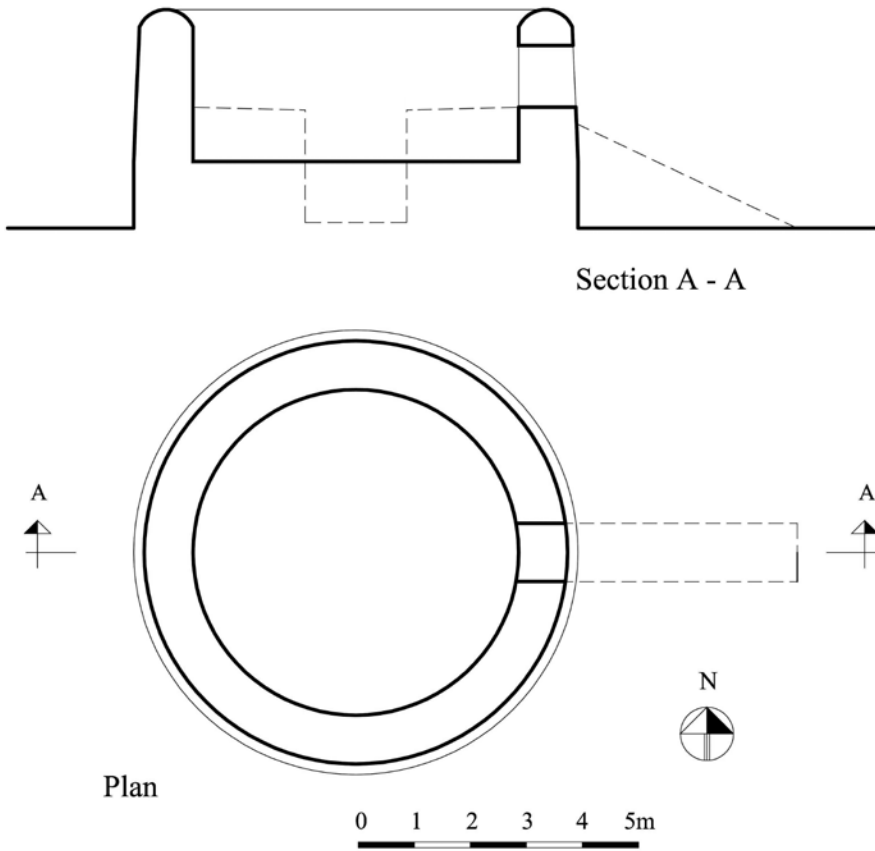


FIGURE 5.9 North Tower (older *dakhma*), plan and Section A-A.



PLATE 5.12 North Tower, general view from south-east. The pile of rubble in front of the entrance is not related to the structure, but traces of a ramp can be seen on the ground at the bottom right corner.



PLATE 5.13 North Tower, interior looking south-east and showing the squat, almost square opening of the entrance, well above the present floor level. Restored stonework can be seen on the right, as well as in the jamb of the entrance.

dates a *dakhma* would be accessed by a ladder or a temporary light ramp, which could be removed after depositing the body in the tower. Thomas Herbert's engraving does not show a ramp and the *dakhmas* of Iran do not have permanent ramps.

### 3.2 The South Tower

A rare and exceptional *dakhma* in the Zoroastrian world, abandoned but left intact with all details preserved, is the South Tower which was built in 1833. The project was funded by Jahāngīrjī Nasrawān Vādiyā<sup>60</sup> and the *dakhma* was consecrated on the

day of Khayr<sup>61</sup> of the month of Shahrīwar in the year 1202 of Yazdgirdī era.<sup>62</sup>

The South Tower (Figures 5.10–5.11, Plates 5.14–5.16) measures 9.10 m. in diameter on the interior with the surrounding wall about 0.63 m. thick. The height is about 4.60 m. with the floor about 1.80 m. above the ground level sloping down

consecration', p. 165.

60 Rashid Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdī, p. 259. Vādiyā is the same benefactor who funded the construction of the fire temple.

61 The term Khayr (good, good deed) is used by the Iranian Zoroastrians and is given by Shahmardan. The correct name of the day is Khur or Khurshīd (the sun) – the eleventh day of the month. The term is still used in India.

62 The year corresponds with AD 1833, three years after the inauguration of the fire temple. Khurshīd day of Shahrīwar 1202 corresponds with Sunday 10 March 1833 in Shāhanshāhī calendar, and Friday 8 February in Qadīmī calendar. It is unlikely that the Diu community would have ever used the Faṣlī calendar in 1833, but as there are now no Zoroastrians in Diu we have not been able to establish which of the other two calendars was preferred by them in the early nineteenth century.

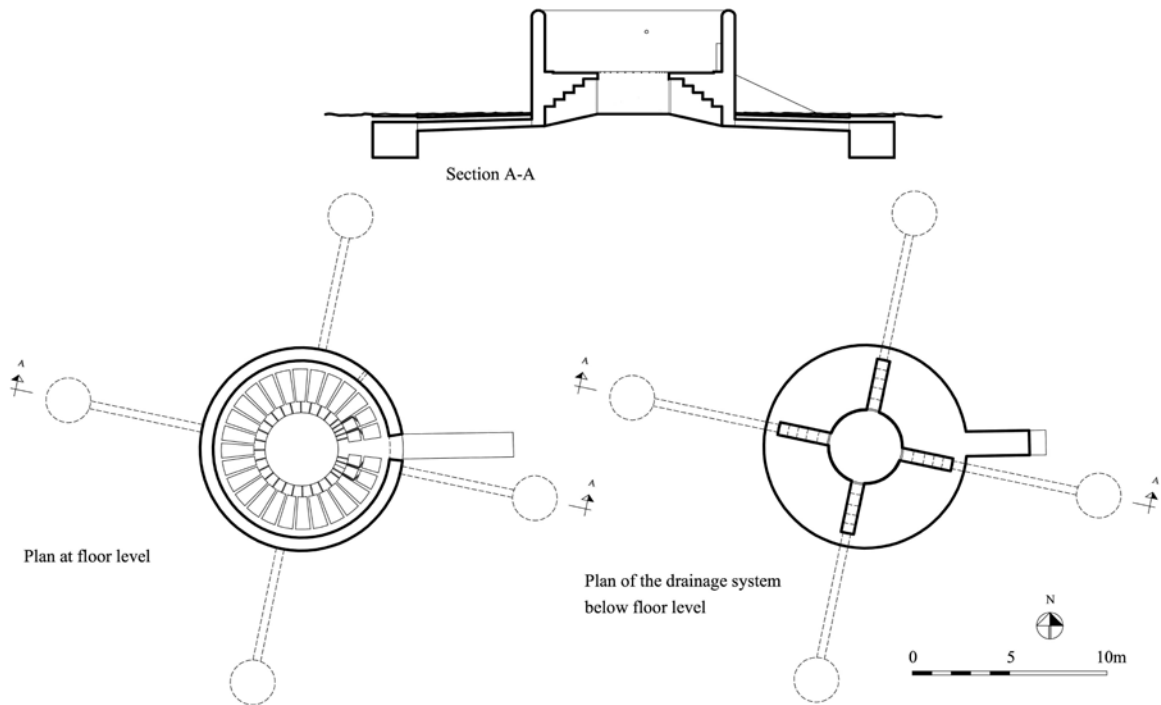


FIGURE 5.10 South Tower. Below, plans at floor level and at the level of the ossuary and drainage ducts; above: cross section A–A through the tower, the ossuary, the drainage system and the pits, as well as the aperture in the wall opening towards the *sagrī*.

slightly towards the central shaft. At present a permanent ramp leads to the entrance, 1.41 m. high, considerably higher than that of the North Tower, but still so low that the bearers would have had to bow to be able to pass through. No door remains, but it is likely that a metal door was set on the entrance to preserve the seclusion of the tower. The ramp, however, is a modern feature built only a few years ago during the restoration of the site. A photograph of the tower before its restoration taken by Rohinton Temurasp,<sup>63</sup> a Parsi from Portugal who visited his ancestral hometown in 1992, shows the exterior of the *dakhma* to be in fair

condition with some of the stone blocks above the ground level eroded and what appears to be the ruins of the basis of an original ramp. The present plaster covering of the exterior and the interior of the tower is also modern and dates from the recent restoration.

The wall of the *dakhma* has a small aperture (Plate 5.15) towards the direction of the *sagrī*. Such an aperture is not present in all *dakhmas*, but opens towards the lamp or the sacred fire kept in the *sagrī*, symbolically letting the light enter the *dakhma*. According to Kotwal<sup>64</sup> such apertures should be placed ten to twelve feet (3.05–3.66 m.) above the floor level, well over the head of a person. However, the aperture in this tower is at eye level, apparently to enable the bearers to observe the mourners proceeding to the *sagrī* and themselves leave the *dakhma* at the appropriate moment, as

63 *Parsiana* (February 1993), p. 12. In another issue, *Parsiana* (July 1991), p. 15, published a photograph of the interior of the *dakhma* taken from the door by Rashid Irani, another visitor to the island. The author is indebted to Mr Farrokh Vajifdar, FRAS, for providing valuable information on *dakhmas* as well as copies of articles on Diu from the Zoroastrian Bombay periodical *Parsiana*.

64 F.M. Kotwal, 'The Parsi *dakhma*: its history and consecration', p. 165.



PLATE 5.14 South Tower, general view from the south-east.



PLATE 5.15 South Tower, interior from the south-west showing the entrance, the *pāvis* (open coffins for adults and children), the central shaft and two of the drainage ducts faced with pierced stone panels (*jālī*). The aperture giving a view to the *sagrī* is in the wall to the left of the entrance.

the *sagrī* cannot be seen from the door. There is no such a peephole in the North Tower, where the entrance has a view towards the *sagrī*.

The floor of the South Tower is original and is at the same level as the threshold indicating that in the North Tower, when the receptacles or *pāvis* were demolished, the ground work below was indeed also removed to the level of the compacted earth. The South Tower is again built of local stone, but the floor, with the carved *pāvis*, is lined with imported stone, apparently marble slabs, with a much finer grain than the local stone. The quality of the slabs is as such that after two centuries of weathering the profile of the carved edges is still fairly sharp and well-defined. The floor consists of only a single row of *pāvis*, with the exception of the two units at either side of the door which are each divided into two sections and carved with smaller open coffins for children, making altogether 23 spaces for adults and eight spaces for children. There is no distinction between the size of the adult spaces to suggest whether some were for men and some for women. A path close to the wall surrounds the *pāvis*, and another encircles the well, which would have enabled the bearers to carry and lay down the bodies, with the head nearest the wall, without stepping in the receptacles. Each space has a narrow drainage channel carved from the middle of *pāvi* across the lower pathway to allow rainwater and other liquids to run into the central shaft. The children's inner *pāvis* have a similar arrangement but the channels of the outer coffins run first between the two *pāvis* and then alongside the *pāvis* down to the shaft (Figure 5.11).

The central shaft is lined with stone and its bottom is just below ground level.<sup>65</sup> The shaft, apart from helping with drainage, is an ossuary, as when no flesh remains on the bones the bearers re-enter the *dakhma* and with metal tongs deposit the bones carefully in the central shaft. In this way all members of the community, regardless of their

status during their lifetime, are joined for eternity.<sup>66</sup> On the sides of the central shaft there are four drainage ducts at right angles to each other, each about 0.40 m. wide with their openings to the shaft covered with pierced stone slabs (*jāli*) to stop bones and other large objects from entering the drainage system. The ducts have stepped ceilings, but smooth sloping floors which run across the solid body of the tower towards the wall, where they join underground stone-lined ditches running outside the tower for 5.88 m. before reaching the pits or wells. Both the ditches and the pits are covered with slabs of stone and covered with a thin layer of soil.<sup>67</sup> In a few places the slabs are broken revealing the interior – helpful for surveying the feature (Plate 5.16).

The arrangement of the ducts of the South Tower is considerably different from those shown in the architect's drawings noted above. In those drawings the ducts are shown to be at 45 degrees to the cardinal points and the entrance of the tower. Here the orientation is not exact and is more nominal. In the drawings the drainage ditches outside the tower are shown to be relatively short with the pits not far away from the tower, but in Diu the pits are taken well away from the tower. The published

66 A reference to a *dakhma* as an ossuary appears in the inscription of one of the *dakhmas* of Surat built by Manuchehrji Khurshidji in Yazdgirdi year 1140 (1770). The inscription reads:

بنام خدا داور راست کام      چه دستور و موبد چه بهدین تمام  
بیسته ستودانی از راه دین      که فردوس کرده بر او آفرین  
بتاریخش آمد ز غیب این ندا      بخوبی شد انجام این به بنا

- 1 In the name of God, the True Judge, to whoever, whether a *dastur* (canon), a *mubid* (priest) or all followers of the Good Faith (Zoroastrians).
- 2 This ossuary has been established for the sake of the religion, as such that the paradise has praised it.
- 3 For its date this message came from heavens, in rightness the construction of this good building was completed.

The final phrase gives the date in numerical letters, which is also given in figures. See Rashid Shahmardan, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–3.

67 The pits are each 2.03 m. in diameter and over 1.30 m. deep. The stone slabs covering both the ditches and the pits are about 0.20 to 0.30 m. thick.

65 The central shaft measures 3.66 m. in diameter and 2.17 m. deep.

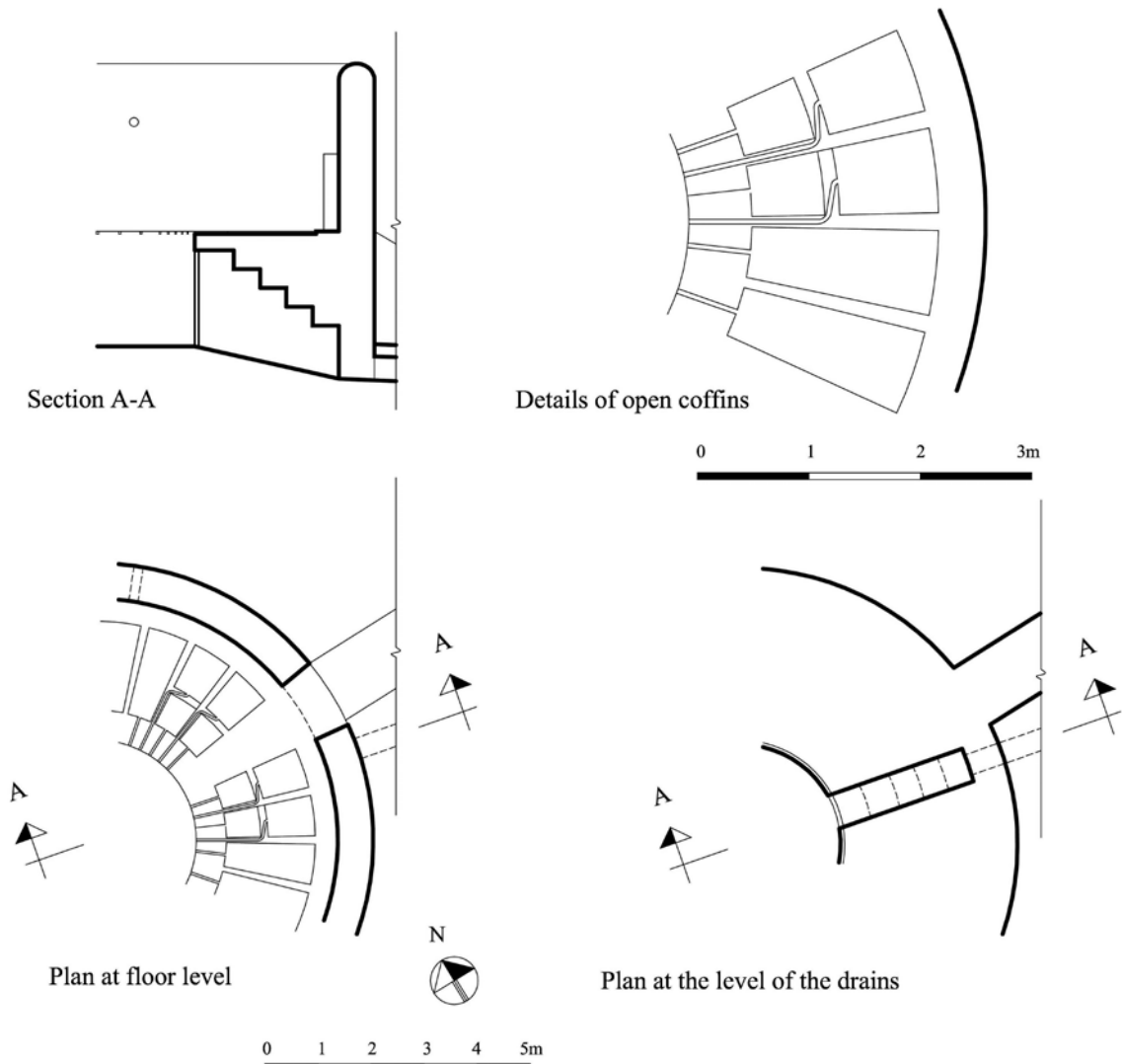


FIGURE 5.11 South Tower, detailed plans and section of the *pāvis* for children and adults, and one of the drainage ducts.

drawings show that at the end of the ditch there were filters, filled with sand and that the bottom of the pit was also lined with sand, again acting as a filter so that impurities would not seep into the ground. Later accounts, using the information of these drawings also mention the filters. In the drainage system of the South Tower there are traces that the ditches were compartmented, and might have contained such filters but in the areas which were accessible no traces of actual filters could be found. The North Tower also appears to

have had a similar drainage system, but it seems to have been destroyed and little of the drainage ditches or the pits could be traced.

The South Tower must have provided ample space for the small local community, the number of its members being at that time about one hundred. The number of deaths amongst the Zoroastrians would have hardly been more than one or two a year and many of the *pāvis* would have been left vacant, leaving the North Tower entirely redundant. The South Tower was probably



PLATE 5.16 South Tower, view from the western side of the *dakhma* showing the drainage ditch which has lost its covering slabs leading to the pit, still covered, the edge of which can be seen in the foreground.

constructed with a capacity greater than required with a view to the population growing, but the turn of history proved otherwise.

### 3.3 *The Trough*

At the west of the enclosure between the South and the North Tower is a trough constructed of stone and lined with smooth cement (Plate 5.17). Similar troughs are reported in other *dakhmas* and are regarded as part of the liturgical requirements for Zoroastrian funerals.<sup>68</sup> After the corpse-bearers

68 Monier Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, London, 1879, p. 87.

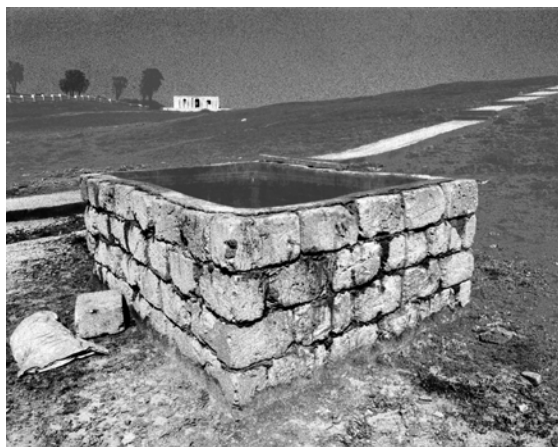


PLATE 5.17 Stone trough lined with fine-grained cement seen from the west with the *sagrī* in the background. The path behind the trough is modern but may be on the line of an earlier one, which leads from the entrance of the enclosure, first to the South Tower and passing the trough ends in front of the North Tower.

lay the body in the *dakhma* they remove the white shroud, leave the *dakhma*, wash themselves, change their clothes to a new set of garments provided by the family of the deceased and deposit the shroud and their funeral clothes in the trough. It is believed that nothing that has entered the *dakhma* should ever leave the site.

### 3.4 *The sagrī*

The *sagrī* – literally a brazier, kept burning for the sake of departed souls<sup>69</sup> – is a prayer hall, where the relatives of the deceased and other mourners congregate for prayers after they part with the body and it is taken up to the *dakhma* by the bearers. There is apparently no particular outline design for a *sagrī*, as those in other sites can vary from an open-air enclosure to a small structure

69 Gujarati *sagdī*, the equivalent in Iran is known as *ādash-sūz*, see: F.M. Kotwal, 'The Parsi dakhma', p. 165; M. Boyce, 'An old village *dakhma* of Iran', pp. 5, 8; idem, 'Some points of traditional observance', pp. 47–8.

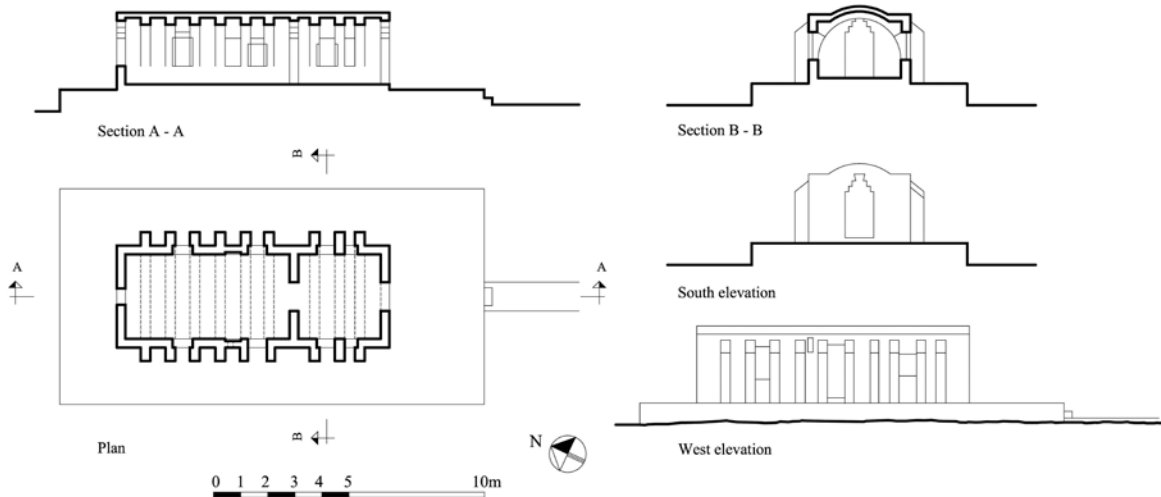


FIGURE 5.12 Diu *dakhma* enclosure, the *sagrī* (prayer hall), plan, longitudinal and transverse sections and west elevation. The flue for smoke can be seen on the west elevation.

or a domed chamber.<sup>70</sup> In many ways the *sagrī* at Diu is a relatively large and elaborate example (Figure 5.12, Plates 5.18–5.19). The building is a long barrel-vaulted structure reinforced by buttresses on the exterior and massive arches on the interior corresponding with – and supported by – the buttresses. The load-bearing structure seems excessively heavy for a rather squat building with its vault spanning only about 3.20 m. The structural form is also alien to Gujarat, but has been borrowed from Mediterranean tradition imported to Diu by the Portuguese and appears in some of their structures in the fort, including the ceilings of some of the towers. The form is also seen in an underground reservoir in the town of Diu, probably built by the Portuguese.

The *sagrī* is entered from the south to an almost square antechamber slightly over 3.00 × 3.20 m., which opens to the main hall, about 6 m. long. There are doors and windows set between the buttresses at the east and west sides and at the north end a window with a stepped top corresponds

in form with the door between the antechamber and the hall and with the entrance. The form, alluding to the profile of the Persepolitan battlements, is used commonly in the Zoroastrian architecture of India as a reference to the origin of the Parsis. The building, however, has been restored in recent years and a photograph of the building taken in 1992 shows that while the hall was in a good state of preservation the antechamber was dilapidated.<sup>71</sup> It also appears that the antechamber was not keyed to the main hall and was probably a later addition of poor construction, which needed extensive restoration. At the middle of the western side of the hall is a flat niche with a small opening just below the roof, apparently to allow smoke out of the building. This must be the place for the sacred fire, a central element in Zoroastrian ceremonies.

70 See for example the photographs of an open prayer ground and a *sagrī* as a domed chamber, both at Navsari, in S.S. Hartman, *Parsism, the religion of Zoroaster*, Leiden, 1980, p. 22, pl. 15 a and b.

71 *Parsiana* (February 1993), p. 12.



PLATE 5.18 Diu *dakhma* enclosure, the *sagrī*. Above: view from the south looking at the entrance; below: from the north-east with the South Tower and the Arabian Sea in the background.



PLATE 5.19 The *sagrī*, interior of the main hall looking south towards the entrance.

### 3.5 *The Well and the Reservoir of the dakhma Complex*

We have already noted the importance of water – as a sacred symbol as well as for practical use – in Zoroastrian religious edifices, and all traditional *dakhmas*<sup>72</sup> and old fire temples in India – including that of Diu – have wells, the water of which is kept strictly free from contamination. In Diu the site of the *dakhmas*, as indeed most areas of the eastern end of the island, including the town of Diu, is on solid miliolite limestone, fairly soft when quarried, but which although hardened when weathered remains porous and subject to erosion. To the south-east of the *sagrī* is an old ruinous reservoir in what seems to have been the quarry for the stone of the *dakhmas* or nearby structures. In Diu stone was often quarried close to where it was needed, and the quarries either abandoned or

adapted for reservoirs, in the town, fort and island in general.

The reservoir (Figure 5.13, Plate 5.20), measuring some 14 × 23 m., seems to have been disused for a long period of the life of the *dakhmas* and may have been used again as a quarry for later structures such as the South Tower and the *sagrī* or its extension. This may account for its irregular shape at the northern and eastern sides. The western and southern sides are more regular and at the eastern side a flight of ruinous steps led originally to the water level.

Inside the reservoir a well with a square shaft over three meters at each side is lined at the upper level with blocks of stone, but cut into the solid rock for most of its depth of well over 20 metres. Although at the time of the survey the bottom was dry and filled with debris, the depth indicates



FIGURE 5.13 Diu *dakhma* enclosure, site plan of the eastern end showing the roof plan of the *sagrī*, and the outline plan of the reservoir and the well.

72 D. Huff, 'The dadgah of Kerman', p. 186.



PLATE 5.20 *Dakhma* complex, the reservoir and the well, view from the south looking north with the *sagri* in the background.

that it was intended to reach the permanent water table, to provide ample water throughout the year, and with clearing of the debris water might be restored. While *dakhmas* in India may be surrounded by gardens,<sup>73</sup> the site of the Diu *dakhma* is windswept rock.

#### 4 Overview

The fire temple and the southern *dakhma* of Diu, preserved largely in their original condition, have provided an exceptional opportunity to investigate such features in depth. While the ancient fire temples have been subject to voluminous study and so, to a lesser extent, more recent ones, investigation of that of Diu does add to our understanding

of the development of the form, clarifying certain aspects that evolved over the last two centuries. The *dakhma*, however, is quite different. The historic prohibition against entering functioning *dakhmas* has prevented close inspection of these features. The preserved *dakhma* at Diu therefore provides a unique example of a fairly small tower, the design of which is very different from what has been widely perceived to be the standard form. In spite of the tradition of demolishing disused *dakhmas*, there are several old extant examples – mainly in Iran, but also in India. As with the example of Diu, these are often related to communities which left an area in circumstances precluding demolition of the feature. Over forty years ago Shahmardan<sup>74</sup> listed a number of such towers, including those in Anklisar, Alpoi of Malabar, Udwarda, Kalian and Cambay in India and in Iran those in Tehran, Yazd,

73 For a photograph of the garden setting of the Bombay *dakhma* see: R.C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London, 1961, pl. 43.

74 Rashid Shahmardan, *Parastishgāh-hā-yi zartushtiyān*, Bombay, 1967/1336 Yazdgirdī, pp. 256–66.

Cham, Sharifābād, Turkābād, and many *dakhmas* in Kirman and nearby villages. Boyce and Huff, as noted, have described some of these, and today many colour photographs of the Iranian *dakhmas*, including some showing the interiors, are freely available on the internet. Shamardan had also noted many lesser-known *dakhmas* elsewhere, which were at that time in ruinous state, but does not mention the condition of those listed above. No doubt some of these, such as that of Tehran, have not been well preserved, but there are anecdotal and unverified reports that a number of towers in Iran, mostly built in the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts of Manekji Limji Hataria and with funds provided by wealthy Parsis (and usually built on the traditional Indian layout) are fairly well preserved. So far, the *dakhma* of Diu remains the

only example which has been surveyed in detail, but future investigations of such monuments in other towns and regions will no doubt expand our still limited knowledge of the variety of design within a set formula in the Zoroastrian tradition of disposition of the dead – a custom abandoned in Iran and no longer practiced by Zoroastrian communities living in the West. Only in India the tradition still lingers, but even there the building of burial chambers known as *ārāmḡāh* (resting place) is gaining popularity.<sup>75</sup> As with the ancient rock-cut tombs, *dakhmas* may soon become part of history.

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75 Ibid., pp. 250–52.

## The Island of Diu, Its Architecture and Historic Remains

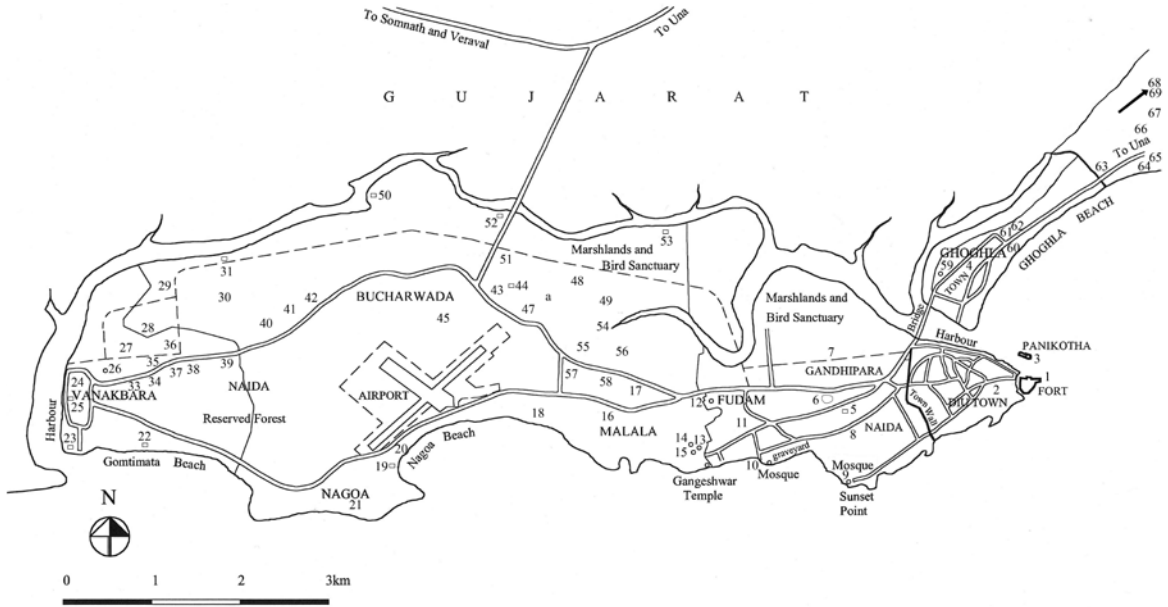
“This Iland aboundeth, and is very fruitfull of all kind of victuals, as Oxen Kine, Hogges, Shéepe, Hennes, Butter, Milke, Onions, Garlicke, Pease, Beanes, and such like, whereof there is great plentie, and [that very] good, and such as better cannot be made in all these Low-countries, but that the Fuell is not so well drest: they have likewise Chéeses, but they are very drie and sault, much Fish which they sault, and it is almost like unto salt Ling, or Codde, and of other sortes: they make hanged flesh which is very good, and will continue for a whole Viage: of all these [victuals, and] necessarie provisions they have so great quantity that they supply the want of all the places round about them, especially Goa, and Cochin, for they have neither Butter, Onyons, Garlicke, Pease, Oyle nor graine, as Beanes, Wheat, or any séede.”<sup>1</sup>

This was the condition of the island in 1583 as related by the Dutch traveller Van Linschoten, at the time when the Portuguese were already in control of the town, but not the island of Diu. It is unlikely that all provisions mentioned by Van Linschoten were local; many would have been sourced from the mainland for sale in the lucrative maritime market. The island is about 13.8 kilometres from east to west and some 4.6 kilometres from north to south, making the whole island about 40 square kilometres (15.44 square miles) (Figure 6.1). The narrow channel to the north separating the island from the mainland and passable by small craft can, at extreme low tides, be crossed on foot or by animals. The southern coast faces the Arabian Sea, with Diu town occupying the eastern point of the island. The central, north and north-east areas of tidal marshland now

incorporate a protected bird sanctuary. At high tide this area is transformed into a shallow lagoon used by local farmers for fishing with traditional hand-held nets, while salt pans are a feature of the marshlands, producing salt exported to other regions of India.

The land contour rises gradually towards the southern coasts to form dramatic cliffs, rising in some places to over forty metres. The windswept rocks are often exposed or covered only with a thin layer of barren soil, and stretch from the centre of the southern coastline eastwards to the site of the town. The terrain changes from the centre westwards; here the southern coasts are mainly sandy beaches, while to the north the land is lush with palm groves and farmland; producing the fruit and vegetables sold locally in Diu town and the villages of Fudam and Vanakbara. These villages have now grown to the size of small towns, and with the recent increase in population the areas to the west of Diu town and south of Fudam are gradually becoming residential. Today provisions are brought in from the mainland to supplement local produce. The south-west of the island, between Vanakbara and Nagoa on the south coast, is thinly wooded and has now been declared a reserved forest. The sandy beaches of the south of the island contribute to Diu’s tourism industry, for example, Nagoa where a small fort once stood, has a sandy beach, now a popular destination for domestic tourists, who can reach Diu by land or air.

1 John Huyghen Van Linschoten, *The Voyages of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies, from the Old English Translation of 1598*, London, 1885, 1, 58–59.



**Key:**

- 1 *Castello* (Fort); 2 *Praca* (Town); 3 *Forte do Mar* (*Panikotha*); 4 *Aldêa Gogolá*; 5 *Igreja de N. Sra de Guia* (Our Lady of Guidance, site of); 6 *Tanque dos mainatos* (*Dhobi Talão*); 7 *Bairro dos Déres*; 8 *Aldêa Simar e Horta*; 9 *Mesquita dos Mouros* (mosque); 10 *Outra Mesquita* (and Shrine of Qādi Muḥammad); 11 *Aldêa e Horta de Podâme*; 12 *Igreja e Horta de N. Sra dos Remedios* (Our Lady of Remedies); 13 *Pagode* (*Parsi sagri*); 14 *Bastum velho dos Parsos* (*Parsi's old Tower of Silence, dakhma*); 15 *Bastum novo dos mesmos* (south *dakhma*, new tower of the same people); 16 *Aldêa Mallale*; 17 *Horta de Mallale*; 18 *Horta de Sour*; 19 *Forte de Naguá*; 20 *Aqueducto para se fazer aguada* (*arruin.º*) (ruined aqueduct, site of); 21 *Aldêa Nagua*; 22 *F(or)te de N. Sra de Graca* (Fort of Our Lady of Grace, site of); 23 *Forte de Barra* (Fort of the Bar, site of); 24 *Aldêa Brancavará*; 25 *Forte de Brancavará* (*Vanakbara Fort*, site of); 26 *Igreja de Santo André* (Church of St Andrew, now of Our Lady of Mercy); 27 *Horta de Santo Andre*; 28 *Horta de Banianvary*; 29 *Horta de Pallé*; 30 *Aldêa Passo do Covo*; 31 *Forte de Passo do Covo* (Fort of the Low Pass, site of); 32 *Horta de Caravary* (number not marked); 33 *Horta de S. João*; 34 *Horta de Dalary*; 35 *Horta do Capitão Baniane*; 36 *Ditta de N. Senhora de Saude* (Our Lady of Health); 37 *Ditta de Varssaval*; 38 *Horta de Bête*; 39 *Pagode e sepultura de Abis-Pir* (Shrine and tomb of Pīr Ḥabash Bābā); 40 *Horta de Dagachy*; 41 *Horta de Mitá Vary*; 42 *Dita de Chancry grande e pequeno*; 43 *Dita de Ambavary*; 44 *Pagode de Canangany* (temple); 45 *Horta Grande*; 46 *Dita de Bablíá-joul* (number not marked); 47 *Horta de Sinzely*; 48 *Aldêa Muchivara(r)a*; a *Posto de Stpaes na aldêa Muchivara* (military post at Muchivara village, site of); 49 *Horta do Castello*; 50 *Forte de Darame* (*arruinado*) (ruined Fort of Darame, site of); 51 *Valado de pedra* (paved stone track); 52 *Forte de Passo Seco* (Fort of the Dry Pass, site of); 53 *Atalaia de N. Sra de Guia* (watchtower of Our Lady of Guidance, site of); 54 *Horta de Gijuíá*; 55 *Dita de Guelá*; a *Quartel do Official commandante da aldêa Muchivara* (Commanding Officer's quarters at Muchivara village, site of); 56 *Horta de Dangaravary* (or *Dangravari*) *pequeno*; 57 *Aldêa Dangaravary* (or *Dangravardi*) *grande*; 58 *Horta de Quiunry* (*Quturny* on map); 59 *Pagode dos marinheiros* (Mariner's temple); 60 *Quartel* (barrack); 61 *Porta* (gate); 62 *Muralha de Gogolá, e reductos* (walls and stronghold of Ghoghla); 63 *Tumulo do Capitão N. (sic) Wood* (Tomb of Captain Mathew Wood); 64 *Nari Wáe*; 65 *Tumulo*; 66 *Marinha antiga* (Old Marina); 67 *Marinha*; 68 *Nosso limite* (Portuguese territory limit); 69 *Sítio da Aldêa de Naguinã* (Site of Naguinã village).

FIGURE 6.1 Map of the island of Diu and the ex-Portuguese territory of Ghoghla (Gogolá) on the mainland. Post-Portuguese names are given and boundaries of the modern subdivisions are shown with dotted lines, but under the Portuguese the island had only two subdivisions, the town (*Praça*) and the rest of the island as the district of St Andrew of Brancavará. The key (annotated from the 1859 Map) gives the old names of the gardens and agricultural land (*horta*), villages (*aldêa*), wards (*bairro*), churches (*igreja*), religious buildings (*pagoda*) and military installations. Approximate positions of the numbers are given, with non-extant structures marked with a small rectangle.

## 1 1859 Map of the Island of Diu

The authors are fortunate to have a full-size copy of a large coloured map of the island, prepared for Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara in 1859,<sup>2</sup> when, as Secretary to the Visconde de Torres-Novas, the Governor General of Portuguese India, Cunha Rivara was sent to settle Diu's border between the British and the Portuguese.<sup>3</sup> As a scholar and intellectual, apart from ordering the preparation of this map as part of his formal assignment, he also made a record of the inscriptions of the island incorporated in the Appendix.

The map (Plates 6.1–6.4) provides a wealth of information, and, when compared with the present condition of the island, gives an insight to how much of the old Diu has survived. Apart from showing the topography and old tracks throughout the island, along with many historical features no longer extant, it details divisions of the agricultural land ownership. The map has some shortcomings, the outline is not entirely accurate and the proportion of its length and breadth make the island appear less elongated. Such inaccuracies are surprising in a mid-nineteenth century map, when land survey by triangulation was well developed and fairly accurate maps could be produced. We may assume that Cunha Rivara did not have access to skilled surveyors in Diu. The scale of the map did not allow details of the fort to be shown,

and the outer contour of the town is again not entirely accurate, while, within the town, only the layout of some main streets is shown, corresponding schematically with the street layout shown in the 1865 town plan (Figure 4.2), produced only six years after this map.

Although many of the edifices shown are now lost, several still stand, some now known by other names. In some cases, the modern metalled roads presented in our map of the island (Figure 6.1) correspond with the outline of the mid-nineteenth-century tracks. The main road, Brito Capello Road, running the length of the island is a good example. While the modern road is not paved over the old route, the two have similar features, forking in the middle of the island to one route connecting the farms and villages of the centre of the island and the other passing near the south coast, both ending at Vanakbara. In the old map a road at the north is shown to reach the Passo Sêco (the Dry Pass) via a straight stone ditch (*valado de pedra*, 51), which continues across the channel and on to the mainland, for crossing at low tide, with the Forte de Passo Sêco (Plate 6.9), a small fortified observation post, adjacent to the pass, on the shore of the island. Before the Portuguese there was a bridge at this point, which was demolished when the Portuguese gained control of the island. However, another bridge (now known as Nehab Bridge) was later constructed to facilitate the import of food and other commodities, and was an important link to the mainland until the construction of the modern bridge (Dr Shamji Bridge) from Diu town to the road to Una via Ghoghla.

Another point shown by the 1865 Map is the size of settlements, which it seems changed little during the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century, but today the old settlements are expanding rapidly and some new ones have developed, such as in Gandhipara and Naida, both within walking distance of Diu town.

2 The original: *Carta Topographica da Ilha de Diu levantada por ordem superior no anno de 1833, Augmentada conforme as indicaçoens feitas Pelo Secretario do Governo Geral J.H. da C. Rivara, Anno 1859. Copiada da Carta Topographica pertencente ao Archivo da Secretaria de Governo Geral, por J.F. Fernandes, Desenhista 1860* measures approximately 1.44 × 0.74 m. and is in the collection of Mr and Mrs Lennox Money, who generously presented the authors with the copy of the version dated 1860, referred to in this work as the 1859 Map.

3 Appendix, Inscription no. 136.



PLATE 6.1 Above: 1859 Map of Diu. In spite of its inaccurate contours and proportions, it is a unique source of visual information on many features as well as Portuguese names and terms, some now unknown amongst the population of the island. Below: satellite image of the island in 2016 showing its actual contours. The grey areas by the northern coast and mainland are flooded lowlands and the chequer pattern of the salt pans can be seen at the north.

1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY. SATELLITE IMAGE: GOOGLE EARTH, 2016



**Key:**

1 *Castello*; 2 *Praca*; 3 *Forte do Mar*; 4 *Aldêa Gogolá*; 5 *Igreja de N. Sra de Guia*; 6 *Tanque dos mainatos*; 7 *Bairro dos Déres*; 8 *Aldêa Simar e Horta*; 9 *Mesquita dos Mouros*; 10 *Outra Mesquita*; 11 *Aldêa e Horta de Podâme*; 12 *Igreja e Horta de N. Sra dos Remedios*; 59 *Pagode dos marinheiros*; 60 *Quartel*; 61 *Porta*; 62 *Muralha de Gogolá, e reductos*; 63 *Tumulo do Capitão N. Wood*; 66 *Marinha antiga*. Larger numbers added by authors where the original numbers would be illegible.

PLATE 6.2 Detail of the east end of the island with the town, the fort and Ghoghla on the mainland to the north. Only the outline of the fort and a few main streets of the town are depicted. Nevertheless, the map shows that the moat to the west of the town retained water at the north up as far as the *Porta da Terra* as well as in some of the southern part near the coast.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY



**Key:**

11 Aldêa e Horta de Podâme; 12 Igreja e Horta de N. Sra dos Remedios; 13 Pagode; 14 Bastum velho dos Parsos; 15 Bastum novo dos mesmos; 16 Aldêa Mallale; 17 Horta de Mallale; 18 Horta de Sour; 19 Forte de Naguá; 20 Aqueducto para se fazer aguada (arruín.º); 42 Dita (Horta) de Chancry grande e pequeno; 43 Dita de Ambavary; 44 Pagode de Canangany; 45 Horta Grande; 46 Dita de Babiá-joul (number not marked); 47 Horta de Sinzeby; 48 Aldêa Muchiva(r)a; a Posto de Sipaes na aldeia Muchivara; 49 Horta do Castello; 50 Forte de Darame (arruínado); 51 Valado de pedra; 52 Forte de Passo Secco; 53 Atalaia de N. Sra de Guia; 54 Horta de Gijuá; 55 Dita de Guelá; a Quartel do Official commandante da aldêa Muchivara; 56 Horta de Dangaravary pequeno; 57 Aldêa Dangaravary grande; 58 Horta de Quiunry (Quturny on Map). Larger numbers added by authors.

PLATE 6.3 Detail of middle part of the island.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY



**Key:**

19 Forte de Naguá; 20 Aqueducto para se fazer aguada (arruin.º); 21 Aldea Nagua; 22 Forte de N. Sra de Graca; 23 Forte de Barra; 24 Aldea Brancavará; 25 Forte de Brancavará; 26 Igreja de Santo André (now Our Lady of Mercy); 27 Horta de Santo Andre; 28 Horta de Banianvary; 29 Horta de Pallé; 30 Aldêa Passo do Covo; 31 Forte de Passo do Covo; 32 Horta de Caravary (number not marked); 33 Horta de S. João; 34 Horta de Dalary; 35 Horta do Capitão Baniane; 36 Ditta de N. Senhora de Saude; 37 Ditta de Varssaval; 38 Horta de Bête; 39 Pagode e sepultura de Abis-Pir; 40 Horta de Dagachy; 41 Horta de Mitá Vary; 42 Dita de Chancry grande e pequeno; 43 Dita de Ambavary; 44 Pagode de Canangary; 45 Horta Grande; 46 Dita (horta) de Bablíá-joul (number not marked); 47 Horta de Sinzely. Larger numbers added by authors.

PLATE 6.4 Detail of west side of the island. At the top left corner details of some of the forts can be seen. These features and others not shown in this plate are discussed below.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

2 The Small Portuguese Forts

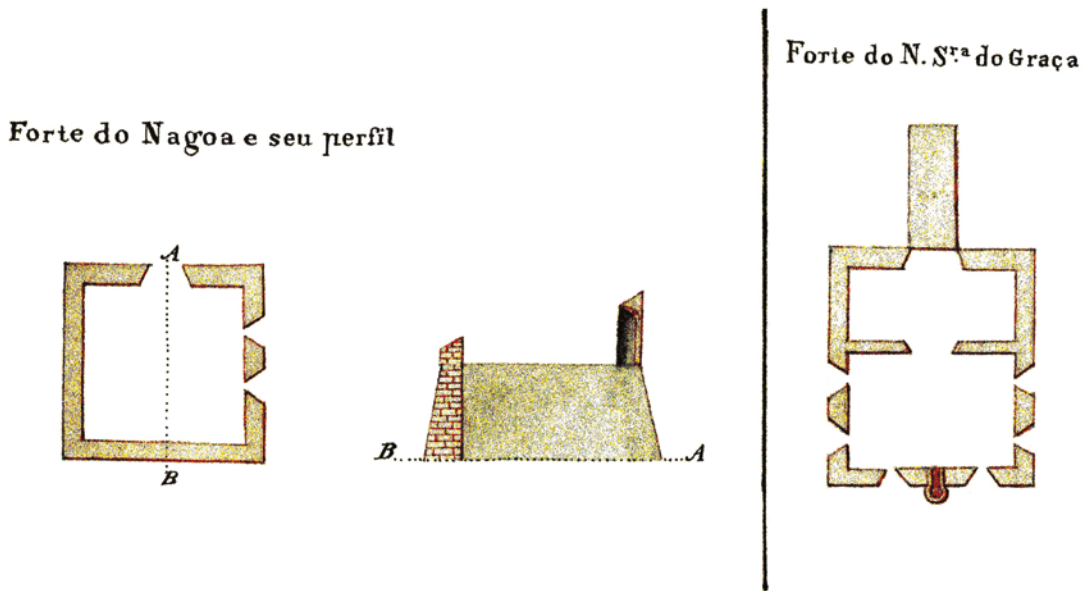
Perhaps the most interesting features shown in the 1859 Map are the detailed surveys of the small forts scattered around the coastline. The survey of these forts, or rather observation posts, are not as accurate as one may desire, nevertheless they are the only record of these lost edifices, and merit attention. The drawings of these features have been digitally cleaned and enhanced, and each one is discussed here briefly.

2.1 *Nagoa Fort (Forte do Nagoa, Forte de Naguá, Forte de São Thiago Maior)*

We know from the 1859 Map that the structure of Nagoa Fort (Plates 6.3–6.4, no. 19; 6.5) – no longer extant – was a simple, almost square enclosure

measuring about 6.60 m. at each side, built over a rampart set near the coast, to the north-east of the small settlement and its farmland. The orientation of the plan is not given and one may assume north at the top, although in the map of the island it appears that the single entrance was at the north-east and the two embrasures for cannon were over the sea, looking south-east. In the plans of most of the other forts a ramp is shown in front of the entrance, but not for Nagoa Fort. This might suggest that the enclosure was at ground level but the section shows otherwise. The lack of detail may be part of the general inaccuracies seen in the drawings.

The sandy beach at Nagoa would have been suitable for the Muslim navies let alone local pirates and bandits to land for taking on fresh



*Escala em palmos para todos os Fortes excepto Simbôr*

PLATE 6.5 Plan and section of Nagoa Fort (*Forte do Nagoa* or *de Naguá*, or *São Thiago Maior*, no. 19) and plan of the Fort of Our Lady of Grace (*Forte de Nossa Senhora de Graça* or *Forte do Nossa Senhora do Graça* (sic), no. 22). The scale is given in *palmos* (hand spans), each equal to one fifth of a *vara*, or about 22 centimetres.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

water and procure provisions from the Muslim villagers living nearby. A lost inscription<sup>4</sup> names the fort as *São Thiago Maior* (St James the Greater) and records its construction in 1744 by the order of Governor Matheus Vieira da Silva Bandeira, financed by the Banians (Hindu merchants) of Vanakbara (Brancavará), mentioning that the Arab navies twice landed in Nagoa bay to take on water and 'rob' the villages. The inscription seems to refer to earlier days, when the Gujarat sultanate still held the island and the Muslim armies and others may actually have been given a friendly reception by the local people.

## 2.2 *Fort of Our Lady of Grace* (Forte de Nossa Senhora de Graça)

The Fort of our Lady of Grace (Plates 6.4, no. 22; 6.5) again no longer extant, was one of the three forts built at the far west of the island to protect entry to the channel of Vanakbara and detailed in the 1859 Map (the other two are nos. 23 and 25). The channel was navigable, as far as the fishing village, by traditional Muslim vessels and small craft, but passing the village towards the north the channel was – and is – no longer navigable, except by small fishing boats. Vanakbara's position had another disadvantage for the Portuguese: opposite Vanakbara was another village on the mainland, historically part of the sultanate of Gujarat and later the Mughal empire. However, the Fort of Our Lady of Grace and the two other forts were, again, no more than observation posts, with no living space for the guards. They were presumably sent to their posts either from barracks in the main fort or the town, or possibly in the roofed chambers in the Fort of the Bar.

The Fort of Our Lady of Grace was a rectangular enclosure with a ramp leading to the entrance of a small forecourt, opening to a larger court with six embrasures. A feature, shown circular in plan and protruding from the wall – presumably facing the

sea – may well have been a lookout bartizan, like the one at the far end of the jetty of the Fort of Diu (Plate 3.4) and common in Portuguese fortifications, at home and in the colonies. In the Fort of Our Lady of Grace the ramp indicates that the fortified walls were built over a rampart, but no section is given to clarify this. In the map a space to the right of the plan is left blank, indicating that a section or elevation – or both – was intended, but the drawings may not have been produced.

## 2.3 *Fort of the Bar* (Forte de Barra)

Set at the mouth of the channel, the Fort of the Bar (Plates 6.4, no 23; 6.6), again no longer extant, was sited on the bar or sandbanks at the entrance of the harbour, to control and observe Vanakbara's navigation traffic. This is the largest of the three observation posts on the channel. A ramp at the north ascended to a roofless corridor with a room at either side and access to a yard at the south. The rooms were square in plan, about 13 *palmas*, or about 2.90 m at each side. No windows are shown, but each chamber had a niche opposite the door and, as appears from the rather inaccurate section, the roofs sloped towards the yard. The rooms might have been for accommodating guards, but the fort was a short walking distance from Vanakbara, where they could have more comfortable and permanent quarters. A possible function for the rooms was as stores for gunpowder, tools and other equipment, nevertheless they could also have been used to shelter the guards.

The floor level of the rooms and the yard appears to have been about four meters above the ground, and the ramp leading up to the floor level is shown in the plan with ridges, presumably to facilitate hauling cannon. However, such ridges are not shown in the section. The yard had five embrasures for cannons, two at the western side for protection of the channel, and three at the south, facing the open sea, while at the south-west corner was a bartizan, conveniently placed to give the watchman a panoramic view of the sea and the channel.

4 Appendix, Inscription no. 98.

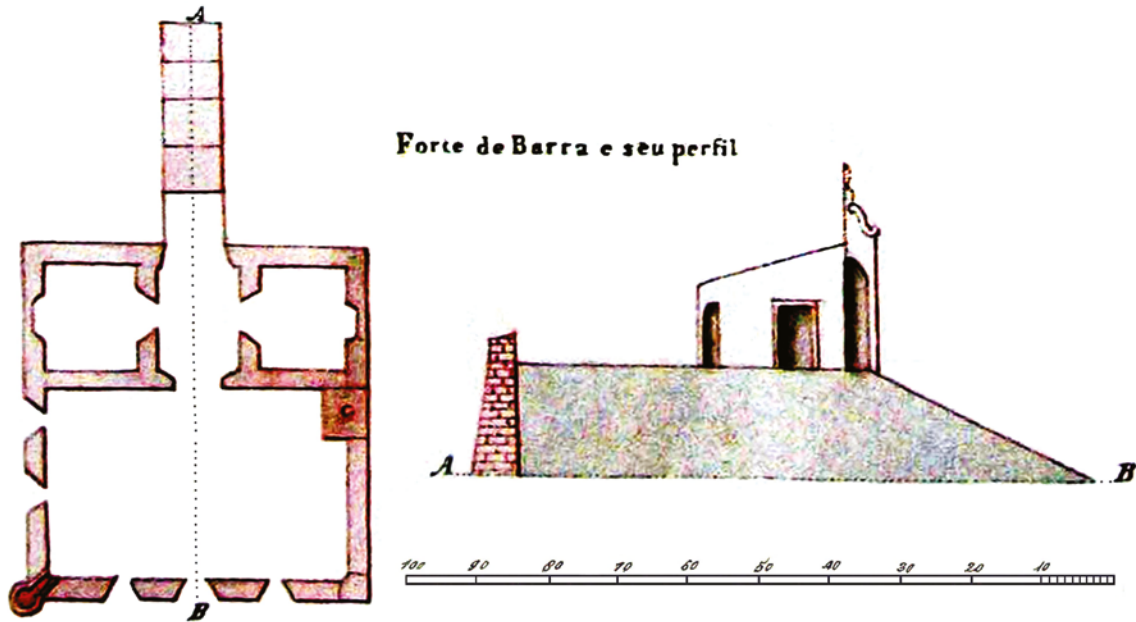


PLATE 6.6 *Forte de Barra* (Fort of the Bar), plan and section A–B. As with other drawings in the 1856 Map the plans are fairly accurate, but not the sections, which do not show all parts of the wall running around the yard.  
FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

#### 2.4 *Brancavara or Vanakbara Fort (Forte de Brancavará)*

The Vanakbara Fort (Plates 6.4, no. 25; 6.7) was on the western side of Vanakbara, facing the harbour. It has been long demolished, and in the area new structures – store houses, an ice making factory for transporting fish, shops and fishermen’s dwellings – have been constructed. The fort was a simple enclosure with a ramp ascending to the floor level apparently about 13 *palmos* (2.90 m.) above the ground. The ramp is shown to have had the usual ridges, seen in the drawings of the other forts. The enclosure had three embrasures: one facing the harbour, the other two apparently covering the shore. A missing inscription<sup>5</sup> once on the fort recorded its construction in 1774 by the order and with the personal funds of the Governor José Telles da Silva. The inscription also recorded that there was an earlier fort in the site, known as *Raia Cotto* (or *Couto*) (the frontier enclosure or border

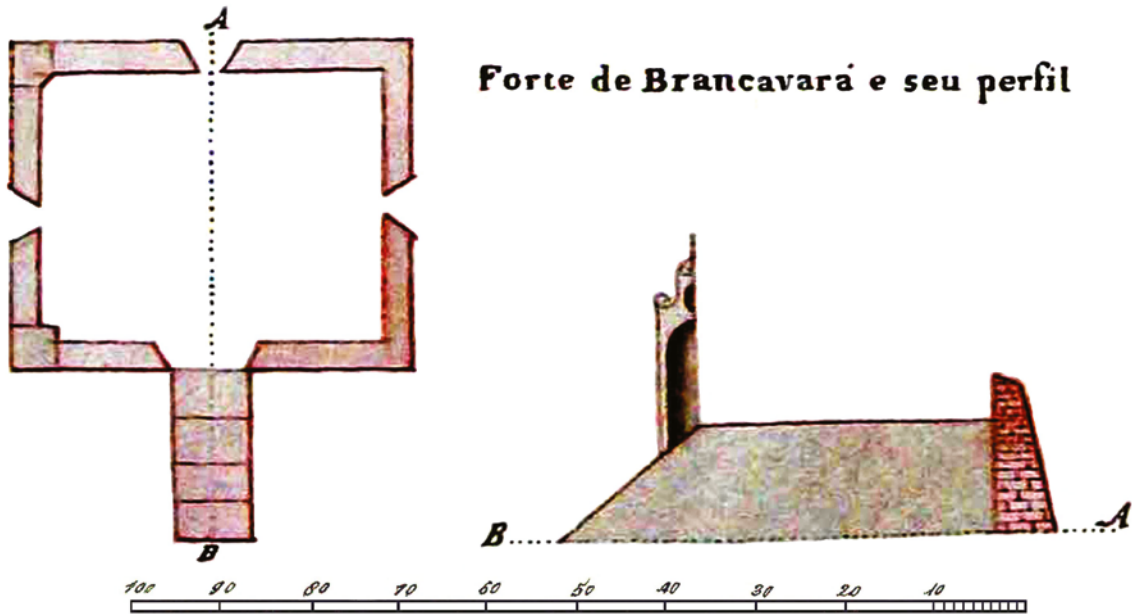
refuge) which was demolished by the governor. The date of the construction of this older fort has not been recorded.

#### 2.5 *Fort of the Low Pass (Forte de Passo do Covo)*

The *Forte de Passo do Covo* (Plates 6.4, no. 31; 6.8) was at the end of a track beginning at Vanakbara and passing northwards through farmlands and lowlands, ending at the bank of the channel which separated the island from the mainland. At the end of the pass stood the fort, a simple observation post, consisting of a chamber opening to a small rectangular yard with four embrasures. Both the plan and the section suffer from inaccuracies. The fort did not apparently have a foundation inscription, but an inscription<sup>6</sup> once on the Fort of Passo Sêco recorded that the Fort of Passo Covo was reconstructed in 1840 by the order of the Governor of Diu, Francisco de Mello d’Eça. The inscription

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, inscription no. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix, inscription no. 128. The variant spellings: Sêco, Seco and Secco are all used for this location.



**Forte de Brancavará e seu perfil**

PLATE 6.7 Forte de Brancavará, plan and section. The ramp, as shown in the section is far too steep for carrying cannons on their carriages.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

**Forte do Passo do Covo**

**Perfil do forte de Passo de Covo**

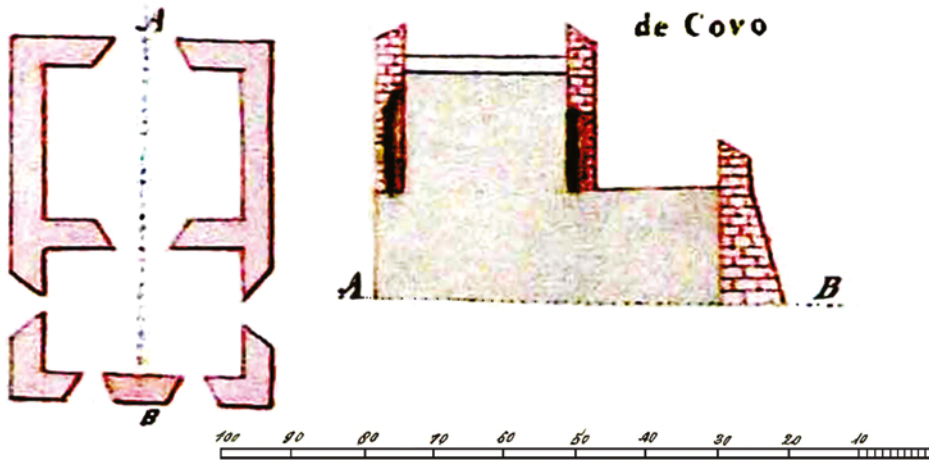


PLATE 6.8 Forte de Passo do Covo (Fort of the Low Pass), Plan and Section A-B. The section shows that the level of the yard and the chamber were well above ground level, but no ramp is shown to indicate how one could reach to the floor level of the fort. The plan indicates that if there were a ramp it would have been at the point indicated by the letter A. In this case the entrance opened to the roofed chamber first and then through the chamber to the yard – an unusual arrangement.

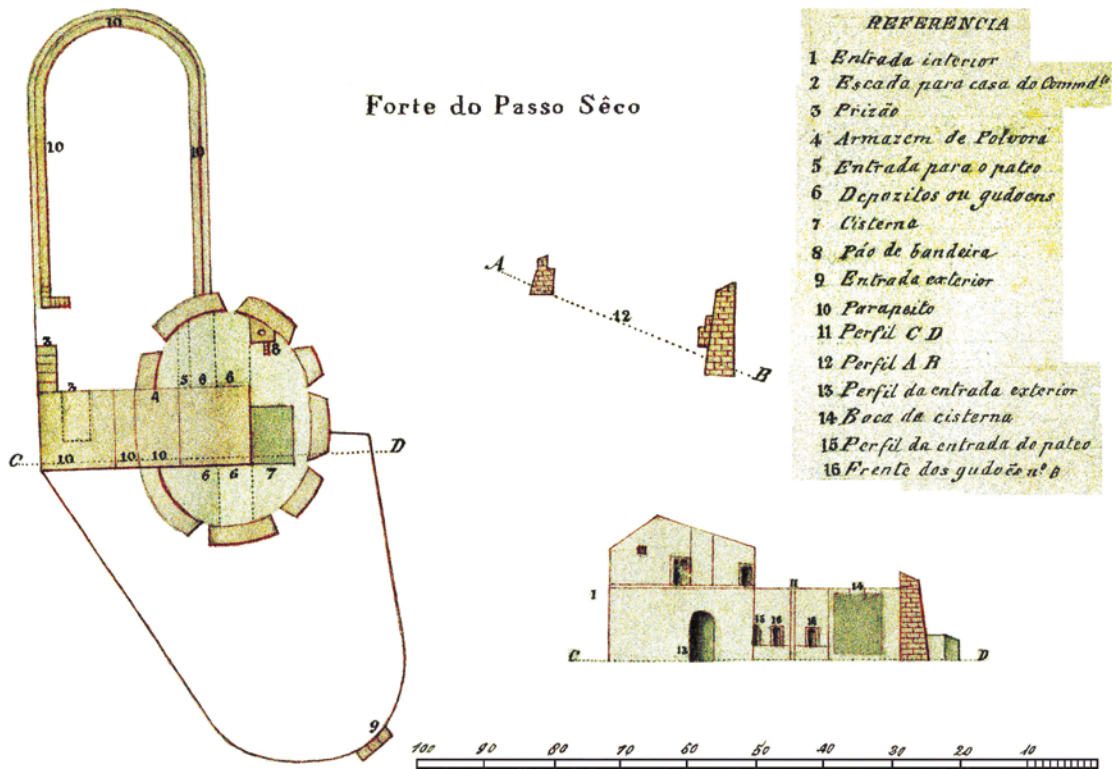
FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

is significant in that its date is only 19 years before the map of 1859, so the building was virtually new when the map was made. The inscription also recorded that the fort was 'reconstructed', indicating that there was a fort on the site, but the extent of reconstruction or repairs was not clarified.

The fort was the westernmost observation post of a series of four structures along the north channel, and two kilometres to its north-east was another post know as *Forte de Darame* (Plate 6.3, no. 50), which was already in ruins in the mid-nineteenth century. Little is known about this fort and detailed drawings of it are not given in the 1859 Map.

2.6 *Fort of St Ignatius (Forte do Santo Ignacio or Forte de Passo Sêco (the Dry Pass)*

A little more than one kilometre to the east of the ruins of *Forte de Darame* stood the Fort of St Ignatius or *Forte de Passo Sêco* (Plates 6.3, no 52; 6.9). It was more than a simple observation post and was the most substantial of the forts around the island, controlling the human traffic and imports and exports at the point between the island and the mainland, passable via the paved track (*valado de pedra*, no. 51) at low tide. During the sultanate period a bridge stood at this point. The Muslims used the bridge for importing goods



**Key:**

- 1 *Entrada interior* (inside entrance); 2 *Escada para casa do Commd<sup>te</sup>* (Commandante, stairs to the residence of the Commander); 3 *Prizão* (Prison); 4 *Armazem de Polvora* (Powder magazine); 5 *Entrada para o pateo* (entrance to the courtyard); 6 *Depozitos ou gudeons* (storerooms or warehouses); 7 *Cisterna* (cistern); 8 *Páo (pau) de Bandeira* (flag pole); 9 *Entrada exterior* (outside entrance); 10 *Parapetio* (parapet); 11 *Perfil C D* (Section C–D); 12 *Perfil A B* (Section A–B); 13 *Perfil da entrada exterior* (profile of the outside entrance); 14 *Boca de cisterna* (the mouth of the cistern); 15 *Perfil da entrada do pateo (pátio)* (profile of the entrance to the courtyard); 15 *Frente dos gudoões no. 6* (façade of the warehouses no. 6).

PLATE 6.9 Fort of Passo Sêco (the Dry Pass) as it stood in 1859

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

and provisions to the island in peacetime, and armed reinforcements at times of conflict. When the Portuguese took over the whole island they demolished the bridge, but in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, they themselves built another bridge. The 1859 Map shows the straight road – apparently newly constructed at that time – from the island to the mainland, but the map clearly shows that at the time there was no bridge over the channel. The new road and its layout as shown in the map, however, indicates that the construction of a bridge at this point was already planned.

The fort was set on the west of the road on the bank of the canal. It seems that from the very early days of the Portuguese control of *Passo Sêco* a fort was built on this site and we have the epigraphic evidence that it was either built, restored, renovated or perhaps expanded in c.1709–11 under the governorship of Antonio Pereira de Berredo.<sup>7</sup> The fort was once again repaired in 1839–40<sup>8</sup> by the order of the Governor of Diu, Francisco de Mello d'Eça. The fort consisted of an oval core with seven embrasures at ground level with two courts and on the upper level the Commander's residence. Other features included a powder magazine (no. 4) a reservoir (7), and even a prison (3). As usual, the drawing has certain shortcomings, the most significant is the section shown as A–B which shows that at least part of the structure, or more likely one of the yards, was on slope, but the line of this section is not shown in the plan.

## 2.7 *The Site of the Sultanate Bridge at Passo Sêco*

The present bridge connecting Diu Island to the mainland of Saurashtra is likely to be on or near the site of an old bridge built by Malik Ayāz who repelled the Portuguese in their earlier attempts

to gain a foothold in Diu. According to the *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*:<sup>9</sup>

“On the island of Diu he [Malik Ayāz] built many gardens, and at the meeting point of the two branches of the sea which encircle the island on the north there was a bridge of stone which he built, but has now been demolished by the Farangs.<sup>10</sup> ... During the Malik's governorship the Farangs did not dare enter any of the ports of Gujarat; nowadays they have increased their power to the extent that in no port can a ship set out on a voyage without the Farangs' permission, except from the ports of Surat and Rānīr, and that is only because of the courage and nerve of the shipping agents.”

The bridge was not only a better supply route, avoiding reliance on low tides or boats for transporting the goods, luxury items, and provisions much in demand by the maritime voyagers, but was also instrumental in providing easy access to the island for the defending sultanate troops. The demolition of Malik Ayāz's bridge was a strategic decision taken by the Portuguese to isolate the island, reducing the prospect of hostile forces retaking Diu. Today, however, little remains of Malik Ayāz's gardens or the bridge. The present bridge has now become part of the highway network with the mainland, as seen on the satellite image (Plate 6.1).

9 *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, p. 162, authors' translation:

در جزیره دیو باغات ساخته اوست و دو شاخه دریا که از دو جانب جزیره دیو بر آمده بطرف شمال تقاطع می نماید بر آن پل از سنگ است بنیاد نهاده اوست که الحال فرنگیان آن را نیز ویران کرده اند ... در مدت حکومت ملک فرنگ آن قدرت نداشت که تواند در بنادر گجرات دخل کرد الحال خود آن قدر قدرت گرفته که از هیچ بندر گجرات کشتی بی قول فرنگ نمی تواند سفر کرد الا از بندر سورت و رانیر و آن از جرأت و مردانگی موکلان آنست.

10 *Farang* or *Firang* was a term used in India and Iran for Europeans in general, and in this context for the Portuguese. See H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, ed. by W. Crooke, London, 1903, under *Firinghee*.

7 Appendix, Inscription no. 84.

8 Appendix, Inscription no. 128.

### 2.8 Watchtower of Our Lady of Guidance (Atalaia de Nossa Senhora de Guia)

Some distance to the east of the fort of *Passo Sêco* once stood the watchtower (Plates 6.3 no. 53; 6.10) in the flood lands. The tower was hexagonal in plan and from a reading of the drawing, seems to have had battered stone walls. However, the drawing is sketchy and inaccurate. In the plan the line of the cross-section A–B is shown to pass through the middle of the tower, but what is represented as the section is clearly an elevation. The plan also seems to be at the roof level showing six embrasures while the elevation shows a window in only one wall. Nevertheless, in spite of the shortcomings of this and the other detailed drawings of the forts in the 1859 Map, it gives us an indication of how many Portuguese military posts existed on

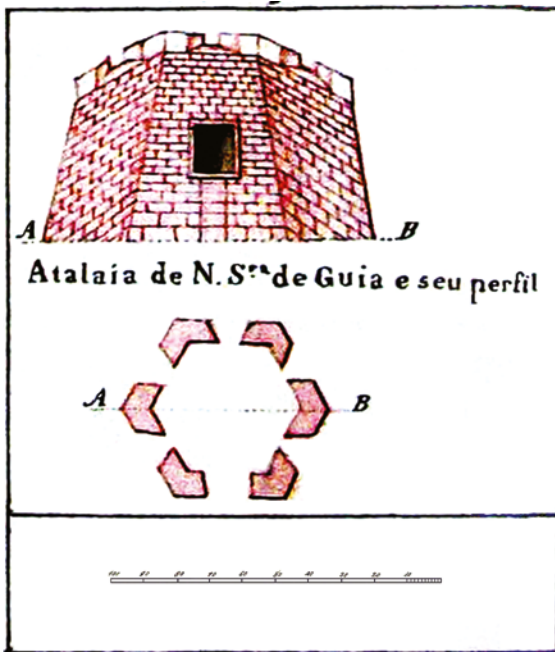


PLATE 6.10 Watchtower of Our Lady of Guidance, plan and elevation. The only window shown indicates that the windows were at ground level. The means of ascent to the roof level – stairs or ramp – is not shown in the plan.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

the island right up to the nineteenth century, of which almost nothing has survived.

### 2.9 New Fort of St Anthony at Simbor (Novo Forte de Santo António de Simbor)

The 1859 Map also includes drawings of the fort on the island of Simbor (Plate 6.11). Simbor is a small territory consisting of two strips of land at either side of a creek (known to the Portuguese as Vançoso River) and the island, about 25 kilometres (15.5 miles) to the east of Diu. The island and its fort, which still stands, are outside of the concerns of the present work, and are not discussed here, but the drawings are reproduced as a matter of record. Simbor was of marginal strategic value to the Portuguese, and they took over the island only in 1722, when pirates – using Simbor as a base – were harassing Portuguese trading ships. Soon a fort was built there and named the *Forte de Santo António*. After the initial harassment of the pirates was terminated, the fort was apparently left neglected, but was repaired in 1810 by the order of Lourenço Varela d'Almeida and later rebuilt or rather heavily restored in 1857 at the time of Visconde de Torres-Novas.<sup>11</sup> It is this fort which is illustrated in the 1859 Map.

Here we conclude our description of the old Portuguese military installations of the island, and continue our exploration of the historic edifices remaining on the island today, almost all of which are indicated in the 1859 Map. We first take a journey along the south coast from east to west and then take the modern road – which follows alongside the old route – from Diu town through the middle of the island up to Vanakbara. Throughout the island are remains of Islamic edifices and features, witnessing the former dominance of the sultanates on the island, and later their presence during the Portuguese era.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix, Inscription no. 119, note to d'Almeida's and Torres-Nova's inscriptions of 1810 and 1857 respectively.

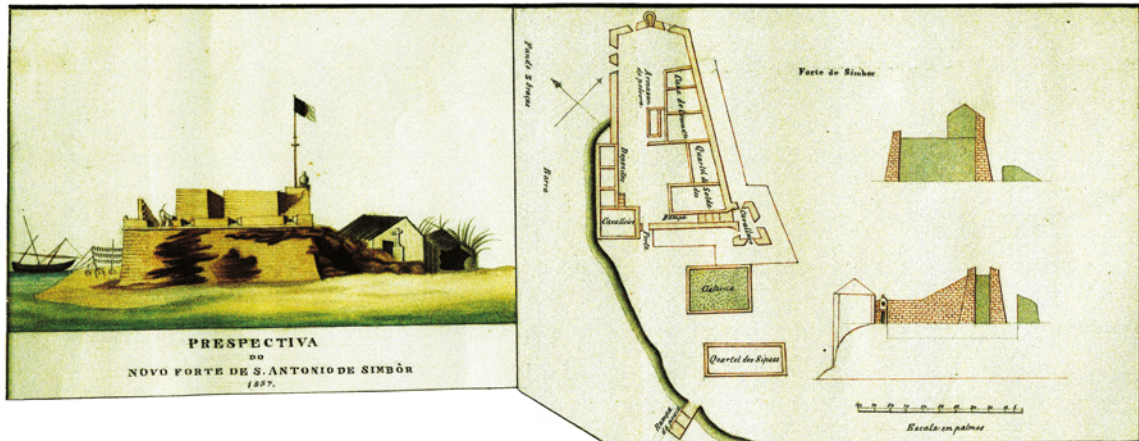


PLATE 6.11 The fort of St Anthony on the island of Simbor, perspective, plan, and sections, showing a fairly sizable fortification built over a rampart, with separate accommodation for cavalry, soldiers and their commander. Outside the fort was a reservoir and an enclosure housing the *sipaes*, the Indian soldiers in Portuguese service. A ramp gave access to the shore of the bar.

FROM 1859 MAP REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MR & MRS LENNOX MONEY

### 3 Muslim Monuments

#### 3.1 *The Mosque near Sunset Point*

On the summit of a cliff to the south-west of the town, overlooking the Arabian Sea, stand the ruins of a small mosque (Figure 6.1, no. 9), which may originally date from the sultanate period. The cliff is now known as Sunset Point, with a popular local park. Part of the south face of the cliff has fallen, bringing down the south wall of the mosque and causing the columns supporting the eastern front and the ceiling slabs to collapse. The structure is marked in the 1859 Map (Plate 6.2 no. 9) as *Mesquita dos Mouros*, and was probably intact at the time. The fallen elements have now been reassembled in a haphazard way and the building is converted to a temple (Plate 6.12). The *mihrāb* is lost, but the western wall of the mosque, with its original projection of the *mihrāb* has survived enabling us to establish fairly accurate measurements of the original structure and provide drawings of its initial form.

The original building measured about  $4.60 \times 2.15$  m. on the outside with two columns on the open eastern façade, forming a small three-bayed mosque (Figure 6.2), of a type commonly constructed by local benefactors in northern and western India. In the absence of inscriptional evidence, the best indication of the age of such mosques comes from the form of the *mihrāb*, which is missing in our example. However, other features indicate that the original building might have been constructed from temple spoil. Inside the building the upper courses of the walls are formed by lintels decorated with a row of diamonds, used commonly in Gujarat temples. An ornamented pre-Islamic pilaster is now used as a lintel over the columns and above the central bay is a semi-circular slab decorated with a lotus motif, which might have been reused as a step, in front of the mosque's central bay, but was set up in a prominent position when the building was converted to a temple. The column shafts, although unornamented, also have the square, octagonal,



PLATE 6.12 Mosque at Sunset Point, above: view from the east; below: from the north-west, showing the surviving northern and western walls and the projection of the *mihrāb*.

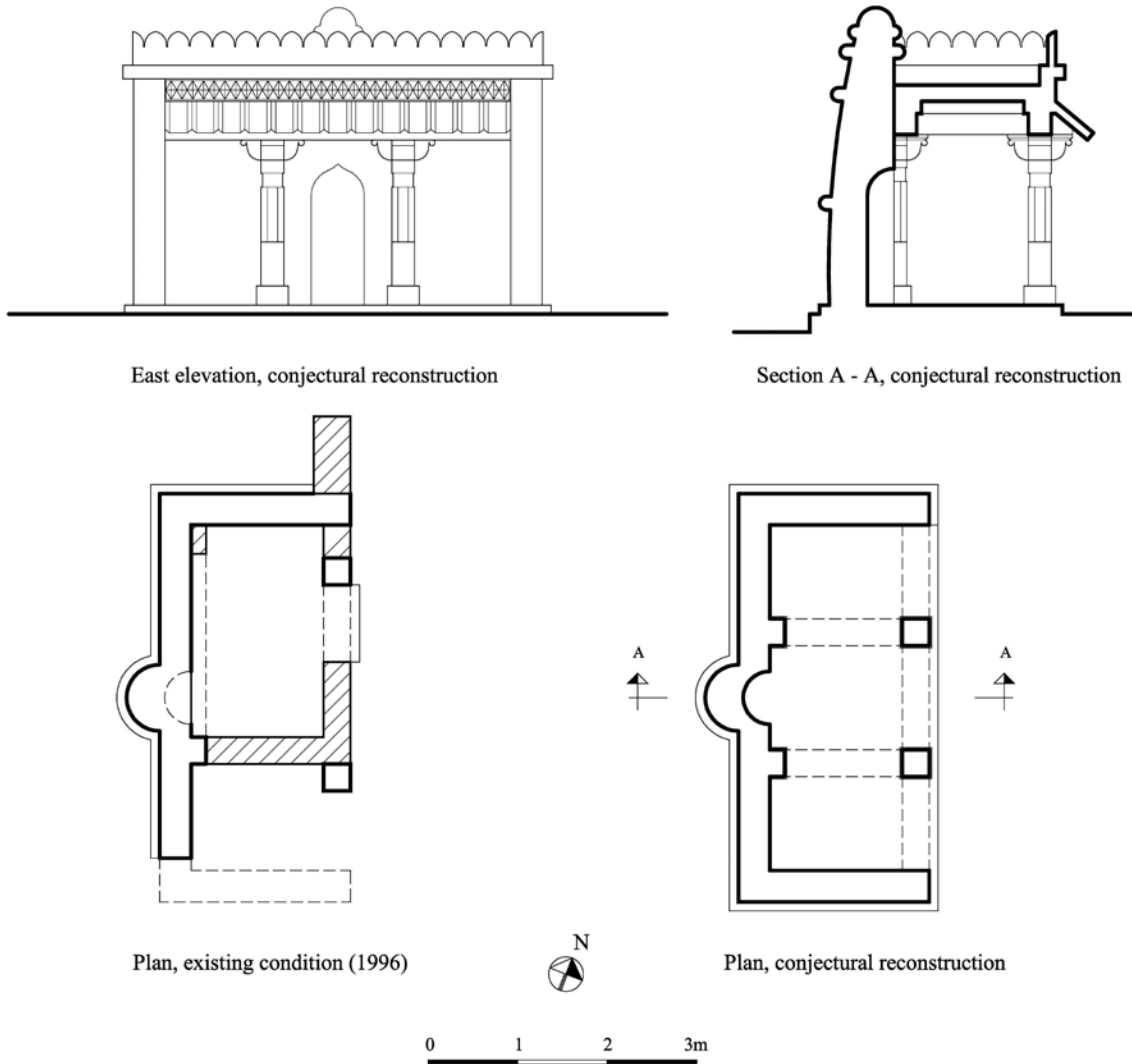


FIGURE 6.2 Mosque at Sunset Point, plan showing the present condition and plan, cross-section and east elevation showing the building in its probable original condition.

and circular registers suggesting pre-Islamic origin. However, in Gujarat mosques incorporating temple salvage – erected during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and even later – signify that this exercise continued almost up to the early fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The mosque at Sunset Point

may, therefore, date from the fifteenth century or even earlier.

12 Examples include the Jāmi‘ mosque of Veraval built during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluq in 732/1331–32, the Raḥimat Masjid built at the time of Fīrūz Shāh in 784 /1382–83, and the Rāvali Masjid, built probably as late as in 1401 during the reign of the last Tughluq sultan

Maḥmūd Shāh. The latter two are both in Mangrol, and all are fairly close to Diu. See H. Cousens, *Somanātha and Other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāwād*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 34, 65–66. The Rāvali Masjid may, however, be earlier: Z.A. Desai, who studied its worn-out inscription, suggests the date 788/1386–87, which puts this building into the time of Fīrūz Shāh. See Z.A. Desai, ‘Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat’, *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, pp. 30–32.

### 3.2 *The Old Graveyard and the Shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad*

In addition to the old graveyard to the north-west of the town there is a larger, probably older graveyard to the south-west (Plate 6.14) stretching over the cliffs for more than a kilometre between Sunset Point and another spectacular hanging cliff occupied by the shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad (Figure 6.1 no. 10; Plates 6.13–6.17). This graveyard has long been abandoned and most of the tombstones, or rather the upper structures of the graves, have been lost, exposing the actual shallow graves, carved into solid rock.

The shallowness of the graves is unusual for Muslim burials, but must have been a compromise

between digging the rock and constructing tombs, the covers of which merit particular attention. Sultanate tombs in Gujarat are formed with a rectangular platform, occasionally made of four massive slabs, but mostly built of rubble stone faced with thinner slabs, sometimes inscribed and decorated with various motifs, which are surmounted by another flat horizontal slab, also decorated and inscribed.<sup>13</sup> The tombstones of Diu are, however, constructed in the form of stepped pyramids with a relatively small top slab, which is either flat or in the form of a curved gable (Plate 6.15). This type of tombstone is peculiar to the coastal regions of western Gujarat and dates back to the Muslim trading communities established well before the



PLATE 6.13 The complex of the Shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad from the north-west. The white building is of modern construction and to its left stands the remains of a prayer wall.

13 For the general form of the tombstones of the sultanate of Gujarat see J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London, 1900, part I, p. 40, pl. facing p. 39 and pl. 45 at the end of the book showing some of the tombs of the queens of Aḥmad Shāh.



PLATE 6.14 Abandoned graveyard on the coastal cliffs to the south-west of Diu town, with the shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad on the summit in the background. The shallow graves are excavated into solid rock and most have lost their covers. Below the summit a part of the graveyard was used later as a quarry.

Sultanate period. The original form, surviving in a few twelfth- and thirteenth-century tombs at Bhadreśvar, is more elaborate.<sup>14</sup> The stepped pyramids are elongated and higher than those of Diu and the sides and top bear Kufic and interlaced inscriptions. The top blocks of some of the old tombs of Diu also bear inscriptions, sometimes the name of the deceased or, more usually, Quranic verses or the Profession of Faith, but they are badly worn and barely decipherable. The form of the tombstones of Diu may stem from the very early Muslim settlers and continued to be employed in later periods, unlike in other regions where after the sultanate conquest the older traditions were

abandoned in favour of the imported northern Indian form.

The graveyard seems to have been abandoned many centuries ago and parts of the site have later been used as stone quarries. At the eastern end of the graveyard is the shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad (Figure 6.3), a complex of an old *namāzghāh* or prayer wall, a new mosque, and a number of old tombs, including those of the *qāḍī* and his relatives, all in the pyramidal form, located at the south-western corner of the site.

The modern building – a square chamber with a portico in front of the entrance at its eastern side – was still under construction during our fieldwork in 1996 but was completed by the time of the fieldwork of 2004 (Plate 6.13). The building employs European-style mouldings, corner piers,

<sup>14</sup> M. Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 17–18, 57–8, pl. 11.



PLATE 6.15 Qāḍī Muḥammad shrine complex, above: two tombs in front of the *mihrāb*'s projection behind the prayer wall; below: two tombs at the south side of the shrine. The tombs have preserved their stepped pyramidal superstructure peculiar to the region. The mosque at Sunset Point is seen in the background.

and semi-circular arches inspired by Portuguese architecture. The only historical feature in the building is its old *mihrāb*, brought from elsewhere (Plate 6.16). This *mihrāb*, measuring about 1.15 × 0.78 m., is carved out of a single slab in the form of a two-centred ogee arch standing on two engaged

columns set within a rectangular frame. Only the upper part of the frame is preserved with the horizontal top in the form of a door lintel with a keystone in the middle, commonly seen over the doors of temples and early Muslim structures. The engaged columns are divided into registers

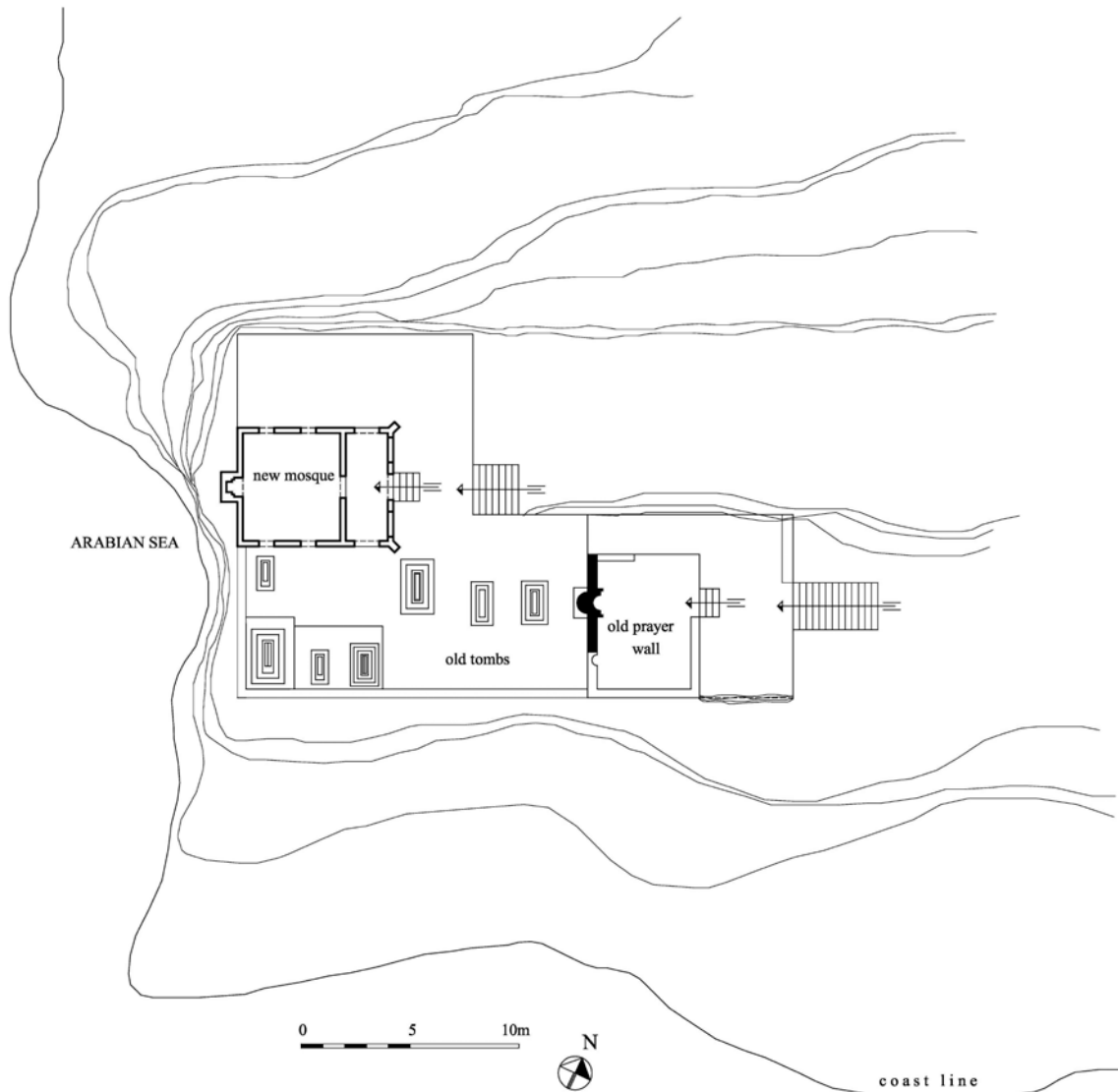


FIGURE 6.3 The complex of Qāḍī Muḥammad's shrine, site plan showing the tombs of the *qāḍī* and his family at the south-west of the site, the modern mosque over the cliff at the west and the old prayer wall at the south-east.

with simple string-courses, a simplified version of the more elaborate forms with vase-shaped bases and different carvings in each register topped by another vase-shaped or cushion-shaped capital seen in the early sultanate *miḥrābs*. The two-centred arch and the archaic appearance of the *miḥrāb* also differ from those of the sultanate of Gujarat and may be an indication of its earlier

date. The slab must have originally formed the front frame of the niche of a *miḥrāb*, the projection of which on the back wall would have been constructed with stone blocks, probably on the type of semi-circular plan typical in Gujarat and seen in Plates 6.12 and 6.15.

To the south-east of the site is an old prayer wall (Figure 6.4; Plates 6.15 and 6.17) which has been



PLATE 6.16 The old *mihrāb* carved out of a single block of stone brought from elsewhere and installed in the new mosque.

partly extended at the southern side but has kept its original features, including the *mihrāb* and its projection on the back of the wall on a semi-circular plan rising above a rectangular plinth, similar to that at Sunset Point. Here, however, the projection is heavily tapered, giving it a semi-conical appearance, and it is surmounted by a large finial, disproportionate to the size of the lower parts.

More interesting is the *mihrāb* itself, which is well proportioned and well preserved. The niche is carved out of two blocks of stone forming the two jambs and the four-centred ogee arch in a rectangular frame topped by a lintel carved out of a separate block, all in the style of the Gujarati *mihrābs* of the sultanate period, but less ornamented than those seen in Ahmadabad and other major

towns.<sup>15</sup> In this *mihrāb* the engaged columns are again divided into registers. The lower two registers, although worn, seem to have been carved in the shape of a vase set on a pediment decorated with a diamond pattern, which also appears on the middle register. The spandrels of the arch are decorated with floral motifs and a further flower crowns the arch, while serpentine patterns ornament the border around it. The field of the *mihrāb* also has a large lotus motif and a mosque lamp on a chain. The design of the *mihrāb* leaves little doubt that it dates from the period of the sultanate of Gujarat. Although less elaborate than those of the major sultanate mosques this is the best-preserved and most ornate example of its kind in Diu, as in the Karao Masjid the *mihrābs* have been restored and covered with modern cement and the other monuments are all more recent.

15 Examples of elaborate *mihrābs* of the early Gujarat sultanate can be seen in the Haibat Khān Masjid, the Sayyid ‘Ālam Masjid, the Jāmi‘ of Ahmadabad, the Quṭb al-dīn Shāh Masjid, and the Muḥāfiẓ Khān Masjid in Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, part I, pls 22, 26, 35, 54, 59, 90, 100 respectively. Our specimen is closer to the earlier sultanate *mihrābs*, as in the later *mihrābs* the arch does not rest on the engaged columns of the jambs, which are much slimmer and continue upwards making an inner frame. The arch of the prayer wall is fitted within its frame with its lower ends decorated with hanging finials. Examples can be seen in the Bāi Ḥarīr Masjid, the mosque at Sarangpur, the Rāṇī Rupāvātī (Rupāwanti) Masjid, and the Alif Khān Masjid in Burgess, part II, pls 18, 34, 38, 49 respectively.

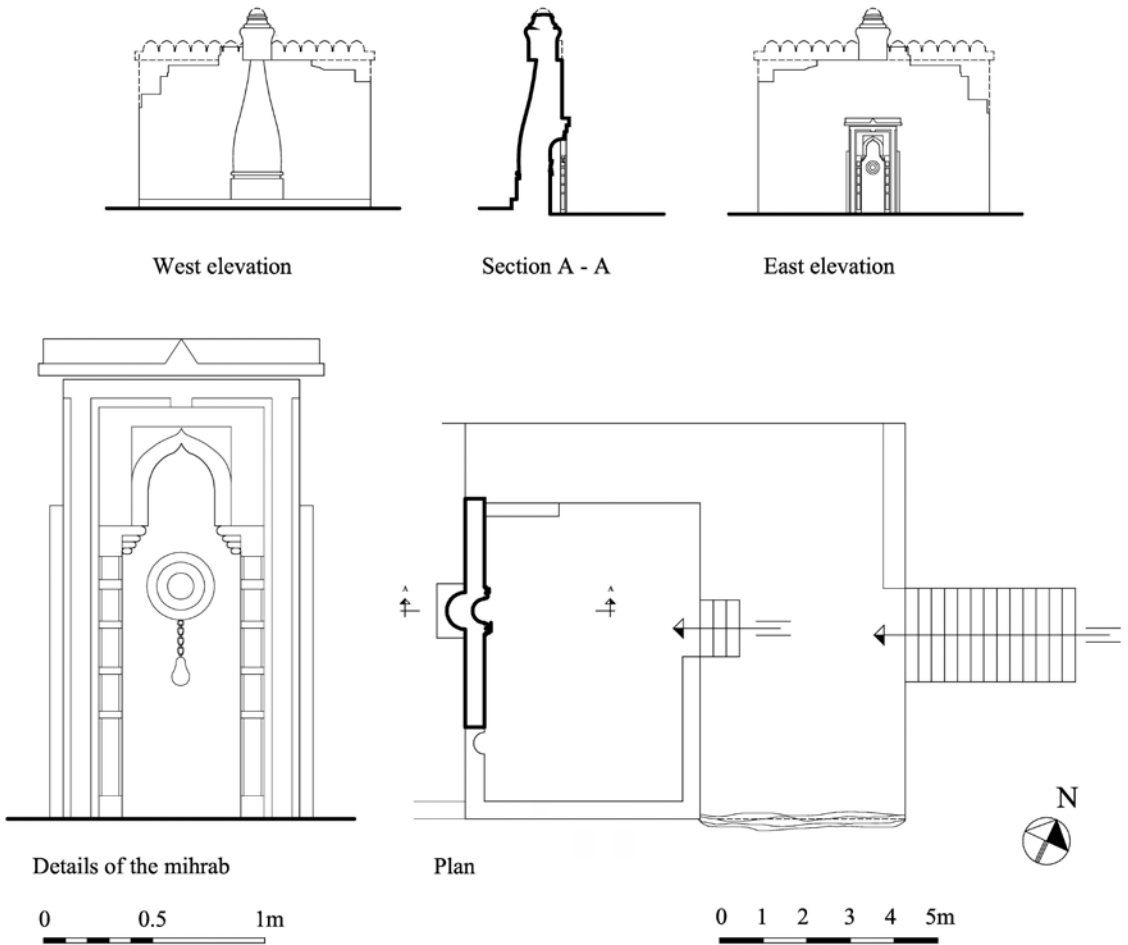


FIGURE 6.4 Prayer wall to the east of the Qāḍī Muḥammad shrine, plan, elevations and section through the *mihrāb*, and a detailed elevation of the *mihrāb*.



PLATE 6.17 Prayer wall by the shrine of Qāḍī Muḥammad, left: general view from the east; right: detail of the *mihrāb*.

#### 4 Modern and Mediaeval Roads and Waterworks

Returning to the road system, starting from the town, the 1859 map (Figure 6.1; Plate 6.1) shows that a dirt road from *Porta da Terra*, shortly after passing the moat, forks to one passing through the south of the island and ending at Vanakbara, with the other fork to the north skirting the flood lands and giving access to *Passo Secco*. The southern road also forks, and passes at either side of the reservoir at Naida (no. 6) and through Fudam; it forks again near Nagoa, with both branches ending at Vanakbara, one leading directly to the Fort of the Bar.

Today a modern asphalted road from Diu town follows approximately the line of the nineteenth-century southern dirt road, but, after passing Fudam, forks – one road towards the south, still following the nineteenth-century road and the other passing to the north of the farmlands, both ending at Vanakbara. The road begins at *Porta da Terra* (Plate 4.26), and a short distance west of the gate is an elaborate stone signpost giving the name of the road as Brito Capello and noting that improvement work was carried out upon it under the supervision of Theodorico M.P. Sousa and M. Cabla Givane in 1876.<sup>16</sup> The early twentieth-century aerial photograph of Diu (Plate 4.31) shows that, although improved, it was a still a dirt road at that time, but it has now been widened and asphalted.

Yet there was a third historic road, perhaps from the sultanate period or even earlier (Plate 6.18). It ran from the east to the west of the island roughly parallel to the Portuguese and modern roads. Only segments of this road have been preserved, which skirted the fields about two hundred metres to the south of the modern road. The surviving parts of the mediaeval road indicate that wherever possible it was laid on bare rock to facilitate transport during the monsoon. The road is only wide



PLATE 6.18 Mediaeval road from the town of Diu to Fudam and the west of the island, carved into the rock to keep it level, with cart tracks visible on the surface. Farming has erased traces of the road where it was laid on earth.

enough for the passage of a single bullock cart: the wheel tracks remain deeply engraved in the rock, indicating use over several centuries.

##### 4.1 Dhobī Talão (Tanque dos mainatos)

South of the modern road and a short distance west of the town are the remains of the old reservoir which was a main water supply for the town (Figure 6.1, no. 6). The reservoir is shown in the 1859 map (Plate 6.2 no. 6) apparently still holding water, but it seems even at that time it had long been left in ruins and today only a few of its original features have survived: parts of the contour of its outer perimeter, its sluices, and the platform which stands as an island in the middle (Figure 6.5). The reservoir is known as the *Dhobī*

<sup>16</sup> Appendix, Inscription no. 142.

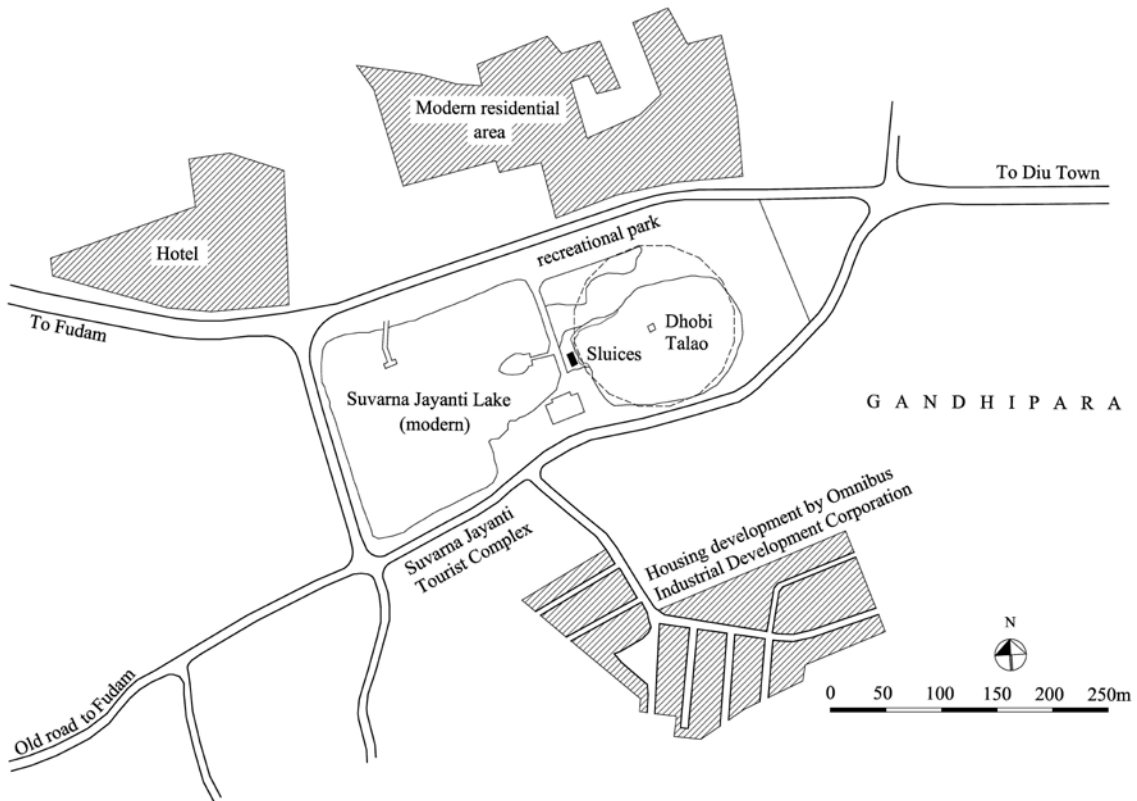


FIGURE 6.5 Gandhipara area to the west of the town of Diu by the road to Fudam, site plan showing the *Dhobī Talāo*, its approximate original perimeter (marked by broken lines), the location of the old sluices and the surviving platform in the form of an island in the middle of the old reservoir.

*Talāo* (the washermen's tank, Portuguese: *tanque dos mainatos*), but this may not be the original name. The site has recently been developed as a recreational park; the remains of the reservoir made into a shallow pool and the depression to its west into a deeper lake. The surviving original features of the reservoir were preserved (Plate 6.19).

The contour of the old reservoir indicates that it was originally a large circular or polygonal tank about 140 m. in diameter with sluices on its western edge. This layout is traditional in Gujarat and goes back to at least the sultanate period, from which there remain numerous well-preserved examples, mostly much larger than the *Dhobī Talāo*. Amongst them are two in Somnath, not far from Diu, both awaiting scholarly consideration. A better-known example is the *Kānkariyā Talāo* outside Ahmadabad, built by the Gujarat Sultan Qutb

al-dīn Aḥmad Shāh (1451–57) during the reign of his father as the main water supply of the area as well as for recreation.<sup>17</sup> In the course of his visit to Ahmadabad the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr spent some time by the tank,<sup>18</sup> and people still enjoy strolling along its banks in the cool of the early evening.

In the middle of the *Kānkariyā* is a garden connected to the south bank by a causeway. The garden is a large and elaborate example of its kind; some – but not all – of the other reservoirs have

17 Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, part 1, pp. 52–53, pl. facing p. 1.

18 Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Gūrkānī, *Jahāngīr nāma*, M. Hashim (ed.), Tehran, 1980, pp. 239–40. Jahāngīr notes that it was in a ruined state and was restored by Ṣafi Khān, the Bakhshī of Gujarat, for Jahāngīr's visit.



PLATE 6.19 *Dhobī Talāo*, above: general view from the south-east with the sluices on the left and the island-platform on the right. Below: modern pier and other recent leisure constructions to turn the lake-size reservoir to a recreational area. Behind the *talāo* modern housing developments can be seen.

a platform in the middle in the form of a small island, sometimes surmounted with a colonnaded domed canopy or *chattrī*. In Diu the square stone platform still stands, but has no surviving structure above it. The stone pavement and steps surrounding the reservoir have not survived, but the general form is well known through other examples, including the Kānkariyā – a 34 sided polygon 624 m. in diameter. All sides are furnished with stone steps to the water level except those with the sluices and the causeway. Elsewhere, one side usually has a ramp for bullock carts. The water inlet in the form of three sluices is also normal for Gujarat and has already been well studied, not only in the

case of the Kānkariyā,<sup>19</sup> but also in the Great Tank at Sarkhij,<sup>20</sup> the Mānasarovar at Viramgam,<sup>21</sup> the Khān Sarovar at Anahilwāḍa Patan,<sup>22</sup> the ruins of

19 Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmada-bad*, part I, pl. 65.

20 Ibid., part I, pp. 50–51, pl. 63.

21 Ibid., part II, p. 91, pl. 72. The Mānasarovar and the lake-size tank at Sarkhij are not of the polygonal type, but inlets with three circular sluices are common in all sizable reservoirs of Gujarat.

22 J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London, 1903, pp. 55–57, pls 31, 34. The Khān Sarovar is a square tank.

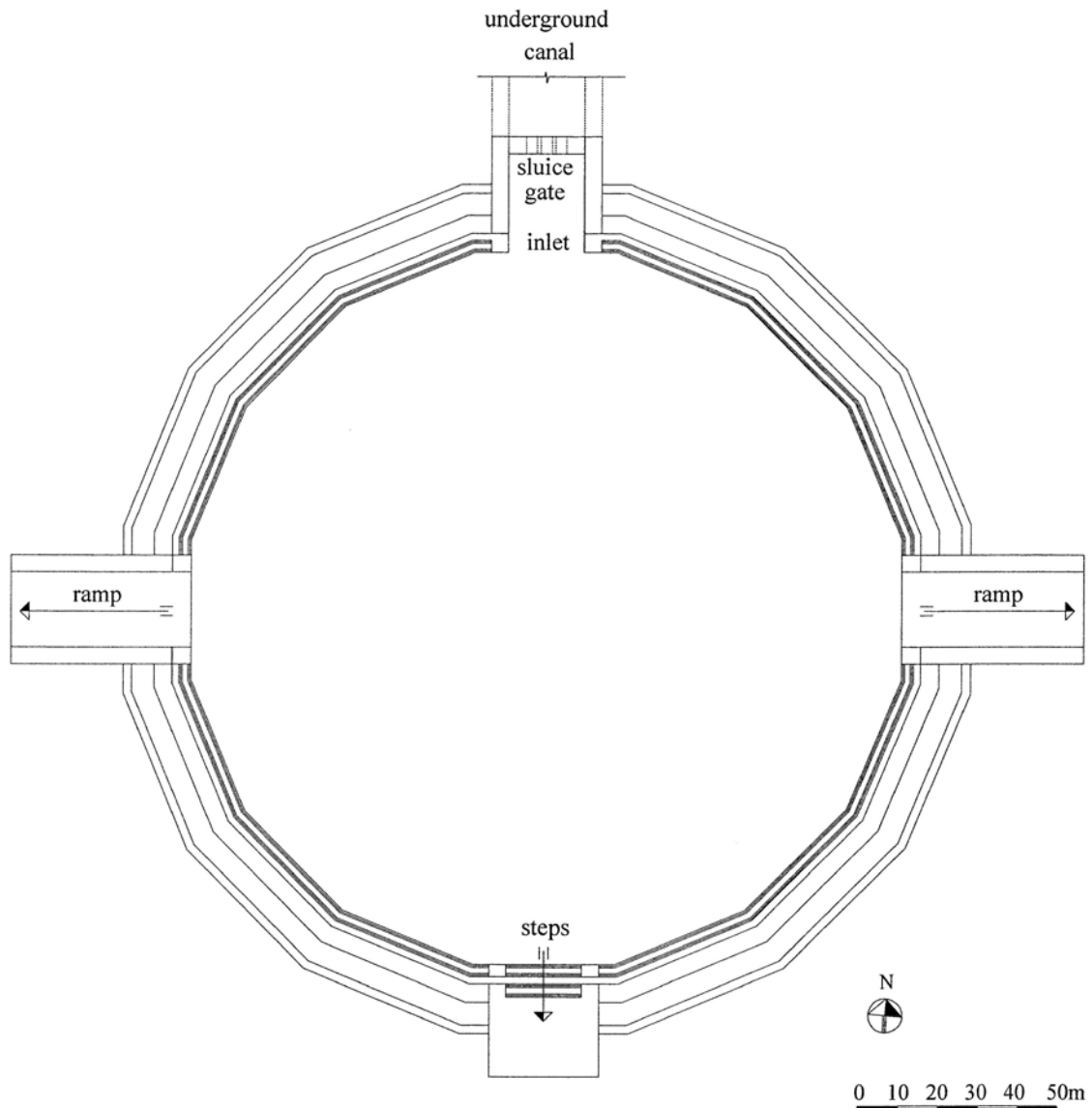


FIGURE 6.6 Veraval, *Bhal ka Talão*, plan.

the reservoir at Dhinoj<sup>23</sup> and, the most relevant example, the *Bhal ka Talão* at Veraval,<sup>24</sup> not far from Diu. The *talão*, fairly well preserved, is polygonal in plan (Figure 6.6), fed by an underground canal at

the north via the usual three circular sluice-gates. Stepped washing platforms (*ghaṭ* or *ghaṭṭa*) are provided at all sides of the reservoir as well as a set of steps in the south and two ramps at the east and west for bullock-cart access (Plate 6.20).

The sluices in Diu are smaller than those seen elsewhere, measuring about 1.18 m. in diameter and set about 0.57 m. apart (Figure 6.7, Plate 6.21). The depth of the sluices is 1.70 m., which might

23 Ibid., p. 110, pl. 100.

24 M. Shokoohy, 'The legacy of Islam in Somnath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LXXV, ii, 2012, pp. 301–3, figs. 1–2.



PLATE 6.20 Veraval, *Bhal ka Talão*. Above: view towards north-west, showing the *ghats* around the reservoir, the western ramps at the top right and modern stairs built in place of the southern ramp at the left. Below: looking north towards the three sluice gates.

have been similar to the width of the retaining walls around the rest of the reservoir. The inlet to the sluices would normally be a stone-lined watercourse to their east, but this has not survived. Fresh water must have been a matter of great concern, particularly on the east of the island, so the *Dhobī Talão's* neglected state is surprising; elsewhere in the region such reservoirs have been maintained with care even in modern times. Nevertheless, the site and the few surviving structural elements provide us with clear information about the size and capacity of the town's main water supply.

To the south east of the reservoir once stood the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Guia*, apparently

still functional in the mid-nineteenth century (Plate 6.2 no 5). Nothing of the church has survived and we have seen that a housing estate has developed in the area. With the decline of the Christian community, as with many other churches of the island, it must have been left neglected and eventually demolished. In the mid-nineteenth century to the north of the reservoir was a small settlement recorded in the 1859 map as *Bairro de Déres* (no 7, Ward of the Déres). This settlement was totally redeveloped in the late twentieth and the first decade of this century, and includes a hotel and resort.

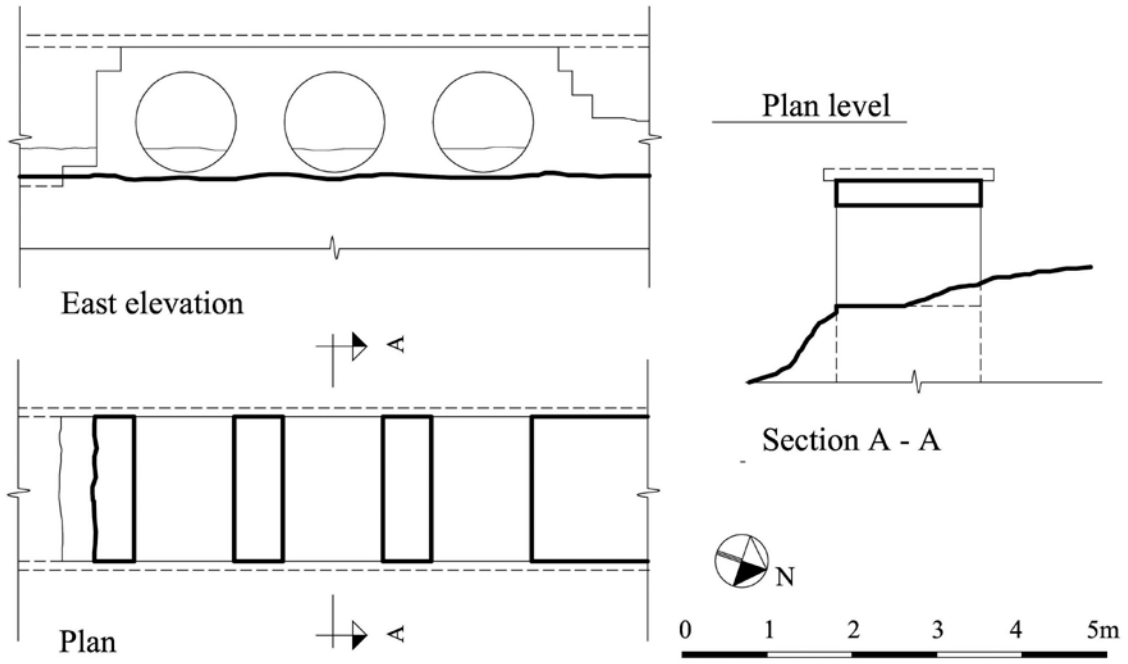


FIGURE 6.7 *Dhobi Talao*, sluices. Plan through the middle of the cylindrical openings, east elevation facing the reservoir and section through the central opening.



PLATE 6.21 Diu, *Dhobi Talao*, sluices, view from the reservoir.

## 5 Fudam

The once small village of Fudam<sup>25</sup> is situated at the eastern end of the island's fertile fields about two kilometres to the west of Diu town and half a kilometre north of the coast (Figures 6.1; 6.8). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the island was sparsely populated outside Diu town. According to the 1795 census of non-Portuguese residents of the island, the total population of the town was 3,723 and that of the rest of the island was 1,706.<sup>26</sup> Although there is no breakdown of the population of the villages, the presence of churches in Fudam and Vanakbara indicates that

they must have been the two major centres of population outside the town. The concentration of houses in the core of Fudam and the remains of the old mediaeval road also confirm that Fudam must have been a major settlement.

The village is now developing into a small town, with houses in the former fields to the south and south-west of the village. Some sizeable well-built Portuguese houses in the old village indicate its prosperity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. At the north-eastern edge of the village stands the Church of Our Lady of Remedies with a ruined reservoir to its west. The reservoir may be much older than the church and might have been

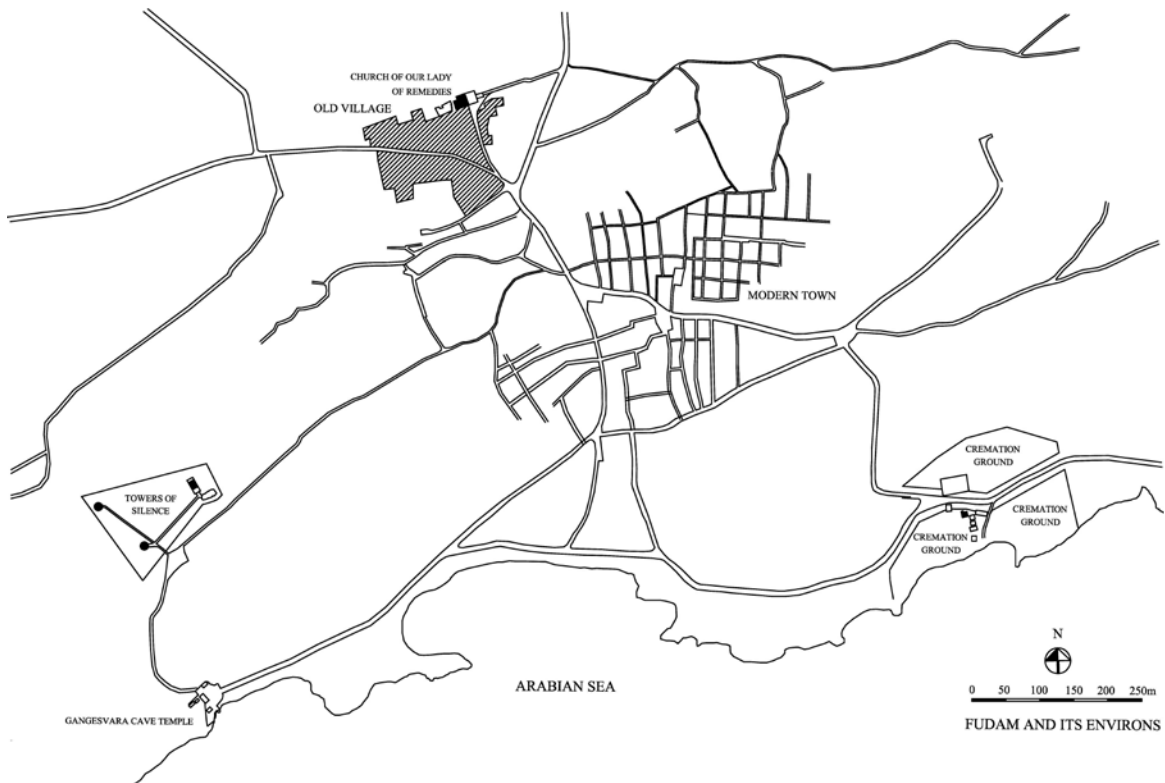


FIGURE 6.8 Fudam, plan of the town and its vicinity, with the hatched area showing the location of the Portuguese village and also showing the complex of the Zoroastrian Towers of Silence, the location of Gangesvara Temple and the Hindu cremation areas by the coast.

25 The name Fudam is not given in the 1859 Map, but marks, near the Church of Our Lady of Remedies (discussed below) a village called Podâme (Plate 6.2 no. 11), presumably the Portuguese name for Fudam.

26 *Arquivo*, 11, ii, pp. 404–5.

the main source of water for the village, but it has been abandoned and is now overgrown, with parts of its stone lining collapsing. On the coast to the south of the island are the Zoroastrian Towers of Silence, discussed in Chapter 5, the Hindu cremation grounds, and the Gangeśvara (Gangeshwar) temple dedicated to Lord Śiva (Plate 4.3).

### 5.1 *The Church of Our Lady of Remedies* (*Nossa Senhora de Remedios*)

With the departure of the Portuguese after 1961, Fudam lacks a Christian community, but its church is still maintained by the Parish of Diu, and used occasionally, especially on the Feast of Our Lady of Remedies on the first Sunday of May. On this occasion the whole village is enlivened with a festive atmosphere as most of the Christians of the island and those of nearby regions make a pilgrimage to the church and take part in the service. During the rest of the year the church is looked after by a non-Christian caretaker who keeps it open for the benefit of visitors and also some communities of Hindus who revere Our Lady of Remedies.<sup>27</sup>

The church (Figures 6.1, no 12; 6.8; Plate 6.3, no. 12) dominates the north-east corner of the old village, being set on a sloping hillock with the western side of the church almost at ground level but with a flight of steps at the eastern side ascending to a terrace in front of the eastern façade (Plate 6.22). The floor of the church is raised a further six steps above the level of the terrace. The setting is characteristic of Portuguese colonial churches in Diu and elsewhere, and makes this one a landmark visible from several kilometres away. Fudam's sizable churchyard to the south is at the same level and stands above the compactly built old village. The church's plan (Figure 6.9) follows the principle of the layout of other churches in Diu, and

consists of a nave (10.80 × 5.40 m.) with a choir (5.80 × 3.30 m.) at the western end. As with the churches in the town, both the nave and the choir are vaulted, the vault of the choir being decorated with coffering executed in plaster. With the exception of the church at Vanakbara and some parts of the upper floors of the seminaries of St Paul and of St Francis in Diu town, wood was hardly used in the construction of religious structures in Diu as it was an expensive commodity which had to be imported. The Portuguese, therefore, had to adapt their designs to employ local materials – stone and plaster – and local expertise.

The main entrance is in the east, but there are others to the north and the south, each opening into a square lobby with a door to the nave and another to the stairs which flank the eastern façade of the church. The lobby at the north side also opens into a chamber, probably used as a chapel. The southern one opens into an antechamber leading to the sacristy. In the northern wall of the antechamber a narrow staircase ascends to a small door opening onto the pulpit set on the south wall of the nave (Plate 6.23). The sacristy also has a door to the north giving direct access to the choir. The main stairs lead to a gallery in the form of a mezzanine at the eastern end of the nave over the entrance – a common feature of Portuguese churches in India – and continue up to a number of interconnected rooms over the chambers at the north and south of the nave. Those at the southern side are said to have been the chapter house. The rooms were recently restored to house small groups of priests, nuns, and laypeople of the neighbouring dioceses of Rajkot and Ahmadabad who come to Diu for short visits.<sup>28</sup> An external flight of steps was added in recent years on the north side.

The elevations are plain except the eastern façade which is decorated with features common in seventeenth-century Portuguese colonial churches, borrowing elements from European – or rather Iberian – mannerist architecture. Little

<sup>27</sup> Proenca, p. 13. Certain Hindu communities regard the Virgin, particularly *Nossa Senhora de Remedios*, to be one of the sisters of the goddess Lakshmi and protector of new-born babies. See B.R. Solanki, N.K. Sinha and J.F. Pereira (eds.), *People of India: Daman and Diu*, Bombay, 1994, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Proenca, p. 13.



PLATE 6.22 Fudam, Church of Our Lady of Remedies (12). Left: general view from south-east also showing part of the churchyard and the modern ramp to the church terrace. Right: eastern façade with the original steps to the terrace in the foreground.

of the exuberant baroque-style floral and foliated decoration, seen in many churches of Goa, is to be found here. The frontage of the nave is divided into two registers and the semi-circular arch of the main entrance is flanked by pairs of engaged columns. These are in the Tuscan style and set on pedestals, but the shafts are disproportionately taller than those of classical order. A cornice separates the lower register from the upper one with pairs of pilasters set on pedestals supported by the columns of the lower register flanking a rectangular window opening onto the mezzanine. The pilasters of the upper register follow classical proportions more closely, and support an entablature surmounted by a pair of finials at either side of a semi-circular gable panel, with an arched niche in the middle flanked by pairs of pilasters and surmounted by a cross. The whole frontage of the

nave is flanked by two lofty belfries in four registers housing the internal stairs. The towers appear taller than they actually are, as the top registers are simply walls with open arches for the bells, which are now missing. Each bell was accessed by an open flight of steps built on the roof, hidden partly by the parapets around the roof and partially visible from the ground (Plate 6.24).

Inside the church, the retablo set above the altar fills the east end of the choir (Plate 6.25). Finely carved in imported hardwood, it is the centrepiece of the church. In the central niche is an enthroned Virgin holding the Christ Child, the frame flanked by a pair of engaged *salomónicas* (barley-sugar columns) supporting a frieze surmounted by a semi-circular panel with an image of Christ raising his right hand in blessing set in a medallion at the centre. Above the panel, where one would expect

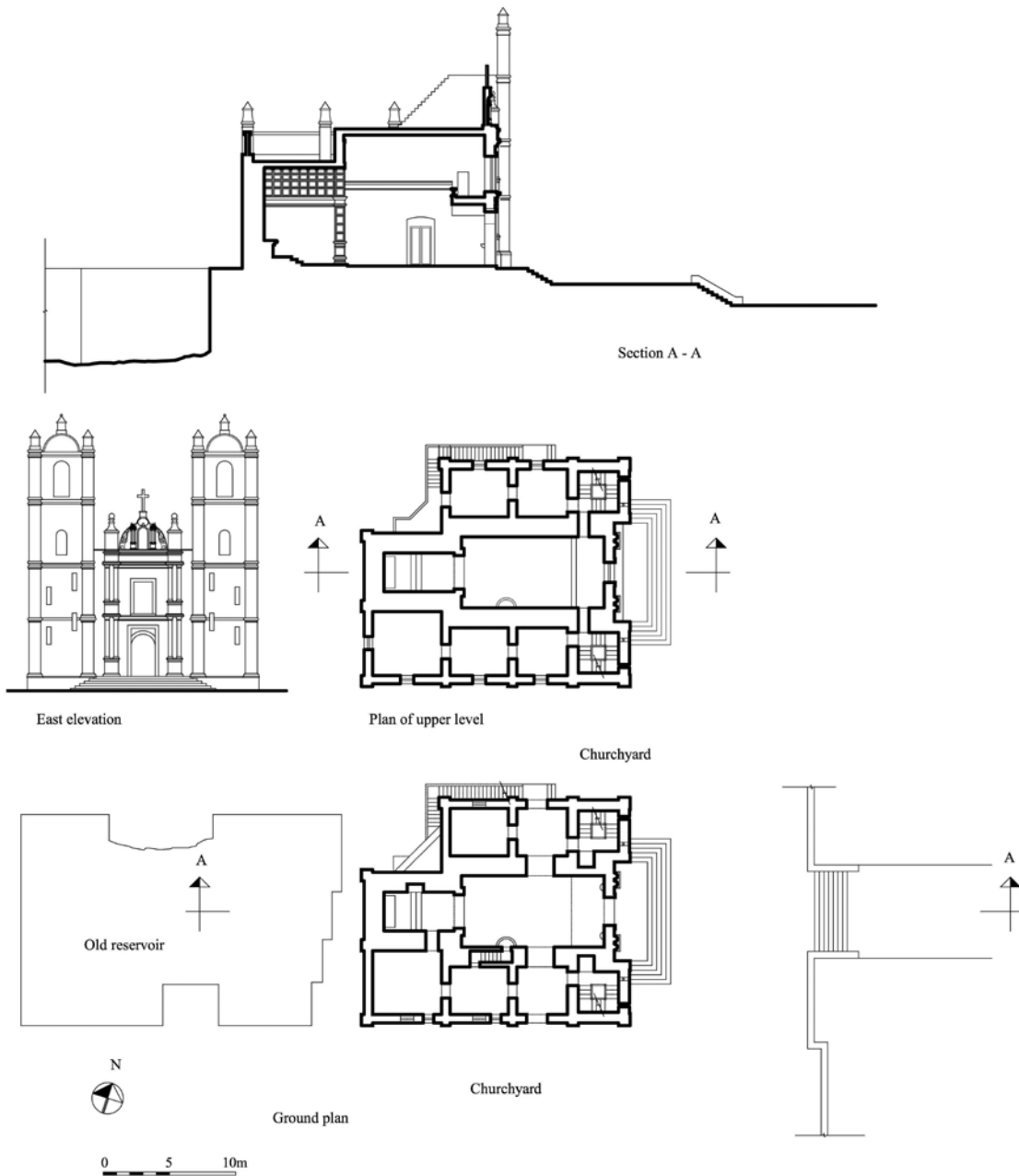


FIGURE 6.9 Fudam, Church of Our Lady of Remedies (12), ground plan also showing the outline of the old reservoir behind the church; plan of the upper level; east elevation and longitudinal section A-A.

an image of God the Father or a representation of the Holy Ghost, is the face of the Christ Child. In Daman and Goa such wooden retables are often gilded, but in Diu they are left with their natural finish or slightly stained, which, as with this case,

displays the exquisite craftsmanship of their carving (Plate 6.26).

Although a small village church, *Nossa Senhora de Remedios* is built with some elegance, conforming in style – particularly on the eastern



PLATE 6.23 Church of Our Lady of Remedies, interior view looking south-west towards the pulpit and the choir.



PLATE 6.24 Church of Our Lady of Remedies, view of the roof looking north-east towards the back of the two walls with arched openings for hanging bells, accessed by two flights of steps. The walls give the effect of bell-towers on the eastern façade (Plate 6.22, right). The exterior of the vault of the nave can also be seen between the stairs.



PLATE 6.25 Church of Our Lady of Remedies, the carved retablo above the altar.

façade – with the grander colonial churches of the seventeenth century. As far as the date is concerned, according to Father Proenca – presumably using the parish records – the church was built in 1667.<sup>29</sup> In the disruption which followed immediately after the Indian takeover in 1961 many Portuguese inscriptions were removed or obliterated, but it seems that if the church ever had a foundation inscription it might have disappeared long ago as Cunha Rivara does not mention it in his 1865 list of inscriptions. However, among the loose inscriptions found in the island and collected in the churchyard of St Thomas's Church (the Sé Museum) there is a fragmentary inscription which is likely to belong to the Piazza Cross

29 Ibid.



PLATE 6.26 Church of Our Lady of Remedies, detail of the carved retablo.

(*cruzeiro*) outside the church, as the words *crus* and *Remedios* with the date AD 1667 are clear.<sup>30</sup> If the inscription is indeed from the missing cross of Our Lady of Remedies its date corresponds with that given for the church.

In spite of the suggested date many aspects of the design follow those of earlier churches. In plan the building is closer to St James's Chapel in Diu Fort (Figure 3.9), dating from the mid- to late sixteenth century, and St Thomas's in the town (Figure 4.15), built in 1598. The arrangement of the façade, too, in spite of its decoration with 'classical' columns, pilasters, pediments, and other

30 Appendix, Inscription no. 69.

elements such as the decorative walls instead of belfry towers, is close to that of St Thomas's (Plate 4.43). In later buildings the concept of such towers is either abandoned or dramatically altered to appear only as square chambers over the roof. The semi-octagonal pulpit (Plate 6.23) inside the Fudam church, supported by an octagonal free-standing column, again resembles its counterpart in St Thomas's. This type of pulpit appears mainly in the earlier Portuguese colonial churches. In the seventeenth century the preferred form was a balcony or kiosk (a balcony with a canopy above) cantilevered from the wall,<sup>31</sup> a fine example of which is found in St Paul's cathedral (Plate 4.59). The old-fashioned features of the Fudam church probably indicate that it was built before 1667 and was at this date restored with a modern façade and a new *cruzeiro*. On the other hand, if the church was built in 1667 its style may indicate that existing drawings of earlier churches were used as blueprints, adapted to reflect the tastes of the second half of the seventeenth century.

## 5.2 *The Old Building in the Cremation Grounds*

Along the coast and to the east of the *dakhmas* and the Gangeśvara temple are the Hindu cremation grounds and many buildings, which are

mostly modern but include a few older structures. They are mainly used for storing wood, and are not of architectural merit, except for one structure with an unusual plan, probably dating from the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Figure 6.10, Plate 6.27). Constructed from blocks of local stone and originally plastered, the structure is almost square in plan, each side being slightly over 8 m. long, and consists of seven interconnected domed units arranged on three sides of a patio the size of two of the domed units. Around the patio, eave-stones run below the parapet of the roof; these exterior features indicate that the patio was unroofed.

The structure is plain and its semi-circular arches are borrowed from Portuguese architecture, but the corbelled domes are in the old Hindu tradition employed extensively both in Hindu and in Muslim architecture (Plate 6.28). In Diu, however, they appear only in the fourteenth-century Karao Jāmi' mosque (Plate 4.12). The few domed buildings of the Portuguese period have true domes in the Islamic fashion, raised on squinches as seen in St Paul's Seminary (Plate 4.62). The incorporation of corbelled domes in the building at the cremation ground may be an intentional reference to earlier Hindu architecture, emphasising the identity of the building. Three semi-circular steps in

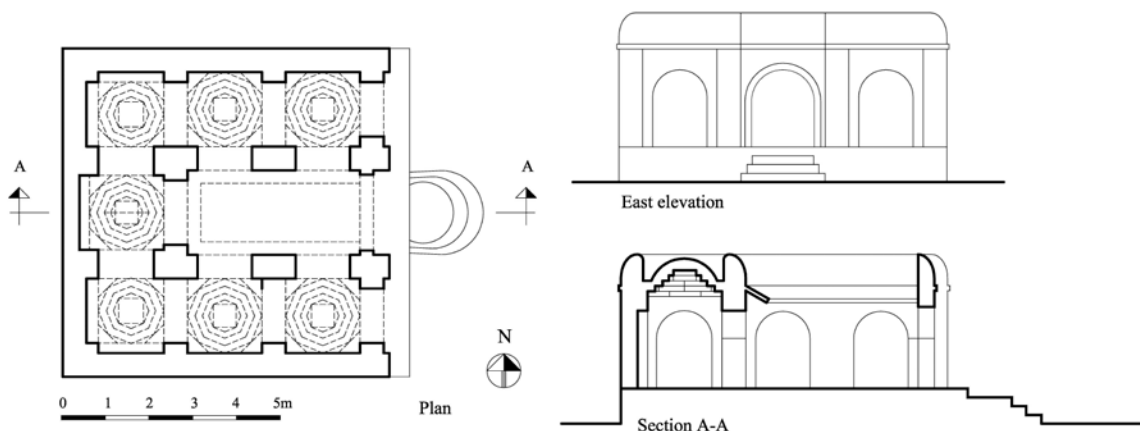


FIGURE 6.10 Fudam, old building built around a patio in the cremation grounds, plan, section and east (front) elevation showing the building in its original condition.

31 J. Pereira, *Baroque India*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 356–60.



PLATE 6.27 Fudam, old building in the cremation grounds, general view from south-east. The eaves of the patio and part of the fallen roof of the southern wing can be seen.



PLATE 6.28 Fudam, old building in the cremation grounds, the standing domed units at the west side of the structure looking north.

front of the patio are also a reference to the steps of Hindu temples, although as with the corbelled domes the workmanship is rudimentary.

The function of the building is not entirely clear. The site, a sacred Hindu ground, leaves little doubt that the building must have belonged to the Hindu community, but both in plan and in general appearance the building bears no resemblance to a temple and such a function is unlikely. It is more likely that the building was used for cremation: the funeral pyre would have been placed in the open patio and the mourners would have gathered in the roofed chambers. It should be noted that buildings with a layout similar to this one do not seem to have been reported in cremation grounds anywhere else in Gujarat or elsewhere in India.

## 6 Naida

### 6.1 *The Dargāh of Pīr Ḥabash Bābā*

Travelling west on the modern road which skirts the north of the farmlands, to the north of the village of Naida and about two kilometres (1.24 miles) east of Vanakbara, stands the tomb chamber of Pīr



PLATE 6.29 The shrine of Pīr Ḥabash Bābā, view from north-east. The veranda appears to be later in date. It is not keyed to the domed chamber, indicated by a line on the exterior wall, and its crenulations differ from those of the domed chamber.

Ḥabash Bābā (Figure 6.1, no 39; Plate 6.4 no. 39), one of the most revered Muslim religious sites outside the town of Diu. To the south of the shrine (*dargāh*) is an old graveyard still in use and shaded by mature trees. Many of the tombstones are in the traditional stepped pyramidal form, but some later and modern tombstones have different designs. Little is known about the Pīr, except that – as his name indicates – he, or a forebear, would have been a black slave from East Africa. During the period of the sultanate of Gujarat numerous slaves were brought from East Africa, and were known as *Ḥabashī* or *Ḥabshī*, meaning ‘Abyssinian’. Many of them entered royal service as soldiers and some were elevated to the rank of noblemen. There were, however, some *Ḥabashīs* who chose the path of a pious life and were greatly respected, amongst them Shaikh Sa‘īd al-Ḥabashī or Sīdī Sa‘īd (d. 1576), a learned man in the service of Sultan Maḥmūd (1537–54).<sup>32</sup> In 978/1570 he built a mosque in

Ahmadabad which is one of the finest examples of Gujarat architecture.<sup>33</sup> The *Ḥabashīs* are also addressed as *Sīdī*, from the Arabic *sayyid*, meaning ‘nobleman’. We have already seen a small community of people of African origin living in Diu Town; they are also known as *Sīdīs*, but they seem to be mostly the descendants of slaves brought by the Portuguese and do not have the high status of the *Ḥabashīs* of the Sultanate period.<sup>34</sup> The shrine of Ḥabash Pīr is, however, revered by all Muslims.

ethnographers, but for the personality of Sīdī Sa‘īd see, *Ẓafar al-wāliḥ*, 11 (Arabic), pp. 640–43. The author, Al-Makkī, seems to have been personally acquainted with the Shaikh.

32 Much has been written about the Ḥabashis, both in Indian histories and by modern historiographers and

33 The Sīdī Sa‘īd or Sīdī Sayyid Mosque is renowned for its widely illustrated *jālī* (pierced stone screen) work. For studies of the mosque see J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, part 1, pp. 41–43, pls 46–51; M. Shokoohy, ‘The Sidi Sayyid or Sidi Said Mosque in Ahmadabad’, in K.X. Robbins and J. McLeod (eds), *African Elites in India: Habshi Amarat*, Ahmadabad, 2006, pp. 144–61, figs. 3.1–3.13.

34 Solanki, Sinha, and Pereira, *People of India*, pp. 168–73, under Siddi.

The tomb is a simple square domed chamber with an arched veranda at the eastern side which was apparently added later as it is not keyed into the chamber and its plain crenellations differ from those in the traditional Mughal or post-Mughal form around the domed chamber itself (Plate 6.29). Within the chamber are a single central tomb and a plain *mihṛāb*, semi-circular in plan, built into the western wall, but without the traditional exterior projection (Figure 6.11). The chamber is roofed with a true, almost hemispheric, dome standing on squinches built – unusually – into the corners of the walls rather than on top of the walls to create an octagonal transitional zone. As a result, the dome rises directly over the walls and on the exterior the dome does not rest on the usual drum or octagonal base (Plate 6.30).



PLATE 6.30 The shrine of Pir Ḥabash Bābā, interior looking west and showing the *mihṛāb* and two of the squinches built at an unusually low level into the corner of the walls rather than being set over the walls in the conventional way.

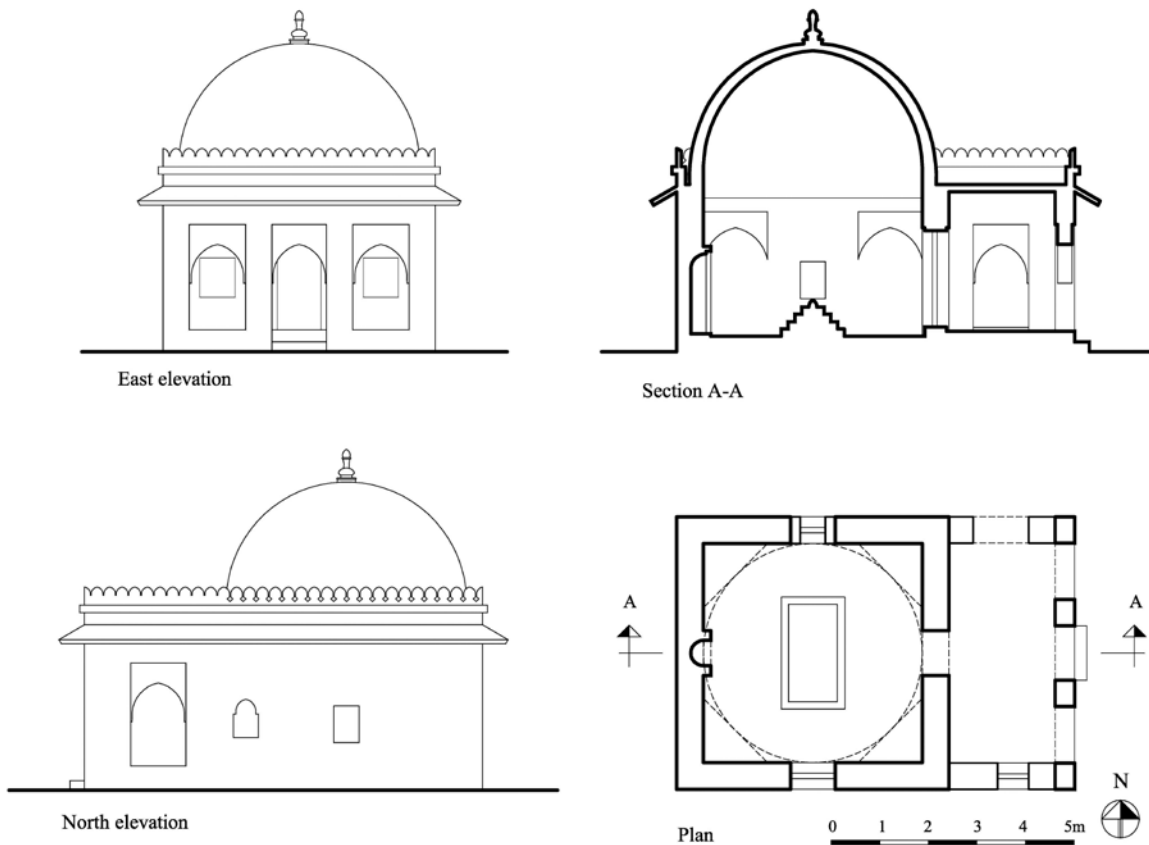


FIGURE 6.11 The shrine of Pir Ḥabash Bābā (39), plan, section and north and east elevations.

Squinches built into the wall appear very rarely in India, and only in some fairly early Islamic provincial structures. Examples are the tombs of Kamāl Maulā and Maḥmūd Khaljī (d. 937/1530–31) in Dhar and the Kālā Gunbad at Nagaur, but such early buildings are distinguished by their heavy construction and thick walls.<sup>35</sup> The walls of Kālā Gunbad, for example, are over two metres thick. The shrine of Pīr Ḥabash, on the other hand, is a light structure, about 5.60 m. square on the exterior with walls less than 0.60 m. thick, an indication that the building could not have been built earlier than the seventeenth century, and is probably a little later. There may be other reasons behind the unusual arrangement of the squinches. In St Paul's Seminary squinches of the domed chambers are also built into the walls, but at a higher level, where in a European building we would expect to see pendentives. It is likely that the domes of the seminary were originally designed to stand over pendentives, but the local builders, unfamiliar with pendentives, replaced them with squinches, a form with which they were well acquainted. In St Paul's the squinches were then decorated with moulded plasterwork in shell patterns, which as both a maritime icon and symbol for Christian pilgrimage would have conformed to the taste of the Portuguese patrons. The squinches in Pīr Ḥabash Bābā may, therefore, follow a local tradition which developed out of necessity fairly late in Portuguese Diu. They do, however, give the tomb chamber an archaic appearance, particularly on the interior.

## 7 Vanakbara (Brancavará)

A fishing village and still a centre for building traditional large wooden ships, much in the style

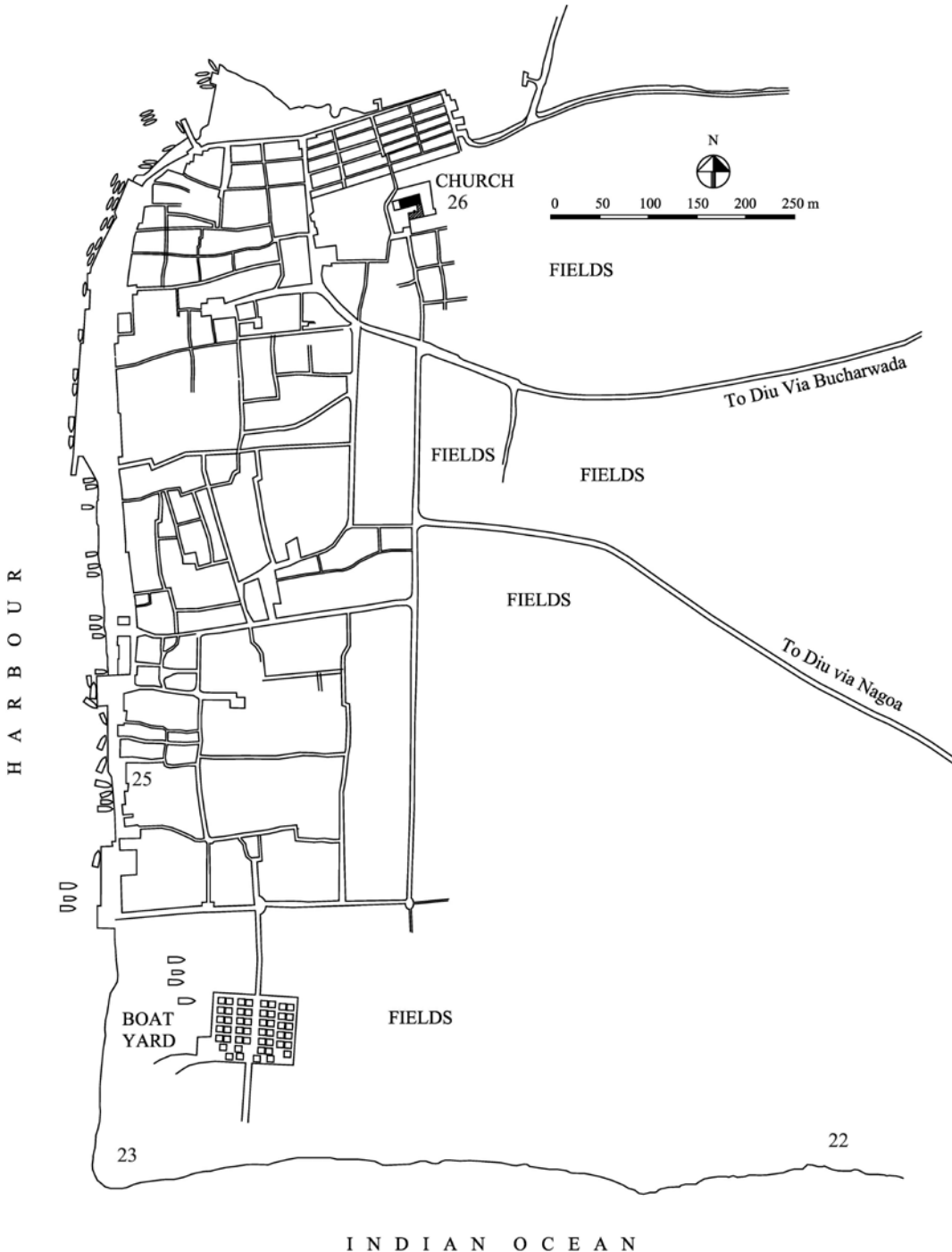
of mediaeval Muslim vessels, Vanakbara benefits from a long stretch of natural harbour with calm water at the south-western end of the island (Figure 6.12). The three Portuguese forts – or rather observation posts, already described – have long gone and the sites of the two outside Vanakbara are vacant, while that of the one which stood on the shore in the middle of the harbour is now taken by new buildings. The economy of the town is still based on fishing with the nearby farmlands providing fresh fruits and vegetables and some commodities imported from the mainland, sold in a daily market (Plate 6.31) on the open space on the outskirts of the built-up area, to the east of the town.

The harbour is shallow and unsuitable for large ships, but ideal for small fishing vessels and today the catches are speedily packed on ice – produced in the village – and exported by truck to markets as far away as Mumbai. The core of the old village is at the north side of the settlement which has gradually developed alongside the harbour, with the southern parts occupied by warehouses, workshops, and huts for sorting and packing the daily catch. The heart of old Vanakbara is a small and charming square surrounded by Mediterranean style houses (Plate 6.32), but the fishermen's dwellings are fairly rudimentary and in spite of the high demand for their catch the village lacks the signs of prosperity seen elsewhere in Diu.

Vanakbara is also one of the ports in Western India where the traditional ocean-going Muslim-style ships are repaired, restored or built from scratch (Plate 6.33). Among other ports where this practice has survived is Veraval in Saurashtra, not far from Vanakbara. The wood for the construction of new ships is imported from South East Asia, as, in Diu island or indeed anywhere in Saurashtra, suitable wood for ship-building is not available.

The majority of the population is Hindu, mainly from fishermen and sailor castes including the Kharwas and Kolis, but other castes, particularly farmers, also live in the town and cultivate the

35 The tombs of Kamāl Maulā and Maḥmūd Khaljī have not yet been investigated. For the mosque of Kamāl Maulā at Dhar (c.1400) see P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, [Bombay, 1942] 7th repr. 1981, p. 60. For Kālā Gunbad see M. Shokoohy and N.H. Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, London, 1993, pp. 46–47, 76, fig. 20, pl. 16.



**Key** (Numbers from 1859 Map):  
 22 *Forte de Nossa Senhora de Graca*, site of; 23 *Forte de Barra*, site of; 25 *Forte de Brancavará*, site of; 26 *Igreja de Santo André* (now Our Lady of Mercy)

**FIGURE 6.12** Vanakbara (Brancavará) town plan. The area immediately to the south and the west of the church retains part of the old fabric of the village, but the other areas are mostly later developments. The harbour stretches along the whole of the waterfront.



PLATE 6.31 Vanakbara, the lively morning market with mainly women sellers of fresh fruit and vegetables. The building in the middle background is in the 'European' style and from the Portuguese era. Others in various styles are of later dates.



PLATE 6.32 Vanakbara, the old village square surrounded by houses of the Portuguese era.



PLATE 6.33 Vanakbara, ship-building yards to the south of the town on or near the demolished site of the *Forte de Barra*. Left: a ship being refitted; right: a new ship being built with imported wood.

fields to the east of Vanakbara.<sup>36</sup> While the only significant building of Vanakbara is its church, it, like Fudam, lacks a Christian community. However, there is a small prosperous community of Khojas – Muslims of the *Ismā'īlī* sect – who live in the north of Vanakbara and believe that they are not natives of Diu, but immigrated to Vanakbara four generations ago from the Gujarat mainland.<sup>37</sup> Their main occupation is buying the local catch and exporting fresh and dried fish to other regions.

#### 7.1 *Jamā'at Khāna or Khoja Khāna*

The small mosque of the *Ismā'īlīs* is of late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century origin (Plates 6.34 and 6.35). As is usual with *Ismā'īlī* places of worship, it is called *Jamā'at Khāna* or *Khoja Khāna*.

The building, which is set at the end of an alley, dates from the Portuguese era and has been extended at later dates. Although modest, its significance is in having been built in the heart of a town for a newly arrived Muslim community, apparently welcomed by the Portuguese, but perhaps resented by the Hindu population. A short worn-out inscription by the entrance of the mosque and another at the entrance of the alley together make a significant point.<sup>38</sup> Dated 8 July 1927, it was set up by Lieutenant José Quirino, who was in charge of the government of Diu, and carries a clause prohibiting 'our Hindus' from playing music or dancing during their processions between the two inscriptions, virtually banning Hindus from carrying out festive activities near the mosque. Given the Khojas' belief that they immigrated only four generations ago, they would have been new to Vanakbara in 1927, and Quirino's order must have been part of the Portuguese policy to treat the Khojas with respect, protect their place

36 Solanki, Sinha, and Pereira, *People of India*, pp. 85–92, 99–108.

37 Khojas are followers of the Aga Khan and differ from the Bohras, another *Ismā'īlī* community in Gujarat who trace their origins to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustaṣfir (427–87/1036–94) and do not follow the Aga Khan. Solanki, Sinha, and Pereira, p. 93.

38 Appendix, Inscription no. 150.



PLATE 6.34 Vanakbara, the mosque of the small Ismā'īlī Khoja community known as the *Jamā'at Khāna*, view from the small yard at the west looking towards the prayer hall through the veranda.



PLATE 6.35 Vanakbara, the *Jamā'at Khāna*, view of the exterior of the *qibla* wall showing the projection of the *mihrāb*.

of worship, and curtail the development of friction between the newcomers and the local population.

### 7.2 *The Church of Our Lady of Mercy (Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia)*

Built near the coast and just outside the old village, the Church of Our Lady of Mercy (Figure 6.1.

no. 26; Plate 6.4 no. 26) is the only significant monument in Vanakbara (Plate 6.36). The church was originally dedicated to St Andrew (*Santo André*), and the parish of Vanakbara is still known by his name, but with the departure of the Christians the building, while still Church property, houses a local school. The church was constructed by the efforts of Archbishop Dom Friar Christovão a little earlier than 1617 and most probably in 1616.<sup>39</sup>

In design and construction, the Vanakbara church departs from familiar norms, although the ground plan is fairly similar to other churches, consisting of an 11.70 × 6.70 m. nave leading to a choir of 6.65 × 4.55 m. (Figure 6.13), with the customary wooden retablo over the altar. The church is entered through a porch with a flat roof and arched openings (Plate 6.36). The choir is orientated towards the east. Indian churches usually have the altar in the west, but there are exceptions, such as the Church of St Francisco (Figure 4.16), where the altar is in the north, and St Anne's chapel (Figure 4.20), where it is in the north-east.

The walls of the nave are reinforced with massive piers on the inside and buttresses on the exterior. St Paul's and St Francis's churches in Diu town also have buttresses, but they are light and well-proportioned to give balance and rhythm to the elevation, whereas here the buttresses

39 *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 619–20. The construction of this church and another called Veracruz is noted in letters exchanged between the Marquez of Alemquer, duke of Francavilla, dated 28 March 1617, and the viceroy of India. In his letter the duke mentions the Viceroy's letters of a year earlier, when the archbishop was in Diu, making the most probable date for the church 1616. The location of Veracruz is not known as there is no known church by this name in the town of Diu or on the island, but only a few churches of Diu have survived. As far as the date of the Vanakbara church is concerned, Proenca (p. 13) gives it as 1630 and Pereira (*Baroque India*, p. 244) as late as 1787. We can presume that Proenca relied on church documents at his disposal, and his date, thirteen years later than the date of the Duke's letter, may refer to some aspect of the completion of the building. Pereira does not give the source for his date, but it may refer to an addition or a renovation. Many of the Diu churches were restored in the eighteenth century.



PLATE 6.36 Vanakbara, the Church of Our Lady of Mercy (26), view from the south-west. On the right are the stairs to the chapter house and open walkway which passes through arched openings in the buttresses, giving access to the gallery over the west end of the nave as well as to the terrace over the porch. The door below the stairs opens to the ante-chamber of the sacristy.

are heavy, plain, and disproportionately large. Nevertheless, they give a sense of identity to this otherwise plain structure. The piers on the interior support the main wooden beams of the flat ceiling of the nave with rafters set over and across the beams (Plate 6.38). The beams are planed and roughly smoothed but the rafters are uneven tree trunks set close to each other without much attention to aesthetics. With the exception of St Anne's Chapel in Diu, this is the only church in which timber is used in its roof structure. Whereas in St Anne's the timber is properly planed and squared up, the work here is rudimentary and functional. The choir, however, is vaulted, with its spring course marked by a moulded frieze. A door in the south wall of the choir opens to the sacristy, a rectangular room with a flat ceiling of timber beams and rafters but an arched platform at the eastern end, originally used as a private altar.

The sacristy can also be entered directly from the churchyard via a small antechamber.

As with other colonial churches, there is a gallery at the western end of the nave above the entrance (Plate 6.39). An interesting feature in this building is the external access to this gallery. Internal access is the norm, but here a staircase in the south-eastern end of the churchyard ascends to a landing that opens to the chapter house built over the sacristy at the south side of the choir and to a roofless passage (Plates 6.40–6.41) which runs through arched openings in the buttresses on the south wall.

The passage also leads via three steps to the terrace over the entrance porch. The porch's western façade is the only ornamented part of the exterior, with a stone-faced elevation divided by pilasters into five decorative bays, with a wide central arch and blind windows with pediments above them for



PLATE 6.37 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, veranda, interior looking north, with the entrance to the church at the right. The ceiling is constructed with wooden rafters, not all straight pieces and only roughly planed.

the other bays (Plate 6.36). The pediments seem to be an allusion to neo-classical architecture, but their height is out of proportion with their bases. As a whole the ornamentation is not elaborate, and does not rival that of other churches of the island.

It is not clear whether the porch is an integral part of the design or a later addition. Porches are not common in Indo-Portuguese churches, but are seen in a few examples, including in St Francis's church and monastery in Diu town, where the design is well proportioned and the porch, with three wide arches in front of it, harmonizes with the architecture of the complex (though it may still be a later addition). In the case of Vanakbara,

if the porch is later, the pseudo neo-classical features might indicate an eighteenth-century date.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the broad external staircase to the upper tier there is another set of steps on the south side of the church (Plate 6.40), housed between two of the buttresses, giving access from outside to the pulpit situated on the south wall of the nave (Plates 6.38, 6.39). The pulpit is in the form of a cantilevered balcony, very different in design from that in the church at Fudam, which is supported by a column. The Vanakbara pulpit, constructed with masonry, is a simplified version of the more ornate wooden type which often bears elaborate carvings, as seen in St Paul's Cathedral in Diu town. While pulpits supported by columns appear in earlier Indo-Portuguese churches, the type seen in Vanakbara and St Paul's is most commonly found in seventeenth-century buildings.

The only elaborate piece inside the Vanakbara church is the retable carved out of fine-grained wood, imported from East Africa or the Far East (Plate 6.42).<sup>41</sup> As with the retables of other churches, the design is entirely European, again with a pair of engaged *salomónicas* – barley-sugar columns – rising over a plinth at either side of an arched niche that houses an image of the standing Virgin and Child. Above the twisted columns is a pronounced entablature surmounted by a carved semi-circular arch representing heaven. The retables at Diu may have been carved elsewhere, probably in Goa, but the hands of Indian craftsmen can be discerned, particularly in the images. The retable of Vanakbara fits uncomfortably on the altar wall as it is narrow and tall, almost touching the ceiling but leaving large areas of the wall exposed on either side.

The timber used in the roof structure is unlikely to be from the island or its neighbouring areas.

<sup>40</sup> It is perhaps the date of this porch that Pereira (*Baroque India*, pp. 140, 244) gives as the date of the church itself.

<sup>41</sup> The wood of this retable and others has not been tested to see whether it is East African rosewood or Burmese teak, both of which were imported by the Portuguese for carving. Proenca, *Baroque India*, p. 11.

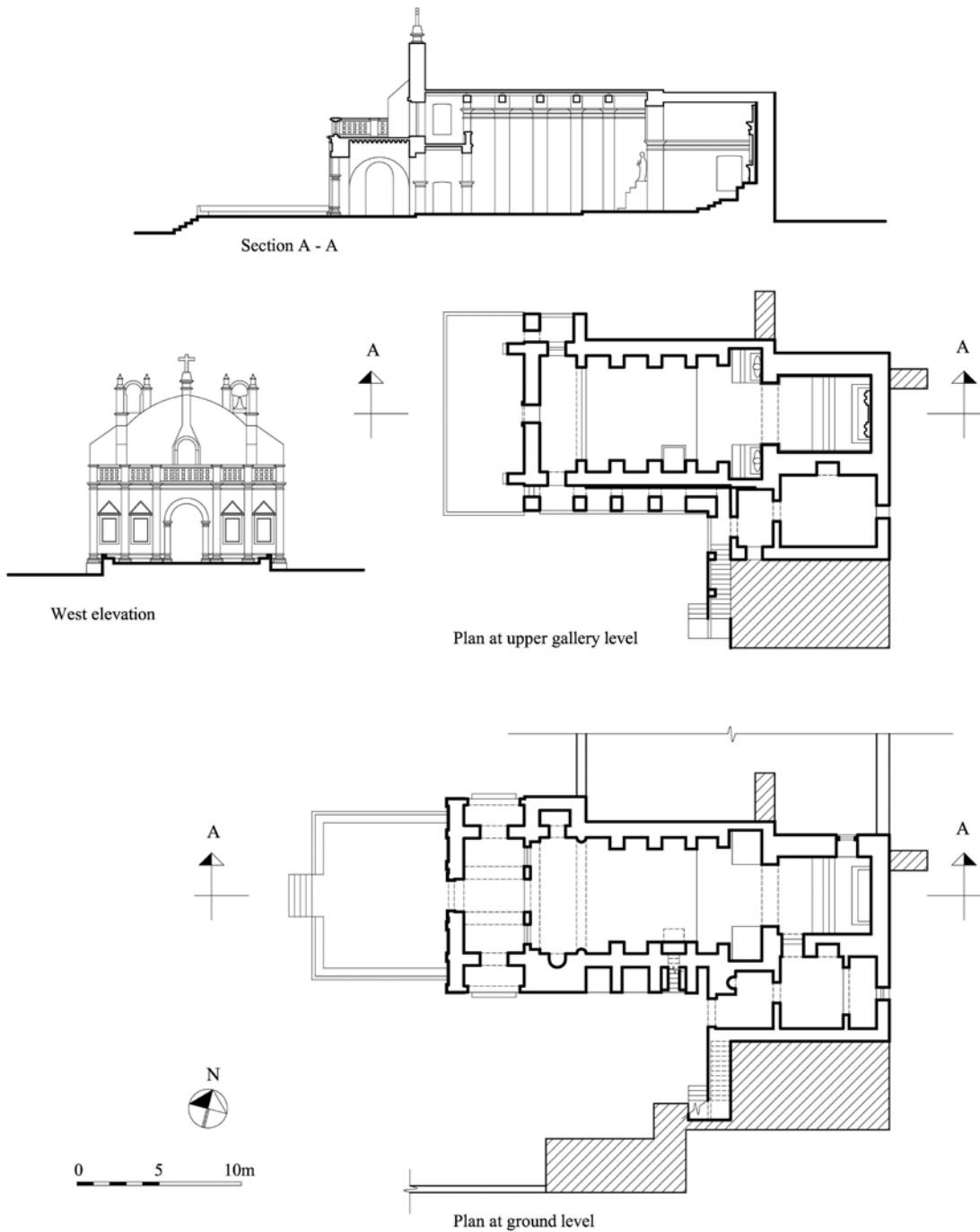


FIGURE 6.13 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy. Ground plan also showing the sacristy; plan of the upper level showing the gallery over the west end of the nave, the terrace over the porch and the chapter house at south-east; longitudinal section A-A and west elevation.



PLATE 6.38 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, interior of the nave looking east towards the choir with the pulpit seen on the right. Some of the wooden beams and rafters of the ceiling can also be seen.



PLATE 6.39 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, interior view of the nave looking west and showing the roof structure, the gallery over the entrance and the pulpit.



PLATE 6.40 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, the steps between two of the buttresses on the south exterior of the building, giving access to the pulpit, and above the steps, part of the open walkway passing through the arched openings in the buttresses.



PLATE 6.41 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, the roofless passage at the upper level, south side, giving access to the western gallery and to the roof of the veranda, view from east end looking west.



PLATE 6.42 Vanakbara, Church of Our Lady of Mercy, the altar and the retablo.



PLATE 6.43 Modern road through the farmlands from Vanakbara to Buchavada, looking east.

It must have been imported, perhaps from other regions of India. The Vanakbara church is not an imposing structure, but it does have unique characteristics. Although a plain building, as a village church it is not without charm.

Here our journey through the island comes to a close. A journey which explored the fort and town to the east and the fishing town of Vanakbara to the west – from the historical remains to the south to the salt pans and lush green farms (Plate 6.43) to the centre and the north. Unlike in many other Portuguese colonies, the variety of surviving cultural and historical edifices in Diu is extensive. Pleasant Portuguese houses still fill the spaces between narrow lanes and urban and village squares with a Mediterranean flavour, but equally interesting is the survival of many buildings

associated with other faiths. The legacies of the Zoroastrians and the Muslims – virtually eradicated in Daman and Goa – are still evident on this small island which preserves its rich and diverse culture from the early fourteenth century to the present. Even the temples of earlier periods which have not survived are attested to by many sculptural relics discovered on the island and now kept in Diu Fort, the garden of the former governor's mansion (now the Office of the Collector), and the Sé Museum.

An extensive study of the inscriptions, extant or otherwise, which are witness to the chequered history of the island, not just from the Portuguese standpoint, allows all with an interest in the proud cultural heritage of this unique island to tie in hard evidence with the living built environment.



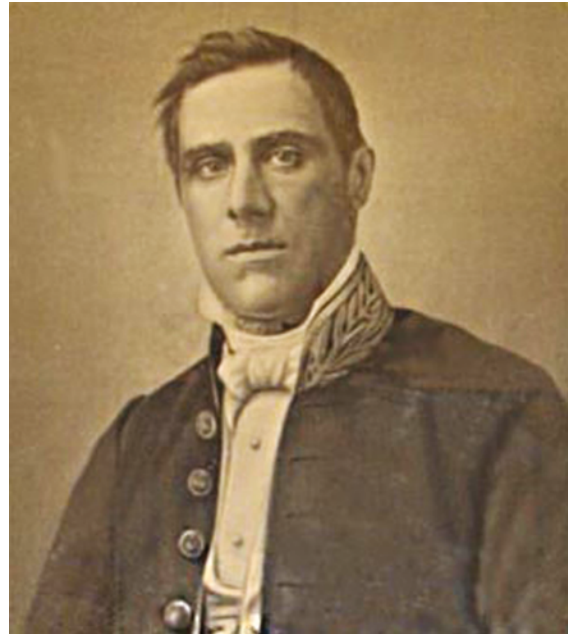
## Inscriptions of Diu

### A Catalogue of Existing and Reported Inscriptions in Chronological Order with Texts and Translations

Portuguese historical accounts concerning the construction and development of edifices of the town, fort and island of Diu are scarce. On the other hand, many of the structures bear inscriptions recording their building or restoration. These epigraphs are a major source of information on the history and development of Portuguese Diu, as are the many tombstones. The first systematic record was made in January 1859, when Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (Plate A.1), Secretary of the Governor General of Goa, was sent to Diu to settle a boundary dispute with the British regarding their territory at Diu, and spent his leisure time making a record of Portuguese inscriptions, which he published in 1865. The 1859 Map prepared for him is a valuable resource, and he also left his own inscription, when the border was settled.

In most cases a soft local stone was used for epigraphic records and many are partly or extensively eroded. Furthermore, in the period immediately after the departure of the Portuguese in 1961, many inscriptions were obliterated, removed or destroyed, although in later dates the local authorities collected scattered slabs and preserved them either in the yard of the old cathedral of St Thomas, later converted to the Sé Museum (Figure 4.15), or within the enclosure of the Powder Magazine (Figure 3.8) in the fort. The fort itself is a protected monument under the Archaeological Survey of India. Cunha Rivara's work, therefore, is of great value, as it not only records many inscriptions which no longer exist, but also gives many others which survive only in fragments, making it possible to reconstruct the full texts from his record.

In spite of the poor state of preservation of the epigraphs the information they provide for dating buildings or sites discussed in this book has been significant. While a detailed epigraphic study was outside the



Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809–1879), c.1855, historian, philologist and administrator who was responsible for the development of the *Arquivo Português-Oriental* (1857–1876), for which he transcribed in chronological order the documents found in the East about Portuguese rule.  
PHOTO FROM WIKIPEDIA, PUBLIC DOMAIN

scope of the project presented here, which concerns architecture and urban development, nevertheless, in the course of the fieldwork whenever inscriptions were found they were recorded, photographed if possible, and their texts transcribed on site. The authors remain indebted to Diana Pereira for help with translating the Portuguese inscriptions and Henry Arrowsmith Brown who interpreted the Latin texts.

The inscriptions are presented here in chronological order and their original location or present whereabouts mentioned. The texts of those inscriptions noted by Cunha Rivara, but which could not be traced, are given according to his record; others are given after our own transcription from the stones themselves, but if also reported by Cunha Rivara reference to him is given

with the initials CR followed by his inscription number. Cunha Rivara transcribed the inscriptions in both upper and lower case, often with modernised spelling, while the original texts are usually entirely in capital letters with many words in *scripto defectivo* or with other special features such as combined letters which are significant for representing of the epigraphic style

### 1 – c.1300s probably 1346–7: Headstone of a Muslim tomb preserved in the Sé Museum



The oldest known epitaph in Diu pre-dates the Portuguese, and is unique in being a headstone of a grave, whereas the surviving Muslim tombs in Diu are of the stepped pyramidal form.<sup>1</sup> Our specimen seems to be associated with a different tradition, seen in other parts of Gujarat as well as Muslim trading settlements as far south as Kayalpatnam in Tamil Nadu.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Portuguese inscriptions and two other Muslim inscriptions of the Portuguese period in Diu, which are all incised, the text is carved in relief and each line framed – both early conventions in Muslim epigraphy also seen in two religious epigraphs in the Caravan Masjid. The top of the slab is broken, preserving part of a scroll on the left, and traces of another on the right, indicating a probable pointed arch-shaped form. Other

of their time. A number of inscriptions are reported here for the first time, which either escaped his attention, or postdate the time of his visit to the island. In our transcriptions curved brackets ( ) are used to represent abbreviated or assumed letters. Square brackets [ ] are used for missing letters, eroded or lost in the broken parts of the fragments.

burials with headstones may also have existed in the island, but this is the only one to have been preserved, its place in the town's museum signifying that its rarity was appreciated.

The text of the headstone, in eight lines, is poorly preserved and the calligraphy is not of a high standard, but it contains Qur'an IX: 21 and 22. In the epigraphs on headstones the name of the deceased usually follows the religious text, but here there is no room for the name, which might have appeared on the broken top of the slab. The Quranic verses, however, are followed by a blessing for the deceased and the date, which is only partly legible but may be suggested as 747/1346–7.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرِ  
 2 حَمَّةٍ مِّنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ  
 3 وَجَنَّاتٍ لَّهُمْ فِيهَا  
 4 نَعِيمٌ مُّقِيمٌ. خَالِدِينَ  
 5 فِيهَا أَبَدًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عِنْدَهُ  
 6 أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ. يَوْمَ الْقَبْرِ  
 7 المقبول . . .م الرحمته  
 8 سنة سبع [ربيعين] (?) و سبع مئة (?)

Their Lord gives them good tidings of mercy from Him and good pleasure; for them await gardens (of paradise) wherein is lasting bliss (IX, 21), therein to dwell for ever and ever; surely with God is a mighty wage (IX, 22).<sup>4</sup> On the day of the grave may he be accepted. ... into Your mercy. In the year seven and forty (?) and seven hundred (?)

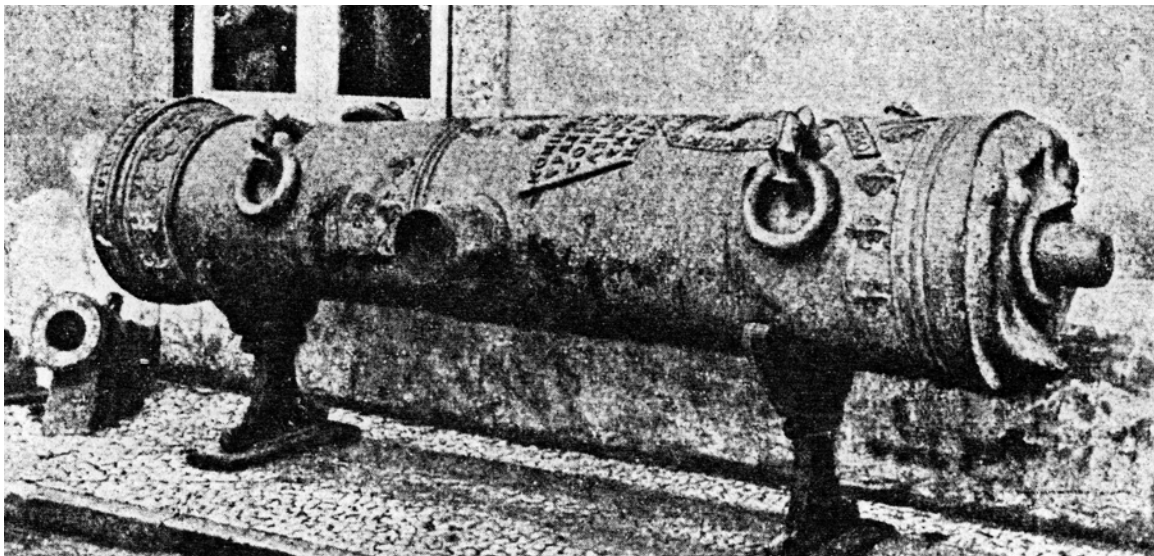
<sup>1</sup> See Plate 6.15.

<sup>2</sup> M. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, London, 2003, p. 76, figure 3.3.

<sup>3</sup> The text has few diacritics. In our reading the diacritics of the Quranic verses are given according to the Qur'an and the rest are left as they appear in the inscription. The date could be read as *tis'a mi'a*, 900, but the archaic style of carving indicates *sab'a mi'a*, 700 is more likely.

<sup>4</sup> Translation from A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, [London, 1955] New York, 1996, I, p. 209.

2 – 1533 (CR. 39): Inscription of Nuno da Cunha on a cannon formerly on St George's Tower (São Jorge)



Cunha Rivara reported a large bronze inscribed cannon, 13 hand-spans (*palmo*) long and three hand-spans in diameter, on the Tower of St George (also known as St Martin's Tower) (Figure 3.2, no. 19, Plates 3.13; 3.15) in the fort. A number of dated cannons have been preserved in the fort and on St George's Tower there is a formidable cannon (Plate 3.16), but not that seen by Cunha Rivara. However, the *Arquivo*<sup>5</sup> gives a poorly printed photograph of a cannon, digitally enhanced and reproduced here, which was known as "The Tiger" and kept in the forecourt of the fort, but which is no longer there. This cannon appears to be the same as that reported by Cunha Rivara and indeed part of the inscription on the barrel can still be deciphered including the Latin words *Presid (is)*, *confl (atum)*, *absol (utum)*. The inscription on the muzzle swell is also visible but cannot be read. From the photograph it is clear that the inscriptions were in capital letters, but the text below follows his record.

The text on the muzzle swell reads:

*Regis Lusitani famulus.*

Servant to the Lusitanian King

Cunha Rivara mentions that the upper part of the barrel had the royal Portuguese coat of arms within four spheres, and below the arms in the middle of the barrel:

*Nonii da Cunha  
Presidis jussu  
conflatum et  
absolutum an.  
MD. XXX III.  
Reimon  
Me fecit.*

At the command of Nuno da Cunha the President, this was cast and commissioned in 1533. Reimon made me.

The underside of the barrel had the image of a tiger in relief, surrounded by a Portuguese text:

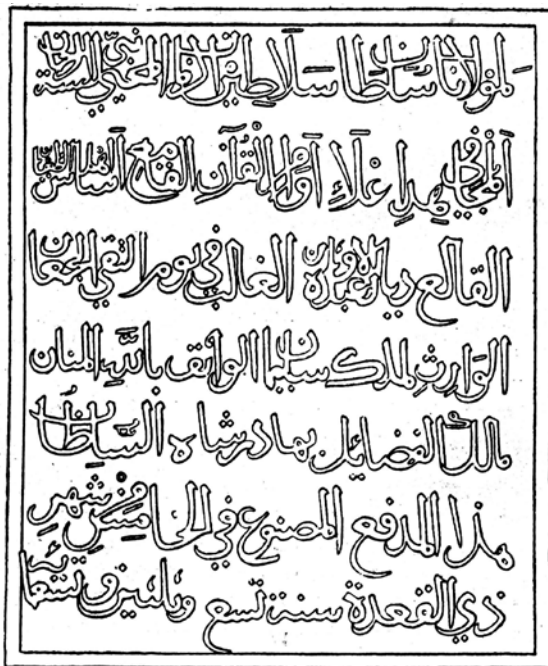
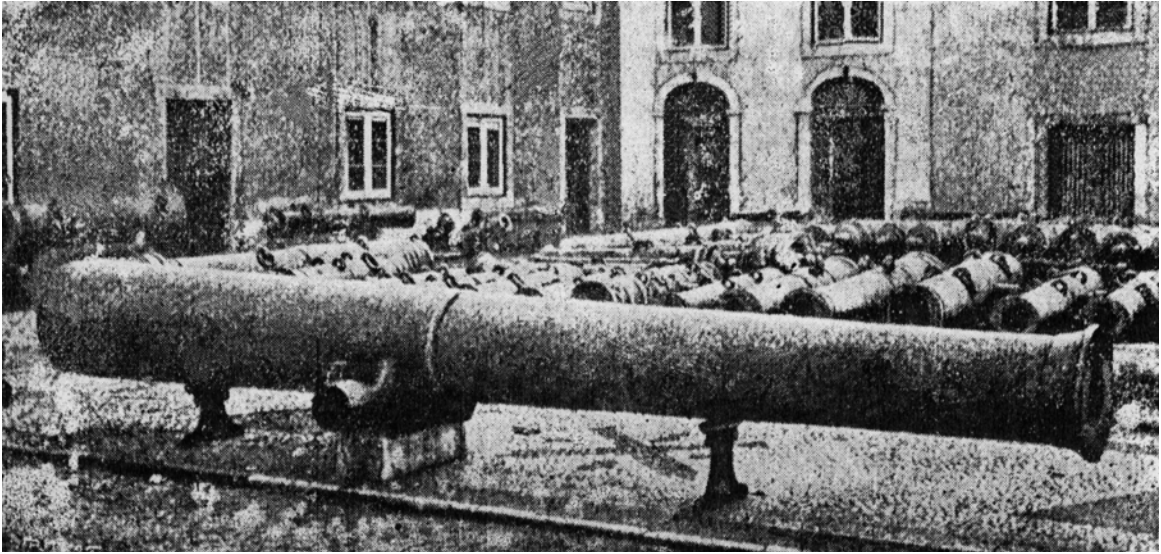
*Eu sou o Tigre esforçado*<sup>6</sup>

I am the tiger activate me

<sup>5</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, figure facing p. 469.

<sup>6</sup> Cunha Rivara notes that the last line was followed by another line which could be read either as *que por do memorandum pan* or as *que por do me mandou paso*, but he could not decipher the meaning of these words.

3 – 29 May 1533: Inscribed bronze cannon known as Tiro de Diu with an Arabic inscription of Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh



Early in the twentieth century many old cannons were collected together in the courtyard of the Governor's old residence (Figure 3.2 no. 6) in the fort. Amongst them was an unusually large cannon nicknamed Tiro de Diu (the Shot of Diu), a poorly reproduced photograph of which was given in the *Arquivo*,<sup>7</sup> digitally enhanced and reproduced here. The cannon was reported to bear an Arabic inscription, the text of which was not deciphered but a tracing of it was given. The reading below is from this tracing:

<sup>7</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, facing p. 468. Cunha Rivara (CR. 41) also notes a large *pedreiro*, or swivel gun, on St George's (or St Martin's) Tower with three "Turkish" inscriptions, but this may not be the same as the Tiro de Diu.

- |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| لَمَوْلَانَا سُلْطَانِ سَلَاطِينِ الزَّمَانِ الْمَحِي لِسَنَةِ نَبِيِّ الرَّحْمَانِ     | 1 | 4 | Inheritor of the land of Solomon, dependent on God  |
| الْمُجَاهِدِ فِيْ اَعْلَاءِ اَوَامِرِ الْقُرْآنِ الْقَامِعِ اَسَاسِ اَهْلِ الطَّعْيَانِ | 2 |   | the Most Beneficent,                                |
| الْقَالِعِ دِيَارِ عِبْدِهِ الْاَوْهَانِ الْغَالِبِ فِيْ يَوْمِ التَّقِي الْجَمْعَانِ   | 3 | 5 | Possessor of the virtues, Bahādur Shāh, the sultan. |
| الْوَارِثِ لِمَلِكِ سَلِيْمَانَ الْوَاتِقِ بِاللَّهِ الْمَنَّانِ                        | 4 | 6 | This cannon was made on the fifth of the month of   |
| مَالِكِ الْفَضَائِلِ بِهَادِرِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ                                       | 5 | 7 | Dhi'Qa'da in the year nine hundred and thirty-nine  |
| هَذَا الْمَدْفَعِ الْمَصْنُوعِ فِي الْخَامِسِ مِنْ شَهْرِ                               | 6 |   | (29 May 1533)                                       |
| ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ تِسْعِ وَ ثَلَاثِيْنَ وَ تِسْعِمَائِهِ                           | 7 | 8 | Named as .....                                      |
| يَسْمَى   | 8 |   |   |

- 1 This belongs to our lord, sultan of the sultans of the age, invigorator of the traditions of the Prophet of the Most Merciful,
- 2 Holy warrior for the noblest commands of the Qur'an, destroyer of the foundations of the transgressors,
- 3 Eradicator of the land of the slaves of delusion, conqueror on the day of assembly of the fearful troops,

Line 8 is outside the border of the above text, but the name (of the cannon), which would have followed, has not been given. The unfinished text indicates that there may have been other inscriptions on the cannon. It must have been captured by the Portuguese in one of their many battles with the Gujarat forces and its formidable size signifies the advancement of the Gujarat sultanate in the use of firearms and gunpowder.

#### 4 – 1537 (CR. 42): Inscription of Nuno da Cunha on a cannon on the smaller breastwork in the fort

Cunha Rivara reports that on the smaller breastwork (Figure 3.2, no. 18) which is now partly eroded by the sea, was a *peça de bronze*, a bronze cannon, bearing a St Catherine's wheel followed by:

*Foi fundido este tiro na era  
de 1537 per mandado  
do Governador Nuno da Cunha.*

This cannon was cast in the year 1537 by order of Governor Nuno da Cunha.

The cannon could not be traced. Nuno da Cunha (1487–1539) was Governor of India from 1529 to 1538.

5 – 1542 (CR. 1): Inscription on St George's Tower (*São Jorge*)

The inscription is *in situ* on St George's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 19, Plates 3.13; 3.15) recording its construction by the Captain of the Fort, Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda (Governor 1542–45), in 1542.<sup>8</sup> Over some letters is a mark signifying o, n or m, transcribed in superscript here. The word *governando* has a flourish representing *er*, also given in superscript in the transcript.

SÃ<sup>O</sup>:JORGE  
 ESTE:BÆLVARTE:FEZ:MANOEL:  
 DE:SOVSA:DE:SEPVLEDA CAPITAN:  
 DESTA FORTALEZA –E: ALARGOV:

:TODA:A CÁVA:DE:MAR:A:MAR MA-  
 IS: HOVTRO:TA<sup>N</sup>TO:DO: Q(UE):ESTÁVA:  
 NA:ÆRA: DE: 1542: GOV<sup>ER</sup>NA<sup>N</sup>DO  
 A: Y<sup>N</sup>DIA: MARTI<sup>M</sup>: AFO<sup>N</sup>SO: DE: SOVSA:

## St George

This tower was built by Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda Captain of this fort and he enlarged all the moat from sea to sea and furthermore [built] another one<sup>9</sup> which was in the era of 1542 (at the time) Martim Afonso de Sousa<sup>10</sup> was governing India

8 Cunha Rivara heads his entry 'Image of St George' and notes that it was behind the embrasure of the tower 'commonly known as St Martin's', whereas the inscription is set below the embrasure, on the façade, and there is now no image. Cunha Rivara may have made a slip, as he wrote up his notes years after leaving Diu, but the towers at Diu often have images, and there may have been one at the time.

9 It is not clear to what *houtro*, 'another one' refers, but it may mean the excavation of the earlier ditch to the west of the fort between the inner and outer fortification walls.

10 Martim Afonso de Sousa (c.1490–1564), Governor of India 1542–45.

6 – 1542 (?) (CR. 94): Inscription of Dom Bernaldim da Silva from the Misericorde (*Miserericórdia*) in the fort



The stone foundation slab from the Misericorde<sup>11</sup> (Figure 3.5 no. 20; Plate 3.19), now kept in the Powder Magazine, is broken from the middle but the two parts are kept together. A few letters at the bottom right corner were obscured by another slab piled on top and are given after Cunha Rivara.<sup>12</sup> The dark environment inside the Powder Magazine was not favourable for photography, and the poor photograph is given as a reference. The last figure of the date is not entirely clear and may be read as seven making a possible date of 1547.

ESTA CASA DA SAMTA MZÃ MAMD  
OV FAZER DOM BERNALDIM DA SI  
LVA AMO DELREY NOSO SÕR SEMD  
O PROVEADOR DELA DESMOLAS  
QUE HELE E OS IRMÃOS TIRARA[M]  
NESTA FORTALEZA DOS FIES CR[IS]  
TÃOS: A ERA DE 1542. LUIZ NETO [A FEZ]

This House of Holy Misericorde was commissioned by Dom Bernardim da Silva, tutor of our lord the King, as Distributor of the alms which he and his brothers collected in this fort from the Christian faithful in the year 1542. Luiz Neto built it

11 The position of the *Miserericórdia* outside the fort gate indicates that it would have been hospice for indigent persons, but the term can also mean a refectory for monks dispensed from fasting.

12 Cunha Rivara reports that the inscription was fixed on the interior to the left of the side door of the *Miserericórdia*, which was at the time in ruins. *Archivo*, II, ii, 617 gives Cunha Rivara's reading. See also the inscription of 1765 (no. 103) recording the renovation of the chapel.

7 - 1452: Persian inscription of an endowment



In Diu surviving Muslim inscriptions are rare, perhaps due to the poor quality of the local stone, and apart from a fourteenth-century tombstone, the few found contain only religious texts. An exception is a loose fragmentary inscription now kept in the Powder Magazine.<sup>13</sup> The epigraph is bilingual, and below the inscribed Persian text (with the date in Arabic) are three lines of Devanagari text, which are worn out. The Persian text is also fragmentary as the edges of the stone are broken, leaving only the part of the text in the middle of the slab, which contains the record of an endowment made in Şafar (?) 949/17 May–14 June 1542 for the maintenance of a mosque and sustenance for its *imām*:

... (مو) قوفی شش د (انک) ...  
 و مسجد حسینی که در کا ...  
 واقعت ...  
 و بابت امام و موذن و ...  
 هر کس مانع شود بلعت خدا ...  
 (بتا) ریخ خامس (؟) ماه صفر (؟) فی تسع و اربعین و تسعما (ئه)

- 1 ... made an endowment of all of the ... (property).
- 2 to the Ḥusainī Mosque which is ...
- 3 located in ...
- 4 and for (the expenses of) the *imām* and the caller to prayer ...
- 5 may any one who opposes this be cursed by God ...
- 6 ... on the date of the fifth (?) of the month of Şafar (?) in the year nine hundred and forty nine

The inscription clearly concerns a property, as the term *shish dāng* is used. This refers to the practice in the Indo-Iranian world of describing ownership of property in terms of six parts or shares (*dāng*). *Shish dāng* therefore means the whole property, and the missing part of the inscription would have identified the actual property. The location of the endowed property and the Ḥusainī Mosque is missing, but the inscription indicates that the donor felt sufficiently confident of the position of the Muslims to make a long-term commitment.

<sup>13</sup> Reported first by the authors in: 'The Karao Jāmi' Mosque of Diu in the light of the history of the island', *SAS*, XVI, 2000, pp. 55, 63–5, fig. 1.

8 – 1544 (CR. 2): Inscription of Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda from the south facade of the entrance to the fort

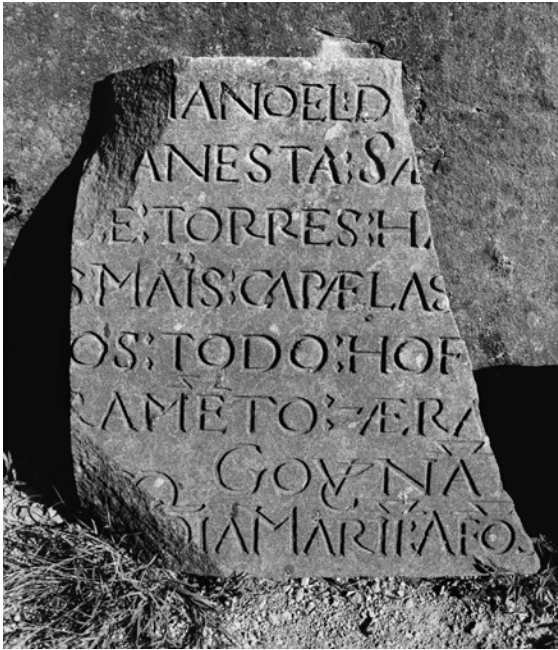


The inscription of Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda during the governorship of India of Martim Afonso de Sousa was reported as being above the door of the embrasure of the entrance of the fort. The slab has survived but is now removed and set into a modern plinth on the exterior of the wall of the extension at the north side of the Sé Museum. The inscription seems to be the top slab from the southern face of the main gate, where only the decorative surround remains *in situ* (Plate 3.20). Below it was a Latin inscription dated 1702 (no. 81) dedicated to the Virgin. There were also two other inscriptions, dating from 1656 (no. 64) within an existing elaborate frame on the northern outer face of the gate. The inscription of 1544, the earliest of these inscriptions, seems clearly to refer to the construction of the outer and inner parts of the gate, the quay, the original draw bridge and the north breastwork (known as the smaller breastwork), which was used as dry dock (Figure 3.2 no. 18).

[Fe]z: MANOEL: DE: SOUSA: DE: SE  
 PVLVEDA: CAPITA: DESTA: FORTALE  
 ZA: ESTA: E<sup>N</sup>TRADA: E: SERV<sup>N</sup>TIA COM<sup>M</sup>  
 HO: LA<sup>N</sup>CO DE MVRO COVRACA E  
 PORTAS: CAIX: PO<sup>N</sup>TE: E: CAVA  
 NA: ÆRA: DE 1544.: =  
 GOVERNA<sup>N</sup>DO: =  
 [N]A Y<sup>N</sup>DIA MARTI<sup>M</sup>: AFONSO DE SOVS[A]

Manoel de Sousa de  
 Sepúlveda, Captain of this fort, built  
 this entrance and passage with  
 the extended wall, breastwork and  
 gates, quay, bridge and moat  
 in the era of 1544  
 (at the time) Martim Afonso de Sousa (was) governing  
 India

9 – 1544 (CR. 92): Inscription of Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda from the original Cathedral in the fort



A fragment of the inscribed slab from the original Cathedral in the fort (Figure 3.2, no. 21) is now kept in the Powder Magazine. Missing parts in square brackets are taken from Cunha Rivara's reading,<sup>14</sup> but de Souza is given with an s, as in his other inscriptions.

[FEZ] MANOEL: D[E SOUSA DE SEPUL]  
 [VED]A NESTA: SÆ [AS ESCADAS: CO]  
 [RO]: E: TORRES: H[A CAPELLA MOR COM]  
 [A]S MAIS: CAPELAS [: E SEUS RETABOL]  
 OS: TODO: HO F[ORRO: E MADEI]  
 RAME<sup>N</sup>TO:- ÆRA [DE 1544]  
 GOV<sup>E</sup>RNAN[DO]  
 [A] I<sup>N</sup>DIA MARTI<sup>M</sup>: AFON[SO DE SOUSA]

Manoel de Sousa de Sepúlveda constructed for this Cathedral the stairs, choir, and towers, the main chapel, with more chapels, and their altarpieces, all the textiles, and woodwork. In the era of 1544 (when) Martim Afonso de Souza (was) governing India

10 – 1545 (CR. 3): Inscription of St Nicholas's Tower (São Nicoláo)

The inscription was reported to accompany the image of St Nicholas on the outer defensive wall (countermure) of the tower dedicated to the saint (Figure 3.2, no. 10, Plate 3.2) at the west side of the fort. The present location of the slab is unknown (reading after Cunha Rivara).

(Imagem de S. Nicoláo)

*Este baluarte fez Manoel de Souza de Sepúlveda, Capitão desta forteza era de 1545 governando a Índia Martim Afonso de Souza.*

(Image of St Nicholas)

This tower was built by Manoel de Souza de Sepúlveda, Captain of this fort, in the year 1545 at the time Martim Afonso de Souza was governing India

14 Cunha Rivara notes that his transcription is from a manuscript copy, as he could not find the inscription. The old Cathedral was already in ruins at the time. *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 617 gives Cunha Rivara's reading, and mentions the church as the *Igreja Matriz*. There are also inscriptions of 1906 (no. 148) and 1942 (no. 151) regarding remains found in the site.



## 13 – Undated, but c.1546 (CR. 5): Loose fragmentary inscription of El Rei Dom João III



The inscription of Dom João III (1521–1557) is now set in the northern exterior wall of the modern extension to the Sé Museum.<sup>17</sup> The remaining text is in six lines of capital letters with serifs, and a small cross between some words. The border of the slab is hidden by cement. Although undated, the text mentions the ‘subjugation of this territory’ apparently a reference to the Portuguese retaking of the fort and the town of Diu, also expressed in the above inscriptions (nos. 11 and 12), both dated 1546.

FOI + F[E]ITA + ESTA + OB  
RA + SOGIGAMDO + E  
STA + TERA EL REI DO  
M IOAM + O TERCEIR  
O DESTE NOME NOSO  
SOR. (*Senhor*) PADRE DA PATRIA

This work was carried out  
on the subjugation of this  
territory (by) the king, Dom  
João the third  
of this name, our  
lord, the father of the country

<sup>17</sup> The inscription was not *in situ* when recorded by Cunha Rivara. He notes that it was on a stone removed from its place, and in the past laid down against the counter-mure, but that in his time it was on the wall inside the Tower of St Nicholas (Figure 3.2, no. 10, Plate 3.2).

14 – 10 August 1546: Loose epitaph now kept in the Sé Museum, of Dom Fernando de Castro



The epitaph<sup>18</sup> is on a rectangular slab with a plain frame, portrait layout recording the death of Dom Fernando de Castro who died during the second siege of Diu, which took place in 1546. The sans-serif letters suggest that the inscription was carved later than the event.

A photograph in the *Arquivo*,<sup>19</sup> shows the monument of Fernando do Castro as it stood in the early twentieth century. It was a simple cross over a squat pyramidal base, with the above inscription fixed on the base, but bearing no similarity to the monumental

cross shown by Lopes Mendes (Figure 4.4).<sup>20</sup> It seems that the original monument had fallen sometime after Lopes Mendes's report and had been replaced by a simpler monument, which in turn has disappeared. Dom Fernando was the son of the governor of Diu, Dom João de Castro, and commanded the Portuguese forces.<sup>21</sup> Dom Fernando's original monument is likely to have been erected by his father, and was in the vicinity of other monuments (Figure 4.3, no. 32).

18 The epitaph was first reported by the authors in: 'The town of Diu, its churches, monasteries and other historic features', *SAS*, XXIII, 2007, pp. 167, 186, note 89.

19 *Arquivo*, II, ii, plate facing p. 430.

20 Lopes Mendes, 261; the engraving is also reproduced in *Arquivo*, II, ii, facing p. 431.

21 Correa, IV, ii, p. 526, Diego Do Couto, *Decada Sexta*, (Chapter 7) p. 624, *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 429–30. It is surprising that such an important inscription escaped the attention of Cunha Rivara who visited Diu a decade or so earlier than Lopes Mendes.

AQUI JAZ D. FERNANDO DE CASTRO QUE BATALHANDO PELA CRUZ E SUSTENTANDO A HONRA E A GLORIA DO NOME PORTUGUEZ CAHIU FERIDO DE MORTE EM 10 DE AGOSTO DE 1546 NA EXPLOSAO DO BALUARTE S. THOME MINADO PELOS SOLDADOS DO REI DE CAMBAYA SOBO COMANDO DE RUMECAO NO SEGUNDO CERCO DE DIU CONTAVA APENAS 19 ANNOS D EDADE:

Here lies Dom Fernando de Castro who battled for the Cross and upheld the honor and glory of the name of Portugal, who fell mortally injured on 10 August 1546, during the explosion of the tower of St Thomas, undermined by the soldiers of the king of Cambay under the command of Rumeçao (Rūmī Khān) during the second siege of Diu, counting only 19 years of age.

**15 – 1547 (CR. 4): Inscription of 1547 of Dom João de Castro**

The inscription recording building the fort is reported to have been fixed on the outer fortification wall (countermure) but an exact location was not given.<sup>22</sup>

*Esta fortale  
sa fez o Senhor Governador D.  
Joam de Crastro na era de  
1547*

This fort was built by the Lord Governor Dom João de Crastro (sic) in the year 1547

<sup>22</sup> The slab has not been traced, reading after Cunha Rivara. In his transcription he uses the spelling Crastro where one would expect Castro, as well as for Inscription no. 11 of 1546 and no. 15 of 1547. Arquivo, II, ii, p. 471 gives the text in capital letters.

**16 – 1548 (CR. 100): Epitaph of Luis Falcão originally from St Paul's Cathedral (São Paulo)**

Luis Falcão's epitaph was reported by Cunha Rivara to be on a tomb on the wall of the transept on the Gospel (left) side in St Paul's Cathedral (*São Paulo*) (Figures 4.18–4.19; Plate 4.57), noting that the tombstone was not in situ, but was moved from the Misericorde church (Figure 3.5 no. 20; Plate 3.19) in the fort by the Governor, Brigadier Francisco de Mello da Gama e Araújo (1773–1859, Governor of Diu 1821–40) The slab has not been traced, reading after Cunha Rivara.

*(Armas no centro da lapide).*

*Aqui jaz Luis Falcão que vindo de  
ser Capitão Durmus o Governador D. João  
de Crasto (sic) lhe pediu que compria  
a serviso d'ElRei sêl-o desta  
fortaleza de Dio por estar  
de guerra honde ho mata  
rão d'uma espingardad  
a a trimta de Setembro de  
1548*

**(Coat of arms at the centre of the tombstone)**

Here lies Luis Falcão, who came from being Captain of Hurmuz. The Governor Dom João de Crasto (sic) required him to be called into service of the King to be [Captain] of this fort of Dio since it was at war, where he was killed by a musket-shot on the thirtieth of September of 1548

**17 – 1550 (CR. 6): Inscription of Martim Correa from the countermure**

The slab was reported to be on the outer fortification wall (countermure) at the west side of the fort, on the side of the moat, recording its excavation in 1550.<sup>23</sup>

*Esta cava abriu do prin-  
cipo, e na largura, e altura  
que tem de um athe outro lado (?)  
em grosso os baluar  
tes S. Felipe (?) e S.  
Martinho Martim Cor-  
rea sendo capitão  
desta fortaleza era  
1550*

This moat was dug originally with the width and height that it has, from one side to the other (between) the main part of the towers of St Philip (?) and St Martin, (by) Martim Correa, being Captain of this fort, in the year 1550

<sup>23</sup> Reading after Cunha Rivara who notes that the slab and lettering of this inscription is similar to the two following inscriptions (nos. 18 and 19). The slab has not been traced, but St Philip's tower (Figure 3.2, no. 12) is at the south-western perimeter, and the tower of St Martin, also known as St George's (Figure 3.2, no. 19) is near the main gate, so the inscription would refer to the wide moat on the north and west.

**18 – 1550 (CR. 7): Inscription of Martim Correa from the Knight's Tower (*Baluarte Cavalleiro*) of the fort**

The inscription from the Knight's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 11; Plates 3.9, 3.14), in Latin and Portuguese, records construction of parts of the fortification walls in 1550.<sup>24</sup>

*Exultatum est in  
Deo nostro ut ad  
.... illum deducat  
inimicos suos  
p + Martim Corrêa capi  
tão desta fortaleza.  
1550*

This is raised (built) in the name of  
our God, so that He may  
lead His enemies into (presumably, destruction).  
Martim Correa Captain  
of the fort,  
1550

**19 – Undated, but c.1550 (CR. 8): Inscription of Martim Correa in Latin and Portuguese on St James's Tower (*São Thiago*)**



The third in the series of inscriptions by Martim Correa is probably of c.1550,<sup>25</sup> and is *in situ* on St James' Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 13, Plate 3.8) carved on a rectangular slab in capitals with serifs, using combined letters and marks indicated in the transcript by superscript. The slab is worn and damaged by shot. The inscription of the construction of the tower is set near the point where the outer and inner wall meet at the south-west of the fort, and acknowledges the power of God.

VT CO<sup>G</sup>NO<sup>S</sup>CANT  
– ET ES POTENTIA  
S(U)A CO – I – QVIA  
CÕM(MOD)V<sup>M</sup> PVG  
NARE D<sup>I</sup>FIC<sup>I</sup>LE EST  
O FEZ MÍM (*Martim*) COREA  
CAPITA<sup>N</sup> D<sup>E</sup>STA FO<sup>R</sup>T<sup>A</sup>Z (*fortaleza*)

That they may recognise  
... and you are the power  
..... because  
to contend with another's advantage  
is difficult  
he, Martim Correa made this,  
Captain of this fort

<sup>24</sup> Reading after Cunha Rivara, who notes that some words could not be made out. The inscription does not specify to what part of the fort it refers, but Cunha Rivara notes that it was set on the side of the moat of the Knight's Tower, which may indicate the construction of this tower, as it is part of the inner wall at the west of the fort, built prior to the outer wall. The Knight's Tower is the highest of the towers, designed to protect the whole of the original western perimeter and may have been constructed, or enlarged by Martim Correa. The slab has not been traced.

<sup>25</sup> Cunha Rivara mentions that the slab and lettering of this inscription were similar the two above (nos. 17 and 18).

### 20 – 1567 (?): Epitaph of Manoel Fernandes

The epitaph, first reported here, is now kept in the Powder Magazine, and is on a rectangular slab in eleven lines, capital letters with serifs. The slab is cracked and the date unclear; it could be read as 1867, but 1567 is more likely as the script is archaic with some letters combined, or written within the preceding letter. Some words are separated by an oblique backwards sloping curved line, shown as ꝑ and there is a scrolling shape at the end also shown as ꝑ. Some words are separated by superscript dots. The surface of the tombstone was eroded and many letters were not clear. The reading was made on site and some worn letters were conjectured following the formulae of the texts of such epitaphs.

AQVI IAZ ꝑ MAN  
 OEL FERNANDES  
 QUE ꝑ HA VINTE ANOS  
 QUE SERVIO COM CAR  
 INHO ꝑ DESTA ꝑ STA (Santa)  
 CASA ꝑ FALCO (faleceu) ꝑ A  
 OS ꝑ 8 (?) · DE OVTVBRO  
 DE 1 · 5 (?) · 6. 7 ꝑ E SVA  
 (U?) DSE (?) VS ꝑ HERDEIRO [S ?]

Here lies Manoel  
 Fernandes  
 who for twenty years  
 served with devotion  
 this Sacred  
 House. He died on  
 8 October  
 of 1567 (?) and his  
 .... heir (s) (?)

After the text there is a space of about four lines, where the slab is cracked and then apparently on the same slab is another date:

DE IVNHO. DE.  
 1642 ~

In June of  
 1642

Manoel Fernandes was apparently serving in a church or monastery and was buried there. The second date may indicate that someone else, probably one of his successors, was later buried in the same tomb.

### 21 – 1570 (CR 51): Inscription of Aires Telez on the northern postern gate of the town wall



The inscription is *in situ* on the postern gate (Figure 4.3, f; Plate 4.25) to the north of St Peter's Tower (*São Pedro*) at the west of the town,<sup>26</sup> over the western arch of the gate, recording the construction of the wall, this gate and other gates in 1570. The text is in capital letters with certain characteristics such as the letter N given back to front, the letter Z struck through with a short line and capital letter I having a dot over, all fairly common in the sixteenth century inscriptions of the town. Subsequent inscriptions on this wall, given below, indicate that it

26 Cunha Rivara reports this and two other inscriptions to be on the curtain wall of St Sebastian's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 67). However, one (Inscription no. 25) is *in situ* on St Peter's Tower in the Fort and another (Inscription no. 23) on the tower of our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. St Sebastian's tower has no inscriptions.

took several years to build. This is the earliest inscription on the west wall of the town and suggests that the construction of the wall started from the north.

SENDO. AÍRES. TELEZ  
CAPITÃO. DESTA. FOR  
TALEZA. SE CERQVOV. E  
STA CÍDADE. DE MAR. A  
MAR. E MANDOV. TAMBE<sup>N</sup>  
FAZER. ESTAS. PORTAS  
A QVOAL. OBRA. SE CO  
MESOV. NA ERA. DE.  
.1.5. 7. O.

Aires Telez as  
Capitan of this fort  
enclosed  
this city from sea  
to sea and also ordered  
these gates to be built.  
The said work commenced in the year  
1570

## 22 – c.1570: Bas-relief of St Catherine (*Santa Chatarina*)

Near the northern postern gate of the town, on St Catherine's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 53; Plate 4.24), is a bas-relief of the saint with her emblem, the wheel, her right hand stretched forward in benediction, and a sword in her left. Her name is carved in capital letters below:

As the tower is to the north of the postern gate it must have been built at the same time as the gate or a little earlier, and the image would, therefore, be datable to c.1570. However, the tower was restored in 1712 (Inscription no. 86) and it is possible that the image is from this date.

S. CHATARINA.

## 23 – 1574 (CR. 52): Inscription of Aires Teles on the southern postern gate



The slab is set to the north of Tower of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (*Nossa Senhora da Conceição*) on the town wall and is dated 1574.<sup>27</sup> The inscription is *in situ* and is fixed above the outer arch of the gate facing west (Figure 4.3, no. m; Plate 4.29). It is similar in size and style to that of the northern postern gate, but is five years later, indicating the time it took to build the intervening wall. The whole wall must have taken a few more years to complete.

<sup>27</sup> Cunha Rivara again reports the inscription as being on St Sebastian's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 67), apparently a slip on his part.

SEMDO.AÍRES.TELEZ  
 CAPITÃO.DESTA.FOR  
 TALEZA.SE.CERQOV  
 ESTA.CIDADE.DE.MAR  
 A.MAR.E.MANODOV.FA  
 ZER.ESTAS.PORTAS.  
 NA.ERA.DE.1.5.7.4.  
 .ANOS.

Aires Telez as  
 Captain of this  
 fort enclosed  
 this City from sea  
 to sea and ordered  
 these gates to be built  
 in the era of 1574  
 years

**24 – 1580 (CR. 54): Inscription with a rhyming maxim**

The inscription is no longer *in situ* and the reading is after Cunha Rivara who notes that it was in the town, fixed 'on the right side of the gate to the shore on the inner side'. If this location were correct it would refer to the former gate (*porta da praia*) in the northern town wall (Figures 4.2, no. 48; 4.7) near the Caravan Masjid, and opening to the stockade by St Philip's Tower. At this point the town wall, tower, gate and stockade have all been demolished long ago and replaced by a road (Figure 4.12). The word *grâode* may be *grão de* (a grain of) or a pun with *graõ* (great).

*Do bom ao  
 máo ha grâode*

*diferença  
 qual for o  
 juiz tal será  
 a sentença.  
 1580.*

Between the good and  
 The bad there is a grain of [a great]  
 difference.  
 Let he who would be the  
 judge make  
 the judgment.  
 1580

**25 – 1584 (CR. 53): Inscription of Manoel de Miranda on St Peter's Tower (*São Pedro*)**



St Peter's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 54; Plate 4.25) is angular, unlike the other towers of the western town wall, which are semi-circular in plan. The slab is *in situ*<sup>28</sup> on the northern face of the tower, south of the northern postern gate of the town. The inscription records the addition of the tower for the protection of the gate and indicates that, as with the southern postern gate, there was originally no adjacent tower. However, the southern gate (Figure 4.3, no. m; Plates 4.29–4.30), situated at a point where the outline of the wall curves inward, is protected by the nearby towers, no. 63 and no. 64, while the straight line of the walls pierced by

<sup>28</sup> Cunha Rivara notes the inscription to be on the curtain wall of St Sebastian's Tower, apparently a slip on his part. He mentions that inside the tower in the barracks, over the rack for arms was an image of St Sebastian with the words, 'St Sebastian of Victory defends these arms'.

the northern gate must have been perceived as unprotected, prompting Manoel de Miranda to guard it with an additional tower.

The text, bordered by a rope pattern, employs flourishes and superimposed letters transcribed in superscript here.

SENDO. MÊL. DE MIRÃ  
DA. C<sup>A</sup>PITÃO. DESTA. FOR  
TAL<sup>E</sup>ZA. E CÍDAD<sup>E</sup>. MAN  
DOV. FAZER. EST<sup>E</sup> BAL<sup>V</sup>AR  
TE P<sup>(AR)</sup><sup>A</sup>. DEFECÃO. DES

TA PORTA. E C<sup>O</sup>RER. C<sup>O</sup>M  
HO ESPÍGVÃO. DEST<sup>E</sup>S  
MVROS. ERA. Í 5 8 4

Manoel de Miranda as  
Captain of this  
fort and city ordered  
this tower to be constructed  
for the defense of this  
gate and extended  
the buttress of these  
walls. Year 1584

26 – 1586 (CR. 9): Inscription of a powder magazine



The inscription records the building of a powder magazine by Aires Falcão in 1586 during the governorship of Dom Duarte de Menezes (1584–8). The slab is broken, and two fragments, with characteristic script incorporating superimposed letters, framed by a rope pattern, are now kept in the existing Powder Magazine. Cunha

Rivara reports that the inscription was ‘in a ruined house, near the Queen’s cistern’ (Figure 3.2, no. 26). The magazine to which it refers appears to be an earlier one than that which stands in a good state of preservation (Plate 3.32), and which had an inscription of 1632 (no. 44).

[G]OVERNA<sup>N</sup>D<sup>O</sup>. O ESTAD<sup>O</sup>  
 [DA I]MD<sup>I</sup>A (INDIA) O VISOREI D<sup>O</sup> DV  
 ARTE D<sup>E</sup> MENEZES. MAÕ  
 D<sup>O</sup>V FAZER ESTA CAZ<sup>A</sup>  
 PERA ALMAZEM D<sup>A</sup> PO<sup>L</sup>  
 V<sup>O</sup>RA. AIRES FALCÃO. C<sup>A</sup>  
 PITÃO DESTA FORTAL<sup>E</sup>  
 ZA DE DIO. NA ERA D<sup>E</sup>  
 1586

When Governing the State  
 of India the Viceroy Dom Duarte  
 de Menezes ordered  
 the construction of this building  
 for storing gunpowder,  
 (by) Aires Falcão Captain  
 of this fort of Diu. In the year  
 1586

**27 – 1588 (CR. 88): Forte do Mar inscription of Aires Falcão**

The text concerns additions to the Forte do Mar  
 (Figure 3.11) in 1588.<sup>29</sup>

*Sendo Aires Falcão  
 capitão desta Fortaleza  
 de Dio mandou acre  
 scentar este balu  
 arte do mar da  
 maneira que está  
 na era de 1588.*

Aires Falcão as  
 Captain of this fort  
 of Dio ordered to add  
 this bulwark  
 in the sea in  
 the way it is  
 during the year 1588

**28 – 1590 (CR. 43): Inscription of the Governor Manoel de Souza Coutinho inscribed on a column**

The column has not survived, but was set in the parade ground of the town, the site of which was apparently in front of the causeway to the entrance of the fort (Figure 3.2, no. 1; Plate 3.2). The site was an open area until the 1990s, but was later incorporated into newly built roads and a small paved square. The inscription of Manoel de Souza Coutinho (1540–91, Governor of India 1588–91) is reported to have been carved below a coat of arms, presumably of his family, and concerns improvements to the security of the fort in 1590 (reading after Cunha Rivara who uses the following spelling, rather than the alternative: Manuel de Souza).

*nho, vindo a esta fortalez  
 a, mandou fazer este tere  
 iro, e derribar estes oiteir  
 os visinhos a esta fortale  
 za para segurança della. 1590*

**(Coat of Arms)**

Being Governor of India  
 Manoel de Souza Coutinho,  
 on arriving at this fort,  
 ordered the construction of this parade ground  
 and flattening of the  
 hillocks in the vicinity of this fort for its safety. 1590

**(Armas.)**

*Sendo Governador da Indi  
 a Manoel de Souza Couti*

<sup>29</sup> There are a number of inscriptions in Forte do Mar, but this one could not be traced. Reading after Cunha Rivara.

**29 – 1593 (CR. 102): Latin inscription of Pero de Nhaia from the Church of St Francis (São Francisco)**

The inscription of Pero de Nhaia (Governor 1593–97) was reported as being over the side door of the church, but has not been traced (reading after Cunha Rivara). The main side door of the church (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plates 4.49–4.50) is at its east, opening to a large terrace.

*Famosã aedificat postquam Babylonia turrem  
Ut labefactet opus deserit astra Deus,  
Ast ubi mira videt matri fabricata sacella,  
Quae facis expensis, maxime Nhaia, tuis,  
Non ut destrueret supera descendit ab acre  
Alta, sed ut famam tollat in astra tuam.*

*Vivat Roma, inquit, Petro contenta patrono,  
Me meus hic Petrus Nhaius ecce tenet.  
1593.*

When legendary Babylon built the Tower,  
God left the heavens to cause the work to fall down;  
But when He sees the wonderful shrines to His mother  
Which you built at your own expense, great Nhaia,  
It is not to destroy that He descends from on high  
But to raise your fame to the lofty stars.  
Long live Rome, says He, happy with its patron Peter,  
Myself, behold, I am supported by this my Peter Nhaia.<sup>30</sup>

**30 – 1594 (CR. 55): Inscription of Pero da Nhaia from St Philip's Tower (São Felipe)**

Pero da Nhaia<sup>31</sup> mentions his rank as Commander of the 'Goalva' as well as Captain of the Fort in his inscription of the construction of St Philip's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 47). The tower, the gate, the walls of the stockade and all other features mentioned in the inscription have been demolished along with another inscription from the site.<sup>32</sup>

*Este baluarte São  
Felipe com esta porta e lan-  
ço de muro té a goa-  
rita de Simão Fernandes e para  
peitos da dita goarita athe  
a porta dos Abexins ma-  
ndou faser Pero da Nh-  
aia Comedador de la  
Goalva sendo Capitão dest  
a fortaleza na era de 1594.*

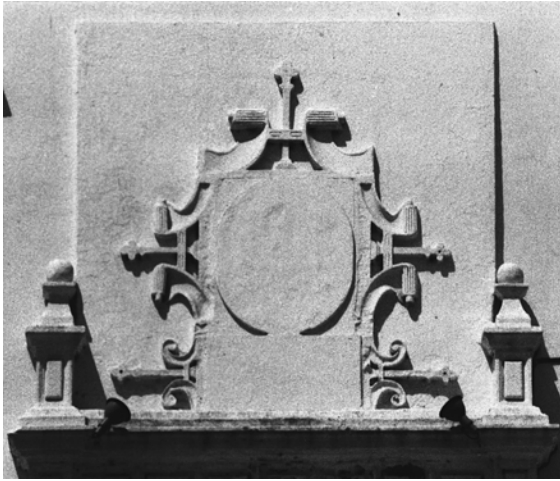
This tower of St  
Philip with this gate  
and the extended wall up to the  
watch tower of Simão Fernandes and the  
breastwork of the said sentry-post up to  
the Gate of the Abyssinians  
was ordered to be constructed by Pero da Nhaia,  
Commander of La  
Goalva, being Captain of this  
Fort in the era of 1594

31 See also the Latin inscription of 1593 above (no. 29), where he gives his name once as Nhaia and again as Petrus Nhaius.

32 Reading is after Cunha Rivara. See also the rhyming inscription of 1580 (no. 24), which has not been traced.

30 Literally: 'Behold, this my Peter Nhaia supports me'.

**31 – 1598: Obliterated inscription over the south entrance of the Cathedral of St Thomas (*São Thomé*), now Sé Museum**



The construction of the present building, the former Sé, or cathedral of the town (Figures 4.3, no. 81; 4.15; Plate 4.43) was recorded in an inscription above the entrance on the south façade. The inscription has been obliterated but its panel and the pontifical coat of arms, is still preserved. The inscription is not reported by Cunha Rivara, but its text is given in the *Arquivo*<sup>33</sup> with

the title of the Primate recorded in Latin as: *Archiepisc. cons indiar Primas + Dns Frater Alexivs Menezivs.*

*Esta igreja e freguesia do apostolo S. Thomé se ed ificou no anno de 1598 por mandado do senhor Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes arcebispo primaz pera os christãos da terra.*

This church and parish of the Apostle St Thomas was built in the year of 1598 at the order of seignior Friar Dom Aleixo de Menezes the Primate Archbishop for the Christians of the land

**32 – 1602 (CR. 109): Epitaph of the Governor P. de Lancastro (?), who died on 6th January 1602, from the Church of St Francis (*São Francisco*)**

Cunha Rivara reports several epitaphs from the churchyard and Church of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plates 4.49–4.50). That of de Lancastro included his coat of arms, but his first name was not deciphered; the transcript is given below. As Duarte de Mello is also known to have been active as governor in 1601 (see inscription no. 85), it seems de Lancastro held the post only for a short period in that year. Cunha Rivara notes that there were also three un-inscribed tombs in the churchyard by which it seems he meant the terrace to the east of the church where there are still three sepulchres, one plain and two with elaborate carving (Plate 4.55), but

all three of which have spaces for inscriptions, now lost. Many tombstones of the church and terrace have been removed.<sup>34</sup>

33 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 616. The date of the establishment of the church and the content of the inscription is also known to the Christian community of Diu, see Proença, p. 12.

34 Apart from P. de Lancastro, other governors, captains and dignitaries of Diu who are known to have been buried in St Francis's churchyard and whose epitaphs are discussed below are: Dom Pedro Henriques, Captain and Governor, died on 29 February 1661 (no. 66); Antonio de Saldanha, Captain of the Fortress, died on 30 December 1661 (no. 67); Dom Francisco de Souza, Captain and Governor, died on 10 December 1663 (no. 68); Manoel de Mello, Captain and Governor, died on 8 March 1678 (no. 71); Manoel Furtado de Mendonça, Governor, died on 17 June 1685 (no. 75); Gil Vaz Lobo Freire, Governor, died on 2 March 1704 (no. 82). João Jose de Moura Palha, Factor and Commander, who died on 22 June 1774, was, however, buried in the church itself in the tomb of his son who had died

**(Armas.)**

*Aqui está sepultado P ..... de  
Lancastro (?) que faleceu governando  
esta fortaleza 6 de Janeiro  
de 1602. Pedo aos fieis que lerem  
este letreiro hum P. N. e huma  
A. M. pelo amor de Deos.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

Here is entombed P ..... de  
Lancastro (?) who died while governing  
this fort on 6th of January  
of 1602. He beseeches of the faithful who read  
these words a Lord's Prayer  
and a Hail Mary for the love of God.

**33 – 1604 (CR. 10): Inscription of the prison and associated buildings in the fort**

The inscription gives details of the building of the prison and associated buildings in the fort by Goterres de Monroi during his captaincy in 1604.<sup>35</sup>

*Goterres de Mõroi  
Capitão desta for  
taleza mandou fa  
zer esta prizão, e  
varandas sobelo ter  
reiro, e a guarita da  
porta da guarda e o jogo da bola no  
tempo de sua capit  
ania o anno de 1604.*

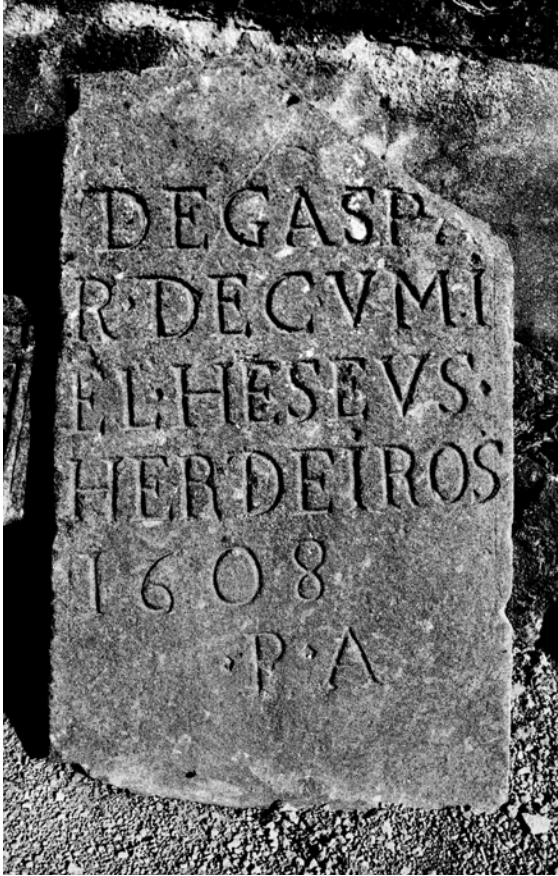
Goterres de Mõroi (Monroi)  
Captain of this fort  
ordered  
this prison to be built, and  
balconies above the  
yard and the sentry-box  
of the guard's gate and the skittle-alley  
at the time of his captaincy  
in the year 1604.

---

on 19 August 1770 (no. 106), and Francisco Xavier Henriques, who died 30 September 1777 (no. 111), was buried in the church between the nave and the choir near the altar of St Anthony at the north-east corner of the nave.

35 Reading after Cunha Rivara. The inscription is reported to have been on the wall of the prison (Figure 3.2, no. 29; Plate 3.29). All buildings in the forecourt of the fort, including the old Governor's Residence (Figure 3.2, no. 6) are used for the prison, and the area could not be surveyed in detail.

### 34 – 1608: Fragmentary loose epitaph of Gaspar de Cumiel



The epitaph is partly broken at the top, and kept in the Powder Magazine. It records the death of Gaspar de Cumiel.

DE GASPA  
R. DE CVMÍ  
EL HE. SEVS.  
HERDEIROS  
1608  
.P.A (*Paternosta Ave Maria*)

Of Gaspar  
de Cumiel  
by his  
heirs  
1608  
P. A. (Lord's prayer and Hail Mary)

### 35 – 1609: Loose epitaph of Andréa Carneiro

Lying on the ground inside the Powder Magazine is a loose and damaged epitaph, recording the death of Andréa Carneiro in 1609. The personage and his position in Diu have yet to be identified.<sup>36</sup>

SEPVLTVRA  
DE [A]NDRE CA  
RN[E]IRO .....  
.....  
O. HEREDEIR  
OS FALECIO  
NA ERA DE [1]609

Tomb  
of André  
Carneiro  
.....  
(by his) heirs.  
He died  
in the year of [1]609

<sup>36</sup> The dark environment of the interior of the Powder Magazine was not sufficient for adequate photography.

36 – c.1609–10: Epitaph of Manoel de Azevedo in Portuguese and Latin



spaces between the sentences, which is unusual, and the date which would have been in the bottom right corner, is lost.

..... ML. ...  
 ..... BREI  
 ..... O. E SOVECÍ  
 S E FÍS BEM GANHEÍ  
 E SE MALEOÍ. PERAM  
  
 A MORTE. PERPETVA ...  
 LIBERAME. DOMIN[E]  
  
 AQVI. IAS. MANO[EL]  
 DE AZ.<sup>DO</sup> DE AV ---  
 AR. E SEV. SO ----  
 NHO. NA ERA D[E] ----

---  
 ---  
 --- and alone I achieved  
 and I rightly gained (or obtained)  
 and I was made pliant [that] before [the last judgement]

Manoel de Azevedo was the Governor of Diu who died in c.1609–10,<sup>37</sup> but little is known about him except that his epitaph verifies that he died in Diu. His fragmentary epitaph in Portuguese and Latin is now kept in the Powder Magazine. The top and lower right of the slab is broken, but the name of the personage is preserved and the style of the inscription, bordered with scrollwork, with text in capitals with serifs and dots over the capital I indicates the epitaph is of considerable age. There are

from perpetual death --  
 free me, O Lord.

Here lies Manoel  
 De Az(ever)do of Av --  
 And his ---  
 In the era of ---

37 The inscription of Lourenço Soto Maior of 1610 given below (no. 37) indicates that by that date Manoel was dead.

37 – 1610 (CR. 11): Fragmentary inscription of the construction of a staircase and other works



Cunha Rivara reports that the inscription was fixed in the fort 'on the staircase of the Old Palace, now the Trading Post (*feitoria*)'. By the old palace in the fort, he seems to be referring to the Governor's old residence (Figure 3.2, no. 6, Plates 3.29–3.30), which, after the construction of a new residence in the town (Figure 4.3, no. 37, Plate 4.39) was apparently converted to a warehouse and today is part of the town jail. It should not be confused with the warehouses in the town (Figure 4.3, no. 77) the ruins of which stood until 2004, but the area has been redeveloped.

The slab, now kept in the Powder Magazine, had a place for a coat of arms on the upper part, which has been broken also losing the top left corner of the inscription. The few missing letters are given after Cunha Rivara, except that he gave the date as 1612, whereas (1)610 is fairly readable. This Dom Lourenço Soto Maior might perhaps be an ancestor of Lourenço

da Cunha Soto Maior, who built several features in 1701 (no. 78) and 1702 (nos. 80 and 81) recorded below.

(*Armas.*)

SENDO. C[APITAO DESTA]  
 FORT.Z<sup>A</sup> DÕ L[OVRENCO SOTO]  
 MAIOR MA<sup>N</sup>DOV. FZ<sup>R</sup> (*fazer*) [E]  
 STA. ESCADA E LAIEAR  
 O PATIO DAMTRE. AMBAS  
 AS PORTAS NA ERA Dº 610 (?)

(Coat of Arms, missing)

As Captain of this  
 fort Dom Lourenço Soto  
 Maior ordered the construction of  
 this staircase and paving with flagstones of  
 the yard between both  
 the gates in the year [1] 610

There are two sets of stairs associated with the Governor's old residence, one inside the building and another outside, attached to the north-east corner in the entrance courtyard (Figure 3.5, no. 5) between the two gates. Cunha Rivara does not specify on which stairs the inscription was fixed, but from the text it appears that it refers to this yard and the two entrance gates. We have already seen an earlier inscription recording the construction of the gates in 1544 (no. 8), two years before the second siege of Diu. As gates of forts were most vulnerable to enemy attack it is not surprising that they might be restored, repaired or reconstructed several times. On the main gate there was a further inscription dated 1656 (no. 64), confirming a royal vow.

## 38 – 1611: Foundation stone of a hospital for the poor



The inscription, first reported by the authors,<sup>38</sup> is fixed on a wall of Nehru Park, and was found in the area of the park, apparently the site of the hospital, of which nothing has survived. It is likely to be the one established by a royal decree on 22nd February 1611.<sup>39</sup>

D<sup>O</sup> OSPITAL  
D<sup>O</sup>S POBRES  
1611

Of the hospital  
of the poor  
1611

## 39 – 1623 (CR. 96): Inscription of the rebuilding of St James's Chapel (São Thiago) in the fort

The chapel of São Thiago (Figure 3.9; Plates 3.36–3.42) still stands but the inscription of the work by Rui Dias de Sempaio in 1623 has been lost. It was reported to have been carved under a coat of arms but its position was not mentioned (reading after Cunha Rivara). On the main façade of the chapel facing north there are three flat niches, one to the left of the entrance and two at the upper level of the wall. One of these must have been the place for this inscribed slab and the others would have housed two more, known to be of restorations in 1777 (no. 108) and 1852 (no. 131). Two further inscriptions discussed below dating from 1810 (no. 119) and 1906 (no. 148) are in place.

*(Armas.)*

*Sendo Capitão e Governador desta fortaleza Rui Dias de Sempaio mandou fazer esta igreja toda de novo e acabou na era de 1623 annos.*

*(Coat of Arms)*

As Capitan and Governor of this fort Rui Dias de Sempaio ordered this church to be rebuilt entirely and completed [the work] in the year of 1623

38 'The town of Diu, its churches, monasteries and other historic features', SAS, XXIII, 2007, pp. 167, 185, note 86.

39 *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 564.

40 – 1624: Inscriptions of a bronze cannon on St Philip's Tower (*Baluarte São Filippe*)



The canon on St Philip's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 12, Plate 3.18) seems to be on its original carriage and bears the name of the Spanish King Philip, cast in relief and a number incised as graffiti.

Taking the inscriptions from the lower end of the barrel, just above the ring separating the barrel from the chamber is an incised graffiti in capital letters, with "gf" in cursive lower case:

AZS . O gf MONTA 1875)(

Below the ring at the top edge of the chamber is incised the word:

DIO

On the chamber is the Spanish royal coat of arm with the royal inscription in relief on a panel below. The inscription is in capital letters, with the letter 4 incised after the name of King Philip:

DON PHELIPPE (4 incised as graffiti)  
REY DES PANIA

Don Phelippe 4  
King of Spain

In an oval below, is the following inscription, incised in centralised capital letters:

DON · DIEGO · DE  
SILVA · CONDE · DE  
PORT. ALEGRE

Don Diego de  
Silva Count of  
Port Alegre

and below the oval is incised the date:

1624

#### 41 – 1625: Dated pillar



The dated and highly ornamented pillar, probably the pedestal of a cross is now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. At the squared-up top of the pillar under the date 1625 it bears the monogram b V R (*Beata Virgine Regina*) ‘The Blessed Virgin, Queen (of the Angels)’.

Below the ring separating the breech from the chamber and just above the vent hole is incised:

ZS — o — o

The date does indeed correspond with the reign of Philip IV, but as both the date and the figure 4 are incised they may be considered as later additions, indicating that the cannon may be earlier, perhaps from the time of his father Philip III. In 1624 Portugal was still under Spanish rule, but in 1640 Philip IV lost Portugal to John IV of the House of Bragança.

42 – 1630 (CR. 13): Loose inscription of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas from the bridge of the fort



The inscription recording works by the Captain and Governor of the Fort, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, in 1630 is now kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine. The top of the panel is broken but the coat of arms of the governor is fairly well preserved and the inscription almost intact. It was reported by Cunha Rivara to have been fixed to the left side of the stone bridge of the fort, presumably the bridge at the end of the causeway (Figure 3.5, no. 2, i) leading to the main entrance. The bridge had originally been a drawbridge, but was later reconstructed with stone.<sup>40</sup> The inscription is likely to refer to the construction of the original drawbridge.

<sup>40</sup> See also two inscriptions of 1642 (nos. 54 and 55) from the bastion by the bridge.

*(Armas.)*

SENDO CAPITAO E GOV  
ERNADOR DESTA FORT  
ALEZA DOM PEDRO MASCA  
RENHAS SE ABRIO ESTA C  
AVA E SE FES ESTA PONTE  
ANO DE 1630

*(Coat of Arms)*

As Captain and Governor  
of this Fort  
Don Pedro Mascarenhas  
excavated this moat  
and constructed this bridge.  
Year of 1630

43 – 1630 (CR. 14): Loose inscription of Dom Miguel de Noronha from the bridge of the fort



The panel, again partly broken at the top, and kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine recording works by Dom Miguel de Noronha Conde de Linhares in 1630 as Governor of the State bears the coat of arms of Dom Miguel, and was reported by Cunha Rivara to have been fixed to the right of the bridge (Figure 3.5, no. 2) of the fort. The slab is clearly associated with the inscription of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas of the same date (no. 42). Dom Miguel de Noronha was Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1629 to 1635.

*(Armas.)*

GOVERNANDO ESTE EST  
ADO O EXCELLENTISSIM

O SOR~. (Senhor) DOM MIGEL DE NOR  
ONHA CONDE DE LINHAR  
ES SE ABRIO- ESTA CAVA  
E SE FES. ESTA PONTE  
ANO DE 1630

*(Coat of Arms)*

When governing this State  
the Most Excellent  
Senhor Don Miguel de Noronha  
Count of Linhares  
excavated this moat  
and built this bridge.

Year of 1630

44 – 1632 (CR. 17): Fragments of inscription of the building of the Powder Magazine  
(*Paiol da polvara*)



The original inscription of the building of the Powder Magazine (Figure 3.2, no. 24, Figure 3.8; Plate 3.32) by Francisco da Silveira at the time of the Conde de Linhares in 1632 appears to have been in three slabs, of which only the middle slab and a fragment of the lower slab have survived and are kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. The upper slab contained the coat of arms of the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha Conde de Linhares, the lower portion of which appears on the surviving panel, which bears only the first four lines of the text. The rest is reconstructed from Cunha Rivara's reading and what has survived on the small fragment of the right side of the stone. Cunha Rivara reported the inscription to be in the Powder Magazine, where indeed, above the entrance, there is a niche which could have housed the inscription. The text does not give the name of Dom Miguel, but only his title, and records that the structure was built by the order of Francisco da Silveira, who seems to have been a companion of the Count. Da Silveira's inscription of 1636 given below (no. 46) shows that he remained in Diu after Dom Miguel returned to Portugal.

*(Armas.)*

EM.T<sup>EM</sup>PO.DO CONDE DE LINHA  
 RES. V. REI DESTE ESTADO VIN  
 DO GOVERNAR ESTA.FORT[ALE]Z  
 A. POR. 5. ANNOS. FR<sup>AN</sup>CO(*Francisco*). DA S  
 [ILVEIRA O PRIMEIRO CLAVEIRO D]A O  
 [RDEM DE CHRISTO QVE PASS]OV A E  
 [STAS PARTES MANDOV]. FAZR. (*fazer*)  
 [ESTA CASA DA POL]VR<sup>A</sup>. (*polvera*) E  
 [DAS ARMAS NA ER]A DE  
 [1632 ANNOS]

*(Coat of Arms)*

During the time of the Count of  
 Linhares, Viceroy of this State, after  
 5 years of governing this fort, Francisco da Silveira,  
 the first Key-keeper (*Clavéiro*)<sup>41</sup> of  
 the Order of Christ to travel to these  
 parts, ordered  
 this gunpowder and  
 arms magazine to be built  
 during the  
 year 1632.

**45 – 1634 (CR. 18): Inscription of the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha from the gate of the jetty of the fort**

The inscription, now obliterated, from above the gate of the jetty of the fort (Figure 3.5, no. 4), is the last inscription of Dom Miguel de Noronha Count of Linhares, dating a year before the end of his viceroyalty. It indicates that while his seat was in Goa, he took a personal interest in Diu and was responsible for many new works to reinforce its fort.<sup>42</sup> The gate of the jetty is at the southern end of this addition to the fortifications. The place of the slab cannot be seen because of modern cement.

*Governando  
 este Estado da  
 India o Vice-Re  
 i D. Miguel d  
 e Noronha co  
 nde de Linhar  
 es mandou fa  
 zer esta porta e  
 muro da trava  
 nda: anno de  
 1634.*

When Governing  
 this State  
 of India the Viceroy  
 Dom Miguel de Noronha  
 Count of Linhares  
 ordered  
 this gate and  
 walls of the jetty (*travanda*) to be built:  
 year of 1634

42 Reading after Cunha Rivara who mentions it was '*por cima da porta da travanda, ou do caes*'.

41 In Portugal in the monastic Order of Christ, the title *Clavéiro* was given to the knight who kept the keys of the convent where the Knights of the Order lived together.

**46 – 1636 (CR. 19): Inscription of Francisco da Silveira on the Knight's Tower  
(*Baluarte Cavalleiro*)**

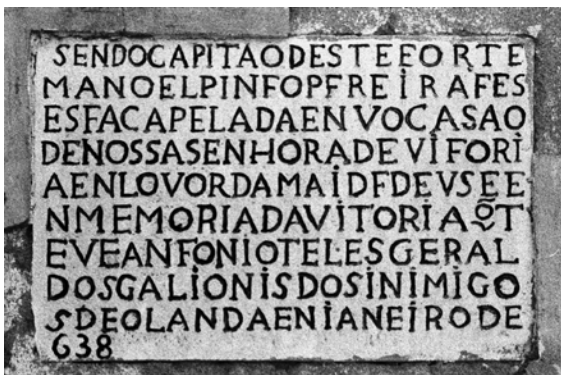
The inscription, no longer *in situ*, recording the construction of re-enforcements to the Knight's Tower in 1636 during the time of the Viceroy Pero da Silva<sup>43</sup> is reported by Cunha Rivara (reading below) to have been on the Knight's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 11; Plates 3.9, 3.14), the loftiest in the fort looking over the outer wall at the west. An earlier inscription on the tower, seems to record the construction of the tower in 1550 (no. 18) and a later inscription, records the construction of the stairs and parapets in 1682 (no. 73).

*Governando esta for  
taleza o Claveiro da orde  
m de Christo Francisco da Sil*

*veira mandou fazer esta obra e lombardo (?)<sup>44</sup> a esta belu (sic) arte cavalleiro na era de 1636, governando este estado o Viso-Rei Pero da Silva.*

When governing this fort the Key-keeper of the Order of Christ, Francisco da Silveira, ordered to build this work and cannon for this Knight's Tower during the era of 1636. Governing this State (was) the Viceroy Pero da Silva.

**47 – 1638 (CR. 117): Inscription in the Chapel of the Invocation of Our Lady of Victories  
(*Capella da invocação de Nossa Senhora da Vitoria*) in the Forte do Mar**



The first slab of the inscription of Manoel Pinto Pereira dated 1638 is fixed to the left side of the entrance arch of the chapel (Figure 3.11, Plate 3.49). It has been white-washed and the incised text, in capital letters, picked out in black. The letter “T” is sometimes represented in an old form as “T”, which in some cases has been made into the letter “F” by the painter, who presumably was not familiar with the text. The figure “638” would be understood as 1638. The figure for the millennium is sometimes omitted in inscriptions, including the second slab (no. 48).

43 Pero da Silva was appointed Viceroy in 1635 but died in Goa four years later in June 1639 and was replaced by Governor António Teles de Meneses (1639–40).

SENDO CAPITAO DESTE FORTE  
MANOEL PINTO PEREIRA FES  
ESTA CAPELA DA ENVOCAÇÃO  
DE NOSSA SENHORA DE VÍFORI  
A EN LOVOR DA MAI DE DEVS E  
EN MEMORIA DA VÍTORIA Q(ue) T  
EVE ANTONIO TELES GERAL  
DOS GALIÖNIS DOS INIMIGO  
S DE OLANDA EN IANEIRO DE  
638

As Captain of this fort Manoel Pinto Pereira made this chapel of (the) Invocation of Our Lady of Victories and in praise of the Mother of God and in memory of the victory that Antonio Teles Geral had over the galleons of the enemies from Holland in January of (1)638

44 The question mark is by Cunha Rivara who was uncertain of the reading *lombardo*. As the inscription could not be traced no alternative suggestion could be made, but a *lombardo* is a type of cannon introduced by the Lombards into Spain.

48 – 1638 (CR. 118): Second inscription of the Chapel of Invocation of Our Lady of Victories (*Capella da invocação de Nossa Senhora da Vitoria*) in the Forte do Mar



The second inscription is fixed to the right side of the entrance arch of the chapel (Figure 3.11, Plate 3.49). The text is carved in the same style as the other panel, and the letters “E” and “R” in the name of the governor, Pero, are combined. Again, it has been white-washed and the letter “T” painted as “F”. The figure for the millennium is omitted in the date, as with the first slab (no. 47).

49 – 1638 (CR. 112): Inscription of Francisco da Silveira from the sacristy of St Dominic’s Church (*São Domingos*)

St Dominic’s Church and Convent were already in ruins in 1838<sup>45</sup> and it seems that by 1865 what was left was totally demolished as it is not marked in Lopes Mendes’s town plan of that year, but the ruins of the church were apparently still standing six years earlier when Cunha Rivara recorded its inscription mentioning an altarpiece, carved under a coat of arms and fixed above the door of the sacristy.<sup>46</sup> The site of the ruins seems to have been cleared up, soon after 1859, and is no longer known.

(*Armas.*)

*A Francisco da Silveira Claveiro de Christo Capitão e Governador*

E SENDO VIZO REI DESSE ESTAD  
O PERO DA SILVA E CAPITAO D  
ESTA FORTALEZA DE DIO FRA  
NCISCO DE SILVEIRA CLAVEIR  
O DA ORDEM DE CRISTO PRIMEIR  
O DESTA DIGNIDADE <sup>Q</sup> (*que*) VEO A IND  
IA E CORENDO COM A ADMIST  
RACAO O REVERENDO PADRE A  
NTONIO DALMEIDA REITOR D  
ESTE COLEGIO EN ABRIL DE 638

And as Viceroy of this State  
Pero da Silva, and [the] Captain of  
this fort of Dio, Francisco  
da Silveira, Key-keeper (*Claveiro*)  
of the Order of Christ, the first  
of this title to come to India,  
and pursue the administration  
for the Reverend Father  
Antonio d’Almeida Rector of  
this College in April (1)638.

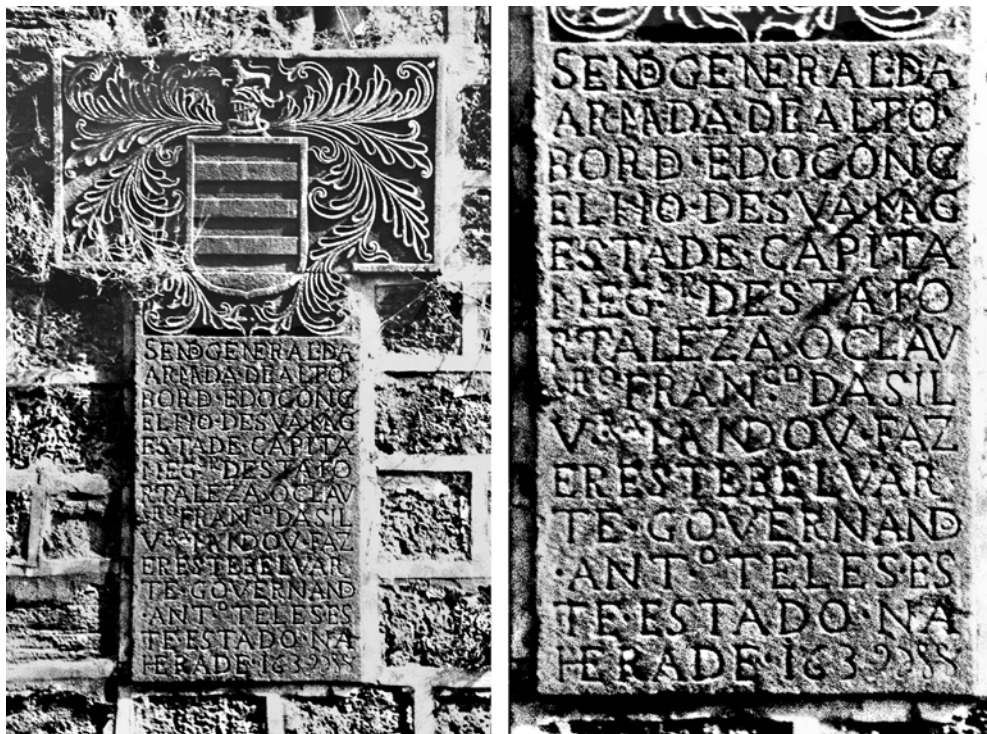
*desta fortaleza a cuja custa  
se fez este retablo os  
Frades Prégadores em gratifi-  
cação puzerão esta memoria,  
e applicarão para sempre  
a Missa do dia de S. Domingos.  
Anno de 1638.*

(**Coat of Arms**)

To Francisco da Silveira Key-keeper of (the Order of)  
Christ, Captain and Governor  
of this fort, at whose expense  
this altarpiece was made, the  
Predicant (Dominican) Friars in gratitude  
placed this memorial  
and will for ever hold  
the Mass of St Dominic’s day.  
Year of 1638

45 *Arquivo*, II, ii, pp. 622–3.

46 Reading after Cunha Rivara. He also reports the 1683 inscription of the altarpiece of the high altar (no. 74) noted below. However, the church is not shown on the 1859 Map, prepared at his time.

50 – 1639 (CR. 20): Inscription of St Dominic's Tower (*São Domingos*) in the fort

The inscription of Francisco da Silveira dated 1639 during the governorship of António Teles de Meneses is set half way up the wall on the west side of the northern face of the tower of St Dominic (Figure 3.2, no. 8, Plate 3.2) and is surmounted by a panel carved with a coat of arms embellished with elaborate foliations. António Teles de Meneses (c.1600–1657), the first Count of Vila Pouca de Aguiar, was Governor of Portuguese India only for one year from 1639 to 1640 and in 1647 was appointed Governor of Brazil. Later in his life he was nominated Viceroy of India, but died during the voyage to India.

SEND<sup>O</sup> GENERAL. DA  
 ARMADA. DE ALTO.  
 BORD<sup>O</sup>. E DO CONC  
 ELHO. DE SVA. MAG  
 ESTADE. CAPITA  
 NEG.<sup>OR</sup> (*Governador*) DESTA. FO  
 RTALEZA. O CLAV  
 ER.<sup>O</sup> (*Clavéiro*) FRAN.<sup>CO</sup> (Francisco) DA SIL

V.<sup>RA</sup> MANDOV. FAZ  
 ER ESTE BELVAR  
 TE. GOVERNAND<sup>O</sup>  
 .ANT.<sup>O</sup> (*António*) TELES. ES  
 TE. ESTADO. NA  
 HERA DE. 1639

Being General of  
 the Armada of great ships  
 and the counsel  
 of His Majesty,  
 Captain  
 and Governor of this fort  
 the Key-keeper (*Clavéiro*)  
 Francisco da Silveira  
 ordered  
 this bulwark to be built  
 while António Teles was governing  
 this State during the  
 year 1639

**51 – c.1639: Bas-relief on St Dominic's Tower (*São Domingos*)**

The bas-relief with the name of the saint is set at the east side of the northern face of the tower (Figure 3.2, no. 8; Plates 3.2, 3.10) half way up the wall. As it is almost at the same level as the inscription of 1693 it may date from the same year. A line of the inscription above the bas-relief and another below records the name of the tower:

BALVARTE. DE  
S. DOMINGOS  
Tower of  
St Dominic

**52 – 1640 (CR. 44): Commemorative panel reported to be on the wall of the Custom House (*Alfandega*)**

Cunha Rivara reports the following inscription on the right side of the wall of the Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42), but the building was demolished some time after his visit and in the twentieth century was replaced by another, now converted to a library.<sup>47</sup>

*Memoria pera  
os esquecidos*

—  
*Caindo esta p.<sup>a</sup> (parede ?)  
matou 9 pessoas.*

1640

In remembrance of  
the forgotten ones

—  
The collapse of this wall  
killed 9 people

1640

<sup>47</sup> On the Custom House jetty, an inscription of 1782 (no. 113) is still *in situ*, but other inscriptions of the *Alfandega* noted below dating from 1713 (no. 88); 1732 (no. 96); 1767 (no. 105), two probably of c.1832 (nos. 123 and 124) and one of 1844 (no. 129) have all been removed.

53 – 1641 (CR. 21): Inscription of Antonio de Sousa on St Dominic's Tower  
(São Domingos)





The inscription set high up under the battlements in the middle of the northern face of St Dominic's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 8, Plate 3.2) and is surmounted by the royal coat of arms with images at both sides illustrating the auguries noted in the text. On the right is the image of Christ with his right arm released from the cross holding the orb in his hand. The cross rests on what appears to be a representation of heaven surmounting

the globe of earth on a stand. On the left above a cross is an image of the sun as a human face radiating beams of light and cradled by the crescent moon, surmounted by the symbol of the holy sacrament.

The text in capital letters with some serifs is highly abbreviated and as usual with inscriptions of the period the capital letter "I" is given with a dot above, which also represents the letter "J".

*(Armas Reaes.)*

O I.<sup>o</sup> ANNO DO REINADO DO SERENI  
 S.<sup>o</sup> (*Serenissimo*) REI DOM IOAM O 4.<sup>o</sup>. CVIA. ACCLAMA  
 CAO EM REI DE PORTV GAL. APPR  
 OVOV X.<sup>o</sup> (*Christo*) DESPREGANDO O BRACO  
 DA CRVS. E CONE (sic) ÍRMOV (*confirmou*). COM ESTES  
 PRODIGIOS QVE SE VIRAÕ NO SOL.  
 E NA LVA. SENDO CAPITAÕ E G.<sup>OR</sup> (*Governador*) DE  
 STA FORT.<sup>A</sup> (*fortaleza*) ANT.<sup>O</sup> (*Antonio*) DE SOVSA COVT  
 T.<sup>O</sup> (*Coutinho*) SE ACABOV. ESTE. BALVARTE: N  
 O QVAL. MANDARAO. OS P<sup>ES</sup>. (*padres*) DA COM  
 P.<sup>A</sup> (*companhia*) DE IESV. ADMINISTRADORES. DE  
 S. MGD<sup>E</sup>. (*sua Magestade*) LEVANTAR. ESTE. PADRAM.  
 A LIBERDADE. DE PORTV GAL. AOS.  
 8. DE DEZENBRO. DE. 1641. ANNOS.

*(Royal Coat of Arms)*

In the first year of the reign of the Most Serene  
 King Dom João IV, whose proclamation  
 as King of Portugal was endorsed  
 as King of Portugal was endorsed  
 by Christ un-nailing his arm  
 from the cross, and confirmed by those  
 portents which appeared in the Sun  
 and Moon, as Captain, and Governor of  
 this fort, Antonio de Souza Coutinho,  
 completed this tower, as commissioned by  
 the Fathers of the Society  
 of Jesus, administrators of  
 His Majesty, to raise this monument  
 to the freedom of Portugal on 8  
 December of 1641

**54 – 1642 (CR. 15): Inscription of Antonio de Souza Coutinho from a bastion**

The place of the inscription of the completion of the  
 bastion by Antonio de Souza Coutinho in 1642, which  
 Cunha Rivara reports as being to the left of the stone  
 bridge (Figure 3.5, no. 2), is now cemented over,<sup>48</sup> but  
 a fragment of the slab is kept in the Powder Magazine.  
 The coat of arms, once above the text, has almost  
 entirely disappeared, except a small fraction on the top  
 right of the text. The left side is badly eroded and the  
 text is not entirely clear in the photograph, but could be  
 deciphered on site.

*(Armas reaes e particulares.)*

[SE] NDO CAPITAM E  
 GOVERNADOR DE  
 STA FORTALEZA. A  
 [NTO]NIO. DE SOVZA  
 [COV] T<sup>O</sup> (*Coutinho*) SE ACABOV  
 [ES] TE BALLVARTE.  
 [ANN] O 1642

*(Royal and personal coats of arms)*

As Captain and  
 Governor of  
 this fort Antonio  
 De Souza  
 Coutinho completed  
 this tower in the  
 year of 1642

48 Cunha Rivara reports three inscriptions near the stone  
 bridge, one of 1630 (no. 43), referring to an actual  
 bridge, this one and another of 1642 (no. 55) referring  
 to a bastions.

**55 – 1642 (CR. 16): Inscription by João da Silva Tello Conde de Aveiras regarding a bastion**



Cunha Rivara reports this inscription to have had a royal and a personal coat of arms, and to have been fixed on the right side of the stone bridge (Figure 3.5, no. 2), but as with the above inscription of 1642 the text refers to the completion of a bastion. A fragment of the panel

is now kept in the Sé Museum yard, and although little remains of the two coats of arms the text is well preserved. Dom João da Silva Tello e Meneses (c.1600–1651) was twice Viceroy, once from 1640 to 1644 and again in 1651, but died in Mozambique in the same year.

*(Armas reais e particulares.)*

GOVERNANDO ESTE  
ESTADO. O EXCELLEN  
TISSIMO SENHOR. IOÃO  
DA SILVA TELLO COND  
E. DE AVEIRAS. SE ACA  
BOU ESTE BALLVAR  
TE ANNO. 1642

*(Royal and personal coats of arms)*

Governing this  
State the Most Excellent  
Senhor João  
Da Silva Tello, Count  
of Aveiras, completed  
this tower in the  
year 1642

**56 – 1643 (CR. 22): Inscription recording the construction of the Queen's Cistern (Cisterna da Rainha) in the fort**



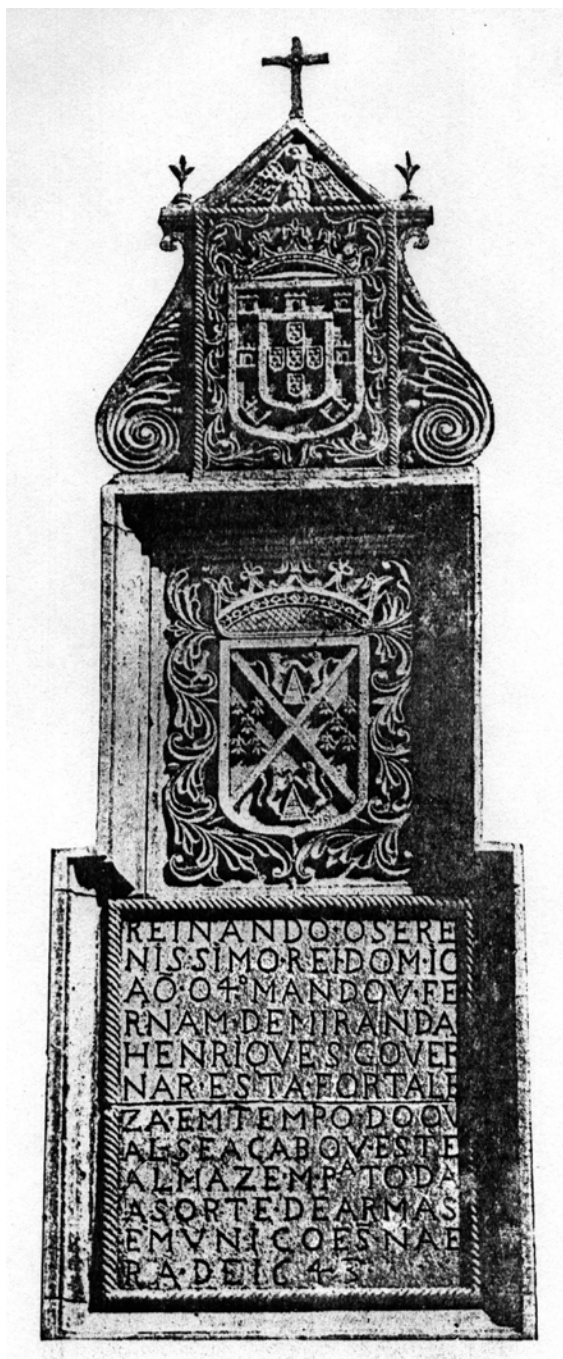
A fragment of the inscription is now preserved in the yard of the Powder Magazine. The short text in two lines is carved under a coat of arms, of which little remains. The date is lost, but is given after Cunha Rivara, who reported the slab to have been set on the Queen's Cistern (Figure 3.2, no. 26, Figure 3.3; Plate 3.28).

*(Armas.)*

ESTA CIST[ERNA SE]  
FES NO AN[NO DE 1643]

*(Coat of Arms)*

This cistern was  
built in the year 1643

57 – 1643 (CR. 23): Inscription of the Armoury (*Armazens*) in the fort

The inscription or its fragments, recording the construction of the Armoury (probably the building marked *armazens*, Figure 3.2, no. 28, Plate 3.31), by Fernam (Fernão) de Miranda Henriques could not be

found, but a reading is given from a photograph published in the *Arquivo*.<sup>49</sup> The inscribed panel in two slabs bordered with scrolling was set under Henrique's coat of arms and surmounted by another elaborately carved panel with the royal coat of arms in the middle, topped by a cross.

(*Armas reais e particulares.*)

REINANDO. O SERE  
NÍSSIMO. REI. DOM. IÓ  
AÕ. O 4.º MANDOV. FE  
RNAM. DE MÍRANDA  
HENRÍQVES. GOVER  
NAR. ESTA. FORTALE  
ZA. EM TEMPO. DO QV  
AL. SE ACABOV. ESTE  
ALMAZE. M. P.<sup>A</sup> (*para*) TODA  
A SORTE. DE ARMAS  
E MVNICOES. NA E  
RA. DE 1643

(Royal and personal coats of arms)

(While) reigning the Most Serene  
King Dom João  
IV ordered Fernam  
de Miranda  
Henriques to govern  
this fort  
at which time this  
armoury was completed for  
all kind of arms  
and munitions in the era  
of 1643.

At the time the Governor of India was João da Silva Tello e Meneses Conde de Aveiras, whose inscription of 1642 (no. 55) appears above. Henrique does not mention his name, emphasizing that he was appointed Governor of Diu directly by the king.

49 *Arquivo*, ii, ii, figure facing p. 473, digitally enhanced and reproduced here.

58 – 1647 (CR. 12): Loose and fragmentary inscription from the staircase of the Old Palace



the stairs of the Old Palace, now the Trading Post<sup>51</sup> apparently referring to the Governor's old residence (Figure 3.5, no. 6; Plates 3.29–3.30) now used as a prison. The same stairs also had an earlier inscription of a staircase built in 1610 (no. 37).

[FRAN] CO MVNIS  
 [DA] SILVA MA  
 NDOV CVBR  
 IR ESTA ESC  
 ADA O ANN  
 O D 1647

Francisco Muniz  
 Da Silva ordered  
 this staircase to be covered  
 in the year  
 of 1647

The broken inscription recording the construction of a staircase by Francisco Muniz da Silva<sup>50</sup> is now kept in the Powder Magazine, but was reported as being 'on

59 – 1649–50 (CR. 24): Inscriptions, now obliterated, of the construction of St Lucy's Tower (Santa Luzia)



50 Captain of the Fort, his other inscriptions are of 1649–50 (no. 59) and 1650 (no. 60).

51 Reading of missing letters after Cunha Rivara.



The pentagonal panel is over the west face of the gate of St Lucy's Tower (Figure 3.6, Plate 3.23) which opens to the Grand Breastwork (Plates 3.24, 3.25) and originally consisted of the bas relief of St Lucy flanked by the royal coat of arms to the left and Francisco Monis da Silva's coat of arms to the right with two inscriptions below. His inscriptions recording the construction in the reign of Dom João IV in 1650, as well as the coats of arms are obliterated, but the images have remained. Above the coats of arms, a pair of angels support a royal crown over the saint. Our reading is from a photograph of the panel in its original form in the *Arquivo*.<sup>52</sup> Under the image of St Lucy two lines gave the name of the tower:

*(Armas reais*

*IMAGEM DE S. LUZIA*

*Armas particulares.)*

BALVARTE. S. L

VZIA. 1649

*(Royal Coat of Arms*

*IMAGE OF ST LUCY*

*Personal Coat of Arms)*

**60 – 1650 (CR. 25): Foundation inscription of a provisions warehouse (*armazens*) in the fort**

The inscription of work done on the order of the Captain of the Fort, Francisco Moniz da Silva, in the reign of Don João IV could not be traced, but was reported by Cunha Rivara (reading below) to have been at the side of the parade ground set above the door of

Tower of St. Lucy, 1649

Below this was the foundation stone:

REINADO O SERENISSIMO REI DOM IOAO O4º SENDO CAPITAO

DESTA FORTALEZA FR(A)NCISCO MONIS DA SILVA MANDOV FAZER E

ESTE BELVARTE S. LVZIA E CONTRAMURO POR EORA (*fora*) DOS ALMAZE

S DA FEITORIA COM ESTA PORTA PERA COVRACA. NA ERA DE 1650

During the reign of the Most Serene King Dom Joao IV, as Captain

of this fort Francisco Monis da Silva ordered the construction of this

Tower of St Lucy and the countermure from the outer side of the warehouses

of the trading post (along) with this gate to the breastwork in the era of 1650

the warehouse (Figure 3.2, no. 28, Plate 3.31) with a coat of arms above. The same warehouses appear to have been used for arms according to the inscriptions of 1643 (no. 57) and of 1783 (no. 114).

52 *Arquivo*, 11, ii, figure facing p. 472.

*(Armas.)*

*Reinando o Serenissimo Rei D. João o 4.º, sendo Capitão desta fortaleza Francisco Moniz da Silva mandou fazer este almazem para mantimentos. 1650 (?)*

**(Coat of Arms)**

During the reign of the Most Serene King Dom João the 4th, as Captain of this fort Francisco Moniz da Silva ordered the construction of this warehouse for provisions. 1650 (?)

**61 – c.1640–56: Emblem of the Holy Sacrament and royal coat of arms over the south entrance of Forte do Mar**



Above the southern entrance of Forte do Mar (Figure 3.11, Plate 3.45) is a bas relief representing the Holy Sacrament over a separate panel bearing the royal coat of arms of the Spanish House of Bragança, probably that of Dom João IV (r. 1640–56). There is no date on the slabs, but the representation of the Holy

Sacrament could have been set up as early as 1638 when the chapel of the Invocation of Our Lady of Victories was constructed, at the time of the Hapsburg Dom Felipe IV (1621–40) while the present coat of arms may have been added later, or that of Dom Felipe replaced by that of the new dynasty. It is also possible that the Holy Sacrament was brought to the chapel sometime after it was built.

The composition of the Holy Sacrament emblem is similar to those set over the doors of churches and chapels, a few examples of which can be seen in Diu, but that of the Forte do Mar differs in that a pair of haloed saints rather than angels flank the emblem. The female saint bears a disc with the monogram of Jesus' name, IHS, radiating flames. The male figure is in clerical dress and may represent St Francis Xavier.

Under the emblem is a worn-out inscription bearing the usual text:

LOVVADO SEIA  
O SANTISSIMO  
SACRAMENTO

Praise be  
to the Blessed  
Sacrament

### 62 – 1652 (CR. 27): Foundation stone of St Teresa's Tower (*Santa Teresa, Theresa*)



no. 17) in the fort. He mentions an image of St Teresa on the tower, which has not survived. The fragment of the slab, however, preserves the right side of Dom João Manoel's coat of arms and a large portion of the inscription below.

(*IMAGEM DE S. THERESA*)

(*Armas reaes.*)

[SENDO C]APITÃO E GOV<sup>OR</sup> (Governador)

[DESTA F]ORTALEZA DOM

[JOÃO M]ANOEL SE FEZ ES

[TE BAL]VARTE DE SANTA T

[ERESA] D<sup>E</sup> IESVS EM 1652

(IMAGE OF ST. THERESA)

(Royal Coat of Arms)

As Captain and Governor  
of this fort Dom

João Manoel built this

Tower of St Teresa

of Jesus in 1652

The loose fragmentary slab is now kept in the Powder Magazine, but was reported by Cunha Rivara<sup>53</sup> to have originally been on St Teresa's Tower (Figures 3.2 and 3.6,

### 63 – 1653 (CR. 119): Epitaph in Latin and English of Captain Mathew Wood

The Latin inscription was reported by Cunha Rivara, who mentions the grave with its inscription under a coat of arms to have been in the fields beside the Ghoghla Road.<sup>54</sup> The 1859 Map also notes Tumulo do Capitão N. (sic) Wood as no. 63 on the west side of the road, and another grave on the north-west as no. 65 (Figure 6.1; Plates 6.1–6.2).

53 Reading of missing letters after Cunha Rivara. He also uses the alternative spelling Theresa in his work.

54 The epitaph could not be traced, reading from Cunha Rivara. This area has changed with a wide modern road replacing the old one and a tourist hotel occupies most of the area north of the village of Ghoghla. See also João Herculano Rodrigues de Moura, *Relatório*

*sobre a administração e serviços do Governo do Districto de Diu: ano económico de 1899–1900*, Governo Geral do Estado da Índia, Imprensa Nacional, Jan 1901, pp. 35, 37–8. There are records of a number of Ships Welcome of the mid-seventeenth century, but no firm connection between a ship of this name, private or Naval, has been found connected with a Matthew Wood. See: Rif Winfield, *The 50 Gun Ship*, John McKay, plans and cut-away drawings (Chatham Publishing) London, 1997, pp. 13–14, 21, 79, 106; Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1603–1714, Design, Construction, Careers and Fates*, (Seaforth Publishing) Barnsley UK, 2009; J.J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, Rev. updated by Ben Warlow and Steve Bush (Seaforth Publishing) Barnsley, UK, 2020, p. 474. No description of the crest is given by Cunha Rivara, and Wood is a common name.

(*Armas.*)

QUI ME CREAVIT CONSERVET.

(*Coat of Arms*)

May he who created me preserve me

Followed by the English text:

Capt. Mathew Wood Commander  
of the Shipp Welcom (sic) departed  
this life September the 19  
Anno Domini 1653.

64 – 1656 (CR. 28): Inscription, now obliterated, in Latin and Portuguese, of the north side of the main gate of the fort



1656 inscriptions, present condition.



1656 inscriptions.

MARJAY, 1956, PLATE 75

For example the arms of the Clan Wood of Largo are given as: Blazon: Shield, Argent, an oak tree vert eradicated Proper fructeted Or; Crest: A ship under sail Proper; Motto: *Tutus in Undis*; Supporters: Two sailors Proper, their caps and jackets vert, their lapels, cuffs and trousers Argent (source [www.clan-woodsociety.co.uk](http://www.clan-woodsociety.co.uk) March 2024), but the clan may not be connected with the captain who died in Diu.



1656 inscription of royal vow, centre.

MARJAY, 1956, PLATE 75, DETAIL



1656 inscription of governor, below.

MARJAY, 1956, PLATE 75, DETAIL

The elaborate monument on the exterior of the main gate of the fort (Figure 3.2 no. 5, Plate 3.19) was carved on seven panels of which the two side ones, topped with a third, in a semi-circular arch form with a cross in the centre, have survived *in situ* – all carved with scrolling vine-leaf foliation. The other four panels which carried the coats of arms and the historical texts have been obliterated, but a photograph of the intact monument was published by Marjay.<sup>55</sup> Our reading is from this photograph, some letters are combined, in particular I, following the style of the time.

The panel under the arch bore the coat of arms of Dom João IV, above the Latin inscription recording the royal vow<sup>56</sup> made in the sixth year of his reign, while below the personal coat of arms the Portuguese text records the setting up of the monument in 1656.

*(Armas reaes.)*

ÆTERNIT SACR. ÌMMACVLATÌSSÌMÆ  
 CONCEPTIONÌ MARÌÆ. IOAN. ÌV POR  
 TVGALL. REX VNA CVM GENERAL C  
 OMÌTÌIS. SE. ET REGNA SVA SVB ANN  
 VO CENSV TRÌBVTARÌA PVBLÌCE V  
 OVIT. ATQVE DEÌPARAMN ÌMPERÌI T  
 VTELARE ELECTAM À LABE ORÌG  
 ÌNALÌ PRAESERVATA<sup>M</sup> PERPETVO  
 DEFENSVRV<sup>M</sup> ÌVRAMENTO FÌRMA  
 VÌT. VIVERET VT PÌETAS LVSTAN(A)  
 HOC VÌVO LAPÌDE MEMORÌALE PER  
 ENNE EXARARÌ JVVSSÌT ANN(O) CHRÌS  
 TÌ MDCXLVI ÌMPERÌI SVÌ VI

55 Marjay, plate 75, enhanced and reproduced here.

56 According to Cunha Rivara, pp. 13–14, King Dom João IV ordered a monument of the *Conception Vow* to be set at the gate of every town and village in the Portuguese territories and other inscriptions recording this vow could still be found in other places, including one in Goa on the gate known as the Arch of the Viceroy. The royal order was sent to India in a letter noting: 'Be apprised of this copy letter and the inscription that I ordered to be written to the town halls of the cities, towns and villages. Count Viceroy, friend, I, the King, sent you many greetings, as the one that I love. We command you from these Kingdoms, to execute in the city of Goa and in our more eminent places of the State of India this Resolution in the way that you consider most fitting. Written in Lisbon on 15 of March in 1655'.

*(Royal Coat of Arms)*

To the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, Joan IV King of Portugal, together with his usual companions, publicly vows, for himself and his kingdoms, an annual tribute; and has affirmed with an oath (that) the God-bearer, chosen to protect the empire and saved from original sin, will be forever defended by him. That Lusitanian piety might flourish; he has ordered this perpetual memorial to be made, cut from the living rock, in the year 1656 AD, the 6th year of his reign.<sup>57</sup>

Below the Latin inscription was the coat of arms of Ignacio Sarmiento de Carvalho (Governor 1656–58) followed by the Portuguese inscription on a panel with a simple frame spanning the composition supported by three decorative brackets, which records him setting up the monument.

*(Armas particulares)*

GOVERNANDO. ESTA. FORTALESA. IGNACIO  
 SARMENTO. DE CARVALHO. MANDOV.  
 FASER. ESTE. PADRAO. DA SSERENISIMA. (sic)  
 SENHORA. DA CONCEICAO. NA ERA. DE. 1656

*(Personal Coat of Arms)*

When governing this fort Ignacio Sarmiento de Carvalho ordered the construction of this monument to the Most Serene Lady of the Immaculate Conception in the era of 1656

57 Cunha Rivara notes that the letter containing the resolution is recorded in the *Livros das Monções (Books of the Monsoons)*, n° 25 fol. 232: 'Judge, Town Councilors and Procurators of the town hall of Coimbra; I, the King send you many greetings. In order for it to notified that I and all my vassals have the responsibility of defending that the Virgin Our Lady was conceived without original sin; it was considered fitting to place on all gates and entrances of cities, towns and villages of my Kingdoms a well-dressed stone with the Inscription, that is copied with this letter. We order you to set it in the gates and places of that city, and to notify me how you have executed it. Written in Alcantara on 30 of June of 1654'.

**65 – 1658 (?): Inscription of the monumental cross (*cruzeiro*) of the Cathedral of St Thomas (*São Thomé*) now Sé Museum**



As well as the obliterated inscription over the south entrance of the Sé, *São Thomé* recording its construction in 1598 (no. 31), to the north-east of the cathedral

there is an inscription on the *cruzeiro*, *in situ*, not reported previously. The text is obscured by whitewash, and the date was read as (1) 658, but could be (1) 655 or (1) 688 (Figure 4.15; Plate 4.43).

SENDO VI  
GAR(I)O DEST  
A FREGVEZ  
IA O P(*adre*) IOÃO  
ROIZ FES ES  
TA CRVS CO  
RRENDO O AN  
NO DO SÖR. 658 (?)

As Guardian<sup>58</sup>  
of this  
parochial church  
Father João  
Roiz made this  
cross during  
the year  
of the Lord (1)658 (?)

**66 – 1661 (CR. 105): Epitaph of Dom Pedro Henriques from the Church of St Francis (*São Francisco*)**



Cunha Rivara reported the epitaph of Dom Pedro Henriques, Captain and Governor of the Fort (for less than a year, in 1661), to be in the churchyard, as he calls the terrace in front of the church, of *São Francisco* (Figures 4.3, no. 75; 4.16–4.17), which has a number of sepulchres, but their inscriptions have been removed or obliterated (Plate 4.55). A fragment that appears to be that of Dom Pedro's is kept in the Powder Magazine. Part of the coat of arms and the right side of the framed text seem to correspond with the reported reading.<sup>59</sup>

58 The letters are eroded but seem to be *vigário* (title of Guardian among the Franciscans) or *vigário* (vicar).

59 Cunha Rivara's line breaks differ with the stone, but this is often the case with his readings. Some letters are combined; in our reading the letters in square brackets are after Cunha Rivara. See also note to Inscription no. 32.

*(Armas.)*

[AQVI JAZ D]OM PEDRO  
 [HENRIQVE]S CAPITÀÕ  
 [E GOVERNAD]OR QVE  
 [FOI DESTA FOR]TALEZA  
 QVE FALECEO AVS] 28  
 [DE FEVEIRO DE 1661. P]E  
 [DE PELO AMOR DE DEOS  
 A TODOS QVE LEREM  
 ESTE LETEIRO HVM P. N.  
 E HVM A. M.]

**(Coat of Arms)**

Here lies Dom Pedro Henriques  
 he who was Captain and Governor of this fort  
 who died on 28 of  
 February of 1661. He beseeches for the  
 the love of God of all who read  
 these words a Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer)  
 and an Ave Maria (Hail Mary)

**67 – 1661 (CR. 104): Epitaph of Antonio de Saldanha from St Francis Church**

This is another epitaph reported to have been in the churchyard (terrace) of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; plate 4.49), again carved under a coat of arms. The inscription was not found<sup>60</sup> but it seems that the unfortunate Antonio de Saldanha had only a brief time as Captain of the Fort and died ten months after his predecessor, Dom Pedro Henriques.

*que faleceo aos trinta de Dezembro  
 de 1661 que pede aos que este lerem  
 huma Padre e huma Ave Maria*

*(Armas.)*

*Aqui jaz Antonio de Saldanha  
 Capitão que foi desta fortaleza*

**(Coat of Arms)**

Here lies Antonio de Saldanha  
 he who was Captain of this fort  
 who died on thirtieth of December  
 of 1661 who begs of those who read  
 this an [Our] Father (the Lord's prayer)  
 and a Hail Mary

**68 – 1663 (CR. 106): Epitaph of Dom Francisco de Souza from the Church of St Francis (São Francisco)**

This is a further epitaph, now untraceable, from the churchyard (terrace) of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plate 4.49), dated two years after that of Antonio de Saldanha. The inscription of Dom Francisco de Souza (Governor 1662–3) is again reported to have been under a coat of arms.<sup>61</sup>

*(Armas.)*

*Aqui jaz Dom Francisco de  
 Souza Capitão e Governador  
 que foi desta fortaleza que  
 faleceo aos 10 de Dezembro  
 de 1663 annos. Pede  
 a quem este ler hum P. N.  
 a huma A. M.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

Here lies Dom Francisco de  
 Souza he who was Captain and Governor  
 of this fort who  
 died on 10 of December  
 of the year 1663. He begs  
 of those who read  
 these words a Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer)  
 and an Ave Maria (Hail Mary)

60 Reading after Cunha Rivara. See also note to Inscription no. 32.

61 Reading after Cunha Rivara. See also note to inscription no. 32.

**69 – 1667: Loose inscription, probably from the *cruzeiro* of the Church of Our Lady of Remedies, Fudam**



A loose inscription, now kept outside the Sé Museum is probably from the *cruzeiro* of the Church of Our Lady of Remedies (*Nossa Senhora dos Remedios*) at Fudam

(Figure 6.9; Plate 6.22). The slab is almost complete, but the right side is damaged and a few letters are covered with cement. The text, in five lines, is highly abbreviated. It is kept at the right of the entrance of the museum, leaning against the west façade by the steps.

ESTA CRVS : M : (?)  
 A : R : B : E LO (--) {filled with cement}  
 R : D : S (*Senhora?*): D°S. RE  
 MEDIOS AI E  
 RA D: 1667 ~

This cross of  
 .....<sup>62</sup>  
 ..... of (Our) Lady (*Senhora*) of  
 Remedies in the  
 era of 1667

**70 – 1676 (CR. 56): Inscription of Manoel de Mello from the town wall**

Cunha Rivara reports an inscription relating to works on the portion of the town walls at the south-west by Manoel de Mello (Governor 1675–78), noting that the broken and incomplete slab was from the Tower of St Sebastian (*São Sebastião*) (Figure 4.3, no. 67) and

was lying on the ground at its foot.<sup>63</sup> Although Cunha Rivara reports several inscriptions from St Sebastian's Tower which are actually *in situ* elsewhere, this one does seem to belong to the tower. If this is the case, it may refer to the part of the walls between the tower and the Headland or Diamond Point (*Ponte de Diamante*, Figure 4.3, no. 68), which appears clearly to have been rebuilt.<sup>64</sup>

62 The letters M: A: R: B: ELO: seem likely to be abbreviations of perhaps a religious phrase, but could also be read as *Mar Belo*, The Beautiful Sea.

63 Reading from Cunha Rivara. Manoel de Mello died in Diu in 1678 and was buried in the Church of S. Francisco, *see* his epitaph (no. 71).

64 *See* also the inscription of 1811 (no. 120) regarding rebuilding.

*Sendo Manoel de Mello Capitão desta fortaleza se fez o baluarte do mar em vocação N. S. do Soccoro, e o pano de muro que corre a este de S. Sebastião também se lajeou e se lhe fez a obra que foi necessario para sua defesa e na mesma forma aos mais e a muralha que não tinha parapetos, e se retificou a que estava arruinada, e se abriu a cava, sendo a maior parte obrando-se tudo depois do bom sucesso que Deos foi servido dar n'esta praça contra os Arabios governando-a o mesmo Capitão em 20 de Janeiro de 1676.*

#### 71 – 1678 (CR. 107): Epitaph of Manoel de Mello

The epitaph of Manoel de Mello (Governor 1675–78), which also had a coat of arms, is reported<sup>65</sup> to have been in the churchyard (terrace) of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plate 4.49), but has been removed together with other epitaphs.

##### (Armas.)

*Nesta sepultura está Manoel de Mello Capitão e Governador que foi desta*

Manoel de Mello as Captain of this fort made the bulwark of the sea in vocation of Our Lady of Help, and the extension of the wall that runs to that of St Sebastian as well as paving and carried out the work that was necessary for its defense and in the same way for the others and the walls that had no parapets, and rectified that which was ruined, and excavated the moat, being in greater part done after the good success that God granted to this town against the Arabs with the same Captain governing, on 20th January 1676.

*fortaleza. Faleceo aus 8 de Marco de 1678.*

##### (Coat of Arms)

In this tomb is Manoel de Mello he who was Captain and Governor of this Fort. Died on 8 of March of 1678

#### 72 – 1680 (CR. 29): Inscription of João de Sá e Menezes in the fort



Only a fragment of the right side of the inscription has survived and is now kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine. Most of the text is preserved, but it was reported to have included the royal coat of arms as well as a personal one, presumably of João de Sá e Menezes (Governor in 1680), none of which have survived. Cunha Rivara does not mention the location of the inscription, but the text seems to refer to the restoration of a tower or another building which was protected with firearms.<sup>66</sup> There is a blank panel between the text and the date.

65 Reading from Cunha Rivara. See also note to inscription no. 32.

66 Reading of missing letters after Cunha Rivara.

*(Armas reaes e particulares.)*

[GOVER]NANDO ESTA FORTALE  
 [ZA O C]APITÃO JOÃO DE SÁ E ME  
 [NEZES] SE RENOVAV ESTA CAZA  
 [DE NOVO] E SE ARMARAM OS EN  
 [GENHOS] DE POLVERA N'ELLA  
 [DE 1]680

*(Royal and Personal Coats of Arms)*

While governing this fort  
 the Captain João de Sá e Menezes  
 renovated this building  
 and armed the  
 gunpowder devices inside it  
 in 1680

**73 – 1682 (CR. 30): Inscription of José de Mello de Castro of the Knight's Tower  
 (Baluarte Cavalleiro)**

The inscription, now apparently lost, is reported to have been on the stairs of the Knight's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 11, Plates 3.9; 3.14). As the loftiest tower in the fort, it overlooks the entire interior of the fort as well as protecting the outer western fortification. The stairs built by José de Mello de Castro (Governor 1682–85) on the north side have survived intact, giving access from the wall-walk to the capital of the tower. Before the construction of these stairs the only access was from the west wall-walk by means of a ramp on the east of tower, which could also be used for hauling cannons. Reading from Cunha Rivara.

*Sendo Capitão, e Governador desta fortaleza Jose de M*

*ello de Castro se fi  
 serão as escadas a  
 estes baluartes e  
 se fez o parapeto d  
 este e dos baluartes  
 de fora na era de 1682.*

Being Captain, and Governor  
 of this fort  
 José de Mello  
 De Castro had the  
 stairs to these bulwarks  
 built and had  
 the parapet made  
 for it and the exterior  
 towers during the era of 1682

**74 – 1683 (CR. 113): Inscription of the high altar of the Church of St Dominic  
 (São Domingos)**

It is known that the church and convent of St Dominic was already in ruins in 1838,<sup>67</sup> but parts of it were still standing in 1859 when Cunha Rivara recorded the inscription of its altarpiece made by the Prior, Brother João de Brito, as follows:

*Sendo Prior Fr. João de Brito  
 mandou fazer este retablo  
 no anno de 1683.*

As Prior Brother João de Brito  
 ordered this altarpiece to be made  
 in the year 1683

67 See also the inscription of 1638 (no. 49) from the same church.

**75 – 1685 (CR. 103): Epitaph of Manoel Furtado de Mendonça from the Church of St Francis (São Francisco)**

The epitaph with a coat of arms is reported<sup>68</sup> to have been in the churchyard (terrace) of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plate 4.49), but has been removed together with other epitaphs. It notes, in poetic language, Manoel Furtado de Mendonça's term of 39 years of Royal service. He was Governor in 1685, succeeding José de Mello de Castro – who as Governor of the Fort had built the stairs to the Knight's Tower in 1682 (no. 73).

**(Armas.)**

*A terra que esta camp  
bre foi a que cobrindo  
descobrio que era te  
rra o corpo de Manoel Fur  
tado de Mendonça, fidalgo  
do Conselho, e governa  
dor desta Praça, que ser  
vio a Sua Magestade d  
esdo anno de 1646 the*

*o presente de 1685 a  
17 de junho emque fa  
lecco. Pede hum Padre Nosso e Ave Maria.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

The earth which covers this grave was that which, covering, would discover that which was dust, the body of Manuel Furtado de Mendonça, Gentleman of the Counsel, and Governor of this town, who served His Majesty from the year 1646 until the present of 1685 the 17 of June when he died. He entreats an Our Father (Lord's Prayer) and an Ave Maria (Hail Mary)

**76 – 1690: Latin epitaph with Carmelite motto**

The first two lines with a crest give the motto of the Carmelite order *Zelo zelatus sum pro Domino Deo exercituum*, (from 1 Kings, 19.10 and also 14: Elijah's declaration, translated in the King James' Bible as: 'I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left, and they seek my life to take it away'. The slab, now kept in the Powder Magazine, seems to be an epitaph and is first reported here. It is worn out and a tentative reading was made on site. There was considerable friction between the religious authorities and the Carmelites of Diu, and the epigraph may be associated with the now destroyed Carmelite monastery of São José<sup>69</sup> (later under the Hospitaller

friars and named after São João de Deus, Figure 4.3, no. 73) to the south of the town, and discussed in Chapter 4.

The inscription continues with a text from Apocrypha, 11 Maccabees, 12.46: '*Sancta ergo et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur*' ('It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from their sins'), part of the Mass held on the anniversary of a death.

The meaning of the last two lines is not clear. They may be a reference to the text: *MACAB* for Maccabees, or a date: I Ma (March or May) and the initials of the deceased.

68 The slab has not been traced, reading from Cunha Rivara. See also note to inscription no. 32.

69 Arquivo 11, ii, pp. 631–4.

**(Crest and motto)**

ZE(L)O ZELATVS SUM PR(O) DO  
MINO OR(--)(?) EXERCITVA (*exercituum*)

SANCTA ERGO  
TE (sic) SALVBRIS · EST  
COGITATIO PRO  
DEFUNXCTIS (sic) EX  
ORARE: VT A  
PECCATIS SOI  
VANTV(-) (*sobvantur*)

I · MACAP (?) 1690 (?)  
· F · L · F

With zeal I have been zealous for the Lord God of Hosts

It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray  
for the dead that they may be loosed from their sins.

I MACAP (?) 1690 (?)

F.L.F

**77 – 1698 (CR. 65): Inscription of the Governor João Pacheco de Sá from the guardhouse (*quartel*) of the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)**

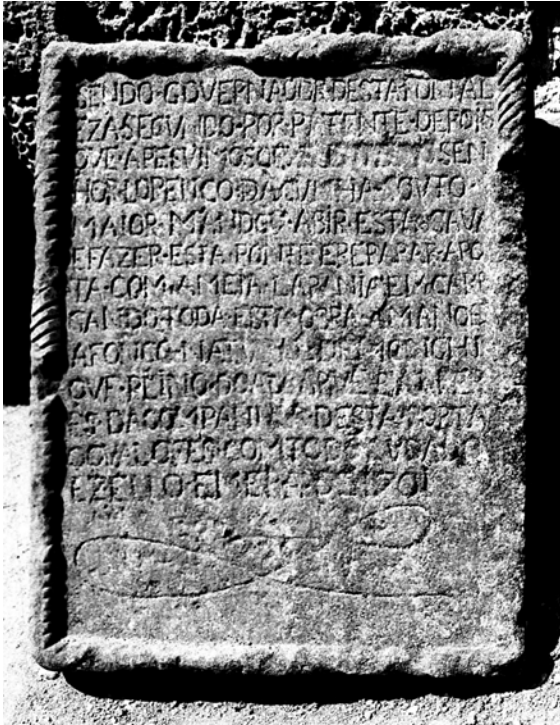
The reported inscription by João Pacheco de Sá (Governor four times, between 1686 and 1698), of the barracks could not be traced,<sup>70</sup> but the location is given as near the sentry-post of the guard's square, at the gate to the fields. The guardhouse was located to the south of the Inland Gate of the town (Figure 4.3, nos. 58, 59), but the area has been rebuilt and is now occupied by houses.

*Governando esta  
praça João Pacheco  
de Sá mandou admi  
nistração fazer e  
ste quartel em Ju  
lho de 1698 annos.*

When governing this  
town João Pacheco  
de Sá ordered [his] administration  
to construct this  
barracks in July  
of the year 1698

<sup>70</sup> Reading from Cunha Rivara.

78 – 1701 (CR. 61): Inscription of Lourenço da Cunha Soto Maior from the drawbridge of the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)



The historic inscription is reported to have originally been fixed on the right side of the drawbridge in front of the Inland Gate (Figure 4.3, nos. 58, 60), but the bridge has long been removed and the ditch in front of the gate has been filled up and paved, joining the modernized Brito Capello Road to the gate. The slab, kept in the Powder Magazine, is damaged and some letters and words missing. On the third line a word (probably a title) before the name of Lourenço da Cunha Sotto Maior (Governor 1701–2) has been intentionally

obliterated. The lettering is in capitals with serifs, but compared to the earlier inscriptions the calligraphy is rather uneven.

SENDO. GOVERNADOR. DESTA. FORTAL  
EZA. SEGVNDO. POR. PATENTE. DEPOIS  
QVE. A PESVIMOS O E -- S (?) IT (?) E -- O (?) SEN-  
HOR. LORENCO. DA CVNHA. SOVTO.  
MAIOR. MANDOV. AB[R]IR. ESTA. CAVA  
E FAZER. ESTA. PONTE. E REPARAR. A PO  
[R]TA. COM. A MEIA. LARANIA. EMCARR  
[E]GANDO. TODA. ESTA. OBRA. A MANOE-  
[L] AFONCO. NATV[RA]L. DE MONCHI  
QVE REINO. DO AL[G]ARVE. ET ALFER  
ES. DA COMPANHIA. DESTA. PORTA  
O QVAL O FES. COM TODO. CVIDADO  
E ZELLO. EM ERA DE 1701

Being Governor of this fort  
according to the patent  
that we held, the ... Senhor  
Lourenço da Cunha Souto  
Maior ordered the excavation of this moat  
and building of this bridge, and repair of the gate  
with the embrasure commissioning  
all this work to Manoel  
Afonso, native of Monchique  
realm of Algarve and Second Lieutenant  
of the Company of this port,  
which he carried out with all care  
and zeal in the era of 1701

## 79 – 1701: Epitaph in two fragments, apparently of two ladies



Two broken slabs from an epitaph, not reported previously, are kept in the Powder Magazine. It appears to be of two ladies of the same family who died together. A tentative reading follows. The script is a combination of lower and uppercase letters, with abbreviations, and the borders of the slab remain, except at the top. The original place of the epitaph is not known, but the number 65 was painted on the side of the first slab, presumably when it was removed.

*Aqui (emblemata no centro) jaz  
D AnnaMA. D<sup>o</sup> car<sup>vo</sup>: e sz<sup>A</sup>  
(e)vas<sup>cor</sup> FA. T(?) conca<sup>u</sup> O Ad*

*drede car<sup>a</sup> fil(h)a (?) D. M<sup>A</sup> = B<sup>A</sup> de  
sz<sup>a</sup>. e vas<sup>cor</sup> = ~ C de Lisboa e  
Fal.<sup>o</sup> (faleceo) deia ... de 4 m. A<sup>o</sup> 701 (anno 1701)*

Here (emblem in center) lies  
D(onna) Anna M(aria) Do Carv(alh)o e S(ala)za(r)  
e Vasco F<sup>A</sup> . T(?) together and by circumstance (with  
that)  
of (her) beloved daughter (?) D(onna) M(ari)a B(eat)a  
(?) de  
S(ala)z(a)r e Vasco (?) ~ C. of Lisbon, and  
died the 4th day of M (March or May) year (1)701

80 – 1702 (CR. 62): Inscription in Portuguese of Lourenço da Cunha Soto Maior within the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)



The inscription is in a small street chapel attached to the town wall facing the small town square inside the Inland Gate (Figure 4.3, nos 58, k). An image of the Madonna and Child above the inscription seems to be of the same date and while there are very few Christians left in Diu the chapel is still maintained as a shrine.<sup>71</sup>

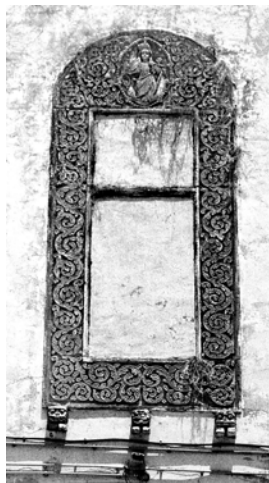
The inscription is from the time when Lourenço da Cunha was concerned about his health, and he seems to have set it up for the townspeople at a time of disease and pestilence to show his devotion, while his Latin inscription of the same year (no. 81) was for the Portuguese who had access to the fort and would see it inside the main gate.

SACRATÍCIMA (sic) VIRGEM  
DO PORTO SEGVRO [– –]  
O VOSSO ESCRAVO LOV  
RENCO DA CVNHA SOTO M  
AIOR GOVERNADOR DES  
TA FORTZ<sup>a</sup>: (*fortaleza*) VOS CO[N]SAGRA  
ESTA OBRA COMO TE[M] FEÍTO  
AS MAÍS, E VOS PEDE AMPARE  
ÍS A ESTA SID.<sup>E</sup> (*cidade*) COMO A EL[L]E  
DIO O p.<sup>RO</sup> (*primeiro*) DE IAN<sup>RO</sup> (*Janeiro*) DE 1702

Holy Virgin  
of the Safe Haven [two letters removed or illegible]  
your slave Lourenço  
da Cunha Soto Maior  
Governor of this fort consecrates to you  
this work as has been completed  
and more, and entreats you to protect  
this City as his own. Diu  
the first of January of 1702

71 See Inscription no. 141 of 1874 and the inscription of its reconstruction in 1950 (no. 152) below.

81 – 1702 (CR. 31): Latin inscription of Lorenço da Cunha Soto Maior, now missing, from the south side of the main gate of the fort



The inscription concerning Lorenço da Cunha Soto Maior's resignation due to ill health was originally set over the inner arch of the main gate facing the forecourt of the fort (Figure 3.5, no. 5, Plates 3.13, 3.20). The border of the inscription has survived with an elaborate foliated serpentine pattern. The top is in the form of an arch with the image of the Madonna of the Rosary and the Christ Child in a roundel in the middle. Within the border are spaces for two inscribed panels, the lower one is larger and would have housed this published Latin inscription (reading from Cunha Rivara). The upper space probably housed the historical inscription of 1544 (no. 8) referring to construction of the gate and other features, reported to have been fixed over the main gate and now kept in the Sé Museum. If the 1544 inscription were indeed set in this space Lorenço da Cunha must have kept it and added his own, along with the image and elaborate frame.

(Armas.)

*Maria Sacratism. Rosari.  
manceps et servus tuus hu  
milis Laurentius de Cunha So  
tto maior hujus fortalitæ gu  
bernator hunc lapidem humilit  
er tibi dedicans petit ut per in  
tercessionem sancti Ludovici p  
rotectoris nostri illum sub pa  
lio protectionis tuæ tegere et*

*conservare dineris nec non et is  
tam civitatem cum insula a quo  
vexatur morbo pestilentie li  
berare fabricas quas in hoc anno  
erexi reparationes que quas fe  
ci tibi consecratas maxima cum  
lætitia relinquo erubescens  
tantum maiora pro tui amore  
et mei regis tributo patrare  
non potuissem discedens ergo et ob  
per lungam (sic) infirmitatem coactus  
ab gubernio hoc ante trien[ni]um jam  
de sussessore proviso desistere ex  
posco ut me ad portum feliciter  
ducto nunquam de tua protectione  
desistas. Diu prima januarii 1702.*

(Coat of Arms)

Owner of the Virgin's most sacred rosary  
and your humble servant  
Laurentius de Cunha Sotto  
Maior, governor of this fortress,  
humbly dedicates to you this stone, and  
prays that, through the intercession  
of St Ludovic our guardian,  
you will cover it with the mantle  
of your protection and  
preserve its wealth (*dineris*) and also  
free this state with its island from  
the disease and pestilence by which they have been  
afflicted.

Those buildings which I have this year  
erected and the repairs which I have effected,  
I leave behind me consecrated to yourself,  
overcome with the greatest joy:  
the more so that I could do no more for love of you  
and as my tribute to the King.  
Compelled by my  
long illness to resign  
the governorship these three years past,  
and my successor determined, I beg you  
to bear me safely to the harbor and  
never cease to afford me your protection.  
Diu 1st January 1702

**82 – 1704 (CR. 108): Epitaph of Gil Vaz Lobo Freire from the Church of St Francis (São Francisco)**

Another missing epitaph from the churchyard (terrace) of St Francis (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plate 4.49) is of the Governor of the Fort (from 1702–04), Gil Vaz Lobo Freire.<sup>72</sup>

(*Armas.*)

*Aqui jaz Gil Vaz Lobo Freire*

*Governador que foi desta fortaleza*

*Falleceo em os 2 de Março de 1704  
P. N. e A. M.*

(*Coat of Arms*)

Here lies Gil Vaz Lobo Freire  
he who was Governor of this fort,  
died on 2 of March of 1704  
Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer) and Ave Maria (Hail Mary)

**83 – 1709 (CR. 32): Inscription of the rebuilding of St James's Tower (São Thiago)**

Cunha Rivara records an inscription of 1709 regarding the rebuilding of St James's Tower (Figure 3.2, no. 13; Plate 3.8) by Antonio Pereira de Berredo, Governor of the Fort (1709–11), under the Governor of the State of India, Dom Rodrigo da Costa (1657–1722, Governor of India 1686–90; Vice-Roy 1707–1712). A slab, *in situ*, on the west face of the tower is carved with a coat of arms, but the inscription could not be seen. Reading from Cunha Rivara:

*Governando Anto  
nio Pereira de Berre  
do esta fortaleza  
e D. Rodrigo da Cos  
ta este Estado da Ind  
ia mandou o padre a  
dministrador reedi*

*ficar este baluarte  
que havia muitos ann  
os estava arruinado  
1709*

When Antonio  
Pereira de Berredo  
was governing  
this fort and Dom Rodrigo da Costa  
this State of India,  
on the order of the administrating  
priest this tower  
was rebuilt  
which had for many years  
been in a state of ruin  
1709

**84 – Undated, but c.1709–11 (CR. 81): Fragmentary inscription of Antonio Pereira de Berredo from the Fort of St Ignatius (Santo Ignacio) or Passo Sêco (Seco, Secco)**

The site of the fort, or rather watchtower, near the present Nehab Bridge is discussed in Chapter 6, and the fort's plan and elevation are given in the 1859 Map (Figure 6.1; Plate 6.3, no. 52, Plate 6.9). The fragmentary inscription, reported to have been in the fort and carved below the royal coat of arms, has not survived and was mostly illegible when recorded as given below by Cunha Rivara who could not decipher its date, but records another inscription of Antonio Pereira de Berredo (no. 83). A later inscription (no. 128) notes repairs to the fort in about 1840.

(*Armas Reaes.*)

*Governando Dio Antonio Pereira de  
Berredo .....  
Forte de Santo Ignacio*

(*Royal Coat of Arms*)

When governing Diu Antonio Pereira de  
Berredo .....  
Fort of St Ignatius

<sup>72</sup> The epitaph, which was reported to have included a coat of arms, has not survived and the reading is after Cunha Rivara. See also note to Inscription no. 32.

**85 – 1710 (CR. 101): Commemorative inscription of St Paul's Cathedral (*São Paulo*)**

A commemorative inscription of 1710 referred to the foundation of St Paul's Cathedral (Figures 4.18–4.19; Plate 4.56) in 1601<sup>73</sup> by Duarte de Mello (Governor 1601–4) and the Reverend Father Vigario da Vara Manoel Fernandes, giving the designer as Father Gaspar Soares.

*Aos 7 de Abril de 1601 no  
Sabbado antes da Dominica  
de Passione o Governador  
deste Praça Duarte de  
Mello com o Reverendo Padre  
Vigario da Vara Manoel Fer-  
nandes lançarão a primeira  
pedra na Capella desta i-  
greja, que delineou o Padre  
Gaspar Soares da Companhia de  
Jesus, e para lembrança se*

*poz este pedrão no anno  
de 1710.*

On 7 of April of 1601 on  
the Saturday before Passion  
Sunday the Governor  
of this fort Duarte de  
Mello with the Reverend Father  
Vigario da Vara Manoel Fernandes  
laid the first  
stone in the Chapel of this church,  
which was designed by the Father  
Gaspar Soares of the Society of  
Jesus, and in remembrance  
this stone was laid in the year  
of 1710

**86 – 1712 (CR. 67): Inscription of St Catherine's Tower (*Santa Catarina, Chatarina*)**

The inscription of the building of St Catherine's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 53; image Plate 4.24) by the Governor of the Fort, Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes (from 1712–16) is now kept inside the Powder Magazine. The following reading was made on site.<sup>74</sup>

DEPOIS DE SE INTENTAR DVAS  
[VESE]S FAZER SE ESTE BALVARTE, SE FE  
S DA TERCEIRA VES, COM BASTANTÉ TRA  
BALHO POR SE BVSCAR A ROCHA NA  
QVAL ESTA TODO O FVNDAM.<sup>O</sup> (*fundamento*) DES  
[TE BALVARTE S. CATARINA E FOI FEITO]  
NO TP.<sup>O</sup> (*tempo*) Q. (*que*) GOVERNAVA ESTA FORT.<sup>ZA</sup>  
(*fortaleza*)  
ANT.<sup>O</sup> (*Antonio*) DE SILVA TELLO E MENEZES. EM  
IANEIRO DE 1712.

After it was twice endeavoured  
to construct this tower, it was built  
on the third occasion with much effort  
since the stone (had to be) sought out  
for all the foundations of this  
Tower of St Catherine, and it was done<sup>75</sup>  
during the time that governing this fort  
was [under] Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes, in  
January of 1712

73 The inscription is reported to have been 'painted in the field of a blind window in the edifice of St Paul'. It seems to have been whitewashed during the modern refurbishments of the church. The reading is after Cunha Rivara.

74 The Powder Magazine interior was too dark for an adequate photographic record.

75 Line 6 of the inscription is damaged and we have followed Cunha Rivara's reading; his line breaks differ from those of the inscription.

87 – 1712 (CR. 63): Fragments of the inscription from the town's lock-up (*calabouço*)

The inscription is reported to have been above the door of the lock-up near the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*, Figure 4.3, no. 58) of the town. Cunha Rivara reads the date as 1717, but it is clearly 1712, corresponding with other inscriptions of Antonio da Silva Tello e Meneses. The lock-up and associated structures have not survived and should not be confused with the jail established in 1604 in the forecourt of the fort and now expanded to utilize the Governor's Old Residence (Figure 3.5, no. 6). The lock-up is likely to have been near or attached to

the barracks (Figure 4.3, no. 59) built in 1698 by a former Governor, João Pacheco de Sá (Inscription no. 77). Among the many small inscribed fragments gathered in the yard of the Sé Museum, two are part of the lock-up inscription and the reading below is reconstructed from them and Cunha Rivara's<sup>76</sup> which is distinguished by square brackets. In the inscription the letter *F* in *fes* is written in error as *E*. The last word *CAPITAO* before the date 1712 is a cipher of combined letters.

76 As usual Cunha Rivara gives a modernised version of the text which differs in many points with the surviving text, but where the text has been lost his spellings has been given except for the letter *u* which would have certainly been presented with the letter *v*, as on the fragment. His reading is as follows:

*Sendo dignissimo G  
overnador desta  
praça Antonio da Silva  
Tello e Meneses se fez este  
quartel para assistencia  
dos officiaes da Companhia, e se  
fez um deposito do  
s criminosos apanha  
dos de noute e se fez  
hum novo quarto ao Capitão. 1717.*

[SENDO DIGNISSIMO G]  
 [OVERNADOR DESTA]  
 [PRAÇA ANTONIO DA SILVA]  
 [TELLO E MENESES SE FEZ ESTE]  
 QVARTE[L PARA ASSISTENCIA]  
 DOS OFE[CIAES DA COMPANHIA, E SE]  
 FES HVM [D]EPOSITO [DO]  
 S CRIMI[NO]S APANHA  
 DOS DE [NOVT]E E SE EES (sic)  
 HVM [NOVO QVARTO] AO C<sup>A</sup>PITAO. 1712

As most honourable Governor  
 of this town Antonio da Silva  
 Tello e Menezes had these  
 quarters built to assist  
 the officers of the Company, and  
 made a detention chamber for  
 criminals captured  
 at night and had  
 a new room built for the Captain. 1712

### 88 – 1713 (CR. 48): Inscription from the Custom House (*Alfandega*)



The third inscription of Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes is from the Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42),<sup>77</sup> and is now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. The Custom House was rebuilt and the new building now serves as the town's library. The slab is missing the top left corner

and is broken across the lower right corner; the upper field has Antonio da Silva Tello e Menezes's coat of arms within a plain border, and the whole slab has a further border with a carved pattern of darts and leaves. The text, in capital letters with serifs, abbreviated and using combined letters refers to the Custom House both as *alfandega* and as *mandovim*, an old term from the Gujarati.

#### (Armas.)

SENDO DGNISS.<sup>O</sup> (*dignissimo*) GOV (*Governador*)  
 DESTA  
 FORZ.<sup>a</sup> (*fortaleza*) O S<sup>OR</sup> (*Senhor*) AN<sup>O</sup> (*Antonio*) DA  
 S(i)LVA. (Γ) E  
 LLO E M<sup>ES</sup> (*Menezes*) MANDOVA REE[Dİ]F(i)C  
 AR E MVRAR DE GOD[O] ESTAS  
 CAZAS DA ALF[AND]EGA O M  
 ADOV[I]M. NO ANO DE 1713

#### (Coat of Arms)

As most honorable Governor of this  
 Fort Senhor Antonio da Silva Tello  
 e Menezes ordered to rebuild  
 and wall up all these  
 buildings of the custom house and *mãdovim*  
 in the year of 1713

77 Cunha Rivara notes that the inscription was on the gate of the custom house, left side, further on from the undated inscription.

89 – 1716 (CR. 33): Loose inscription from the Trading Post (*feitoria*)

The inscription of Diogo de Pinho Teixeira (Governor 1716–19) is now kept outside the Sé Museum. The slab is fairly well preserved, but whitewash obscures some letters; nevertheless, it could be read on site. The inscription is reported to have been set originally in the fort on the balcony of what was in the nineteenth century the Trading Post, situated in the Governor's Old Residence (Figure 3.5, no. 6; Plates 3.29–3.30), now used as a jail. The balcony is on the exterior wall of the Residence and looks over the open sea, the jetty and the Forte do Mar.

GOVERNANDO (sic) ESTA PRA  
CA DIOGO DE PINHO TEIX  
EIRA E SENDO ADMINIS  
TRADOR DELLA O M.<sup>O</sup> (*muito*) R.<sup>O</sup> (*Reverando*) P.<sup>A</sup>  
(*Padre*)  
BERNARDINO IOZEPH TÕB  
EZANE SE FIZERÃO AS SA

CADAS DESTA FORT.<sup>A</sup> (*fortalesa*) E SE  
DESCVBRIO A VLTIMA CAZ  
A DELLA NO ANNO DE 1716

When Governing this town  
Diogo de Pinho Teixeira,  
and as its administrator  
the very reverend Father  
Bernardino Joseph Tõbezane<sup>78</sup>  
had the balconies  
of this fort constructed, and it was  
opened as the last building  
of the year 1716

<sup>78</sup> The name is given in the inscription of 1718 (no. 90) as Tõmbezane, but the name Tõbezane or Tõmbezane does not seem to be Portuguese.

90 - 1718 (CR. 34): Inscription from the drawbridge of the fort



The inscription is reported to have been set on the left side of the drawbridge (Figure 3.5, no. 2), which has now been replaced with a masonry bridge (Plate 3.13). The well-preserved slab is kept in the yard of the Sé Museum, and displays the details of Diogo de Pinho Teixeira's coat of arms. The name of the administrator is given as Father Tombesane rather than Tõbezane, seen in the inscription of 1716 (no. 89).

GOVERNANDO ESTA PRA  
ÇA D'IOGO DE PINHO TEIXEIRA<sup>A</sup> (*Teixeira*)  
E SENDO ADMINISTRAD<sup>OR</sup>

O P<sup>º</sup>. (*Padre*) BERNRADINO IOZE-  
PH. TOMBESANE S<sup>[E]</sup> FES E  
STA PONTE LLAVADICA  
NO ANNO DE 1718

When governing this town  
Diogo de Pinho Teixeira,  
and being Administrator  
Father Bernardino Jozeph  
Tombesane had this  
drawbridge built  
the year of 1718

**91 – 1718 (CR. 64):** Inscription of construction of the drawbridge in 1718 over the ditch in front of the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)



We have already seen in the context of the inscription of 1701 (no. 78) that this drawbridge (Figure 4.3, no. 60) has been removed and at this point the ditch has been filled up to provide a foundation for a modern road leading to the Inland Gate (Plate 4.26). The slab is reported<sup>79</sup> to have been at the left side of the drawbridge, but today only two broken fragments are preserved in the Powder Magazine. One fragment contains Diogo de Pinho Teixeira's coat of arms and the other most of the text and the lower part of the coat of arms (see also nos. 89 and 90). The bottom left corner of the lower slab is also broken. A peculiarity of the inscription is that some capital letters are joined or intersect and the top loop of the figure 8 is omitted. The text refers to the relationship between the authorities and the *mazanes* or *baneanes* (Banians),<sup>80</sup> the wealthy merchants of Diu.

GOVERNANDO ESTA PRACA  
 DIOGO DE P(i)NHO TEIXE(i)RA  
 FIZERAO OS MAZANES E  
 MAIS POVO GENTIO ESTA  
 [PO]NTE LEVADISSA ENT  
 [RAN]DO O DITTO G<sup>or</sup> (*Governador*) COM A PA  
 [RTE QVE] COVBE AO MESMO POV  
 [O MSO]N<sup>o</sup> (*maçoms?*) NO ANNO DE 1718

When governing this town  
 Diogo de Pinho Teixeira  
 caused to be built by the Mazanes and  
 other heathen people, this  
 entry drawbridge,  
 the said Governor, doing so, with the cost<sup>81</sup>  
 which was from the said people  
*mson.*<sup>o</sup> (builders?) in the year of 1718

#### 92 – 1723 (CR. 71): Inscription of the construction of walls and a tower near the coast

The inscription reported to be 'above the gate of the town to the coast' has not survived (reading after Cunha Rivara). The location might refer to the gate to the shore (*porta da praia*) (Figure 4.3, no. 48) which has long been demolished, but had an inscription of 1580 with a motto (no. 24), not necessarily associated with the gate's construction. However, the inscription of Luis de Mello Pereira (Governor 1722–25), seems to refer to the building of St Philip's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 47) and the walls of the stockade, none of which stand today.

(*Armas reaes.*)  
*Esta baluarte e*  
*o muro que se segue mandou*  
*fazer Luis de Mello Pereira Governador des*  
*ta fortaleza anno 1723*

(**Royal coat of arms**)  
 This tower and  
 the adjoining wall were ordered  
 to be built by Luis de Mello Pereira Governor of this  
 fort (in the) year 1723

79 A few missing letters in square brackets follow Cunha Rivara's reading. He was unable to decipher the abbreviated word given as *mson.*<sup>o</sup>

80 In 1686 the *Companhia dos Mazanes* was founded in Diu under the governorship of João Pacheco de Sá, during the Viceroyalty of Francisco de Távora, Conde de Alvor (Viceroy 1681–1686) giving the *Mazanes* a trading monopoly. The Company was dissolved in 1777. See José Accursio das Neves, *Considerações políticas, e commercias sobre os descobrimentos e possessões dos Portuguezes na Africa, e na Asia*, Lisbon, 1830, Chapter xx, pp. 288–302, in particular 298.

81 The meaning of the inscription is ambiguous, but it appears that the construction of the bridge was paid for by money provided by the *Mazanes* and other groups of the population. See also the inscriptions of 1726 (no. 94), 1744 (no. 98) and 1767 (no. 105) for the rôle of the *Mazanes* or *Baneanes*.

**93 – 1725 (CR. 68): Inscription of Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello recording improvements to the fortifications**

The epigraph of Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello (Governor 1725–33) is now laid on the floor inside the Powder Magazine, and the reading was made on site. The poor light in the Powder Magazine prevented providing an adequate photograph from the slab. Cunha Rivara does not identify the location of this inscription, except that it was in the town, but this and the next inscription (no. 94) seem to be related and together they refer to the construction of the northern embankment and fortification walls of the town (Figure 4.3, no. 35), apparently from the gate (Figure 3.2, no. 1) opening to the causeway of the fort up to the Tower of the Mother of God (Figure 4.3, no. 36).

PRINCIPIANDO A GOVE  
RNAR. ESTA. PRACA  
HIERONIMO DO VADRE  
REBELLO MANDOV  
CONTINVAR. COM  
A MURALHA DESTE  
LVGAR POR DIANTE  
E FAZER A PORTA PE  
QVENA QVE SE SEGVE  
E JVNTAMENTE POR  
LHE PORTAS E FAZ  
ER O BALLVARTE. Q

VE SE SEGVE A QVE  
POS A INVOCA CAO  
DA MAI DE DEOS E  
CONTINUVR COM A MESMA MV  
RALHA [A]THE O ULTIMO PADRAO  
QVE NELLA FICA. ANNO DE 1725

When commencing the governing  
of this town  
Hieronimo do Vadre  
Rebello ordered  
the continuation of  
the walls from this  
place onwards  
and the building of the  
next postern gate  
and at the same time  
its doors and made  
the tower which  
adjoins it at the rear  
with the invocation  
of the Mother of God and  
continued with the same wall  
until the last inscription which  
is set in it (the wall). (The) year of 1725

**94 – 1726 (CR. 69): Inscription of Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello from near the old trading post (*feitoria*)**





The second in the series of inscriptions regarding the wall running from the bridge (Figure 3.2, no. 1) to the Tower of the Mother of God (Figure 4.3, no. 36)<sup>82</sup> constructed by Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello is kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. The Mazanes and their contribution to building works are also mentioned in inscriptions of 1718 (no. 91), 1744 (no. 98) and 1767 (no. 105).

The inscription is on a rectangular slab with a large coat of arms over the text. In places the sign ~ above some letters represents other omitted letters. Some letters are combined with one inside another, and words abbreviated. Unwritten letters are given in brackets in our transcription.

*(Armas.)*

GOVERNÃO DO EST(A) PRACA HR<sup>MO</sup>(*Hieronimo*). DO  
VADRE REB. <sup>O</sup>(*Rebello*) SE FES. EST(A) M~R<sup>A</sup>(*muartha*)  
D<sup>O</sup> FEITR<sup>A</sup>(*feitoria*)

VELHA A THÊ CHEGAR A P<sup>RA</sup>(*primeira*) PÖTE (*ponte*)  
DESTA FO  
(R)TZ<sup>A</sup>(*fortaleza*) CÕ ESTA BALL.<sup>TE</sup>(*balluarte*) D<sup>O</sup>  
INVOCAC(A)Õ MAI DE D~(*Deos*) C~(*com*)  
O D<sup>RO</sup>(*dinheiro*) Q~(*que*) DERAÕ OS MAZ.<sup>ES</sup>(*Mazanes*)  
SE ACABO<sup>U</sup> Ê (*em*) 8 D~(*Dezembro*)<sup>83</sup> 1726

*(Coat of Arms)*

When governing this fort Hieronimo do  
Vadre Rebello had this wall built from the old factory  
up to the first bridge of this fort  
along with this Tower of the Invocation of the Mother  
of God with  
the money given by the Mazanes. Completed on  
8 December of 1726

82 Cunha Rivara reports the slab with the inscriptions of the town, but does not mention the exact location.

83 Cunha Rivara reads *Outubro*, but the first letter of the month seems clearly to be D, making it *Dezembro*.

95 – 1727 (CR. 70): Inscription of Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello from near the first bridge of the fort



The third inscription associated with Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello's building of the town walls marked the end of that stage of operations, at the first bridge of the fort (Figure 3.5, no. 1). It indicates that the construction of the walls took two years to complete.

The slab is now lying in the ground inside the Powder Magazine. It is broken and a small part of it is missing. The surface is damaged but the text is fairly well preserved, and could be deciphered on site. While the dark interior of the Magazine was not favourable for taking photographs, one is given as a reference.

GOVERNANDO . H  
 IERONIMO DO VADR  
 E . REBELLO . ESTA . PRAÇ-  
 A . SE FEZ ESTA MURAL  
 HA . DO PADRAO QUE  
 NELLA FICA . IUNTO . A

FEITORIA . VELHA . ATH  
 E ESTE . JUNTO . A PRIME  
 IRA . PONTE . DESTA FO  
 RTELESA E SE ACABOV  
 EM DEZEMBRO DE 1727

When governing this fort Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello had this wall constructed from the inscription which stands close to the old factory up to this [one] near the first bridge of this fort, and it was completed in December of 1727

96 – 1732 (CR. 49): Inscription of the great table of the Custom House (*Alfandega*)



Hieronimo do Vadre Rebello's projects included renovating the great table of the Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42). Two fragments containing most of the text have survived and are kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine. The Royal coat of arms, apparently on a separate slab, is lost and part of the middle of the text is broken off. The missing letters are given after Cunha Rivara, who reported it to be *in situ* in 1859.

(*Armas reaes.*)

GOVERNAND[O DA SE]GVNDA. VES  
ESTA PRACA HIER[ONI]MO DO VADRE

REBELLO MANDO[V LA]GIAR. E REFORM  
AR ESTA. MEZA [E PO]R ESTE. PADRAO  
COM AS ARM[AS] REAE[S] AO  
S: 20 DE SE[TE]MBRO. DE 1732.

(Royal Coat of Arms, missing)

Governing this fort for the second time  
Hieronimo do Vadre  
Rebello ordered this table to be surfaced and rebuilt  
and set this inscription  
with the royal coat of arms on  
20 of September of 1732

97 – 1740 (CR. 116): Epitaph of Lourenço de Menezes from the Convent of St John of God (*São João de Deus*)

The church, convent and hospital of St John of God (Figure 4.3, no. 73) were destroyed in the eighteenth century, probably after an earthquake. The foundations of the convent can still be seen in the south-west of the island, but while there would have been graves in the churchyard and possibly inside the church, it is uncertain if there were a specific cemetery. However, Cunha Rivara mentions a new cemetery founded by the Governor Joaquim José de Macedo Coto in 1841 to the west of the ruins and it seems that this site is meant by

the report of the epitaph as a 'loose tombstone, brought from another side of the cemetery'. The slab could not be traced and his reading is given, but the cemetery (Figure 4.3, no. 72) still serves the shrinking Christian community of Diu. The 1859 Map (Figure 6.1; Plate 6.4) shows the *Horta de São João*, as no. 33 near Brancavará (Vanakbara), and it is possible that the land was connected with the convent. See also Inscriptions nos 130 and 132 for nineteenth-century epitaphs.

*Aqui jaz Lourenço de Menezes  
que alem dos otros empregos  
em que servio a Republica<sup>84</sup>  
foi Escrivão da Administração  
Real nesta fortaleza de Dio  
e faleceu aus 21 de Dezem-  
bro de 1740.*

Here lies Lourenço de Menezes  
who besides the other employments,  
in which he served the public interest,  
was Notary of the Royal Administration  
in this fort of Diu  
and died on 21 of December  
of 1740

**98 – 1744 (CR. 87): Inscription of Governor Matheus Vieira da Silva Bandeira from the Nagoa Fort (*Forte do Nagoa, Forte de Naguá, Forte de São Thiago Maior*)**

This lost inscription is particularly interesting as Nagoa Fort has long been demolished and no trace is left, but a plan and section/elevation is given in the 1859 Map with the fort noted as no. 19 and the village as no. 21 (Figure 6.1; Plates 6.4; 6.5). Nagoa, about 6 kilometres (4 miles) west of the town of Diu, is now a tourist resort with a sandy beach attracting domestic visitors mainly from the State of Gujarat. Cunha Rivara<sup>85</sup> notes: 'it was in this place where in the old days the ships took on water; there is an excellent well with a two-bucket

waterwheel, and the remains of the old conduit for watering' (Plate 6.4, no. 20). The inscription by Matheus Vieira da Silva Bandeira (Governor 1741–45) gives some detailed and specific information on the history and social life of Diu, which does not otherwise appear in the general literature on Portuguese India. The *Baneanes* (Banians) or *Mazanes*, who are also mentioned in inscriptions of 1718 (no. 91), 1726 (no. 94) and 1767 (no. 105) prospered under Portuguese rule.

84 The term *Republica* in the context of the monarchy of the time does not carry the modern meaning of a republic. The word was used in the past to refer to the community of a town, a public cause or the public interest, as given in our translation.

85 Cunha Rivara, mentions 'The lettering and orthography are very bad and some words unintelligible', his reading is given.

*Sendo Castellão e Governador desta fortaleza de Dio Matheus Vieira da Silva Bandeira, Fidalgo da Casa de S. M. e Cavaleiro. Professo de Xpõ mandou fazer este forte com o titulo de S. Thiago Maior por defensão desta enseada porque sendo o lugar por que o inimigo arabio invadio esta ilha duas vezes com grande prejuizo dos moradores e mais moradores de Dio (sic) e o bizº (?) era o em que de contino desembarcava o inimigo Sagel (?) a fazer agoa e a rouber as povoações vizinhas. Entrarão para a despesa della os Baneanes de Brancavará e Bonchivará, e tomou o trabalho de correr com a administração da sua factura M. R. P. João Ignacio da Companhia de Jesus Reitor do Collegio desta fortaleza no anno de 1744.*

As Castellan (Provincial Governor) and Governor of this fort of Dio Matheus Vieira da Silva Bandeira, Knight of the House of Santa Maria and Chevalier, professed in xerophagy (Xpõ),<sup>86</sup> ordered to construct this fort with the title of St James the Greater to defend this bay since it was the place from where the Arab enemy invaded this island twice to the great prejudice of the inhabitants and other inhabitants of Diu and the arrogance (bizº) (?) was that it continued be the landing place of the enemy Saracens (Sagel) (?) for taking on water and robbing the neighbouring villages. Contributing into its expenses (were) the Banians of Brancavará and Bonchivará, and (the one who) undertook the work of running the administration of its bills (was) M. R. P. João Ignacio of the Society of Jesus, Principal of the College of this fort in the year of 1744

### 99 – 1758 (CR. 35): Inscription of the rebuilding of Tower of St Teresa (*Santa Theresa*)



The panel commemorating the rebuilding of the tower and other works by Caetano Correa de Sá (Governor 1757–59) and Father Jozé Joachim is reported to have been set on St Teresa's Tower (Figure 3.6, no. 17),<sup>87</sup> but now only a large fragment of it is kept in the Powder Magazine. The top of the panel is broken but most features of the coat of arms including two 'savages' supporting it on either side remain. The left side of the

86 Professo de Xpõ: the abbreviation may mean that the Governor practiced xerophagy, the Christian rule of fasting. Alternatively, it may refer to the Governor being an expert in xerography (*xerographia*) the division of geography treating of the dry parts of the terrestrial globe.

87 Reading of missing letters given in brackets after Cunha Rivara, who uses the alternative spelling Theresa in his work.



panel is also broken and some letters missing, otherwise most of the inscription has survived.

[EM O] ANNO DE 1758 SENDO CASTELLAO  
 [E GOV]ERNADOR DESTA FORT.ZA (*fortaleza*) CAE  
 [TANO C]ORREA DE SAA E ADMINISTRA  
 [DOR O R]mo P.º IOZE IOACHIM DA ESCLA  
 [RECIDA C]OMP.<sup>a</sup> (*Companhia*) DE IESVS SE  
 REIDIFICO  
 [U ESTE BA]LOARTE. E SE FIZERAO  
 [OTRAS] MVITAS OBRAS QVE POR  
 [MODESTIA] SE NAO DECLARAO

**100 – 1758 (CR. 72): Inscription of the Tower of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*)**

The inscription could not be traced (reading from Cunha Rivara), but was reported as being under a coat of arms and set on the outer side of the Tower of Our Lady of Hope (Figure 4.3, no. 69), recording works, presumably repairs, to this tower, again by Caetano Correa

During the year of 1758, as Castellan (Provincial Governor),  
 and Governor of this fort Caetano  
 Correa de Sá, and (as) Administrator  
 the Very Reverend Father Jozé Joachim of the  
 enlightened  
 Society of Jesus had  
 this tower rebuilt, and had  
 many other works done, which out of modesty  
 will not be declared

de Sá and memorialised by Father Jozé Joachim. It is part of the southern town wall, most of which has been eroded by the sea, but this tower and its adjoining walls are still partly preserved.

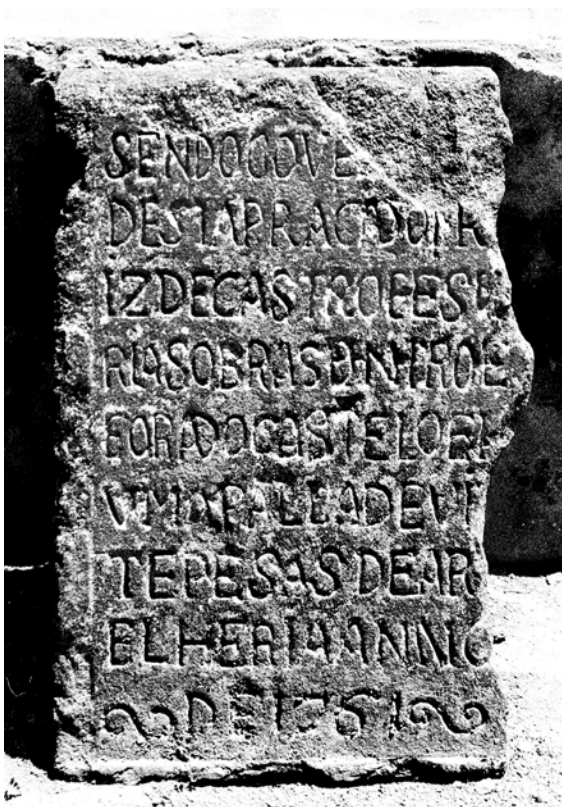
*(Armas.)*

Ao Illm.º Snr. Caetano Correa de  
Sá Castellão Governador desta fortaleza  
de Dio para perenne memoria da o  
bra deste baluarte, e de outras  
muitas deste author dedicou este  
monumento o P.º Jozé Joachim  
da Companhia de Jesus no anno de 1758.

*(Coat of Arms)*

To the Most Illustrious Senhor Caetano Correa de  
Sá, Castellan (Provincial Governor) and Governor of  
this fortress  
of Diu in lasting memory of the  
works to this tower, and of many  
others by him (of this author) this  
monument was dedicated by the Padre Jozé Joachim  
of the Society of Jesus in the year of 1758

**101 – 1761 (CR. 36): Inscription of the Governor Dom Rodriguiz de Castro from near the drawbridge of the fort**



The inscription recording shipbuilding and other works by Dom Rodriguiz de Castro (Governor 1760–62) is reported to have been under a coat of arms and set on the right side of the drawbridge of the fort (Figure 3.5, no. 2). The damaged inscribed panel is now kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine, but the coat of arms has not been traced. The panel is framed by a plain border, and the top squared off, indicating that the coat of arms

might have been on a separate slab. Apart from a few letters<sup>88</sup> where the right side is damaged, the text is preserved. A *palla* is a type of Indian armed ship.

*(Armas.)*

SENDO GOVE[RNADOR]  
DESTA PRACA DOM R[ODRIGU]  
IZ DE CASTRO FES V[A]  
RIAS OBRAS DENTRO E  
FORA DO CASTELO E H  
VMA PALLA DE VI[N]  
TE PESAS DE AR[T]  
ELHERIA ANNO  
DE 1761

*(Coat of Arms, missing)*

As Governor  
of this fort Dom Rodriguiz  
de Castro did numerous  
works inside and  
outside the fort and (built)  
one Man-of-War (*palla*) of twenty  
pieces of artillery  
in the year  
of 1761

88 The missing letters follow Cunha Rivara, except in the name Rodriguiz, where IZ is clear. He gives it as Rodrigo.

102 – 1762 (CR. 37): Fragmentary inscription of Belchior de Amaral de Menezes from a jetty



The works by Belchior de Amaral de Menezes (Governor 1762–65) are commemorated in an inscription which survives as a fragment. The lower part of the slab is broken and only nine lines of the text have survived, missing the end which contained the date. The surface is eroded, some of the letters are difficult to decipher and some at the edges broken off. Nevertheless, it seems that the inscription, kept in the Sé Museum yard, is the same as that reported by Cunha Rivara to have been set 'at the left side of the gate of the jetty or the wharf (*travanda*) in the fort' (Figure 3.5, no. 4) but it is not clear which gate he means.<sup>89</sup>

SENDO CASTELAO E GO  
V<sup>or</sup>(*Governador*) DESTA FORTELEZA (sic) BEL  
CHIOR DE AMARAL DE ME

89 As usual Cunha Rivara transcribes the inscription into modern Portuguese, but in spite of differences in spelling there is no significant difference in the context and arrangement of lines between the slab and his transcript. The missing letters and the final lines are given in brackets after his reading.

NEZES SE FES ESTE CAN  
NO PARA AGOADA DAS EM  
BARCAOES PRINCIPIADO  
DAS DVAS CISTERNAS A  
THE O CAES COM DVA[S NO]  
RAS DE MAO E [TAMBEM SE FI  
SERÃO VARIAS OBRAS DO  
CASTELLO E PRAÇA NO  
ANNO DE 1762]

Being Castellan (Governor of the Province) and  
Governor  
of this fort Belchior  
de Amaral de Menezes  
had this conduit made  
for watering ships, beginning  
from the two cisterns up to  
the jetty, with two hand-bucket  
water-wheels, and [also had  
various works carried out in the  
fort and town in the  
year of 1762]

**103 – 1765 (CR. 95): Inscription recording repairs to the Misericorde (*Misericórdia*)**

The inscription of Caetano Gomes da Silva (Governor 1765–68) was reported to have been at the Misericorde (Figure 3.5, no. 20; Plate 3.19), which Cunha Rivara reported in 1859 to be in ruins.<sup>90</sup> The building, near the gate of the fort, must have been restored again after this time but once more fell into a dilapidated state until the 1990s when it was repaired and used as a storehouse. The foundation inscription of 1542 (no. 6) has survived, and is kept in the Powder Magazine.

*Sendo Vice-Rei e Capitão deste Estado o I  
ll.º e Exm.º Snr. Conde da Ega, e Castellão d'esta  
fortaleza Manoel Caetano Gomes da Sil  
va, achando logo que tomou entre  
ga do seu governo a igreja da Santa Casa da  
Misericórdia em huma precipitada ruína que  
não pedia demora acudir-se a ella,  
e havendo ordem para sua reedifi  
cação se não effeituou pela falta de  
meios, entrou sem demora o dito Cas  
tellão a procural-os com a sua ordem e diligencia,  
e os achou, e ajustou a dita obra da  
dita reedificação com muito commodo trans  
ferindo o tecto da dita Igreja que era  
de madeira por estar toda partida, e arrui  
nada, com bons arcos de pedra e  
terra que mostra a obra ser ma  
is duravel, e esta se venceu pe  
lo cuidado do dito Castellão*

**104 – 1766 (CR. 38): Inscription of St Lucy's Tower (*Santa Luzia*)**

The inscription of 1766 of Manoel Caetano Gomes da Silva on the gate of St Lucy's Tower (Figure 3.6, no. 15) in the fort has been obliterated (reading from Cunha Rivara), as was the earlier epigraph of 1649–50 (no. 59), set over the entrance of the tower recording its construction (Plate 3.23).

*Sendo Cas  
tellão d'esta fortale  
za Manoel  
Caetano Go  
mes da Silva*

*desde fins de Janeiro the  
principios de Junho do anno  
de 1765.*

As Viceroy and Captain of this State the most noble and Most Excellent Senhor Count of Ega,<sup>91</sup> and as

Castellan (Provincial Governor) of this fort Manoel Caetano Gomes da Silva, as soon as he (Manoel Caetano) was entrusted with administering the Church of Holy Misericordia, found it in an advanced state of ruin which demanded making it safe without delay, and the order for its reconstruction not having being affected due to the lack of resources, the said Castellan got started at once and began managing it with his order and diligence, and resolved to do it, and completed the said labor of the said re-edification, to great benefit replacing the ceiling of the said Church which was of wood, since it was completely broken, and ruined, with good arches of stone and clay (*terra*) which provides a more durable work, and this was achieved under the care of the said Castellan between the end of January until the beginning of June of the year of 1765

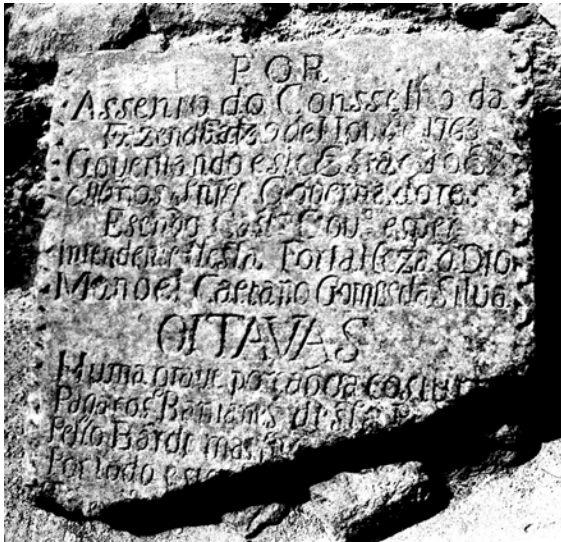
*se fez esta  
trecena em  
Novembro de 1766.*

As Castellan (Provincial Governor) of this fort Manoel Caetano Gomes da Silva made this triptych (*trecena*) in November of 1766

<sup>90</sup> *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 617. Reading from Cunha Rivara, the inscription has not been found.

<sup>91</sup> Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque e Castro the first Count of Ega was Viceroy from 1758–1765.

105 – 1767 (CR. 50): Inscription of the Banians of Diu from the Custom House (*Alfandega*)



The long inscription is reported to have been originally by the scales of the Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42) recording the decision of the council of the Exchequer-Court of 9th November 1765 concerning the affairs of the Banians in the ivory trade. It is a curious record of loyalty mixed with pragmatism: the slab recording the rate of duty to be paid would be there for all to see, should there be a change of heart by the authorities. The slab is broken in three pieces two of which are now kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine.<sup>92</sup> The text is engraved in upper and lower case, with flourishes. A part of the text is in eight-line stanzas (*oitivas*)<sup>93</sup> and upper-case letters are given at the beginning of each of these lines. In spite of the mid-eighteenth-century date, the inscription has a number of features not seen in other examples of the time, including the use of commas and lowercase letters in the manner of handwriting, in contrast to the perhaps deliberately archaic style of formal epitaphs on monuments, with their capital letters and antiquated

lettering. The spelling is unconventional, with “ão” given as “aõ”.

POR

Assento do Consselho da  
Fazenda<sup>94</sup> de 9 de Nove.º (Novembro) d. (de) 1765  
Governando este Estado o Ex[<sup>mo</sup>] (Excelentissimo)  
e Illmos (Illuminosos) Snres (Senhores) Governadores  
E sendo Cast.º (Castellão) Govº (Governador) e s(u)per  
intendente desta Fortaleza d. (de) Dio  
Manoel Caetano Gomes da Silva.

OITAVAS

Huma grave porção (sic) era costum[e]  
Pagar os Banianes desta P[raça]  
Pello bár de marfim [que se conçume]  
Por todo est[e] Cocan, que o mar abraça  
[Tiverão] no Governo e [xelço Nume]  
Que os alcançou de Goa [indulto e graça]  
Para por cada Bár, por no[vo assento,]  
Pagar só xerafins sincoenta, [e cento.]  
De cujo beneficio<sup>95</sup> agradeci[dos]  
Este Padraõ (sic) lavantão por mem[oria]  
Os Mazanes que sempre conhecido[s]

92 The missing words of the third fragment and worn-out words are given in square brackets after Cunha Rivara.

93 The classical eight-line stanza, also called *octava* or *ottava rima* with the rhyme scheme ABABABCC as adopted by Camões in the *Lusíadas* and which became the national heroic stanza.

94 A letter, presumably misspelt, has been crossed out.

95 The surface of the slab is peeled off, but the word ‘beneficio’ could just be recognised.

*Seraõ (sic) por esta aççaõ (sic) gratulatoria.  
 Mas muito mais e mais engrandecidos,  
 Por justo gallardaraõ (sic) e digna gloria  
 Os zellos do Governo que adquirio  
 Devem ser, e [serão] sempre em Dio.  
 MDCCLXVII.*

By

Decision of the council of the  
 Exchequer-Court of 9 of November of 1765  
 Governing this State the Most Excellent  
 and Most Illustrious Senhors Governors  
 and as Governor of the Province and superintendent  
 of this fort of Diu  
 Manoel Caetano Gomes da Silva

VERSES (OITAVAS)

A large share of customs was customarily  
 Paid by the Banians of this Town

**106 – 1774 (CR. 110): Epitaph of João José de Moura Palha and his son from the Church of St Francis (São Francisco)**

The epitaph of João José de Moura Palha who died in 1774 and was buried in the same tomb as his son who had died in 1770 is reported to have been inside the Church of St Francis carved beneath a coat of arms. The stone has not been traced, reading from Cunha Rivara.

(Armas.)

*Esta sepultura he de João  
 Jose de Moura Palha  
 que sendo quatro annos e meio  
 feitor e alcaide mór desta  
 fortaleza de Dio fal. a 22  
 de Junho de 1774.  
 Pertence tamben aos erdeiros,  
 e já nella jaz seu filho A. J. D. M.  
 porque f. a 19 de Augusto de 1770.*

For a *bar*<sup>96</sup> of ivory, which distressed  
 all this Kocan, encircled by the sea,  
 (the Banians) received from the Government the excel-  
 lent inspiration  
 Which obtained from Goa indulgence and grace  
 That for each *bar*, by new decision,  
 Only one hundred and fifty xerafins should be paid.

By those grateful beneficiaries,  
 This inscription is erected, as a memorial  
 To the Mazanes who will always be known  
 By this gratulatory action,  
 But furthermore and greater raising,  
 By just reward and honourable glory  
 The zeal that the Government acquired  
 [Which] should be, and will always be in Diu.

MDCCLXVII

(Coat of Arms)

This tomb is of João  
 Jose de Moura Palha  
 who being four and a half years  
 Factor and Constable of this  
 fort of Dio died on 22  
 of June of 1774.  
 It also belongs to the successors  
 and already his son A. J. D. M. lies within  
 because he died on 19 of August of 1770

96 *Bar*, meaning load in Persian, is a unit of weight in India, described variously as between 141–330 kg., and as the amount a man could carry on his back.

**107 – 1774 (CR. 86): Inscription of José Telles da Silva from Vanakbara Fort (*Forte de Brancavará*)**

The lost inscription of José Telles da Silva (Governor 1772–76) dated 1774 concerning the construction of the fort of Brancavará (Vanakbara) was reported by Cunha Rivara to have been beneath a coat of arms and refers to two forts (discussed in Chapter 6, Figure 6.12, no 25; Plates 6.4; 6.7): an old one, *Raia Cotto* (*Couto*), the frontier enclosure or border refuge, which was demolished by the governor, and another built at his own expense. Vanakbara has grown considerably in modern times and no traces of the old garrisons were found.

**(Armas.)**

*José Telles da Silva sendo Castellão  
Governador e Superintendente  
da Fortaleza e Ilha de Dio  
mandou á sua custa fazer  
este forte, e demolir a forti-  
ficação chamada Raia Cotto*

*novamente edificada na fronteira desta Aldea Brancavará junto á de Vellane, no anno de 1774, segundo do seu governo.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

José Telles da Silva being Castellan (Provincial Governor) Governor and Superintendent of the Fort and Island of Diu ordered at his expense to construct this fort, and demolish the fortification called Raia Cotto lately built at the border of this Village of Brancavará next to that of Vellane, in the year of 1774, the second (year) of his governorship

**108 – 1777 (CR. 97): Inscription of the rebuilding of St James's Chapel (*São Thiago*) in the fort**

St James's Chapel (Figure 3.9, Plates 3.36–3.42), is one of the oldest churches of Diu, and we have already seen the inscription of its restoration in 1623 (no. 39). Although two inscriptions and a figurative panel have survived it seems that in or just after 1961 the three inscriptions concerning the restoration and rebuilding of the chapel were removed; their place is still visible on the northern (main) facade. This untraced but important record of 1777, reported to have been below a coat of arms (reading from Cunha Rivara), indicates that the building was entirely rebuilt, but it may have been a reconstruction as it apparently followed the earlier footprint, as appears in a sixteenth century engraving (Plate 3.7). The building may alternatively have been restored and refurbished extensively, preserving parts of the old building, but including some additions such as a new roof which has now collapsed and a Chapter House, which seems to have been demolished in the Indian Navy bombardment of 1961.

**(Armas.)**

*Esta Capella de Sam Tiago foi reedifacada a fundamentos no anno de 1777: concorren do varios devotos, e n'ella se disse a primeira Missa do mesmo Santo a 25 de Julho do dito anno.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

This chapel of St James was rebuilt from its foundations in the year of 1777: with the cooperation of many devotees, and in it was said the first mass of the same Saint on 25 of June of the said year

**109 – 1777 (CR. 74): Inscription of the building of the arsenal (*arsenal*) of the town**

The arsenal of the town has long been demolished and on its site stand modern warehouses (Figure 4.3, no. 45). It seems to have been furnished with a number of inscribed panels, and Cunha Rivara mentions: 'Above the gate of the arsenal there is the royal coat of arms with this inscription: Long live our Lord the King', as well as the inscription which records the building of the arsenal (his reading, the inscription has not been found). Dom José Pedro da Câmara (1721–1779) who ordered the construction was Governor and Captain-General of India<sup>97</sup> (1774–1779) with his seat at Goa, where he apparently died. The local governor of Diu is not mentioned, but is given in a further inscription of the arsenal of 1778 (no. 112).

*Governando o Estado da  
Índia o Ilm.º e Exm.º Snr.  
D. Joze Pedro da Cama  
ra, Governador e Capitão General d'ella  
mandou fazer este arsenal  
Anno de 1777.*

When governing the State of  
India the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent  
Dom José Pedro da Câmara,  
the Governor and Captain General of it (the State)  
ordered the construction of this arsenal  
(in the) year of 1777

**110 – 1777 (CR. 73): Inscription of the gate of the arsenal (*arsenal*) of the town**

A short inscription is reported to have been over one of the gates of the arsenal (Figure 4.3, no. 45), no longer extant, with another inscription with the same text repeated over the second gate (reading after Cunha Rivara).

*Foi feito este  
arsenal em  
maio de 1777.*

This  
arsenal was built in  
May of 1777

**111 – 1777 (CR. 111): Epitaph of Francisco Xavier Henriques from the Church of St Francis of Assisi (*São Francisco*)**

The epitaph of Francisco Xavier Henriques is reported to have been carved under a coat of arms and set in the transept near the St Anthony altar of the of the Church of St Francis of Assisi (Figures 4.16–4.17; Plates 4.52–4.53) (reading after Cunha Rivara).

*(Armas.)  
Aqui jaz Francisco Xavier  
Henriques aos 30 de Setembro de 1777 annos.*

**(Coat of Arms)**  
Here lies Francisco Xavier  
Henriques (who died) on 30 of September of the year  
1777

97 A title used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century for the Governor General of the Portuguese colonies in the Indies.

**112 – 1778 (CR. 75): Inscription of the completion of the building of the Arsenal (arsenal) of the town**

A further inscription of the now-demolished arsenal (Figure 4.3, no. 45) records its completion under Antonio de Amaral Coutinho e Menezes (Governor 1778–81) (reading after Cunha Rivara).

*Em o anno de 1777  
se principiaram  
estas obras e se  
findarão em 1778  
governando es  
ta praça Anto*

*nio de Amaral  
Coutinho e Me  
nezes.*

In the year of 1777  
these works  
were initiated and were  
completed in 1778,  
while Governing this  
fort, (by) Antonio de Amaral  
Coutinho e Menezes

**113 – 1782 (CR. 60): Inscription on a monumental pillar of the Custom House Jetty (caes da alfandega)**



The inscription is *in situ* recording the erection of a crane by Vasco Luis Carniero de Souza e Faro (Governor 1781–83) for the new jetty (Figure 4.12, no. 43) in 1782

and is carved beneath his coat of arms on a freestanding pillar. The text is in upper and lower case written in the manner of handwriting and together with the 1767 inscription of the Custom House indicates a gradual change of style. Cunha Rivara notes that in his time the crane noted in the inscription no longer existed and that the jetty was rebuilt in 1844. It was extended in recent decades, making the monumental pillar, which must have been by the water, now stand in the middle of the paved jetty.

*Governando esta  
Praça Vasco Luis  
Carneiro de Souza  
e Faro se fez este Guin  
deste e de novo este  
Caes  
Anno de 1782*

When governing this  
fort (by) Vasco Luis  
Carnéino de Souza  
e Faro, this crane was made  
and this  
jetty rebuilt  
Year of 1782

**114 – 1783 (CR. 26): Inscription of the munitions store and armoury in the fort by Vasco Luiz Carneiro de Sousa e Faro**

The inscription of the munitions store and armoury (Figure 3.2, no. 28, Plate 3.31) in the fort built by Vasco Luiz Carneiro de Sousa e Faro is reported by Cunha Rivara (reading below) to have been beneath a coat of arms inside the armoury built in 1643 (no. 57), also used for provisions according to the 1650 inscription (no. 60). The warehouses of the fort seem to have been rebuilt repeatedly, as would be expected.

*(Armas.)*

*O Castelão Governador Vasco Luiz  
Carneiro de Sousa e Faro mandou  
fazer este deposito para toda a sorte  
d'armas, arranjou o trem d'*

*artelharia, e poz em ordem os  
mais effeitos de guerra em outros  
armazens. Anno de 1783.*

**(Coat of Arms)**

The Castellan (Commander of the Castle), Governor Vasco Luiz Carneiro de Sousa e Faro, ordered the construction of this warehouse for all kinds of artillery, arranged the train of artillery, and put in order the other devices of war in other warehouses. (In the) year of 1783

**115 – 1799 (CR. 59): Inscription from the old gate to the vegetable market**

The inscription in verse has been reported to have been 'at the gate of the vegetable market' in the town. The market square and its arcade facing the sea (Figure 4.12, no. 41, Plates 4.35–4.36) still stand with little alteration and Lopes Mendes confirms the date of its construction as 1799. The commemorative column (Figure 4.12, no. 40) in the market square also bears the date 1799. However, the central arch of the present arcade, presumably 'the gate to the market', bears the date 1876 (Plate 4.37), some seventeen years after Cunha Rivara's visit and eleven years later than Lopes Mendes's town plan. It seems that shortly after their reports the central arch was restored or entirely reconstructed, and the

1799 inscription is no longer traceable (reading from Cunha Rivara).

*Feliz, ó celebre Dio, podés ser  
Se o regio braço te amparar  
Se Goa do lethargo te tirar  
Se quem te governar to conhecer  
1799*

Happy, oh celebrated Diu, you would be  
If the royal arm holds you up  
If Goa from lethargy raises you  
If (he) who governs you, knows you  
1799

**116 – 1799: Inscribed dated stone, probably from a gate**



Cunha Rivara reports that apart from the inscription of the vegetable market gate noted above the two gates to the market also bore the date 1799. These gates no longer stand, but an inscription simply recording the date 1799 is now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum. The inscription is likely to be from one of these gates.

EM  
1799  
  
In  
1799

**117 – 1807 (CR. 66): Inscription from the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)**

The inscription is reported to have been in ‘the inner courtyard of the gate to the fields’, known as the Inland Gate and presumably in what is now the small urban square in front of the gate on the town side. The inscription, which has not been traced (reading after Cunha Rivara) records the restoration of the guardhouse (Figure 4.3, no. 59) built in 1698 (Inscription no. 77) and improvements to its surroundings.

*Fez-se de novo o corpo  
desta guarda com a reedificação  
do cano real para dar vasão  
ás ruas das agoas do inver*

*no, e lagiamento todo de dentro da guarda te á ponte  
levadiça das portas. Anno  
de 1807.*

The structure of the guardhouse was renewed with the rebuilding of the royal channel for removing Winter rain from the streets and was paved completely from inside the guardhouse up to the drawbridge of the gates. (In the) year of 1807

**118 – 1808 (CR. 82): Fragmentary inscription of the rebuilding of the ruined Fort of St Ignatius (*Santo Ignatio*)**

The inscription by the Governor and Castellão of Diu, José Leite de Sousa Pereira (from 1808 to 1810) is another of the few records of fort of St Ignatius,<sup>98</sup> and is now cemented onto a wall of the Sé museum yard. The slab

gives the name of a governor who is not well known<sup>99</sup> – this being his only record in the island – and follows the usual formula for documenting repairs. The five lines of existing text are in italic lettering, upper and lower

98 Cunha Rivara reports what seems to be this inscription *in situ*, but without the words *no anno de 1808*, which can be seen. He notes the fort as being on the island of Diu, outside the town and by *Passo Secco* (Dry Path). The fort is shown in the 1859 Map, no. 52 (Fig 6.1; Plates 6.3, 6.9) with plan and section/elevation, apparently still in good state of preservation.

99 The dates of the governors of the first decade of the nineteenth century are not entirely clear, but include Felix José Tinoco da Gama (from c.1802 or 1805 to 1806) and José Joaquim Correia de Lacerda (c.1806–8), who may have been succeeded by José Leito de Sousa (c.1808–10), as Laurenço Varela d’Almeida held the post by c.1810–14.

case, with abbreviations and a plain border round the top and sides. The lower border is, however, missing. It refers to the fort itself as opposed to the associated fortifications of the roads where work was carried out in about 1840 (no. 128).

*Governando: o Cast.<sup>llo</sup> (Castellão) de Dio o Iluminoso (Iluminoso) Snr (Senhor) Joze Leite de Souza Pr.<sup>a</sup> (Pereira) se Reideficou*

**119 – 1810 (CR. 98): Inscription on St James’s chapel (São Thiago) in the Fort recording secondary use**



Unlike other inscriptions of the restoration and reconstruction of the chapel, which have been removed, this inscription is *in situ* on the left side of the main north façade (Figure 3.9, Plate 3.36) and records that by 1810 the building had been reduced to serve as a warehouse for provisions and wine before it was once more restored. The inscription also refers to some English people who were apparently residing in Diu at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, of whom

*este Forte inteiram.<sup>te</sup> (inteiramente) arruinado. no anno d<sup>e</sup> 1808*

When governing: the Castellan (Commander of the Castle) of Dio the Most Illustrious Senhor José Leite de Sousa Pereira had this fort rebuilt, (which had been) entirely ruined. In the year of 1808

little is known from other sources.<sup>100</sup> At the time the Governor was Lourenço Varela d'Almeida (1810–14):<sup>101</sup>

<sup>100</sup> For a transcript of the text see: *Arquivo*, 11, ii, p. 619.

<sup>101</sup> Cunha Rivara reports an inscription by this Governor set over the gate of the fort in the island of Simbor, east of Diu, recording its rebuilding in 1810 and another inscription of 1857 next to it. A study of Simbor is outside the aims of the present work but his readings are given here with translations, and St Anthony's Fort (*Santo António de Simbor*) is noted in Chapter 6 (Plate 6.11).

**1810 (CR. 90) Inscription of Lourenço Varela d'Almeida from Simbor fort**  
*Sendo Castellam Governador da Fortaleza de Dio o Ilm.<sup>o</sup> Senhor Coronel Lourenço Varela d'Almeida, Cavalheiro professo na Ordem militar de S. Bento de Aviz se reeidificou este forte que se achava inteiramente arruinado e os seus coarteis. Anno 1810.*

Being Castellan and Governor of the Fort of Diu the Most Illustrious Senhor Colonel Lourenço Varela d'Almeida, Knight professed of the military Order of St Bento de Aviz rebuilt this fort which was completely ruined (along with) its barracks. (In the) year 1810.

*Estta (sic) Igreja ten  
do Servido de Go  
daõ d'mantim<sup>tos</sup> (mantimentos)  
Armazem d'Vinho  
dos Ing<sup>l</sup>zes. (Ingleses) e Q<sup>tel</sup>. (quartel) do  
Regim<sup>to</sup>. (Regimento) tornou  
a Sér. Reidificada  
EM 1810*

This Church, having  
served as storehouse  
for provisions  
(and) storehouse for wine  
of the English people and barracks  
of the Regiment was  
rebuilt again  
in 1810

**120 – 1811 (CR. 76): Inscription of the wall near St Sebastian's Tower (*São Sebastião*)**

This lost inscription, reported to be on the outer side of the curtain wall of St Sebastian's Tower (Figure 4.3, no. 67) on the land side, may indeed have belonged to the wall to the south of the tower.<sup>102</sup> The wall extends to the Arabian Sea with a Headland Point (Figure 4.3, no. 68) at its end. Part of the wall has survived and elements of restoration work can be seen on the remains.

*Foi fei  
to este  
lance de  
muralha de  
229 palmos anno  
de 1811.*

This extension of 229 spans to the wall was built (in the)  
year of 1811

**1857 (CR. 91) Inscription of Visconde de Torres-  
Novas of the reconstruction of the fort of  
Simbor**

*Sendo Governador Geral do  
Estado da India o Exm.<sup>o</sup>  
Visconde de Torres-Novas  
e Castellão Governador de Diu  
o Major de Cavallaria  
Romão José de Sousa  
se reedificou este forte  
em 1857.*

As Governor General of  
the State of India, the Most Excellent  
Viscount of Torres-Novas,  
and [as] Castellan (Provincial) Governor of Diu  
the Cavalry Major  
Romão José de Sousa,  
rebuilt this fort  
in 1857

<sup>102</sup> Reading after Cunha Rivara. Some other inscriptions reported by him to be on this tower are *in situ* elsewhere.

121 – 1829: Devanagari inscription of the Zoroastrian fire temple recording its construction



The fire temple or *agiary* (Figures 4.12 no. 39; 5.1–5.4; Plates 5.1–5.8), now converted to a convent, is in the core of the old town and the Zoroastrian records mention that it was inaugurated in 1199 of the Zoroastrian (Yazdgirdi) era,<sup>103</sup> but the inscription above the entrance of the fire temple records its construction a year earlier. Together with a few Muslim inscriptions, this is one of the rare examples of non-Portuguese inscriptions in Diu. Above the entrance is an architrave surmounted by a shield, which might be associated with the family of Dīnwar Mihr Jahāngīr Nasarwān Vādiyā, the benefactor who paid for the construction of the fire temple. The date in Devanagari is given in the field of the shield:

*Saṇ*<sup>104</sup> 1829

The year 1829

<sup>103</sup> See Chapter 5, n. 28 on the discussion on the Zoroastrian legacy, it is not certain if the Qadmī or Shāhanshāhi calendar was used.

<sup>104</sup> The term *saṇ* derives from the Arabic *sana* ‘year’. In Gujarat *sāl*, borrowed from Persian is more

On the architrave below a row of ornamental patterns is another inscription in Devanagari giving the date according to the Zoroastrian calendar:

*Parsi agiari pa. ja. 1198 sthapi*

Parsi fire temple established in *pa. ja.* (*Parsi Jazdgirdi* ?) 1198

The year corresponds with AD 1829. It is not clear what the two initials *pa* and *ja* refer to, but they may be interpreted as referring to the Parsi or Zoroastrian system of dating known as the Yazdgirdi era.

common. The use of the word may indicate a degree of self-isolation in the Zoroastrian community of Diu although as a religious minority and as traders they would have been connected the larger Zoroastrian population of Gujarat.

**122 – 1832 (CR. 46): Inscription over the gate of the corps of guards**

The gate of the corps of guards is reported<sup>105</sup> to have been to the right of that of the Custom House (*Alfandega*, Figure 4.12, no. 42), but the building no longer stands and as we have seen the Custom House itself has been replaced by a later building which is now the town library.

*Feita em  
Maio de  
1832.*

Completed in  
May of  
1832

**123 – Undated c.1832 (CR. 47): Undated inscription of the Custom House (*Alfandega*), reminding the reader of the transitoriness of the world**

The slab, originally reported to be set on the left side of the door of the old Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42), is now broken in two and the loose fragments preserved in the yard of the Powder Magazine. The right edge is slightly damaged, but the text is well preserved. It has archaisms in the lettering, such as V for U, the letter Q for *que* as well as the letters *i* and *r* being combined in the word *qveiras*, recalling seventeenth and eighteenth-century texts, but the use of a comma, preserved at the end of the first line and probably at the

end of two other lines, now chipped off, suggest a later date, perhaps early nineteenth century, and a stylistic choice, in keeping with the poetic sentiment expressed.

O MVNDO QVANTO GABA,  
PÂRA TVDO EM SEPVLTVRA  
NAO QVEIRAS BEM Q (que) NÃ DVRA  
NEM TEMAS MAL Q (que) SE ACABA

Whatever the world praises,  
All ends in the tomb.

Do not desire fortune which does not endure  
nor fear misfortune which will end.

<sup>105</sup> The stone has not been traced, reading after Cunha Rivara.

**124 – Undated, but c.1832 (CR. 45): Inscription evoking St Jerome from the gate of the Custom House (*Alfandega*)**

Before its demolition, the Custom House (Figure 4.12, no. 42) had another inscription with a moral precept, on the right side of the door, this time evoking St Jerome (*São Hyeronimo*) and expressing the dilemma between delight in the pleasures of the world and everlasting bliss. The inscription has not been traced (reading by Cunha Rivara).

*S. Hyeronimo.*

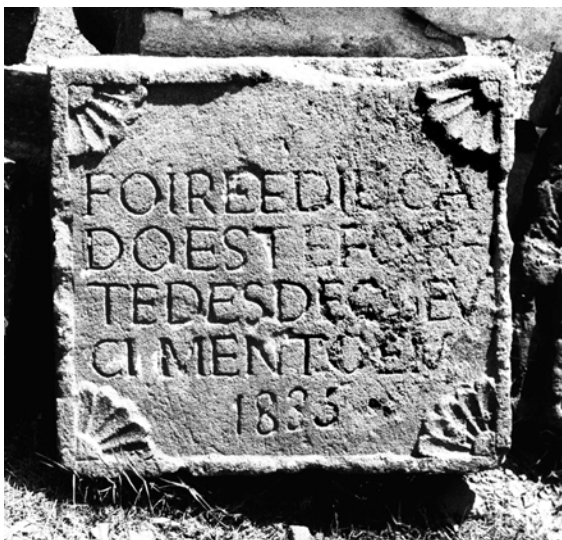
*He caso difficultoso, que  
um gose dos bens prese  
ntes, e dos futuros, e que p*

*ace dos praseres tempo  
rars a contentamentos eternos,  
e que seja maior cá e lá.*

St Jerome

It is a difficult case (to decide) between enjoyment of riches present and future, and between delight in temporary pleasures as opposed to eternal bliss, and which will be the greater, here and there

**125 – 1835 (CR. 77): Loose inscription from the Tower of Our Lady of Hope (*Baluarto de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*)**



town, and although part of the tower still exists the sea has eroded most of the southern wall. In spite of the late date the inscription is in capital letters with dots over the letter 'I' in the manner of older records.

FOI REEDIFICA  
DO ESTE FOR-  
TE DESDE O SEV  
CIMENTO EM  
1835

This fort  
was reconstructed  
from its  
foundations in  
1835

The inscription of 1835, now kept in the Sé Museum yard, from the Tower of Our Lady of Hope (Figure 4.3, no. 69)<sup>106</sup> mentions rebuilding the fort, but probably refers to repairs or rebuilding of walls, or perhaps a watch tower, which needed constant maintenance. The tower was part of the southern fortification walls of the

<sup>106</sup> Cunha Rivara also notes that within the tower there was an inscription recording the name of the tower: '*Baluarto de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*'.

**126 – 1835 (CR. 78): Inscription from over the gate of the Tower of Excommunicated  
(*Baluarte dos Escomungados* or *Excomungados*)**

The southern fortification walls near the sites of the Towers of St Laurence (*São Laurenço*, Figure 4.3, no. 70) and of the Excommunicated (Figure 4.3, no. 71) are completely eroded by the sea, and only ruins of the towers remain. The inscription recording the renovation of the latter in 1835 was reported to be over its gate.

*Baluarte dos Escomungados reformado em 1835.*

Tower of the Excommunicated reconstructed in 1835

**127 – 1839 (CR. 57): Inscription of the building of the Fish Market**

The old fish market still stands at the west end of the market street or Bazaar (Figure 4.12, c; Plate 4.32) just behind the Karao Jāmi' and was in use until the end of 1990s when a new covered fish market was established outside the western town walls. The inscription of Francisco de Mello d'Eça (Governor 1838–40), has, however, been removed and could not be traced. Cunha Rivara also reports that the linen market had a date of 1852 (CR, p. 28, no. 58). This is probably the market street of the town where cloth and other commodities are still sold today. It is part of the old fabric of the town and the date may refer to the rebuilding of some of the shops of the street, thirteen years after the construction of the fish market.

*co de Mello d'Eça fez  
se este bazar pela Cam  
ara Municipal sendo  
o Presidente della Pe  
dro Paulo da Cruz em  
Junho do anno de  
1839*

When governing this fort  
the Most Illustrious Francisco  
de Mello d'Eça had  
this market built by the Town  
Council when its President was Pedro  
Paulo da Cruz in  
June of the year of  
1839

*Governando esta for  
taleza o Illm.º Francis*

**128 – 1840 (?) (CR. 83): Inscription of repairs from the fort of St Ignatius (*Santo Ignacio, Passo Sêco, Seco, Secco*)**

As with the inscription of c.1709 (no. 84) from the fort of St Ignatius or *Passo Sêco* (Figure 6.1; Plate 6.3 no. 52, Plate 6.9), a later epigraph<sup>107</sup> was associated with this fortification guarding the old paved route connecting the north of the island to the mainland. Cunha Rivara notes that the fort 'was again reconstructed in 1858, with the building of a new jetty, road, and custom house' and gives readings of two further inscriptions (nos. 134 and 135). The present inscription also mentions the fort of *Passo Covo* or Low Path, (Figure 6.1 no 31; Plates 6.4; 6.8), which was some distance to the west.

Cunha Rivara was not certain of the date, but his suggestion of 1840 is reasonable, as the inscription records Francisco de Mello d'Eça as the governor of Diu, whose inscription of 1839 is given above (no. 127). In the present inscription the Governor of India is mentioned as the Baron of Candal. This is Manuel José Mendes the first Baron of Candal, who was Governor from 1839 to 1840 and died in Goa on 18 April of that year. The inscription could only be of these years.

107 The inscription could not be found, reading from Cunha Rivara.

*Sendo Governador Geral do Estado da Índia o Exm.º Senhor Barão do Candal, e Castellão Governador desta fortaleza Francisco de Mello d'Eça foram reedificados os fortes do Passo Covo, e este do Passo Secco. 1840 (?)*

As Governor General of the State of India the Most Excellent Senhor Baron of Candal, and Castellan Governor of this fortress Francisco de Mello d'Eça carried out the reconstruction of the fortifications of the Passo Covo (Lower Path) and those of the Passo Secco (Dry Path). 1840 (?)

**129 – 1844: Loose inscription recording the rebuilding of a quay**



The inscription, now kept outside the Sé Museum, is reported here for the first time. It is likely that it belonged to the main quay of the town, the Custom House Jetty (Figure 4.12, no. 43) as although Cunha

Rivara does not report this inscription, in the context of that of 1782 (no. 113) he notes that the jetty was remodelled in 1844, only fifteen years before his visit. This quay was later enlarged several times. Two other quays in Diu were that of the fort (Figure 3.5, no. 4) and the Arsenal jetty (Figure 4.12, no 46) which was once in front of the now demolished St Philip's Tower.

REEDIFICOU-  
SE ESTE · CA-  
ES · EM 1844

This Jetty  
was reconstructed  
in 1844

**130 – 1847 (CR. 114): Epitaph of Dona Josefa de Pinna Loureiro**

The epitaph is of a lady who was married at the age of twelve and died on 27th August 1847, aged only 26. Cunha Rivara reports it as being on a plain tombstone in the 1841 cemetery (Figure 4.3 no. 72) near the ruined Convent of *São Joao de Deos* (Figure 4.3 no. 73).

*Aqui jaz D. Josefa de Pinna Loureiro  
Nasceo a 18 de Fevereiro de 1821  
casou com Pedro Paolo da Cruz  
a 22 de Julho de 1833, e  
faleceu a 27 de Augusto de 1847.*

Here lies Dona Josefa de Pinna Loureiro (who was) born on 18 of February of 1821, married with Pedro Paolo da Cruz on 22 of July of 1833, and died on 27 of August of 1847

**131 – 1852 (CR. 99): Inscription of the restoration of St James's Chapel (São Thiago) in the fort**

The condition of St James's Chapel (Figure 3.9, Plate 3.36) must have deteriorated after its restoration in 1810 (Inscription no. 119), as an untraced inscription recorded by Cunha Rivara mentions a further restoration by subscription in 1852.

*Esta Igreja ha muitos annos  
danificada e em grande ruina  
foi restaurada por subscrição  
no anno de 1852.*

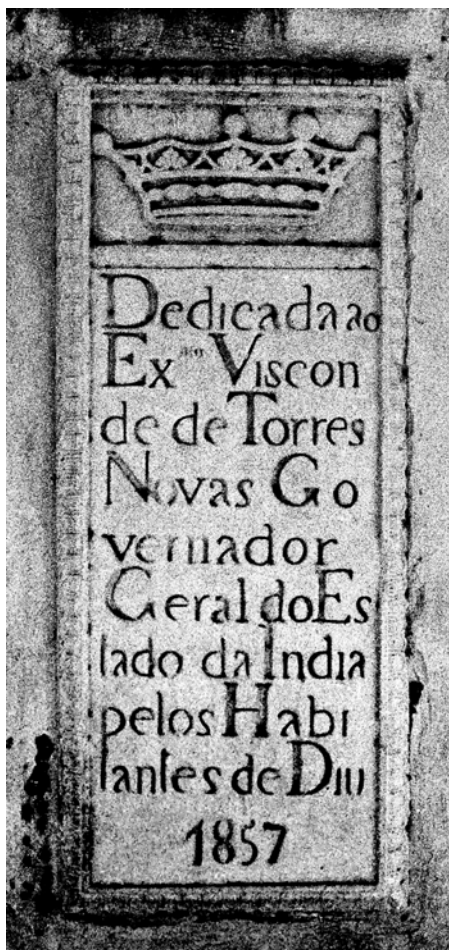
This Church (left) for many years  
damaged and in great ruin  
was restored by subscription  
in the year of 1852

**132 – 1855 (CR. 115): Epitaph on the tomb of Archangela Maria Rodriques de Sousa**

The inscription reported to be on the tomb of Archangela Maria Rodriques de Sousa, who died aged 21, a year after her marriage, is noted to have run around the four sides of her tomb in the 1841 cemetery (Figure 4.3, no 72) near the ruined Convent of São Joao de Deos (Figure 4.3 no. 73). The last line, as read by Cunha Rivara, seems to be a correction of the date of her death, wrongly carved on the previous line.

*Aqui Jaz Archangela Maria  
Rodriques de Sousa:  
Que nasceu a 22 de Fevereiro de 1834:  
Casou com Manoel Caetano de Sousa  
Tenente Ajudante desta Praça  
e Secretario do Governo da mesma  
aos 18 de Julho de 1854:  
E faleco aos 23 de Marco de 1855  
digo 25 de Maio de 1855.*

Here lies Archangela Maria  
Rodriques de Sousa:  
who was born on 22 of February of 1834:  
married with Manoel Caetano de Sousa  
Adjutant Lieutenant of this Fort  
and Secretary to the Government of the same,  
on 18 of July of 1854:  
and died on 23 of March of 1855  
that is (to say) 25 of May of 1855

133 – 1857 (CR. 79): Inscriptions of *Estrada de Torres-Novas*

Two records are still *in situ* and apparently marked the entrance to a new street which has not survived, and was probably never completed. Cunha Rivara mentions the record, but the name is not given on Lopes Mendes's map of 1865. The site has now been built over and the two pillars marking the entrance to the street now serve as gate posts to the garden of a modern house with a small Hindu temple. António César de Vasconcelos Correia, first Conde de Torres Novas (1797–1865) was Governor of Portuguese India from 1855 to 1864.

The dated inscription is carved under the Viscount's coronet on a pillar with a pinnacle on the northern side of the street (Figure 4.3, q):

*Dedicada ao  
Ex<sup>mo</sup> (Excelentíssimo) Viscon*



*de de Torres  
Novas Go  
vernador  
Geral do Es  
tado da India  
pelos Habi  
tantes de Diu  
1857*

Dedicated to  
the Most Excellent Viscount  
of Torres  
Novas  
Governor  
General of the  
State of India  
by the Inhabitants  
of Diu.  
1857

On the other column the street's name is given:

*Estrada  
de  
Torres Novas*

Street  
of  
Torres Novas

134 – 1858 (CR. 85): Loose inscription from the Dry Pass (*Passo Sêco* or *Seco*, *Secco*)

The panel commemorating the building of the *Passo Sêco* by Visconde de Torres Novas and Romão José de Sousa (the last Castelão of the fort 1857–59) is now kept in the yard to the north of the Sé Museum.<sup>108</sup> The slab is broken at the top right corner and some words are missing. In spite of a fairly late date, the slab is not well preserved; the surface is eroded and parts of the stone have darkened, but the text, within a frame, is still decipherable. It does not actually mention to what edifice or construction it refers, but Cunha Rivara<sup>109</sup> notes that it was set on a pillar at one side of the newly built paved

road of *Passo Secco* (Figure 6.1; Plate 6.3, no. 51 *valado de pedra*).

SENDO G[OVERNADOR]  
 GERAL DO E[STADO O]  
 ILL.<sup>MO</sup> E EX.<sup>MO</sup> S.<sup>OR</sup> [VISCON]  
 DE DE TORRES NOVAS  
 E GOVERNADOR CASTE  
 LAO O MAJOR DE CAVA  
 LARIA ROMAO JOSE DE  
 SOUSA, NO ANNO DE  
 1858

Being Governor  
 General of the State  
 the Most Illuminated and Most Excellent Senhor  
 Viscount  
 of Torres-Novas  
 and Castellan Governor  
 the Major of Cavalry  
 Romão José de  
 Sousa, year of 1858

<sup>108</sup> Another inscription of Romão José de Sousa is reported to have been above the gate of the Fort of Simbor recording its rebuilding in 1857, when Visconde de Torres-Novas was Governor of Portuguese India. For the location of Simbor and the text of this inscription see Plate 6.11, and note to Appendix no. 119.

<sup>109</sup> The missing letters are given in square brackets after Cunha Rivara. His line breaks do not follow the actual stone, but we can assume he noted the text on site, as the work dates only a year before his visit to Diu.

**135 – 1858 (CR. 84): Inscription from a pillar of the Dry Pass (*Passo Sêco or Seco, Secco*)**

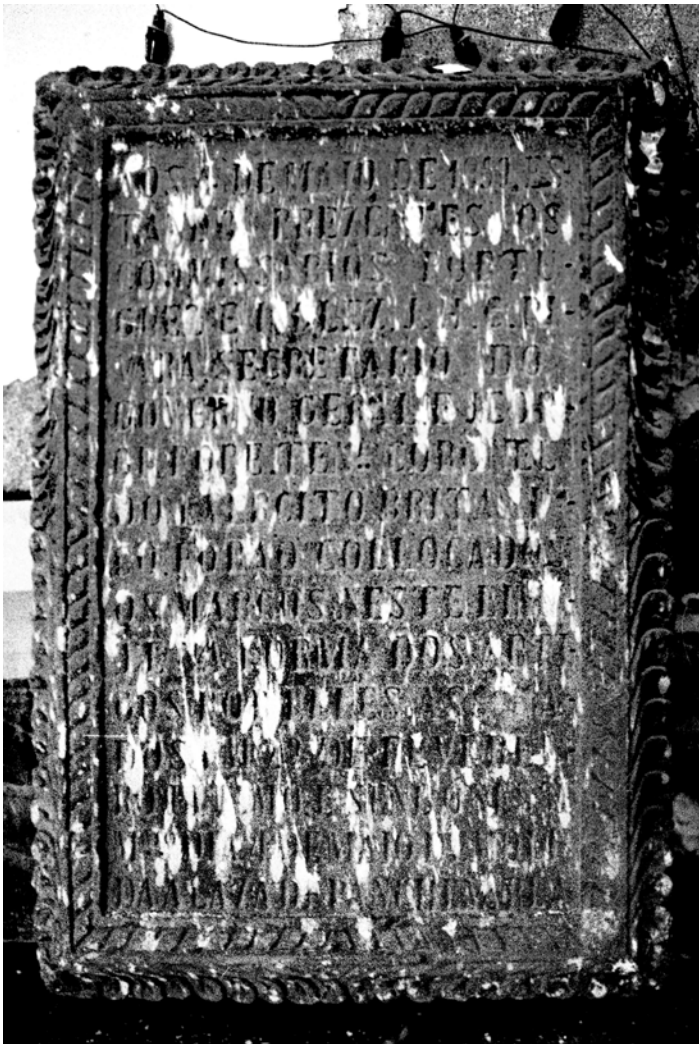
A second inscription, reported to have been on a pillar opposite the above epigraph (no. 134), records<sup>110</sup> that the cost of building the new road (Figure 6.1, Plate 6.3, no. 51 *valado de pedra*) was born by the treasury. The arrangement of the inscriptions would have been similar to those on the pillars of *Estrada de Torres Novas*.

*Foi esta estrada construída  
em beneficio publico á custa*

*do cofre da cidade e praça de Dio  
no anno de 1858.*

This street was constructed  
for the public benefit at the cost  
of the treasury of the city and fort of Diu  
in the year of 1858

**136 – 1859 (CR. 89): Inscription from Ghoghla marking the boundary between the British and the Portuguese territory**



<sup>110</sup> The slab has not been traced, reading after Cunha Rivara.

This is the last of Cunha Rivara's inscriptions and was composed by him. The purpose of his visit to Diu as secretary to the Governor General was to negotiate with the British and finalise the boundary between the Portuguese and British territory. It seems that the negotiations became protracted; the title page notes that the inscriptions were transcribed during January 1859, presumably when he was at leisure, but the settlement document was not signed until 22nd February. After ratification of the agreement a further three months passed before the border was marked, and demolition of a building, presumably the earlier border post and the cause of the initial dispute, was carried out. With the successful conclusion of his assignment and marking of the border on 4th May he composed a long inscription to be carved on two slabs and set on posts at either side of the gate of the border control point at the north of Ghoghla Village (Fig 6.1, no 68; Plate 6.1). He did not actually see the slabs as they were carved and set up some time after he left Diu, but he included their proposed text in his work.

The first slab is lost and we have given Cunha Rivara's text, but the second slab has been placed in the Sé Museum. The framed slab with its inner border of lotus petals and outer border of scroll decoration is written in capitals with serifs, and is slightly worn. At the time of the reading the slab was stained with bird droppings, from the pigeons which then roosted freely in the former cathedral. Cunha Rivara's text was consulted for clarification where words were unclear.

#### Text for first slab (missing)

*Sendo Governador Geral do Estado da India o Exm.º Visconde de Torres-Novas, e Governador Castellão de Diu o Illm.º Major de Cavallaria Romão José de Sousa: e depois de porfiada contestação entre o Governo da Praça, e as Authoridades de Junaghar, foi pelos Commissarios dos Governos Portuguez e Inglez reconhecido o terreno até estas Columnas como de dominio Portuguez.*

Being Governor General of the State of India the Most Illustrious Viscount of Torres-Novas, and Castellian Governor of Diu the Most Illustrious Cavalry Major Romão José de Sousa: and following a persistent dispute between the Governor of the Fort, and the Authorities of Junaghar, the Commissioners of the Governments of

Portugual and England recognized the land up to these Columns as Portuguese domain.

#### Second slab<sup>111</sup>

AUS 4 DE MAIO DE 1859, ESTANDO PREZENTES OS COMMISARIOS PORTUGUEZ E INGLEZ, J. H. C. RIVARA, SECRETARIO DO GOVERNO GERAL, E JEORGE POPE, TEN.<sup>E</sup> (*tenente*) CORONEL DO EXERCITO BRITANICO, FORAO COLLOCADOS OS MARCOS NESTE LIMITE NA FORMA DOS ARTIGOS POR ELLES ASSIGNADOS EM 22 DE FEVEREIRO ULTIMO, E SENDO NESSE M.<sup>M.</sup><sup>O</sup> (*mesmo*) DIA 4 DE MAIO DEMOLIDA A CASA DE PANCHEVARLA

On 4 of May of 1859, in the presence of the Portuguese and English Commissioners, J. H. C. (Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha) Rivara, Secretary of the Governor General, and George Pope, Lieutenant Colonel of the British Army, the Landmarks were settled on this line of demarcation as mentioned in the Articles signed by them on the 22 of February ultimo, and accordingly (on the) same day, 4 of May the House of Panchevarlá was demolished

<sup>111</sup> Cunha Rivara's own text is as follows:

*Aus 4 de Maio de 1859, estando presentes os Commissarios Portuguez e Inglez, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, Secretario do Governo Geral, e George Pope, Tenente Coronel do Exercito Britanico, forão collocados os marcos neste limite na forma dos Artigos por elles assignados em 22 de Fevereiro ultimo, e sendo nesse mesmo dia 4 de Maio demolida a Casa de Panchevarlá.*

**137 – 1861: Inscription of the restoration of Forte do Mar**



the slab is worn out and some letters are no longer clear, but still decipherable.

EM 1[8]61. SENDO GOVERNADOR DA PRACA E CIDADE DE DIU O ILLMO MAJOR DO EXERCITO DO REINO ROMAO JOSE DE SOUSA, FOI COMPLETAMENTE RESTAURADO DOS FUNDAMENTOS ESTE FORTE COM AS SUAS RESPECTIVAS CASERNAS

The inscription of the Governor Romao José de Sousa is on a rectangular slab of stone, within an elaborate carved frame set on the south wall of the north-west courtyard (Figure 3.11; Plate 3.47). The text is in capitals with serifs, but with modern punctuation including a comma and hyphens at the line breaks. The surface of

In 1[8]61. Being Governor of the Town and City of Diu the illustrious major of the army of the kingdom Romao José de Sousa, had this fort completely restored from its foundations along with its respective barracks

**138 – 1861: Loose inscription recording the reconstruction of the fort**



The slab of 1861 recording the reconstruction of the fort, as well as the jetty built originally in 1634 (no. 45) (Figure 3.5, no 4; Plates 3.1, 3.4), is now kept in the Sé Museum and is well preserved apart from a bullet hole in the middle which does not obscure the text. Governor R.J. De Souza was the Major of Cavalry, Romao José de Sousa; as with his inscription (no. 137) of the rebuilding of Forte do Mar the text is in capital letters, but with modern features.

FOI RECONSTRUI-  
DO ESTE FORTE,  
E EDIFICABO (sic) (*edificado*) O  
CAES CONTIGUO  
NO FELIZ. GOVER-  
NO DO ILLMO R. J. DE  
SOUZA. EM 1861

This fort  
was reconstructed  
and the adjacent  
jetty built  
during the happy governorship  
of the Most Illustrious R. J. de  
Souza. in 1861

### 139 – 1862: Loose inscription recording the reconstruction of a bridge



The inscription of 1862 recording the building of a bridge, now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum does not give any details and its original whereabouts is unknown. Its date, however indicates that it was yet another improvement carried out at the time of Governor Romao José de Sousa.

EM 1862  
FOI CONSTRU-  
IDA ESTA PON-  
TE

In 1862  
this bridge  
was constructed

### 140 – 1866: Inscription of a restoration by Jorge Augusto de Mello



An inscribed panel preserved in the Sé Museum appears to refer to the restoration of a building, which has not been identified. The text is in capitals with serifs on a square format framed with leaf and rope

patterns, and with corner decorations, naming Jorge Augusto de Mello who is known to have been governor of Diu from 1865 to 1868 or 69, and then Governor of Daman until 1870. The date in small letters appears to be an afterthought.

GOVERNANDO  
O ILL.º (*Iluminoso*) CAP.º (*Capitão*)  
DO EX.º (*Exercito*) DO REI  
NO D. JORGE A.  
DE MELL.º FOI RES.º (*Restaurado* ?)  
1866

When governed  
(by) the most Illustrious Captain  
of the army of the kingdom,  
Dom Jorge A.  
de Mell.º (it) was restored (?)  
1866

141 – 1874: Inscription from the Inland Gate of the Town (*Porte da Terra*)



The inscription is in a shrine of the Virgin on the north side of the east façade of the Inland Gate (Figure 4.3, nos. 58, k) facing the small town square. The shrine is

still maintained and also respected by the Hindu population of the town. The text records the establishment of an image of the Virgin in the shrine, but also mentions the date when the drawbridge in front of the Inland Gate was removed and replaced by a stone bridge.

ESTA IMAGEN  
QUE D'ANTES  
ESTAVA COLLO-  
CADA NO MURO FO-  
RA DA PORTA FOI  
TRANSFERIDA PARA  
AQUI NO ANNO  
DE 1874 EM QUE  
SE FEZ A PONTE  
DE PEDRA

This image which was formerly placed on the outside wall of the gate was transferred here in the year of 1874 when the stone bridge was built

142 – 1876: Bilingual inscription on the south side of the Brito Capello Road west of the Inland Gate (*Porta da Terra*)



(Left) ESTRADA  
BRITO CAPELLO

Road  
Brito Capello

(Right) SENDO ENCARRE-  
GADO D'OBRAS  
THEODORICO M.  
P. SOUSA, E M;  
CABLA GIVANE  
1876

The persons in charge  
of the works being

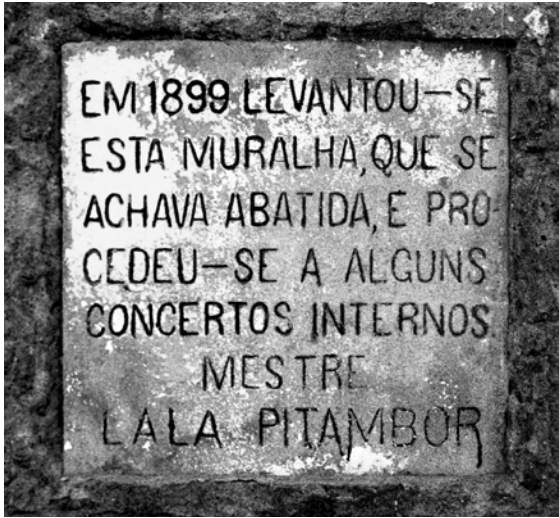
Theodorico M.  
P. Sousa, and M.  
Cabla Givane  
1876

Below the inscription, before the date 1876, is what appears to be a graffiti in Gujarati:

Meśdarazban [or Meshadrazban] Jivansha 1932

It is not known what role, if any, this person played regarding the road.

### 143 – 1899: Inscription of the restoration of Forte do Mar



The inscription on the wall of the south-eastern courtyard records the restoration of the Forte do Mar (Figure 3.11) and is significant for being the record of

the Indian master mason, without acknowledging the Portuguese authorities. It indicates a gradual assimilation into society by the Portuguese of their Indian subjects.

EM 1899 LEVANTOU – SE  
ESTA MURALHA, QUE SE  
ACHAVA ABATIDA, E PRO-  
CEDEU – SE A ALGUNS  
CONCERTOS INTERNOS.  
MESTRE  
LALA PITAMBOR

In 1899 these walls were raised, which had become collapsed, and other internal arrangements were taken in hand (under) the master mason Lala Pitambor

### 144 – 1899: Loose inscription of the local authority



The inscription, now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum, is in the style of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with sans serif capital letters, which are

characteristic of the epigraphs of this time. The original whereabouts and reason for the slab are not known, but the bevelled edges indicate that it was set in relief of its background. The text again addresses the local population and not just the Portuguese elite.

HOMENAGEM  
DA  
CAMARA  
MUNICIPAL  
E  
DOS POVOS D'ESTE  
DISTRIC TO  
1899

Homage of the municipal council and of the people of this district 1899

## 145 – 1900: Fragments of inscription of the guards' barracks



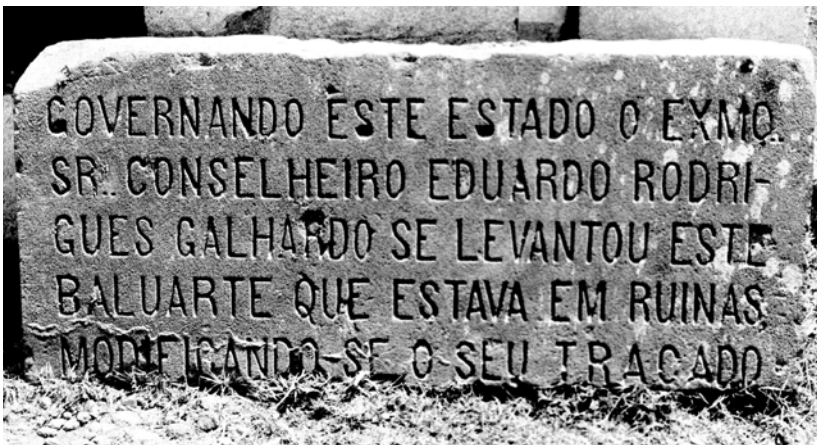
The barrack was near the Tower of the Mother of God (*Baluarde da Madre de Deus*) (Figure 4.3, no. 36), only the ramparts of which have survived. The slab is broken into three pieces, and a small fragment from the middle is missing, but the top and bottom fragments are preserved in the yard of the Powder Magazine, recording the construction by the District Governor, João

Herculano de Moura (from 1902–c.1906) at the time of Governor General of India, Joaquim José Machado (1897–1900).

ESTE QUARTEL DA GUARDA FISCAL FOI MANDADO. CONSTRUIR PELO EXM.º. (*Excelentissimo*) SN.º<sup>R</sup> (*Senhor*) GOVERNADOR GERAL CONSELHEIRO JOAQUIM [J]OSE MACHADO NO LOCAL DO ----- O BALUARTE DE MAE DE [DEOS] ..... A CONSTRUCCAO O GOVERNADOR D'ESTE DISTRITO 1.º. TENENTE DA ARMADA JOAO HERCULANO R. DE MOURA 24 DE JUNHO DE 1900

This barrack for the Exchequer Guard was ordered to be constructed by the Most Excellent Senhor Governor General, Counsel Joaquim José Machado in the area of ..... the Tower of the Mother [of God] ..... [responsible for] construction the Governor of this district the First Lieutenant of the Navy João Herculano R. de Moura 24 of June of 1900

## 146 – Undated but c.1900–1905: Loose fragmentary inscription of Eduardo Augusto Rodrigues Galhardo

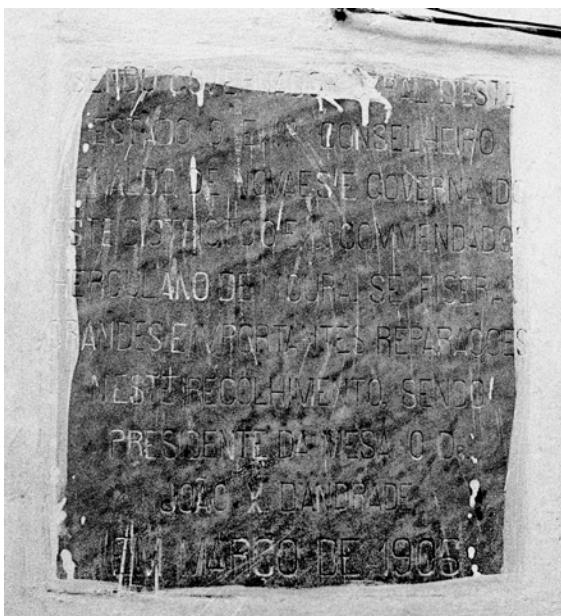


The inscription of the Governor of Portuguese India, Eduardo Augusto Rodrigues Galhardo (1900–1905), recording the raising of a ruined bastion, is now kept in the yard of the Sé Museum.

GOVERNANDO ESTE ESTADO O EXMO.  
SR.. (*Senhor*) CONSELHEIRO EDUARDO RODRI-  
GUES GALHARDO SE LEVANTOU ESTE  
BALUARTE QUE ESTAVA EM RUINAS,  
MODIFICANDO-SE O SEU TRACADO

When governing this State the Most Excellent  
Senhor Counsel Eduardo Rodrigues  
Galhardo had this  
Tower erected which had been in ruins,  
modifying its design

#### 147 – 1905: Inscription on the portico of the Chapel of St Anne (*Santa Anna*)



The inscription recording renovations to the adjacent retirement home for the aged at the time of Arnaldo de Novais Guedes Rebelo (1905–07) is set on the east face of the southern pier of the portico of the St Anne's Chapel (Figure 4.20, Plate 4.65). Whitewash has covered the margins of the slab obscuring some of the letters in the photograph, but the text was decipherable on site. It is incised shallowly in ten lines of sans-serif capital

letters on a marble slab. The retirement home, known as *Recolhimento de Santa Anna*, is a simple structure adjoining, but not attached to, the south-east of the chapel. The local Governor João Herculano Rodrigues de Moura died in 1907.

SENDO GOVERNADOR GERAL D'ESTE  
ESTADO O EX.<sup>M.O</sup> CONSELHEIRO  
ARNALDO DE NOVAES E GOVERNANDO  
ESTE DISTRICTO O EX.<sup>M.O</sup> COMMENDADOR  
HERCULANO DE MOURA, SE FISERAM  
GRANDES E IMPORTANTES REPARAÇÕES  
N'ESTE † RECOLHIMENTO, SENDO  
PRESIDENTE DA MESA O DR.  
JOÃO X. D'ANDRADE  
EM MARÇO DE 1905

As Governor General of this  
State the Most Excellent Counselor  
Arnaldo de Novaes, and while governing  
this district the Most Excellent commander  
Herculano de Moura, had  
major and important repairs carried out  
to this Retirement Home [for the aged], [with] as  
President of the Board of Directors, the Doctor  
João X. d'Andrade,  
in March of 1905

148 – 1906: Memorial in the Chapel of St James (*São Thiago*) of the fort

The inscription<sup>112</sup> is set on the east face of a plain stone monument (Figure 3.9; Plate 3.38) built in the middle of St James's chapel, an unusual position as it would interrupt the seating for the congregation. The position may indicate that by the end of the nineteenth century the chapel was not in regular worship. The monument is now partly in ruins, probably as a result of the Indian navy bombardment of the chapel, which caused serious damage to the structure. The inscribed panel is broken and seems to have been detached from the altar, but has been put together and cemented into place. The surface of the slab is eroded, but the text is still fairly legible, consisting of two parts separated by an ornament composed of a rose with foliage flanked by birds. The upper part records the burial of the ashes of fallen heroes, and the lower a declaration that the ashes were taken from

the ruins of the Old Cathedral in the fort and re-buried in this location (Figures 3.1–3.2, no. 21, Old Cathedral, no. 22, St James's Chapel).

AQUI JAZEM AS HONRADAS  
CINZAS DOS HEROICOS  
BATALHADORES DE  
DIU

(Ornamento)

TRASLADADAS OFFI[CI]AL E SO-  
LEMNEMENTE DA[S E]XCAVACOES  
FEITAS NAS RUI[NA]S DA SE D'ESTA  
FORTALEZA (EM) 19 DE AGOSTO DE  
1906  
P · N · A · M

Here lie the honourable  
ashes of the heroic  
warriors of  
Diu

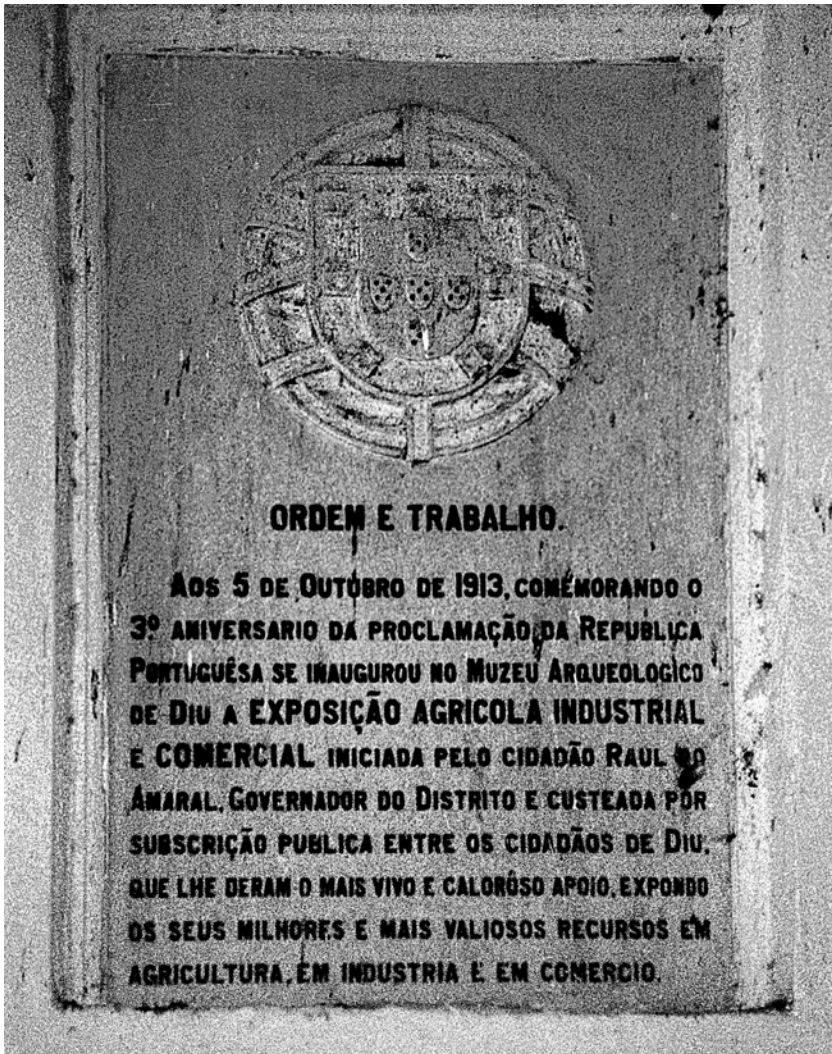
(Ornament of a rose with birds and leaves)

Removed officially and  
solemnly from the excavations  
carried out in the ruins of the Cathedral of this  
fort (on) 19 of August of  
1906

P.N.A.M. (*Pater Noster*: Lord's Prayer and *Ave Maria*:  
Hail Mary)

112 A colour plate of this inscription appears in C.A. de Moraes, *Cronologia geral da Índia Portuguesa 1498–1962*, (2nd edn) Lisbon, 1997, colour plates following p. 120, not numbered but no. 20.)

## 149 – 1913: Inscription of the Sé Museum



The slab is set over the interior of the south door of the old Sé (the old cathedral of *São Thomé*), referring to its conversion to the Archaeological Museum of Diu (Figure 4.15; Plates 4.43–4.48).<sup>113</sup> The inscription is carved under the simplified coat of arms of the first republic (1910–1926) also used on the national and the official flag of the republic. This is the only occasion that this coat of arms is seen in the inscriptions of Diu. It seems

that the old Cathedral had already been designated as the Archaeological Museum when Raul Fernandes Correa do Amaral (District Governor 1912–c.1921) set up the exhibition, and the prominent position of the slab indicates that this may have been the inaugural exhibition. The inscription highlights an important social change in Diu, the decline of the Christian and presumably also the Portuguese population of the town by the turn of the century, making some of the churches, including the old Sé redundant.

113 The Cathedral of *São Thomé* was deconsecrated in 1834, *Arquivo*, II, ii, p. 616.

## ORDEM E TRABALHO.

AOS 5 DE OUTUBRO DE 1913, COMEMORANDO O  
3.º ANIVERSÁRIO DA PROCLAMAÇÃO DA REPÚBLICA  
PORTUGUESA SE INAUGUROU NO MUZEU  
ARQUEOLÓGICO  
DE DIU A EXPOSIÇÃO AGRÍCOLA INDUSTRIAL  
E COMERCIAL INICIADA PELO CIDADÃO RAUL DO  
AMARAL, GOVERNADOR DO DISTRITO E CUSTEADA  
POR  
SUBSCRIÇÃO PÚBLICA ENTRE OS CIDADÃOS DE DIU,  
QUE LHE DERAM O MAIS VIVO E CALOROSO APOIO,  
EXPONDO  
OS SEUS MILHORES E MAIS VALIOSOS RECURSOS EM  
AGRICULTURA, EM INDÚSTRIA E EM COMÉRCIO.

## Order and works.

On 5 of October of 1913, in celebration of the  
3rd anniversary of the proclamation of the Portuguese  
Republic, in the Archeological Museum  
of Diu the Agricultural Industrial  
and Commercial Exhibition was inaugurated, initiated  
by the townsman Raul do  
Amaral, Governor of the District, and financed by  
public subscription from the citizenry of Diu  
who gave it the most enthusiastic and warm support,  
exhibiting  
their best and most valuable resources  
in agriculture, in industry and in commerce.

## 150 – 1927: Inscription of Governor José Quirino in the village of Vanakbara



The inscription prohibiting dancing and music in a specified area is set near the mosque, known as *Jamā'at Khāna* or *Khoja Khāna* (Plates 6.34–6.35) of the small, but wealthy Ismā'īlī merchant community who had recently immigrated to Diu and resided in Vanakbara (Figure 6.12). The other inscription referred to is now in a dilapidated condition. The aim of the order was to preserve the sanctity of the precincts of mosques according to Muslim belief, and minimise communal tensions and disorder. Similar notices seem to have been set up near the major mosques of the island, but none have survived intact.

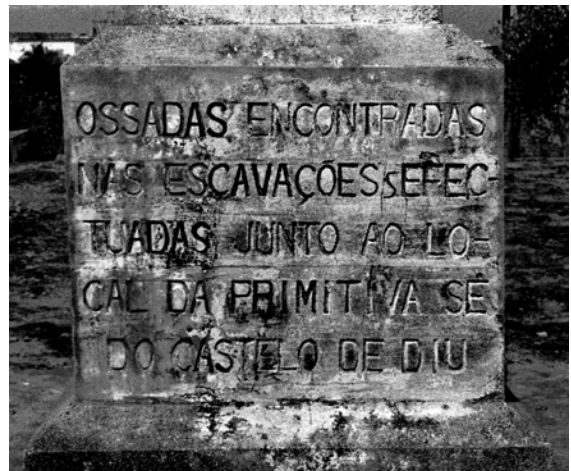
SENDO ENCARREGADO  
DO GOVERNO DE DIU.  
O EX<sup>MO</sup> (*Excelentíssimo*) SENHOR TENENTE  
JOSE QUIRINO DA CAMARA  
JUNIOR, FOI COLOCADA ESTA  
LAPIDA COM A SEGUINTE  
INSCRICÃO: – OS ÍNDUS  
NOS, SEUS CORTEJOS NÃO  
PODERÂ (sic) TOCAR E NEM  
DANCAR DESDE ESTA COLUNA  
ATÉ OUTRA QUE TEM A MESMA  
INSCRICÃO.  
DIU, 8 DE JULHO DE 1927.

Being in charge  
of the Government of Diu.  
the Most Excellent Senhor Lieutenant  
Jose Quirino of the Lower  
House, had this  
stone set up with the following  
inscription: – the Hindus,  
in their processions, will not be  
allowed to drum or  
to dance from this column  
up to the other which has the same  
inscription.  
Diu, 8 of July of 1927.

151 – 1942: Memorial on site of the old Cathedral (*Antiga ou Primitiva Sé*) in the fort



The stone monument to commemorate the remains found when the site of the old Cathedral (Figure 3.2, no. 21) was excavated is a squat obelisk with a square base set over a stepped square platform with four steps, all rendered with cement. On the western face of the obelisk a Roman cross is carved diagonally in relief with a wreath of thorns hanging from it. Below the cross is an emblem with laurel leaves cradling two crossed bones. The four sides of the base are inscribed with the text (only the west and east sides are illustrated):



West side:

A ALGUNS BRAVOS  
QUE SACRIFICARAM A  
VIDA PELA DEFESA DE  
DIU

To some brave people  
who sacrificed their  
lives in the defense of

Diu

South side:

10  
AGUSTO  
1942

10  
August  
1942

North side:

10 – VIII – 1942

East side:

OSSADAS ENCONTRADAS  
NAS ESCAVAÇÕES<sup>114</sup> EFEC-  
TUADAS JUNTO AO LO-  
CAL DA PRIMITIVA SÉ  
DO CASTELO DE DIU

Bones found  
during the excavations carried out  
close to the position  
of the original cathedral  
of the fort of Diu

**152 – 1950: Inscription of reconstruction of the shrine of the Inland Gate  
(*Porte de Terra*)**



The slab is set on the north side of the east façade of the shrine (Figure 4.3, no. k). The panel is painted white with the letters highlighted in black paint, obscuring some of the details including the last digit of the date which may be 9, but 0 is more probable. We have already seen the Portuguese inscription of 1702 of Lorenço da Cunha Soto Maior in this chapel entreating the Virgin to protect the city. The 1950 inscription of the restoration is interesting in that it seems to have been a work of devotion by a Hindu. The Virgin is celebrated by some communities of Hindus who regard her as a sister of the

Goddess Lakshmī and Protector of new-born babies.<sup>115</sup> This may be a reason for the restoration of the shrine in the mid-twentieth century by the Hindu community and its upkeep until the present time.

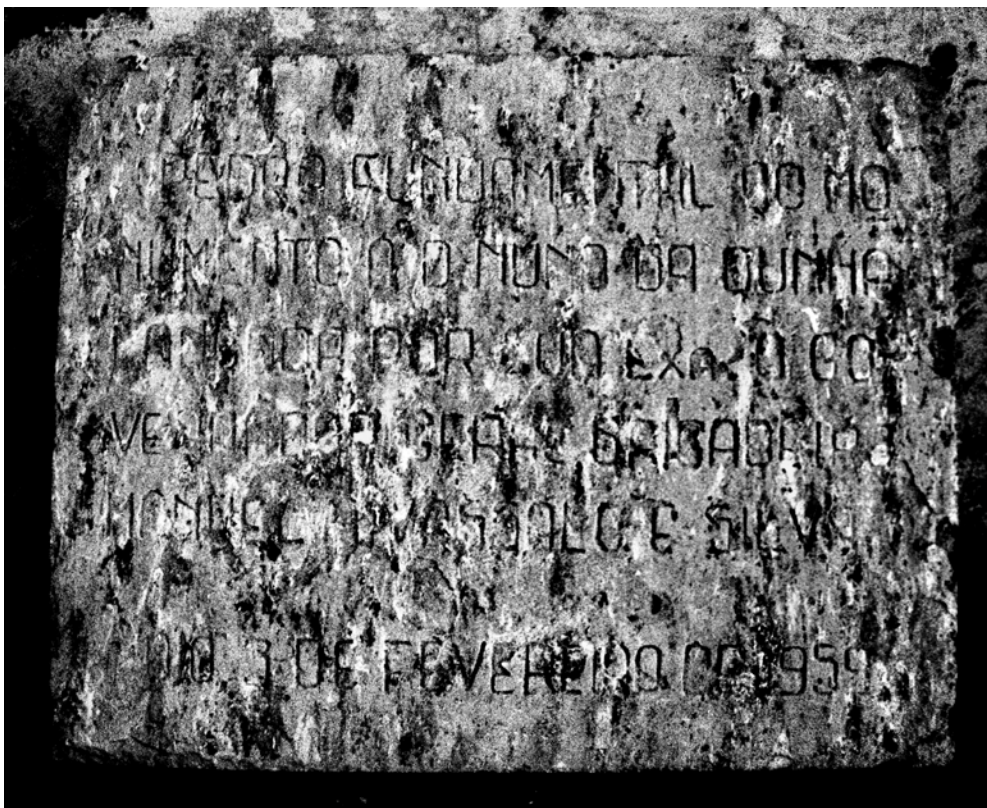
ESTA CAPELA  
FOI RECONSTRUIDA  
E OFFERCIDA  
PELO MESTRE  
RAMCHANDEMOTICHANDE  
DIU 19-50

This Chapel  
was reconstructed  
and offered  
by the master mason  
Ramchande Motichande  
Diu 19-50

<sup>114</sup> In the photograph an extra 's' in smaller size can be seen painted after the word *escavações*. This letter is not incised and seems to be modern.

<sup>115</sup> See the discussion of the Church of Our Lady of Remedies (*Nossa Senhora de Remedios*) in Fudam in Chapter 6.

153 – 1959: Inscription from the Monument to Nuno da Cunha originally set up by Manuel António Vassalo e Silva



The loose inscription, now kept in the Sé Museum, is inscribed in thin plaster on a flat slab of stone and, in spite of its late date, is not well preserved. The lettering in capital letters, sans serif with rounded tops conforms to the style of twentieth-century inscriptions. The monument referred to in the text is apparently the statue of Nuna da Cunha which has now been re-erected on a new base in the garden of the Governor's Residence, now converted to the Collector's Office (Figure 4.3, no. 37; Plate 4.39). The inscription might have been on the original base of the statue.

The inscription was originally set by the last Governor General of Portuguese India Brigadier General Manuel António Vassalo e Silva (1958–61) who, at the time of the Indian take-over of the Portuguese territories, when faced with a far superior Indian force disobeyed Salazar's order to fight to the bitter end, and surrendered without engaging in a futile battle so

saving the lives of his troops. He was stripped of his rank and sent into exile until 1974, when he returned to Portugal after the fall of the dictatorial regime and his military rank was restored.

PEDRA FUNDAMENTAL DO MONUMENTO A O NUNO DA CUNHA  
 --- GAOA (?) POR SUA EXA.O GOVERNADOR GERAL, BRIGADEIRO  
 MANUEL A. VASSALO E SILVA  
 DIO, 3º DE FEVEREIRO DO 1959

Foundation stone from the monument to Nuno da Cunha  
 ... gaoo (?) by His Excellency the Governor General, Brigadier  
 Manuel A. Vassalo de Silva  
 Diu, 3rd of February of 1959

**154 – Undated but c.1959: Fragmentary modern inscription of c.1959, now kept in Sé Museum yard**



The broken cement sign is presumably from the gate of a residence or perhaps office, and apparently that of Major Manuel Delgado e Silva, the penultimate

Portuguese Governor of Diu, who was replaced by Fernando Alberto da Cunha Baptista (1927–75), who in turn surrendered his troops to the Indian forces on 19th December 1961. The slab was in four lines of capital letters with serifs, with a plain border, in the genre of the final years of Portuguese dominance. Manuel Delgado e Silva should not be confused with the last Governor General of Portuguese India Brigadier General Manuel António Vassalo e Silva whose inscription is noted above (no. 153).

RECINTO [DO]  
 MAJOR DE ART<sup>A</sup> M [ANUEL]  
 DELGADO E [SILVA]  
 GOVERNADO [R] .....

Residence (of)  
 Major of Artillery (?) M [anuel]  
 Delgado e [Silva]  
 Governor .....

**155 – 1960: Fragment of an inscription of 1960 in cement kept in Sé Museum yard**

The cement fragment has only part of the last three lines of the text, and was found lying near the western wall of the yard of the Sé Museum. Very little of the inscription remains, but the first line preserves the letters “RNADOR G”, the second part of the name of the governor: “SSALO E SI” and the third line the date, enabling us to reconstruct the fragment as:

[GOVE] RNADOR G [ERAL]  
 [VA]SSALO E SI [LVA]  
 9–1960

.... [Gove]rnor G[eneral]  
 [Va]ssalo e Si [lva]  
 9–1960

The original whereabouts of the inscription is not known, but dating only a year before the Indian takeover of the island it is among the concluding Portuguese official records of Diu. There is, however the inscription of 1960 (no. 156) set up by a private person.

**156 – 1960: Inscription of a Grotto built by Mariana de Trindade Rodrigues in 1960 in memory of her father, in front of St Paul's Cathedral (*São Paulo*)**



In front of St Paul's Cathedral is an artificial grotto swathed in flowers containing a statue of the Virgin (Figure 4.3, no. 79; Plate 4.64) with an inscription on the back of the wall. This memorial record of 1960 is the last complete dated inscription of Portuguese Diu.

### Undated Inscriptions

In addition to the dated or datable inscriptions there are at least three inscriptions of the Holy Sacrament and a large number of undated fragments, some preserving a few lines and some only a few letters. Many of these inscriptions are of considerable age and some are epitaphs from the Portuguese era. There are also a few Muslim inscriptions, one badly eroded but apparently from a tombstone, now kept in the yard of the Powder Magazine and two containing religious texts set on the wall of the Caravan Mosque.

This appendix is by no means a complete record of all inscriptions in the island. Some, inside the Powder

CONSTRUIU ESTA GRUTA  
EM MEMORIA DO SEU PAI  
HEITOR ANTONIO DE TRINDADE  
NAS: 27:11:1853  
FAL: 1:7:1945  
SUA FILHA  
MARIANA DE TRINDADE RODRIGUES  
DIO, 1960

This grotto was constructed  
in memory of her father  
Heitor Antonio de Trindade  
Born: 27:11:1853  
Died: 1:7:1945  
(by) his daughter  
Mariana de Trindade Rodrigues  
Diu, 1960

Magazine, were too eroded to be deciphered. There were also a few heavy slabs of stone lying on the ground which may well have been inscribed on the side facing down, but the authors were not in a position to move or investigate them. Some other inscriptions may be preserved in inaccessible locations, and yet others – complete or fragmentary – remain to be found. Further investigation may well reveal more information and enhance the present record.

The following are the more important and better-preserved of the undated inscriptions.

**157 – Undated but late 16th–early 19th century in style: Inscription of Holy Sacrament  
now kept in Sé Museum**



The slab, probably from a deconsecrated church or shrine, depicts kneeling angels flanking a tabernacle representing the sacrament. The carving has a thin layer of red and white plaster over the rectangular slab

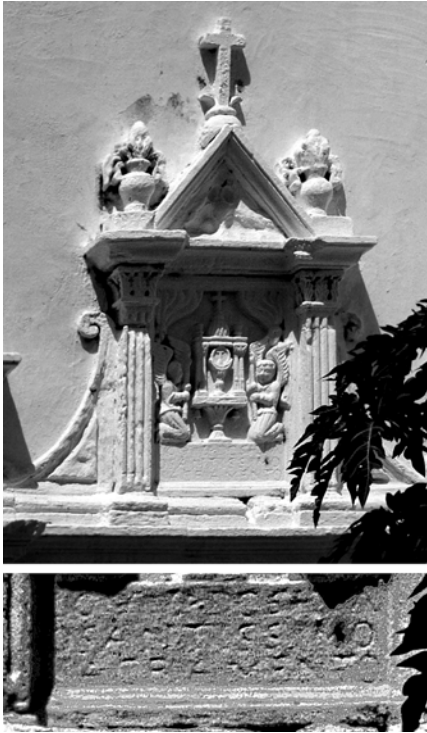
of cream sandstone, with letters with serifs. This is the only specimen of its kind which is painted, indicating that many others may also have been, although none of the others have preserved their original colours. The inscription under the angels reads:

LOVVADO SEI AO SAN  
TISSIMO SACRAMENTO

Praised be the most  
Holy Sacrament

This is the usual formula for places where Holy Sacrament is kept and appears in many other locations in Diu such as over the southern entrance of Forte do Mar (Inscription no. 61; Plate 3.45), while the Holy Sacrament must have been kept in the chapel founded in 1638 in its south-eastern courtyard (Inscriptions nos. 47–48). As appears from the examples in this Appendix, within the standard framework the details of the form of the tabernacle and the images of the angels vary in different carvings.

*158 – Undated, but c.17th–18th century: in situ inscription of Holy Sacrament at St Thomas’s Church (now Sé Museum)*



Although the church was deconsecrated in 1834 and later converted to the Sé Museum, the emblem of the Holy Sacrament with the usual inscription is still preserved over the entrance of the vestry. The slab and the three lines of text are covered with layers of white-wash, but much of the detail could still be seen, and an enlarged image of the text is given here. In this example the angels are depicted as two cherubs and the entire image and inscription are framed within two pilasters supporting a pediment in the Neoclassical style. The feature would be contemporary with the vestry added in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century on the southern side (Figure 4.15; Plate 4.42).

LOVVADO SEI A  
O SANTISSIMO  
SACRAMENTO

Praised be  
the Most Holy  
Sacrament

*159 – Undated inscription of the Holy Sacrament: in situ, over the arch of the shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (Nossa Senhora da Conceição)*



Over the small street shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (Figure 4.21; Plates 4.66–4.67), in the heart of the Christian Quarter of the town, is a sign of the Holy Sacrament, with a version of the angels holding the tabernacle, different to the other examples in detail, but within the same liturgical vocabulary. As with the above example (no. 158) the feature is framed by pilasters supporting a pediment. Below the image is the inscription, with the text carved in three lines:

LOVVADO SEI A  
O SANTISSIMO  
SACRAMENTO

Praised be  
the Most Holy  
Sacrament

Above the sign in a triangle is the image of Christ rising from the clouds, his right hand raised in blessing and holding a globe in the left. Below the sign is a cherub, represented simply by a head and two wings. The shrine and images are all heavily whitewashed and painted, with the incised inscription picked out in black paint. Within the shrine is the image of the Virgin and at either side are smaller shrines with figures of St Sebastian (*São Sebastião*) and St Roque (*São Roque*).

**160 – Undated but c.18th–19th century: *in situ* inscription of the shrine of the Mother of God (*Madre de Deus*)**

The inscription of the Shrine of the Mother of God (Figure 4.21; Plate 4.68) is below the image of a crowned Madonna and Child, which may date from the nineteenth century if not earlier. The image and the inscription are above the altar and are painted with the letters picked out with dark paint.<sup>116</sup>

VIRGEM MAV DE DEOS DE REMED  
IOS ROGAY POR NOS PECADOR

Virgin Mother of God, (and) of Remedies  
Pray for us sinner[s]

**161 – Loose inscription of 25th September: (year lost) now kept in the Sé Museum yard**



<sup>116</sup> The image and the inscription are now under protective glass, and detailed photography was not possible.

The surviving fragment is on a rectangular slab in landscape layout, with the surface badly worn, as well as being splashed with whitewash making the text difficult to decipher. The fragment contains only the lower left side of the text which includes the words *Vascomselos* instead of *Vasconcelos* for Viceconsul, and *Capitam Geral*, instead of *Capitão Geral*, indicating the inscription is of considerable age, but although five lines of the script has been preserved there is not enough information to conjecture its date or personages originally mentioned. The slab may be the fragment of an epitaph either of (or of the time of) Vasco Fernandes César de Meneses who was Viceroy of India from 1712 to 1717 or Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Meneses who was Governor General of India from 1889 to 1891. The following reading is given with some uncertainty.

VASCOMSELOS DE MEZS (?) ...  
 CAPITAM GERAL SENDO ...  
 [-] REI · DESTE STADO [E] ILVS [TRI]  
 [SSI]MO SNE[H]O[R] DOM · IRDA. ...  
 [-----] DO EM 25 SET NO AN [NO].....

The following translation is conjectural and uncertain:

Vasconcelos (Viceconsul) of Mezs. ... [?]  
 Captain General being ...  
 Viceroy [?] of this State the most illustrious  
 Signor Dom ..... [?]  
 .... on 25 Sept. of the year ...

**162 – Undated fragment of an old epitaph with an uncommon script: kept in the Sé Museum yard**



The fragment contains only the top left side of the inscription with the remains of the coat of arms at the right which would have been in the middle of the complete slab. The unusual form of the alphabet and the incomplete text make it difficult to decipher the

entire text, but the opening of the text with the words *aqui jaz* (here lies) leaves no doubt that the fragment is from an epitaph. The high quality of carving and the coat of arms indicate that the tombstone belonged to an important official, probably a governor.

*Aqui jaz Jo falca (Armas.) m ...* (m appears on the right side of the coat of arms)

*Falcam - - r mat  
- nrs - o - r - [for]  
taleza - - -  
do b - - - a -  
Em outubr*

Here lies J<sup>o</sup> Falcam ... (**Coat of Arms**)  
Falcam. ...  
....  
fort  
of ...  
In October ...

**163 – Fragmentary inscription: kept in the Sé Museum yard**



The fragment contains the right side of five lines of an archaic text in capital letters with serifs. There may have been a crest in the centre of the slab. The letter A

has a horizontal stroke to the left or right at the top, and while the letters are clear the fragmentary text is insufficient for an acceptable reading. The second line may be part of the word *novamente*, referring to a restoration or reconstruction of an edifice. The letters on line four may be interpreted as part of the word *parede* (wall), but the reading remains uncertain.

..... A 3 I O b A  
..... OVAM (*novamente* ?)  
..... MATA  
..... [P ?] AREDE  
..... [O] (*mesmo* ?) DIA DA  
  
..... on 31 O (?)  
..... renovated (?)  
.....  
..... the wall (?)  
..... (on the same ?) day of

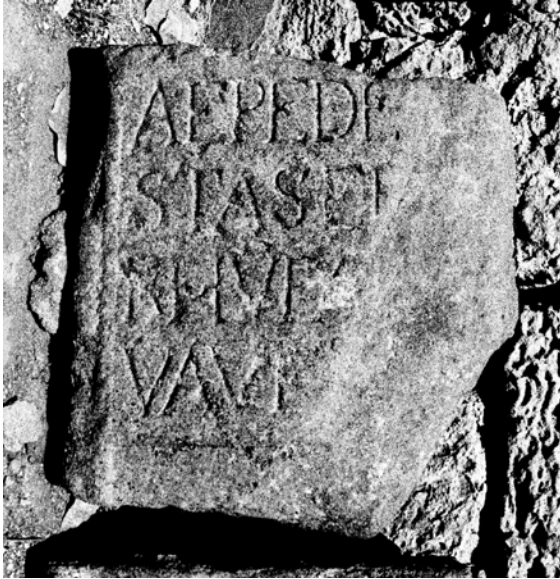
**164 – Fragmentary inscription bordering an octagonal slab: kept in the Sé Museum yard**



The slab is an uneven octagon in the form of a square with the corners chopped off. The centre field of the slab is blank, perhaps left for a feature (such as a coat of arms or an image) made of another material to be fitted onto it, or possibly intended to be carved later. The inscription appears in capital letters with serifs and dots between words, but only a fraction of the lower part of the slab remains.

... O. SENDO. CAPITAO. MOR ...  
.... being Captain. ...

**165 – Fragmentary inscription in four lines: kept in the Powder Magazine yard**



Only a small portion of the lower left corner of the slab has survived. Although the remaining letters are fairly clear the slab is too fragmentary to make any sense of the letters which are given below without any spaces, as

they appear on the slab. The old form of the letter *H* – with a hook in the middle of the horizontal stroke – in the third line indicates that the inscription is of considerable age.

AEPED [R?]  
 STASE-  
 RHVE  
 VAV [E ?]

Line 2 may be interpreted as [*e*]*sta sepultura* or [*e*]*sta sepultado* (this tomb) which would make the panel an epitaph. The letters PED in the first line may represent the name Pedro. Several governors of Diu during the seventeenth century were called Pedro, including Pero (Pedro or Petrus) da Nhaia, who ordered the construction of St Philip’s Tower in 1594 (no. 30) and Dom Pedro Mascarenhas whose inscription of 1630 (no. 42) has already been seen, but the reading is conjectural and furthermore Pedro is a common name, often encountered in the inscriptions of Diu.

**166 – Undated epitaph of Antonio Teixeira: kept in the Powder Magazine**

On the floor inside the Powder Magazine a broken epitaph recording the death of Antonio Teixeira is set in cement in the floor. The epitaph must bear a date, but the last two lines are now obliterated by cement. The text is partly worn out, but the remaining text could be read on site.

ESTA SEPVLTVRE  
 – E DE ANTONIO T  
 EIXEIRA, SVA  
 MVLHER MARIA D, L  
 A ST (?), DE SEVS HER  
 DEIROS 9 VETAI (?)  
 .....  
 .....

This tomb  
 is of Antonio  
 Teixeira, his  
 Wife Maria de la (?)  
 St (?), of his  
 heirs 9 vetai(?)  
 .....  
 .....  
 (Two lines obliterated)

167 – *Undated fragment of a Muslim inscription: kept in the Powder Magazine yard*



The fragment is the top right corner of a badly worn slab containing five lines of inscription in Arabic or mixed Arabic and Persian. The writing is poor and resembles handwriting, but its style bears some similarities with the endowment inscription of 949/1542 (no. 7). The text is almost illegible but the opening word of the first line is *hādhā* (this is) followed by what may be read as *al-qabr* (the tomb). The rest is broken. The other lines are illegible, but the last word on the fragment is *allāh*.

168 – *Undated religious inscription in Arabic: set on the outside wall of the prayer hall of the Caravan Mosque*



high quality *naskhī* script. Its date and original whereabouts are unknown. The choice of the tradition may be taken to indicate that it might date from the time of the Portuguese presence, as it refers to the Muslims as the special or chosen people of God, by association excluding others from this privilege. However, in India, where the majority of the population were Hindus, the Muslims, for their inscriptions, often chose Quranic verses or traditions to distinguish themselves as followers of the true faith.

قال النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
أهل القرآن أهل الله الخاصة

The Prophet, May God's blessing be upon him, says  
People of the Qur'an are the special (i.e. chosen) people  
of God

The small inscription does not seem to belong to the Caravan Mosque (Plates 4.21–4.23) and may have brought from another site. It contains an Arabic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) in two lines carved in relief in a

**169 – Undated Quranic inscription, probably sixteenth-century: set on the outside wall of the prayer hall of the Caravan Mosque**



The inscription on a small panel with an arch shaped top is set next to the inscription bearing a tradition given above (no. 168). The text is carved in relief with high-quality calligraphy, and again seems to have been brought from elsewhere. The choice of text expresses the Indian Muslim's view of themselves as true believers. It bears in three lines Qur'an, 55: 26–7:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَ يَبْقٰی  
وَجْهٌ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَ الْاِكْرَامِ

In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.  
All that dwells upon the earth is perishing, yet still abides the  
Face of the Lord, majestic, splendid.<sup>117</sup>

**170 – Undated (c.R. 40): Inscribed bronze cannon made by Fernando Anes**

Cunha Rivara reports that in addition to the bronze cannon of 1533 there was another inscribed but undated bronze cannon on St George's Tower (also known as St Martin's Tower) (Figure 3.2, no. 19) in the fort. We have already seen that the 1533 cannon (Inscription no. 2) had been removed from the tower a long time ago, and although at present there is a substantial cannon with the royal coats of arms, set on an original carriage on this tower (Plate 3.16), no inscription is visible and it does not seem to be the same as that reported by Cunha

Rivara with the following poetic, even metaphysical, sentiment, given in italics.

*Fernando Anes me fez  
Eu Etor forte amor (?) os da-  
rei morte.*

*Fernando Anes made me  
I Ether, (of) great love (?) will  
give them death.*

<sup>117</sup> A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, [London, 1955] New York, 1996, 11, p. 252. For another translation see Maulana Muhammad Ali, *Translation of the Holy Quran*, second ed. Lahore, 1934, p. 533.

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The ex-Portuguese Island of Diu – a once strategic maritime gateway to the bay of Cambay, Gujarat, India – features in the corpus of Portuguese history and literature, but a comprehensive study of the island was lacking. Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, known for surveying little-known historic sites in India, present the study of the built environment of Diu in conjunction with the contemporaneous Indian histories in Arabic and Persian, resulting in a fresh view of Indian Ocean commerce and conquest. Extensive surveys of the Fort, the Town and the Island, include the epigraphy, fortifications, urban fabric, mosques, shrines, churches, monasteries, water infrastructure and the Zoroastrian Fire Temple and Towers of Silence. Fragmentary Hindu and Jain archaeological remains are also noted.



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