MUMBAI READER

Urban Design Research Institute, Mumbai

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The difficulty in **representing Mumbai** now is that there is always a feeling that such representations may fall into one of the several limitations of reading the city linearly. These limitations of linearity include making gross generalisations, or getting lost in seductive micro-narratives, or constructing incredible scenarios through meticulous empiricisms. While the generalisations strip the complexities of the city from the readings, the micro narratives are often myopic. Similarly, the approaches of using empiricisms are driven by preconceived agendas for problem solving.

Individually, the generalisations, micro narrations and the empiricisms are unable to capture the **complexity of Systems, Organisations & Space** in the city. This impossibility of a conceptualising the city warrants the need to read the city in multiple ways that simultaneously include an almost palimpsest like reading of all the approaches. To talk about the city then, would be to talk simultaneously in multiple disparate ways, in multiple languages and with multiple perspectives. The Mumbai Reader is an attempt to undertake a representation of the city that enables innumerable readings through a simultaneous and non-linear compilation of multiple voices in the city. The contents include some of the most recent perspectives on culture, economy, geography and history of the city. While it records the routine mainstream labour history and planning discourse types of writings; it also overlaps these with some of the current debates on absurdities that the city is faced with the issues relating to bar-dancers, changing of street names etc. The perspectives include voices from the bureaucracy, civil society organisations, academics, industry, judiciary, media, professionals, artists and many others. **The Reader does not claim to be a comprehensive or an exhaustive compilation of readings on the city. It is rather an attempt to provide a glimpse of the complex dynamic of the city of Mumbai.** The process of making this compilation was initiated through a call for papers made to a varied set of individuals in order to ensure an array of perspectives that would present to a reader diverse possibility of perceiving the city.

Sangita Jindal & The Jindal South West Foundation

Sangita Jindal is the founder chairperson of Jindal South West Foundation, an institutional initiative that believes in promoting and supporting pro-active ideas, projects and programs in fields of culture, art, education, heritage conservation and sports. The JSW Foundation is part of the $ 4 Billion O.P. Jindal Group with interests in mining, power, and steel in India and elsewhere.

On an invitation from the NCPA, Mumbai, Sangita Jindal established the **Jindal Arts Creative Interaction Centre** (JACIC), an initiative that hosts several inter-disciplinary arts activities. The magazine, **ART India**, was launched by her in 1996, it is now recognized not only as the premier art magazine in the country but also as one of the most important journals on art in the world.

Sangita Jindal was involved in **The Kala Ghoda Art Festival** from 2000 to 2003. She is also the founding trustee of **The Friends for JJ School of Art Trust**, which is involved in the restoration of the institution. For the year 2005, Jindal headed the Art and Heritage component of the **Mumbai Festival**. As the Chairperson of the **Hampi Foundation**, she has been responsible for nurturing heritage initiatives and conservation management programmes of abiding significance.

Jindal has been a crusader spearheading several social and urban issues. The **"I love Mumbai"** committee conferred upon her the Best Citizen Award for the year 2002. As a member of the **Citizens' Action Group**, constituted by the Government of Maharashta, she is committed to transform Mumbai into a world-class city. She was also the recipient of the Eisenhower Fellowship in 2004. "Unless the desire to excel in all walks of life and the desire to be egalitarian in our dealings go hand in hand, there can be no possibility of enduring growth", she staunchly believes.

Roshni Design Foundation was established in 2004 and **Aaarya & Fronzzoni** established in the year 2006 at New Delhi, to enable India, and its rich luxury craft and arts a prominent say in the world of bespoke luxury and design. We are proud to support India's entry to the Venice Architecture Biennale this year.

The **Arya** family established the foundation to help contemporary design professionals and traditional craftsmen to collaborate together in revival of old luxury art forms. The core strategy combines traditional design knowledge with the informed use of modern tools, such as CAD-CAM in order to reduce market-delivery times. Roshni Design Foundation provides initial grants for research and development and Aaryaa & Fronzzoni becomes the ultimate incubator and owner-manager of the commercial idea and product. The Arya family used modern design tools to create the world's largest liquid-vaporizer mosquito-killer brand **AllOut®**. The birth of AllOut®--right from the stage of designing initial product with state of the art CAD software to establishing the most efficient manufacturing plant in the world in its category--is a testimony to the power of design.

Current Projects in the pipeline for Roshni Design Foundation and Aaarya & Fronzzoni are on bespoke silver articles, engraved stationery, and wood wrap for external facades. Bimal Arya, an accomplished industrialist and a design mentor to both the projects is passionate about getting India its due place in the luxury design market. The foundation welcomes applications for new projects that conform to its core objective.

Masters Management Consultants Fellowship Fund

Masters Management Consultants, a fast growing Project Management Consulting organisation, was founded by a dynamic group of project management professionals with multi-disciplinary skills and a wide range of experience in India and abroad.

With a broad global outlook, coupled with invaluable knowledge and experience of the Indian context, *Masters* has created for itself a unique niche in a rapidly developing real estate market.

The spectrum of professional services provided by the organisation encompasses the Pre-Construction, Construction, & Post-Construction phases of all types of Real Estate Projects with core competencies in: Development Management, Programme Management, Project Management, Construction Management, Design Management, Cost Management, Value Engineering, Quality Audit, Environment, Health & Safety Management and Project Development Consultancy.

Proud to be an ISO 9001-2000 certified company within the first year of inception itself,

Masters believes in synergising individual strengths to attain collective excellence. Honesty, integrity and transparency being identified as their greatest strengths and upholding the Client's interest is *Masters'* highest priority.

With the recent establishment of **Masters International**, the firm has taken a huge stride towards the ultimate aim of being the first major Indian player in the global field of Project Management and Real Estate Consulting.

Masters set up the **MMC Fellowship Fund** as an initiative to support architectural and urban research. Given the dynamic and unprecedented growth being witnessed within south-Asian cities, in which Masters aims at a significant presence, the fund is interested in the generation of new knowledge within urban design, planning and development practices.

URBAN DESIGN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The **Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI)** is a public charitable trust set up in 1984 dedicated to the protection of the built environment and improving urban communities. It aims at establishing a forum to promote interaction between architects, urban designers and professionals from related fields such as urban economics, sociology, planning, conservation, and history, with the understanding that an inter-disciplinary and enriched holistic view of our urban environment will lead to practical solutions for its improvement. UDRI strives to achieve this through conservation and development of historic precincts, by sponsoring publications, public lectures, exhibitions and seminars, research fellowship programme, conducting a Bombay studio and by running a research and resource centre focused on the study of Mumbai.

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Formally established in 2003 as a central archive of books, journals and technical documents on the history and governance of Mumbai. By focusing our collection on the development, protection, management and history of our built and natural environment, UDRI hopes to strengthen public knowledge and discussion on our city's future. This year the Research and Resource Centre had intended to expand its collection, develop and activate online catalogues of information and resources for researchers and students. The online facility intends to engage a wider and diverse audience with information on the city of Mumbai.

The UDRI Research and Resource Centre has developed a new website design which can be accessed at *www.udri.org*. Some of the new features incorporated in the website structures are a search engine, an online catalogue of the library collection, online resource database and updated inventory and information of public events. The website is unique and has many features, which will be of use to those who wish to get information on urban issues in the city.

BOMBAY STUDIO

UDRI had initiated the first Bombay Urban Design and Planning Studio last year (2005) in collaboration with the Alfred Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning (TCAUP), Michigan. This year the second studio was organised with 16 postgraduate students from various disciplines in Urban Planning, Urban Design and Architecture. The initial reconnaissance consisted of intensive field visits across the length and breadth of the city and its peripheries, after which the students selected two themes to work on; the processes and networks that enable city functioning, and temporal landscapes created within the city through various time cycles.

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

UDRI has initiated a research fellowship programme to provide young scholars, researchers and independent practitioners the opportunity to do research on contemporary urban issues and concerns of Mumbai. The city grapples with the changes taking place both within and outside its boundaries; there is an urgent need to better understand these changes and their implications. UDRI hopes that the fellowships will enable young scholars and researchers to approach these issues from different perspectives and will contribute to the creation of new scholarships in the urban understanding. Currently UDRI has inducted five research fellows who are working on documenting and evaluating two mega projects initiated by the State Government, namely, the Infrastructure Projects (Mumbai Urban Transport Project and Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project) and the Special Economic Zone policy in Navi Mumbai. The study questions and attempts to analyse the implications of these large scale interventions and their causative transformations and re-structuring within the city and its peripheries.

LECTURES

Organised monthly, in two sessions from January to April and September to December each year with the intention of establishing a dialogue that improves co-operation by mutual exchange of ideas and experiences. Lectures have been arranged to cover the works of architects, landscape architects, conservation architects, city historians, artists and filmmakers inspired by the city. In recent times the lectures have been panel discussions focusing once again on questioning and evaluating the rhetoric present on urban issues, decision making processes and planning issues for the city. For the listing of lectures held in 2005-2006, see "Calendar of Recent UDRI Lectures" overleaf. The Lecture Series programme is supported by Mahindra GESCO Pvt Ltd in collaboration with the Max Mueller Bhavan.

SEMINARS

Organised on issues, proposals and ideas that are relevant to the city at a particular time. They enable architects, planners and the public to broaden their understanding of the values of architecture and urban design, thus planning their critical contribution to public life.

The Indo-Portuguese Layer

The Northern Province of the *Estado da Índia* (the Portuguese name for their Indian territories), in which the whole of present day Mumbai's metropolitan area was included, was not only the largest territory held by the Portuguese in the East; it was also the first case of colonial suzerainty and development within the framework of their empire and, as such, constitutes a valuable and ample field of study.

This fact, scantly researched although long known amongst the "specialists", is conspicuously absent from the historical conscience of the places and peoples of Mumbai although many of these places were precisely the main settlements of the Northern Province. Mumbai's irresistible urban development and the pragmatic business-like mentality of its inhabitants have almost obliterated the territorial framework and landmarks of those times – the same structure upon which the English operated after they received the famous island of the "Good Life", back in 1661.

The Space-Time coordinates

Of all the cities in India, Mumbai is the most modern. The city dissipates its past with relentless voracity. Salman Rushdie once wrote that the Mumbaikar, inquired about the age of a certain house or an urban landmark, always answers:

It's very old.

How old? – insists the curious observer.

Very old. It's from the old days.

Indeed, it is difficult to sense anything but the riotous present in Mumbai. The cityscape is saturated with the hectic activity of everyday life, the frenzy of the crowded streets. However, anyone who leisurely walks up by one of the roads leaving from the Fort area towards Mahim in the North, will notice on the left-side of the street a stone gate with a definite baroque appearance. Over the gate's composite architrave rest two volutes supporting a plinth. The gate's stone apparel is old and much weathered by the monsoons. Through this gate one perceives a small courtyard, used as a scooter shed. On the right hand side there is a building with carved corner pilastres. Just visible under the moss, one can trace a heraldic shield with crescents engraved on the plinth over the arch. The traveller takes a photo, registers the curiosity and moves on. John Burnell was in Bombay during the first decade of the 18th cent. working for the East India Company. In his memoirs, he reports a visit to the village of Mazgaon – nowadays in the thick of central Mumbai. A procession was taking place in the village, then predominantly Catholic.
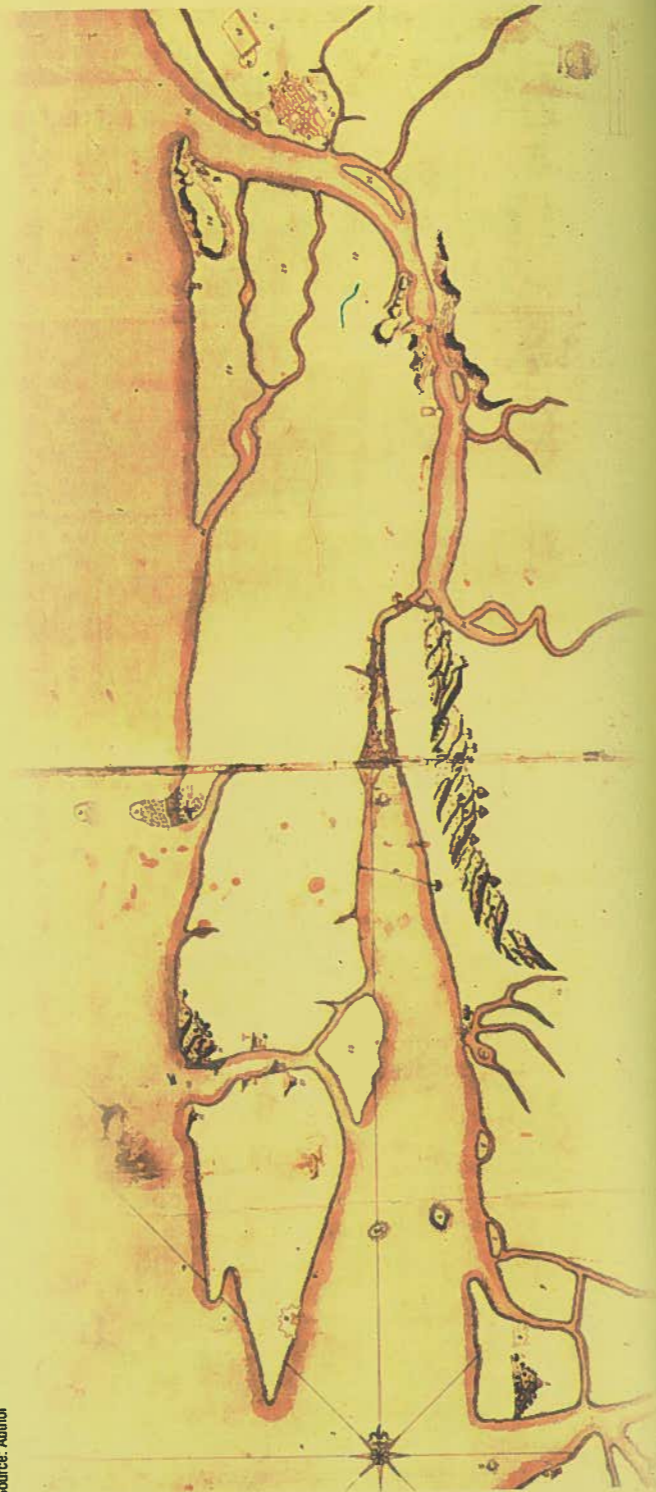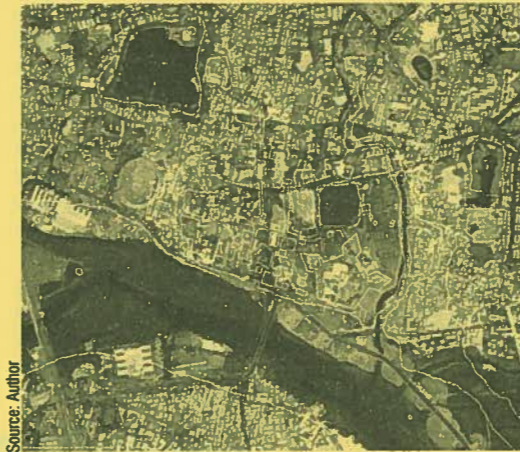
Burnell was invited into the biggest house of the village and noticed an arched gateway with the family shield and also, in the 1st floor of the house, paintings *after the Portugueze manner*. The house belonged to the most important family of Mazagaon whose history can be traced continuously between 1548 and 1767 (at least): the Souza family. Their well-known shield, adorned with crescents. The medieval history of Mumbai is little known and most efforts into the research of urban history take the year of 1661 as their starting point. That date marks the handing of the small original island of Bombay to the British as part of the dowry of Catarina de Bragança (daughter of John IV of Portugal) when she betrothed Charles II of England.

But the origins of Mumbai go beyond that fateful year, even from the urban perspective. For two hundred years, between 1540 and 1740, most of the actual metropolitan area of Mumbai was part of the *Estado da Índia*.

However, the architectonical and archaeological remains left by the Portuguese are not the central issue in the study of Mumbai's pre-British heritage. The most interesting legacy is invisible yet decisive: the framework of Mumbai's urban and territorial development. This framework owes much to the Portuguese period.

The old Northern Province of the *Estado da Índia* was basically divided into two districts: Damão and Baçaim (the capital city of the Province). It was the largest colonial territory held by the Portuguese excluding Brazil during the 1st Empire and the first to be established as a full and self-sustaining territorial body. The Province reached its greater extent at the end of the 16th cent and maintained its overall territorial integrity until the beginning of the 18th cent, extending some 220km along the coast of the present Indian states of Gujarat and Maharastra. Its northern limit was a river near Damão and in the south the fortified city of Chaul. Towards the east, the Province had an irregular boundary but sometimes reached lands 30km to the interior (namely, with the forts of *Asserim* and *Manorá*). In size, it was roughly four times bigger than the present state of Goa.

The Northern Province had the most productive agricultural lands of the whole Portuguese eastern empire and from early times, a complex land tenant system supported by a string of villages, forts, fortified manor-houses, roads, etc. was implemented.

To the north of Mahim and across the creek with the same name was the southern tip of the larger island of Salcete; also at this southern point was the island's main village, Bandra (*Bandorá* of the Portuguese). Toward the north, were the settlements of Dongri (*Dongrem*), Bayandar (*Bainel*) and Godhbandar (*Gorbandel*). Opposite the Ulhas river stood the proud capital and fortified citadel of Baçaim. Entering the Bay of Bombay from the south, there was the island of Trombay (*Trombé*) and, further north, the city of Thane (*Taná*) – the only urban settlement in Salcete. Towards the southeast of the Bay was the island of Uran (*Caranjá*).

The most important settlement north of Baçaim was Agashi (*Agaçaim*), protected by a small fort in an island off the coast (Arnalla, called *das Vacas* by the Portuguese) and by a system of mountain forts inside the mainland – Asheri (*Asserim*); Manori (*Manorá*); Asavana (*Saibana*) and Coranganges.

The Portuguese ships started to linger in the best natural harbour in the bay of Bombay from 1529 onwards. This place is now the Fort area of Mumbai. In that year, Heitor da Silveira defeated a Gujarati fleet off Bombay Island and demanded tribute from the native settlements in Uran, Bandra and Thane. Silveira called Bombay the Island of Good Life; and some scholars have argued that the "Ilha dos Amores" described by Camões was no other than this same Island. The Portuguese name *Bombaim* or *Mombaim* was firstly given by João de Barros and most probably developed from the name of the local goddess Mumbadevi, which was worshiped by the native Koli fisher folk. The island developed as a provision station called upon by the Portuguese ships travelling between Chaúl and Diu, the main Portuguese forts from the 1540s onwards.

In 1534, when Baçaim was seized by the Portuguese, began the effective colonization of the 16 islands south of this fort. From 1538 onwards, the lands in these islands were granted in feuds to Portuguese landowners. The conquest of the hill forts of Asheri and Manori in 1556 and of Damão in 1560 stabilized the Portuguese territory all along the coast. Shortly before the Maratha conquest of 1739, there were about 2000 European settlers in Baçaim who strived in a prosperous economy.

In Salcete Island, thousand of Catholics dwelled in their villages centred in their respective church. As far as we can ascertain, the territory that later on was to be incorporated in the Maratha Empire was not in decadence. Rather, its economic vitality and strategic importance determined its conquest by the descendents of Shivaji.

The Marathas initially took Thane (*Taná*), Salcete, and the ancient island of Versava (*Versová*) and Dharavi - north of the Mahim creek in order to draw a wedge in the Portuguese territory therefore disrupting communication between the two halves. Later, they assaulted Baçaim, that fell after a hard-fought siege and after official orders for its surrender arrived from Goa (that was also being assailed by the Marathas). However, the Marathas retained possession of the Northern Province for a short period since their military impetus started to fade out shortly afterwards. At this juncture, the Portuguese made a definite effort to re-conquer the Province within the strategic restructuring of the Empire planned by the royal minister Pombal. The English obtained intelligence regarding this amphibious attack (a fleet with 12,000 men was being assembled in Brazil) and promptly took possession of Salcete and Thane in 1774.

Later, they gained Baçaim by treaty, in 1780. With their economic vision, the British then proceeded to transform Bombay into one the leading metropolis of the world; a fate shared with two other urban settlements of Portuguese origin, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil.

The Wedding

The marriage treaty between Charles II Stuart and Catarina de Bragança was signed on the 23rd of June, 1661. The ceremony itself took place a year later, on the 31st of May, 1662. In September of that year, a British fleet of five ships arrived at the Bombay harbour. James Ley, the 3rd Earl of Marlborough, was in command; the new Portuguese Viceroy, António de Mello e Castro, was also on board, with specific orders to formally implement the handing over of the Island. And a big confusion ensued.

Marlborough realised that his countrymen who had drafted and celebrated the treaty did not have a realistic notion of Bombay, to say the least: some of the courtesans and politicians in London thought like Lord Clarendon, who referred to the "the island of Bombay, with its cities and castles and that is a short distance from Brazil…"

On sight, Marlborough understood that the Island of Bombay was not much of a prize and he defiantly claimed the other Islands of the Archipelago including Salcete for the British Crown.

In his turn, the Portuguese Viceroy, who had already suffered some disagreeability with the British during the long journey to the East, was now staunchly determined to stop or delay as much as possible the implementation of the treaty – whatever its interpretation. He headed for Goa to protest and await new instructions from Lisbon. Before, however, he sensed that the British might try to take possession of Bombay by force so he managed to have it garrisoned with some artillery and men brought in from Baçaim (indeed, the British were preparing an assault when they received intelligence of the reinforcements).

The Portuguese of the Northern Province felt betrayed by this entire affair and felt that the British presence in Bombay would imperil their own geo-strategic stealth. The governor of Baçaim wrote on this matter: "I behold the best port your majesty has in India, even comparable to Lisbon, being dealt by the Portuguese [in the metropolis] as if it would be but a small matter. I behold Bombay with its many Christian souls who will, one day, be forced by the English, to change their religion." And the Viceroy, Mello e Castro, wrote that *India will be lost on the day the English nation sets foot in Bombay*.

Marlborough returned to Europe with a much dilapidated crew after leaving the British crew in a precarious situation at Angediva Island (the only place on the Western coast of India where he could land his men – no permission being given to land in Surat for fear of disturbing the Mogul's officials there). For the next two years, a cat-and-mouse game developed, with constant bullying and threats from the British side and desperate intriguing and manoeuvring by the Portuguese.

Finally, the situation came to ends in the beginning of 1665. In the old manor house of Garcia de Orta in Bombay Island, the Viceroy (after delaying all he could) and Humphrey Cooke, put their signature on the treaty that implemented the transfer of sovereignty. Ironically, two months later, arrived an official decree from Lisbon ordering the Viceroy to suspend the transfer of the island indefinitely…but it was too late.

The British proceeded to occupy Mazgaon and Parel, practically enjoined to Bombay Island by the time. They then occupied Mahim Island by force, claiming that one could cross over to these Islands from Bombay "on foot with water at knee's length" therefore being part of one same island. This raised vigorous protests by the Portuguese and the Franciscan friars in Mahim tried to seed revolt among the catholic population. In 1674, the East India Company, now in charge, purchased Colaba Island with which they controlled the whole Southern part of the archipelago. However, they were unable to extend their influence to Salcete or Trombay, where the Portuguese drew their line, thus rendering the Islands in British possession with a very limited self-sufficiency.

In the words of John Burnell, Salcete was the *Portugueze country*. For the next 70 years – until the Maratha conquest of 1739 – the British and Portuguese would be bitterly facing one other across the Mahim creek, many times in a state of undeclared war. At other times, they would join forces to attack regional powers, like the corsair Angria.

At any rate, during those seventy years, the British were dependent on supplies and goods form Salcete and other places – which were heavily taxed upon by the Portuguese. In 1689, the Siddi admiral of the Mogul Empire besieged Bombay fort and ravaged the remaining British lands. After the besieging forces left, the British proceeded to occupy all the Jesuit lands within the Bombay Islands, arguing that the Portuguese friars had supported and connived with the Siddi force. Later on, in 1720, all the Portuguese friars themselves were expelled from the area.

Until the coup-de-grace given by the invading Maratha force in 1739, the Portuguese earnestly tried to survive and retain possession of their lands. Since a big part of these lands belonged to the religious orders, it doesn't surprise us to see them in the front-line of this conflict or to see some of their convents fortified (with heavy artillery) against their foes: the Marathas, the Omani pirates and, of course, the British.

"The Good Life"

When the Portuguese arrived in the Bombay area back in the 1520s, the only true urban concentration was Thane (*Taná*). This city was probably the ancient Sthánaka, capital of the Hindu Siláhara dynasty, who dominated the area between the 9th cent and the 12th cent A.D. To these kings can be attributed the construction of the temples at Walkeshwar, in Malabar point, one of most picturesque spots in present-day Mumbai;

and possibly also some of the temples at Elephanta Island. Marco Polo travelled through Thane and there are some tales of Franciscan friars wandering through this area in the 13th cent. The Portuguese agent Duarte Barbosa described the city just before its conquest by the Portuguese.

From the 13th cent onward, the region was controlled by princes of Gujarati origin, maybe based near the coast in Bandra (*Bandorá*), which would have been a small town at the time. Here, the Muslim seafarers, who allied themselves with the Gujarati Principalities, erected a fort – later taken by the Portuguese.

The city of Thane, one or two small forts along the coast, Koli (fisherman cast) villages organically spread throughout wooded islands and monumental remains of a brighter past – this is what the Portuguese found in the Mumbai area.

Towards the end of the 16th cent, the situation had changed. The Portuguese administrative system divided the Northern Province into two districts and two autonomous captaincies. The district of Baçaim was further divided into eight smaller *caçabés*. These were in turn divided into a few *praganas* or else directly into a number of villages. Bombay Island (which incorporated Mazgaon, Parel, and Kolaba) was the only *caçabé* that was on a private leasing. Besides the fortified Manor-house, it had a few churches and chapels and remarkable villages at Parel (*Paré*), Worli (*Varoly*), Sion (*Sião*) and Vadala (*Vadalá*). Other areas were developed also like Uran (*Caranjá*), Bandra (*Bandorá*) and Belapur (*Belaflor do Sabayo*).

Dr. Fryer, writing in between 1672 and 1681, refers to the two towns of Mazgaon and Mahim and two villages at Parel and Sion. The territory had been in British hands for only a decade. Baçaim was the proud capital of the Northern Province with the so-called General of the North in residence (the second highest position in the *Estado da Índia*) and boasted all the necessary establishments for political, military and fiscal administration. Here were also located all the mother-houses of the religious orders in the *Vicariato Geral do Norte*, subject to the archdiocese in Goa (however, some edifices of the orders elsewhere were bigger in size than the respective mother-houses).

The nobility of the city wielded the revenues of the extensive hinterland that also sustained many people in Goa. Baçaim was also a shipbuilding emporium and handled a considerable size of regional (intra-Indian) trade, besides exporting wood for shipbuilding to the middle-east. It was the geo-strategic key to the whole territory.

Fryer described Bombay as an agglomerate about one mile in length, hinged to the road that led north towards Mazgaon. In this place resided, *confusedly*, Portuguese and Indians of various castes including Koli fishermen. The houses were small, with lime-washed walls and shell paned windows. Most were covered with shrub but the customs house and some warehouses had tiled roofs. The village dwindled out in a *bazaar* and a *pretty church*.

The church was probably Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*), built by the Franciscans around 1565, very near to the spot now occupied by the V.T. station. Besides this church, there was the Church of Mazgaon dedicated to Our Lady of Glory (*Nossa Senhora da Glória*) and a mount sanctuary, both built by the Franciscan friars.

In Mahim there was another Franciscan church, St. Michael (*São Miguel Arcanjo*), and a Jesuit chapel within this order's estate in Parel.

Of these churches, all have disappeared; but the present-day Church of St. Michael in Mahim stands on the same location as the old Portuguese church and it is possible that part of the foundations are still the same, despite reconstruction works at the end of the 19th and mid 20th centuries.

When the British attacked Bombay Island together with the Dutch back in 1626, they described the settlement as being constituted with a *fort, castle and town*. The castle – that would also be a *warehouse, a priory and a fort* – was the *Great House*, the famous residence of Garcia da Orta, which some scholars still locate within the area of the current Naval Base. Photographs from the beginning of the 20th cent show a big edifice with verandas and typical Indo-Portuguese roof. It was also the house of Inês de Miranda (widow of Rodrigo de Monsanto), last proprietor of the Island. Afterward, this house became the residence of the British commander of the Fort and other East India Company officials.

The British erected their houses further away from the original Portuguese settlement. They built a green around the fort and houses and a church further south, near the present-day Horniman Circle. They established their cemetery near an old Portuguese chapel in Colaba, a little distance south of the present Taj Hotel.

Burnell described the original small fort as irregular, with four bastions, all different from one another. This was clearly the Portuguese construction, which grew according to necessity from 1540 onwards. It was remodelled by John Cooper, engineer, between 1670 and 1680.

Mazgaon was described as a *great fishing town*, centred on the Franciscan church of Our Lady of Glory. Burnell referred to the Sousa house and also to a chapel on a mount with its *via sacra* (this chapel had already disappeared by the late 19th cent). He described the settlement as having three large parallel roads, which are probably still present in the urban fabric of the present-day Mazagaon neighbourhood (that still maintains part of its Catholic atmosphere).

In Parel, we can still trace the location of the Jesuit chapel with the conspicuously named St. Paul st. The buildings and property of the Jesuits were confiscated by the British in 1690 amidst grave quarrelling. It was transformed into the Governor's residence in 1750 and later served as the quarters of the Prince of Wales – future Edward VII – when he visited Bombay in 1875. It was abandoned in 1885 and fell into disrepair (a similar situation happened in Ghodbandar or *Gorbandel* where a small Portuguese church was converted into the Collector's house, ca. 1850).

In Thane, one can trace the Portuguese origins of the urban network around the fort area and also the church of St. John the Baptist (previously, the church of the St. Anthony convent, belonging to the Capuchin friars). This church still maintains a rich interior, decorated with Indo-Portuguese woodworks and the perimeter of its chapel is, probably, the same as the original church. According to Fryer, the houses were small but with tiled roofs. The Portuguese fortified the town in the late 16th cent. with a regular fort. This same construction, with the two bastions later added by the Marathas, still stands as the Thane Prison.

There were seven smaller forts that defended the creek of Thane, although, by the time of the Maratha invasions, this creek was no longer navigable. Their location nowadays is difficult to ascertain. On the eastern side of the creek was the village of *Colavalé* with a small defensive tower and, further south, the town of Belapur (*Belaflor*), whose ruler was tributary to the Portuguese and also had a fort.

This complex defensive system, with analogies in Portugal (Lisbon) or Brasil (Salvador), clearly states the importance of the city of Thane, also famous for its cloths and inlaid furniture works.

The city had convents belonging to the four main orders (Franciscans (Capuchins), Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits) and at least three other parish churches.

Bandra (*Bandorá*) was the next biggest Catholic settlement after Thane in the Salcete Archipelago. Fryer described the Jesuit buildings there as *grandiose*; these commanded the entrance to the Mahim creek and polarized the surrounding village. Here were three defensive works: the fort *Aguada* (still standing), the smaller fort of *Nome de Deus* and the Jesuit convent itself (called St. Anne or *Santa Ana*) which was fortified with artillery.

The church of Santa Ana, according to Burnell, had a steep roof *resembling Westminster Abbey*. This kind of Indo-Portuguese roof was, after all, quite common all throughout the Northern Province.

On a nearby hill stood a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Mount (*Nossa Senhora do Monte*) with its *via sacra*. The church was completely renovated during the 20th cent. but the steps of the *via sacra* are probably original.

The oldest Jesuit building in Salcete was the church of St. Andrew (*Santo André*), closely located to the Chapel of Our lady of the Mount. It was founded in 1575 and is nowadays known as St. Andrew of Bandra, head of the influent local Catholic community. In the beginnings of the 19th cent, it faced the sea, with its main altar towards the east.

This original building had a shorter nave with a tiled roof. In 1864, the church's orientation was inverted in order that the entrance would face the growing urban fabric. Recently, other renovations have been introduced, but in the inside one can still admire early 18th cent woodworks in two altars and the pulpit.

Agashi, the *Agaçaim* of the Portuguese days, also has a few churches. Back in the 17th cent, it was a flourishing settlement, with two convents belonging to the Franciscans and the Dominicans. A little distance outside the town stands the church of Our Lady of Remedies (*Nossa Senhora dos Remédios*) also built by the Franciscans. In the mid 19th cent. it attracted many pilgrims and was known as *Remedi*.

Uran (known to the Portuguese as *Caranjá* Island), on the Eastern side of the Mumbai Bay, was taken by the British from the Marathas in 1774. At that time, there existed a village and at least two churches built by the Portuguese – who had been previously expelled. The church of Our Lady of the Rock (*Nossa Senhora da Penha*), inside the walls of a small fort, was located atop the southern hills overlooking the village of Karanja. In this village was the church of Our Lady of Rosary (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário*), built by the Dominican friars.

In the mid 17th cent., this Island was defended by a considerable fort, located at an undetermined spot within the present-day Karanja town.

Within the study of the territory of the Baçaim District, one of the most interesting topics is the foundation and development of the Jesuit village of the Holy Trinity (*Santíssima Trindade*). Its founder, a Jesuit priest called Gonçalo Rodrigues, decided to leave behind the hustle and bustle of Thane town around 1560 and settled 20 kms. inland, near the lake Vehar. On this spot, there was a Hindu village whose inhabitants worshipped Trimurti in a nearby temple. The priest strove to demolish the temple and convert the native villagers. With Jesuit pragmatism, he instructed them on mysteries of the Holy Trinity, using the obvious analogies between the Christian and Hindu cults. A few years later, this Jesuit village had 3000 people and several notable buildings, including a church and an orphanage. Some ruins of this settlement were still visible in 1870, near the Vehar Lake.

Although it hasn't been conveniently studied, this settlement appears to be unique because it is described by contemporary sources in very similar lines to the Jesuit Mission villages in South America, the *reduções*. It was a communal and self-sufficient village, planned from scratch and consciously autonomous from the outside world. And, according to the evidence available, it was the first Jesuit-communal village ever built.

As was mentioned before, the Portuguese also had a complex defensive system to defend the Baçaim District. One of the most important forts was situated far inland in the Asheri mountain system. It was know as *Asserim*, and was perched on a small plateau above a huge and almost inaccessible boulder. Although its location hasn't been conclusively identified as of yet, it appears to correspond to the place called Asherigad which features in British surveys.

From the suggestive Portuguese drawings and descriptions of old, one learns that this fort could be easily garrisoned by a handful of soldiers, due to its natural defences. There were also many water cisterns and storage places for cereal (in order to sustain prolonged sieges) besides a church, captain's manor and houses. This fort passed unto Portuguese hands in 1565, when a Muslim merchant of Baçaim, allied of the Portuguese, managed to "bribe out" the Siddi garrison stationed there. How and when it fell to the Marathas is still obscure, but we do know it was successfully recaptured in late 1737 by the new "General of the North", António Cardim de Fróis, who managed to successfully launch some counter-offensives against the Maratha army (and also to withstand the first siege of Baçaim).

Another Portuguese stronghold was Versava. This spot was attacked by a Maratha force in the year 1700. Nowadays, one can see a considerable fort in Versava point. This construction probably results from an upgrade done by the Marathas or the British on the original Portuguese structure. A drawing from the 18th cent. shows the fort with a polygonal perimeter and big circular tower.

The old village of *A-Ver-o-Mar,* near the Versava bay, is still a fisherman's village and is presently called Madh. The ancient church of Our Lady of the Sea (*Nossa Senhora do Mar*) was completely renovated in 1907 but stands on its original location within place.

On a nearby elevation, one can see the ruins of a big building with a rectangular perimeter and two bastions attached. This might well be the Franciscan convent of *São Boaventura* of Arengal (built in 1578), which was probably fortified like its Jesuit counterpart in Bandra.

In the present-day locality of Dongri, on the North-western tip of Salcete, a Portuguese fort was being built around 1720, according to contemporary sources. It would cross fire with Baçaim's cannons. As frequently happened in forts implanted on top of small hills near the coast, there were a couple of parallel walls running along the slope until the shore, where a small landing wharf would thus be secured (similar situations occur in Chaúl (Korli) and also in forts in Goa). These curtains have now disappeared.

In Worli, there was probably a small Portuguese fort. Burnell refers to a "long and irregular fort, with four or five bastions, but without ordered disposition, built with big stone blocks placed over each other without mortar or lime, except near the edge where there is a ramp and a ledge". The present fort in Worli appears more likely to be a British construction. However, one can still see a platform in front of the fort that leads toward the shore, maybe dating back to the Portuguese. The fort of Mahim is presently occupied by a dense slum and is indeed difficult to access or photograph. From Bandra, one can see its imposing walls and two polygonal bastions. Its main entrance still faces the beach. This corresponds to the intervention of the British engineer John Vanduren in 1701 and 1709 on the fort. These repairs angered the Portuguese of Bandra, across the creek, who feared for their safety. The original Portuguese fort was described by Burnell as "a square edifice with two storeys and a piece of ledge".

Also the Sewri fort, on the eastern side of the Mumbai peninsula over the Bay, is in a sad state of ruin. In Portuguese times it was probably very small. The British strengthened it and one can still note an inscription in place with the year 1736. Burnell writes about its *pleasant situation*. In fact, from this spot, one can admire the entire Mumbai Bay including Elephanta Island and Uran.

At the mouth of the Vaitarna river, the Portuguese had a small defensive tower on the Arnalla Island, known to the Portuguese as *Ilha das Vacas*.

When the Marathas took this island in 1737, they built a fortification according to the plans of the architect Baji Tulaji, which can still be admired today. On the southern side of the Island stands a lonely tower that might well be the original Portuguese building.

These and some other forts constituted a military system that defended the district. The forts protected the coast and also the mountain passes from where the Gujarati or Maratha armies might approach. Within the territory thus secured was a network of towns, villages and roads. Kolaba Island seems to have been scarcely occupied. The settlement of *Bombaim* stretched from the fort toward the north. It is probable that from the village at Mazagaon started the roads towards Mahim, Cavel and also Sion. This last route would also lead to Thane.

In Salcete Island, the main axis seems to have been the route from Bandra to Bhayandar. This route passed through Mandapeshwar, from where another road led to Godbhandar. Another route followed close to the Western shoreline.

Portuguese sources refer at least 30 churches in Salcete Island, excluding those within Thane town. The island was thus rather occupied and developed for the time. A big chunk of the land belonged to the two religious orders that had missionaries there: the Franciscans and the Jesuits. The rest of the land fell into a feudatory system that the Portuguese took over from the previous proprietors and that was scarcely altered. Initially, the lands were granted in reward for successful military service but eventually, when the military successes waned, more and more land was attributed to the noble Portuguese and Indian families in Goa.

One can state that the land that befell to the British in the South and the Marathas in the North was productive, organized and well fortified. The nodes of the territorial network were well defined along the coast and in the interior. The mains settlements were stable and accounted for and had a growth potential. With time and under favourable economical conditions they would be able to unite into a bigger urban fabric, as indeed happened in the 19th cent.

But what did happen in the 19th cent?
Did the local Catholic communities perish together with the architectural remnants of Portuguese origin? Recent study points otherwise.

East Indians, *Norteiros* and Goans.

As far as historical documents can prove, the local Catholic communities were not eradicated from the growing British city or even from the areas occupied by the Maratha armies although a profound demographic and political decadence settled in. Although the European families and priests fled to Goa, the native clergy managed to re-establish the Catholic supra-structure over the lost territories. Apparently, the Marathas proved to be tolerant towards the Christians.

From the 1820s onwards, there is a definite migratory movement of Goan Catholics to the area and this inverts the weakening trend started 100 years before.

When the Archbishop of Goa visited Thane in 1825, this town still had a majority of Catholic population. These were, in the words of Gerson da Cunha, *either converted Hindoos or Portuguese who have become as black as the natives and assumed all their habits*. He goes on to say that the *mestiços are blacker than the Hindoos of low cast. In their habits, a pariah is less repugnant than a Portuguese mestiço*. Da Cunha's ramblings show how the caste system permeated the Indian Catholics of the time and how some Goans despised these Northern converts on account of their low cast and also their relaxed and confused culture, which was much more mixed with local Hindu influence.

The Goan called the local Catholics *Norteiros* and East Indians – a confusing name derived from the fact that they had lived under the domain of the East India Company up to 1858.

There are many curious accounts and journals of British people travelling near Bombay in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The trip to Salcete was a favourite and the tourists would visit the Buddhist caves of Kanheri and also Madapeshwar and Jogeshwari. Mandapeshwar gains attention due to the fact that the main cave was converted into a church by Franciscan friars back in the 1550s. On the land over the cave, they also built a big convent and later another church. As recently as the 1920s, mass was still occasionally read in the cave of Mandapeshwar.

In 1886, Portugal and the Holy See celebrated their first *Concordata* in order to resolve the grave problem of the "double jurisdiction" in Bombay (and other issues regarding the Catholic jurisdiction elsewhere in India). This problem had started with the expulsion of all Franciscan and Jesuit Portuguese priests from the Bombay Islands back in 1720. The British then called in Carmelite friars who belonged to the Apostolic Vicariate of Puna. The Apostolic Vicariates in the East had been created by the famous college of Propaganda Fide in Rome to further and propagate the Missionary activities in places first "opened" by friars belonging to the missionary sphere of the *Padroado Régio* of Portugal (a complex group of privileges and jurisdictions bestowed by the Popes upon the kings of Portugal on account of which they could nominate the bishops of the dioceses). In 1858, the situation was considered a fait accompli by the Pope Gregorius XVI who, stating that the *Padroado*'s Religious structure was incapable of tending to the needs of the Northern Christians outside Damão and Diu, decided to incorporate these Catholics and their churches within the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicariates.

However, this measure proved to be harmful since by then, there had been a big migratory afflux of Goans to Bombay. These Catholics together with a majority of the Northern Catholics felt that their connection to Goa and their Indo-Portuguese origins were being severed. For the next 30 years, a grave conflict raged within the Catholic community. This complex episode has yet to be studied in depth.

The agreement of 1886 created two new Dioceses: Bombay and Damão. The first was dependent on the Propaganda Fide and the second on the Padroado Régio. The diocese of Bombay consisted only of the Islands up to Mahim creek and Trombay, but it also included the many other Catholics.

Gerson da Cunha, writing about the history of Cavel, refers to the Catholic neighbourhood as having *houses with pleasant little gardens and votive crosses*. The inhabitants, according to him, were mostly Goan or Catholics from the area of Baçaim who had settled next to the Koli fishermen folk. The distinctive character and charm of the Catholic neighbourhoods never failed to be noticed by the 19th cent visitor. They preserved a relaxed "village ambience", with their gardens and chapels, all kept up with conscientious zeal. Recently, the near extinction of these neighbourhoods has been mourned by heritage-minded Mumbaikars and efforts are currently being developed to save the very last remnants of these areas.

On the outskirts of the present-day metropolis some of these villages can still be found. Dongri is a typical example, with its renovated Jesuit church, small houses with gardens near a shoreline with coconut-palms. It is almost possible to dream oneself to Goa. Other fishing villages still survive along the coastal lands that once belonged to the Portuguese Baçaim district.

The villages closest to central Mumbai took an active part in the development of its urban fabric, polarizing its growth. This study theory failed to appeal to most Mumbaikars interested in the field. Many of them, with a distinctive British school of thought, have dedicated themselves to study the urban development of Mumbai as an artificial phenomenon completely estranged from the local grass-roots level.

Therefore, it is urgent to continue to study the first Portuguese colonial territory overseas and how it affected the urban development of one of the foremost Metropolis in the world.