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
empiricism. 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
gallopsest 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 dynamics 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 JSWF Foundation is part of the 1.4 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 Maharashtra, 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 for perfection 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 Aaranya & Franzoni 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 promote contemporary design professionals and traditional craftsmen to collaborate together in revival of old 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 Aaranya & Franzoni 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-vaporiser mosquito-killer brand AIOHUT®. The birth of AIOHUT®—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 Aaranya & Franzoni 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 competences 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.
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 enlightened 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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UDRI had initiated the first Bombay Urban Design and Planning Studio last year (2005) in collaboration with the Admat 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 studio has been working on documenting and evaluating two mega projects initiated by the State Government, namely, the Infrastructure Projects (Mumbai Urban Transport Project) and Mumbai Government, namely, the Infrastructure Projects (Mumbai Urban Transport 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.

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME
UDRI has initiated a research fellowship programme to provide young scholars, researchers and independent practitioners an opportunity to do research on contemporary urban issues and concerns of Mumbai. The city grapples with the challenges that 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 undertake this important work.

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 film-makers.

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.

UDRI is a Registered Charitable Trust and benefits from Tax Exemption under Section 80(G) of the Income Tax Act, 1961. UDRI is also registered under Section 8 (1) (a) under the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act 1976. (Registration No 083781053 Nature: Educational)
BOMBAY BEFORE THE BRITISH:

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, scantily 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 dissipated 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 pilasters.

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 curiously and moves on. John Burnell was in Bombay during the first decade of the 18th century, working for the East India Company. In his memoirs, he reports a visit to the village of Mazagaon – nowadays in the thick of central Mumbai. A procession was taking pace 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 Portuguese manner. The house belonged to the most important family of Mazagaon whose history can be traced continuously between 1548 and 1797 (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 landing 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 architectural 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 220 km along the coast of the present indian states of Gujarat and Maharashtra. 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 30 km to the interior (namely, with the forts of Assenim and Manor). 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 Salsete; also at this fortified point was the island's main village, Bandra (Bandor of the Portuguese). Towards the north, were the settlements of Dongri (Dongrem), Baydar (Baïne) and Godhbanded (Gorbande). 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 (Trombrid) and, further north, the city of Thane (Tank) – the only urban settlement in Salsete. Towards the southeast of the Bay, the island of Uran (Caramija).
The most important settlement north of Baçaim was Agasí (Agapim), protected by a small fort in an island on the coast (Mapilla, called das Vicereis by the Portuguese) and by a system of mountain forts inside the mainland—Asheri (Asseem); Maroni (Manor); Asavana (Saibana) and Coranganes.

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, Hetar da Silveira defeated a Gujarati fleet off Bombay Island and demanded tribute from the native settlements in Uran, Bandra and Thane. Silveira recognized the Bombay Island of Good Life; and some scholars have argued that the "Tha dos Amores" described by Cabreira was no other than this island.
The Portuguese name Bombaim or Bombaim was firstly given by João de Barros and most probably developed from the name of the local goddess Mumbadevi, which was worshiped by the natives of the area. The settlement on the bombaim was first settled as a provisional station called upon by the Portuguese ships travelling between Chaul and Diu, the main Portuguese forts from the 1540s onwards.

In 1534, when Baçaim was seized by the Portuguese, began the effective colonisation of the 16 islands south of this fort. From 1538 onwards, the lands in these islands were granted in feud to Portuguese landowners. The conquest of the hill forts of Ashei and Maroni in 1539, that fell after a hand-to-hand struggle, signalled the end of the remaining Porto-Franco. The Portuguese, now having established their colonial economic and political dominance, and the consequent economic vitality and strategic importance determined its conquest by the descendents of Shivaji.

The Marathas initially took Thana, Kheda, Salsete, and the ancient island of Versova (now) 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 assimilated the cosmopolitan society, that fell after a hand-to-hand struggle 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 of time before the Portuguese, sent Marroin to face them. After a fierce battle, the Portuguese seized the town, and took possession of Salsete and Thane in 1774.

The marriage treaty between Charles II Stuart and Caterina di Bragagia was signed on the 23rd of May, 1661, and took place 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, Antônio de Melo e Castro, was also present, 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 its consequences. He says the least: some of the courtiers 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 Lisbon." On 30th August, Marlborough understood that the island of Bombay was not much of a prize and he defiantly claimed the other Islands in the Archipelago including Salsete for the British Crown. In his turn, the Viceroy, who had very recently visited Lisbon and understood the disagreement with the British during the long journey to the East, was now suddenly 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 assented, that territory that later on was to be incorporated in the Maratha Empire, even granting to his own subjects the right to receive land in the island when they received intelligence of the reinforcements). The Portuguese of the Northern Province felt betrayed by this entire affair and felt that the British presented them with their own geo-strategic stealth. The governor of Baçaim wrote on this matter: "I beheld the port your majesty has in India, even comparable to Lisbon, being dealt by the Portuguese [in the metropolitan area] as it would be only a little town, viewed with envy by its many Christian souls who will, one day, be forced by the English, to change their religion." And the Viceroy, Melo e Castro, wrote that India will be lost on the day the English nation sets foot in Bombay.

Finally, the situation came to India 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, acquired 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 Mazagão and Parel, practically encircled to Bombay Island by the time. They then occupied Mahim Island by force of arms in 1661 (landscape). The British succeeded in capturing these islands from Bombay “on foot with water at knee’s length” therefore being part of one same island. This raised vividly protest by the Portuguese and the Franciscan friars invited to seek revolt among the catholic population. In 1664, the East India Company, now in charge, purchased Cobá Island with which they controlled the whole Southern part of the archipelago. However, they were unable to extend their influence to Salsete 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 Barrow, Salsete was the Portuguese country for the next 70 years — until the Maratha conquest of 1739 — the British and Portuguese would be bitterly facing one another across the Mahim creek, many times in a state of undeclared war. At the same time, 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 Salsete and other places close to which they were fairly taxed by the Portuguese. In 1689, the Sidi, 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 rest of the islands around Bombay Island, arguing that the Portuguese friars had supported and conspired with the Sidi force. Later on, in 1720, all the Portuguese friars themselves were expelled from the island.

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 the conflict. In their conflict, there was 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 1600s, the only true urban concentration was Thane (Tará). This city was probably the ancient Shanaka, capital of the Hindu Sihlara dynasty, who dominated the area between the 1st century B.C. and the 12th century A.D. To these kings can be attributed the construction of the temples at Walikshwar, in Malabar point, one of most picturesque spots in present-day Mumbai; and possibly also some of the temples at Elephant Island, Marco Polo travelled through Thane and there are some tales of Franciscan friars wandering through this area in the past. The Portuguese agent Quarte Barbalosa described the city just before its conquest by the Portuguese. From the 13th century onwards, Thane was region was controlled by princes of Gujarati origin, maybe based near the coast in Bandra (Bandra), which would have been a small town at the time. Here, the Muslim seafarers, who allied themselves with the Gujarati Principalties, erected a fort — later named 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 — what the Portuguese found in the Mumbai area. Towards the end of the 16th century, the situation changed. The Portuguese administrative system divided the Northern Province into different areas.

The district of Baçaim was further divided into eight smaller çães. These were in turn divided into a few praganas or estate directly into a number of villages. Bombay Island (incorporated Mazzagão, Parel and Salsete) was divided between the British and Portuguese, last that was on a private leasing. Besides the fortified Manor house, it had a few churches and chapels and remarkable villages at Parel (Parel), Worli (Worli), Jio (Jio) and Vada (Vada). The habitat of the city was not limited to the fort also like the regions near the Manora, Bandra (Bandra) and Belapur (Belapur do Sabão).

Dr. Fryer, writing in between 1672 and 1681, refers to the two towns of Mazagão and Mahim and two villages at Parel and Sion. The territory had been in British hands for a long time. With the conquest of Baçaim was the proud capital of the Northern Province with the so-called General of the North in residence and all the necessary establishments and institutions had been made ready. Here were also located the mother-houses of the religious orders in the Vicariato Geral do Norte, subject to the archiseparchy of Goa; however, some edifices of the orders elsewhere were bigger in size than the respective 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 an important centre of the considerable size of regional (infra-Indian) trade, besides exporting wood for shipbuilding to the middle-east. It was the port for trade — which were heavily taxed by the whole to the entire state. Fryer described Bombay as an agriglopetal about one mile in length, hinged to the road that led north towards Mazzagão. In this place resided, confinedly, Portuguese and Indians of various castes including Koli fishermen. The houses were built with lime-washed walls and shell paved windows. Most were covered with shrub but the customs houses and some warehouses had tiled roofs. The village dwindled out in a bazaar and a pretty church.
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 St. Anthony convent, belonging to the Capuchin friars). This church still maintains a rich chancel with its original roof, which is supported by four large pillars. The tower of this church is the only remaining part of a large portuguese fort that was built in Thane in the 16th century, with a regular rectangular structure. The tower of the fort was added by the Marathas, still stands as the Thane Prison.

The Portuguese fortified the town in the late 16th century, with a regular rectangular structure, built as a fort to protect the harbor of Thane. The fort was added by the Marathas in the mid-17th century. This island was defended by a considerable fort, located at an undetermined spot within the present-day city of Thane.

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 (Santissima Trindade). Its founder, a Jesuit priest called Gonçalo Rodrigues, decided to leave behind the hustle and bustle of Thane town to settle in the middle of the plain, not far from the village of Kanyakumari, near the lake Vehr. On this spot, there was a Hindu village whose inhabitants worshipped Trinitas in a nearby temple. The Jesuits were permitted to demolish the temple and convert the native villagers. With Jesuit influence, the village of Kanyakumari became one of the 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 Veher Lake.

Although it hasn't been completely studied, this settlement appears to be unique and is described by contemporary sources in very similar lines to the Jesuit Mission villages in South America, the reduplication. It was a communal and self-sufficient village, planned from scratch and consciously administered in the Jesuit Abbey. According to the evidence available, it was the first Jesuit-communal village ever built.

As was mentioned before, the Portuguese also had a complex distribution of missionary activity. But the Jesuit mission was the most important forts was situated far inland in the Ashen mountain system. It was known as Assenem, and was perched on a small plateau above a huge and almost inaccessible boulder. Although its location hasn't been clearly identified as yet, it appears to correspond to the place called Aserlenad which features in British surveys.

From the suggestive Portuguese drawings and descriptions of our sea front look for this fort. Finally, it is the western side of the fort that offers a handful of soldiers, due to its natural defences. There were also many water cisterns and storage places for cereals (in order to sustain prolonged sieges) besides a church, captain's manor and hospital. In the 19th century, Portuguese influence remained strong.

Agastha, the Agaçaim of the Portuguese days, also has a few churches. Back in the 17th century, it was a flourishing settlement, with two convents belonging to the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who were little distant from the fort of Thane. A church built by Our Lady of Remedies (Nossa Senhora dos Remédios) also built by the Franciscans. In the mid-19th century it attracted many pilgrims and was known as Remedi.

Uran (known to the Portuguese as Carajin island), on the Eastern side of the Mumbai Bay, was taken from the British by 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 by the Jesuits from the Church of Our Lady of Portadores (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). A detailed account of this church, in the mid-17th century, this island was defended by a considerable fort, located at an undetermined spot within the present-day city of Uran.

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When the Marathas took this island in 1737, they built a fortification according to the plans of the architect Baji Tulajl, 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 Bombaria stretched from the fort toward the north. It is probable that from the village at Mazagao started the roads toward Mahim, Cavel and also Sion. This last route would also lead to Thane.

In Salcete Island, the main axes seems to have been the route from Bandra to Bhandup via Mandapiwakar, from where another road led to Godbandhar. 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 feudal 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 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 belonged to the 32th 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 main settlements were stable and accounted for and had a growth potential. With time and under favourable ecological conditions they would be able to unite into a bigger urban fabric, as indeed happened in the 19th century. But what did happen in the 19th century?

Did the local Catholic communities persist together with the architectural remnants of the Portuguese? Recent studies point otherwise.

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 1866 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 of only the islands up to Mahim creek and Tromboly, but it also included the many other Catholics.

Gerson da Cunha, writing about the history of Cavel, refers to the Catholic neighbourhood as having gained fame as a place of pleasant little gardens and vegetable crosses. The inhabitants, he says, were mostly Goan or Catholic from the area of Baçaim who had settled next to the Koli fisherman folk. The district is unique because it is the only Catholic neighbourhoods never to be noticed by the 1937 visitor. They preserved a relaxed "village ambience", with their gardens and chapels, all kept up with conscientious zeal. Recently, the Taipa food industries - a specific division of these neighbourhoods has been mourned by heritage-minded Mumbairans 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. It is a compact area, with small houses with gardens near a shoreline with coconut-palms. It is almost impossible to dream oneself to Goa. Other villages still survive along the coastal areas 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 Mumbairans interested in the field. Many of them, with a distinctive British style of thought, have dedicated themselves to study the urban development of the area under the same name, an area 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 Metropolitan in the world.

**Bombaria before the British**

The early colonial history of Mumbai's territory.

The first version of this text appeared in the issue nr. 41 of "Oceano." (Walter ROSA and Paulo Viana (GOMES) - O primeiro território: Bombaim e os Portugueses. Icaetus. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Oeiras do Descobrimentos Portugueses, Nr. 41, 2001: 210-224.) The current version was updated and translated by Siddhendrata. The last note was still one of the starting points of the research project that is described below. This is a four to five year long research project (2003-2007) about the history of the territory of Bombay / Mumbia (India) before the British colonial period. The research is coordinated by a team of Portuguese architects and historians (from the fields of architecture, urbanism, political and social history) in the Universidade de Coimbra and Nova de Lisboa.

The project team aims at either conveying an international symposium on the subject (to take place in Portugal in 2007 or 2008) or getting a collection of essays (in English) to be published both in Europe and in India together with a package of information on digital support.

The purpose of the on-going research is to evaluate the impact of the macro-scaled long-term design of the territory in the pre-Portuguese and the Portuguese period over the patterns of the urban growth and cultural fabric of Bombay during the 19th and 20th centuries. Unpublished documents pertaining to the territory's economy, politics and religion are of great importance but must be read in conjunction with the reconstructions and mapping of the material remains of pre-British presence (roads, temples, fairs and churches, neighbours and houses) - the physical traces and the memory of which are hiddenly the city's explosive 20th century growth also and by ideological narratives which present Bombay as a city without any significant pre-British past.

Since most of Bombay's pre-colonial and colonial early buildings are not documented or located, old maps, drawings and photographs are key instruments at research. Also, the territorial present form and traces of its past figures must be investigated with the help of satellite geo-referenced maps.

Since 2003, the research team has concentrated on gathering material, both published and yet unpublished, charts and maps (Portuguese, British and Indian); old and contemporary photographs (of sites, ruins, buildings); drawings (mostly of British provenance); written documents of Portuguese and Jesuit missionaries and the letters of missionaries producing material, using geo-referenced satellite photographs of the area of Mumbai; interviews, modern buildings referred to in the documentation and its historical accounts, and to place information related to those locations in hypertext. The aim is to produce the evolving map of Mumbai's territory since the 15th century and to "attach" information to these maps.