

X Congreso Internacional de Historia Ferroviaria Alcázar de San Juan, 24-25-26 de junio de 2026

Session IV. Railway and city
Sesión IV. Ferrocarril y ciudad
Sessão IV. Ferrovia e Cidade

Port, Rail and Urban Integration: History of Brindisi and
Bombay Port Railway Stations in the Long 19th Century

Integración portuaria, ferroviaria y urbana: Historia de
las estaciones de ferrocarril de Brindisi y el puerto de
Bombay a lo largo del siglo XIX

Integração Portuária, Ferroviária e Urbana: História das
Estações Ferroviárias de Brindisi e do Porto de
Bombaim no Longo Século XIX

SHRADDHA BHATAWADEKAR
Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, Deutschland
Shraddha.Bhatawadekar@hhu.de

Open access paper under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License \(CC-BY 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Abstract: Port railway stations, serving as interchanges between sea and rail travels, have a special place in railway history. This paper examines two port railway stations: Brindisi Marittima in Italy and Ballard Pier Mole in Bombay, India. Both ports became linked as part of the Indian Mail Route from England to India in the late 19th century. The paper studies the historical trajectory of these two port stations and their contribution to the respective urban settings. By analysing the interplay of local and global processes, it aims to critically explore their role in facilitating transnational mobilities and connectivities in the long 19th century.

Keywords: Brindisi Marittima railway station; Ballard Pier Mole railway station; port railways; urban impact; global mobilities.

Resumen: Las estaciones ferroviarias portuarias, que servían como puntos de transbordo entre el transporte marítimo y el ferroviario, ocupan un lugar especial en la historia del ferrocarril. Este artículo examina dos estaciones ferroviarias portuarias: Brindisi Marittima en Italia y Ballard Pier Mole en Bombay, India. Ambos puertos se conectaron a finales del siglo XIX como parte de la ruta postal india que unía Inglaterra con la India. El artículo estudia la trayectoria histórica de estas dos estaciones portuarias y su contribución a sus respectivos entornos urbanos. Mediante el análisis de la interacción de procesos locales y globales, busca explorar críticamente su papel en la facilitación de la movilidad y la conectividad transnacionales durante el siglo XIX.

Palabras clave: Estación de ferrocarril de Brindisi Marittima; estación de ferrocarril de Ballard Pier Mole; ferrocarriles portuarios; impacto urbano; movilidad global.

Resumo: Estações ferroviárias portuárias, servindo como pontos de intercâmbio entre viagens marítimas e ferroviárias, ocupam um lugar especial na história das ferrovias. Este artigo examina duas estações ferroviárias portuárias: Brindisi Marittima, na Itália, e Ballard Pier Mole, em Bombaim, na Índia. Ambos os portos foram interligados como parte da Rota Postal Indiana, que ligava a Inglaterra à Índia, no final do século XIX. O artigo estuda a trajetória histórica dessas duas estações portuárias e sua contribuição para os respectivos contextos urbanos. Ao analisar a interação entre processos locais e globais, busca-se explorar criticamente seu papel na facilitação da mobilidade e conectividade transnacionais ao longo do século XIX.

Palavras-chave: Estação ferroviária de Brindisi Marittima; Estação ferroviária de Ballard Pier Mole; ferrovias portuárias; impacto urbano; mobilidades globais.

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to examine two port passenger railway stations, i.e. Brindisi Marittima and Ballard Pier Mole in Bombay¹. It looks at their history and contribution to urban growth in their respective settings. It foregrounds that the railway stations were not simply the transportation infrastructures, but acted as agents of urban transformation, shaping economic activity, spatial organisation, as well as social interaction. Both these stations are chosen, as they were located on the Indian Mail Route from England to India, which was particularly established after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The port stations were developed to facilitate trade and to offer a speedy transfer for passengers from rail to sea

¹ Bombay has been renamed as Mumbai in 1995, but for historical references and consistency, the name Bombay is used throughout the paper.

and vice versa. While they connected the port with hinterlands, they also opened these cities to wider maritime networks, thus strengthening their position as “gateway cities”.

These stations and ports, though individually well studied, have been less-explored as connected systems. The London-Brindisi-Bombay line, which was active between 1870-1914, has been subject to research, with recent studies on the history and development of the route as well as impressions of travel (see for instance, Carito, n.d.; Mascia 1985; both works in Italian). While this research benefits from the existing literature, it departs from the earlier studies in its focus on the port railway stations. It situates these stations within the context of port city developments as well as infrastructural innovations in rail and shipping in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The development of the port railway stations in Brindisi and Bombay is rather separated in time and space. Brindisi Marittima opened in 1870, while the Mole Station in Bombay opened its doors in 1919. Their development is also rooted in different political contexts. Following the reunification in 1861, Brindisi formed part of Italy. On the other hand, Bombay was subjugated under British imperial rule. However, what connected them was the introduction of an organised travel route from London to Bombay via Brindisi and Suez Canal, as established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (hereafter P&O), following the opening of the Suez Canal. It is thus possible to look at the development of these ports and railway stations within the framework of “connected histories”. Historian Sanjay Subramanyam, in his “connected histories” approach, has emphasised the interconnected networks of people, goods, and ideas, with interfaces of the local with the global (Subrahmanyam 1997). Such networked approaches have been used in the context of port studies as well. For instance, Nigel Green has conducted a comparative study of two distinct ports, i.e. Bombay and Barcelona to show “areas of variability and distinctiveness” in these port cities (Green 2013: 513). By using “a globalized model of analysis”, he highlights how

these cities were a part of a “single integrated world” in the long 19th century (Green 2013: 514, 520).

This paper, however, does not engage in a comparative analysis of railway stations in the ports of Brindisi and Bombay. It rather envisages them as part of global mobilities in the long 19th century, via the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. As Carola Hein writes, “Considering port city territories as an interconnected network of spaces and institutions allows for a study of planning history as a facet of transnational urbanism on the sea-land continuum in a way that goes beyond comparative analysis. To better understand the impact of these historical processes on diverse places we need new tools to capture the intersection between global and local processes” (Hein 2022: 222). While she uses geospatial analysis, this study relies on the visual-archival sources in order to trace the transnational circulations and mobilities, which also in turn shaped the development of the port railway stations. In the process, these stations emerged as nodes—“spaces of flows”, enabling movement of capital, information, technology, people and organisations as well as images, sounds and symbols, the concept that sociologist Manuel Castells has outlined (Warf, n.d.). However, their formation and development were also characterised by unequal power relations, rivalries, as well as conflicts both at the global and the local level. As the aspects of port-rail and urban integration are investigated, the role of these glocal processes also needs to be taken into consideration. The following sections offer a preliminary account of both the stations as nodes and their connected histories.

1. BRINDISI MARITTIMA RAILWAY STATION

Brindisi, located in South Italy, on the Adriatic coast, has been one of the important maritime centres since Roman times. It became a key port following the reunification of Italy in 1861. The railways arrived in Brindisi in 1865, when the line from Bari to Brindisi was completed. The line was further developed up to the port and the port station was opened in 1870 (Carito 2006; Membola 2020). The station was particularly instrumental for bringing the mail and passengers from England en route to India. The P&O, the company which managed the postal traffic to India, initially used Marseille as its key port in the Mediterranean. However, it was interested in exploring alternate routes to India. After the Italian reunification, the British Government was keen to use the route via Italy,

but it did not yet offer enough rail and shipping facilities. The opening of the Bari-Brindisi line and the ongoing works on the Mont Cenis pass ensured reduced travel distance to India, tipping the balance in favour of Brindisi. The interruptions due to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 led to the diversion of traffic to Italy via Belgium and Germany (Sidebottom 1948: 90).

The first Indian Mail passed through Brindisi on 25th October 1870 and the route was established in the following year (Carito 2006). With the opening of the Mont Cenis tunnel, the mail was routed to Brindisi from 5th January 1872 via France (Sidebottom 1948: 90). Various agreements were carried out between the Italian government and the P&O for carrying the postal mail via this route. Historian and researcher Giacomo Carito has written in detail about the history of the Indian Mail and the role of Brindisi (Carito, n.d.). The opening of Suez Canal in 1869 meant that this travel route via Brindisi was much convenient as it considerably reduced travel time and distance to India, making the travel smoother and convenient. Brindisi owes much of its growth to the opening of Suez Canal as well as to the Indian Mail Route, which brought in steady traffic to this port city. As a number of contemporary authors saw it, Brindisi soon became “the main gateway to Europe towards the East” (Membola 2020, cites Benedetto Marzolla).

In order to facilitate travel on this route, the P&O organised exclusive rail-ship travel packages. The Indian mail trains would bring the passengers directly from England to Brindisi, from where they would embark on a ship to India via Suez Canal. Along with ordinary trains, *de luxe* trains like the P&O Peninsular Express (also known as Brindisi Express) were introduced on the route in collaboration with the French company *Campagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits*.² The trains, which included sleeper coaches, offered a comfortable and luxurious journey. The journey was well-advertised. For instance, the vignettes of this journey were published by the P&O in 1892.³

² “A New Brindisi Express” (9-6-1890), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 7.

³ In 1891, artist William Whitelock Lloyd was commissioned by P&O to produce pen and ink drawings of life on board a P&O liner, which could be sold to passengers as souvenirs. He drew the sketches on board the steamship 'Himalaya' on its journey from Southampton to India via the Suez Canal, which are a vivid testimony to the travels of the time.

<https://poheritage.com/collections/3e00797c-b3b2-3f84-ad88-ce551976bebf/?s%3D%26view%3Dgrid%26page%3D12&pos=11> (23-5-2026).

The Brindisi Marittima station itself was planned as a functional station, enabling speedy transfer between ships and trains. Not much description of the station itself is yet found. But from the photographs, it can be established that the station was modest in size, designed in neo-classical style, and was located directly on the waterfront. It was connected to the city via wider roads. The area around the station was also simultaneously developed, especially along the railway axis, including custom offices and warehouses (Carito, n.d.: 112). A number of hotels, cafes developed near the port for the transiting passengers.⁴ The years between 1883 and 1887 could be considered the “golden age” for Brindisi, which left an indelible mark on the city's history (Membola 2019, translated). The bustle in the port of Brindisi has been captured in a number of contemporary accounts. Ferrando Ascoli wrote in 1886 about the buzz when the mail arrived and how the visitors rushed by carriage to the train station and then to Marina. As he said, “Everything is cheerful. Everyone earns money. In Brindisi, there is no poverty” (Ascoli 1886: 467, translated). This activity and commerce did lead to the growth of the town; its population increased from 8000 in 1861 to 28,000 by 1914 (Martino, De Fino, and De Tommasi 2015: 6). However, Brindisi remained a transit city and failed to evolve into a large-scale industrial centre.

The port could not adapt well to the changing demands of commerce and the international traffic, and slowly the traffic to India reduced. As Carito states, “In 1897, P&O's large steamships were rerouted to Marseilles; only two smaller, faster vessels (Isis and Osiris) operated in the port of Brindisi, bound for Port Said. The British company increasingly accorded less importance to the Brindisi port, and despite the renewal of the agreements, calls were reduced from fortnightly to monthly” (Carito 2006: 2, translated). With the starting of World War I, the travel of Indian Mail to Brindisi ceased. The port of Brindisi was used by other shipping companies like Lloyd Triestino as well, which continued for travel to India during the Interwar period, with ships often using the Trieste-Venice-Brindisi-Bombay route.⁵ Brindisi Marittima underwent subsequent changes in the 1930s, with a new station building. The station was connected to the entire Italian railway network, which got into full use after

⁴ “Hotel Internazionale e Valigia Delle Indie” (27-12-2017) *Brundarte: Di Francesco Guadalupi – Arte e Storia Di Brindisi*, <https://www.brundarte.it/hotel-internazionale/> (23-5-2026).

⁵ “Classified Ad 8 -- No Title” (16-4-1923), *The Times of India (1861-)*, p. 1.

World War II, especially popular for trips to Milan and Greece. It's use, however, slowly declined and it closed its doors in 2006, and was converted into the headquarters of the Port Authority.⁶

2. BALLARD PIER MOLE RAILWAY STATION, BOMBAY

In the late 19th century, Bombay became one of the lucrative cities for the British Empire. The cotton from the hinterlands of Bombay was a particularly important commodity for the trade during this time. The natural harbour of Bombay as well as the arrival of railways in 1853 meant that trade to and from India could be managed well from Bombay. The city particularly benefitted from the American Civil War (1861–1865), leading to a huge demand for cotton to industries in England. This brought in great profits to its merchants and changed the fortunes of the city due to a number of resultant public reforms, like the demolition of fortifications, reclamation and city planning schemes.⁷ The opening of Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of connection via Brindisi meant that the city was now easily connected to England, making it one of the leading ports in India.

Just like Brindisi, the port-rail connection was crucial to Bombay's development. As historian Mariam Dossal writes, "Taken together, reclamations, docks and railways constituted by far the most decisive development projects undertaken in Bombay in the 1850s and 1860s. They were the collective answers put forward to deal with the strains at Bombay's urban seams. A number of them were implemented and set in progress rapid and considerable change in the physical structure and functions of the emerging city. Together, they laid the basis of a commercial and in time industrial infrastructure, and enabled Bombay city in the subsequent years to cope with the increasing political and economic demands made on it" (Dossal 1991: 185–86). By the end of the 19th

⁶ Ferrovia Brindisi - Brindisi Marittima, https://www.ferrovieabbandonate.it/linea_dismessa.php?id=265 (23-5-2026).

⁷ This history of Bombay has been well researched. For details, see for instance, Dwivedi and Mehrotra (2001); Dossal (1991); Dossal (2010).

century, Bombay was managing substantial amount of country's trade. During this time, Bombay emerged as the financial capital of India, the status it still asserts today.

The following years led to a number of urban planning initiatives, including the development of various docks and wharves at Bombay Port.⁸ The two railway companies in Bombay, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company (hereafter GIPR) and the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway (hereafter BB&CI) had connected their yards with the port to facilitate goods traffic. However, there was no direct passenger train from the port in the late 19th century. This meant that the passengers had to get off at Apollo Bunder, the landing pier and then travel to the grand Victoria Terminus⁹ of GIPR or Colaba Terminus¹⁰ of BB&CI for their onward journey.

At the turn of the 20th century, the Bombay Port Trust (established in 1873), which managed the port properties, resolved to bring the railways within the docks. This involved complex negotiations with the two railway companies. With the finalisation of plans for the Alexandra Dock, the railway station was planned on the western extension together with a passenger berth for ships. The project started in 1905, but was completed only in 1914 (Kamath 2000: 91, 93). The Port Trust Railway became functional from 1915 (Kamath 2000: 99), but the station was still under the military control and opened its doors for passenger traffic only from 1919.¹¹ The focus was on integrating facilities at the station for the

⁸ For details on the history and development of Bombay Port, see for instance, Sharpe (1931); Kamath (2000).

⁹ This terminus of GIPR, built in neo-gothic style in the late 19th century, became an icon of imperial architecture as well as pride of the city. The terminus, now renamed as Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus, has been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 2004.

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/945/> (23-5-2026).

¹⁰ Colaba Terminus was closed in 1931 and was soon demolished to give way for further reclamations and urban restructuring in South Bombay.

¹¹ "Bombay Boat Trains: Ballard Station in Use" (15-10-1919), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 10.

convenience of passengers.¹² It was connected by a fine new road, which led one into the town.¹³

The development of Alexandra Dock and Mole station was linked to the larger urban development scheme.¹⁴ During the process of the creation of Dock, an adjacent area of nine acres was reclaimed, which came to be known as Ballard Estate.¹⁵ Envisaged as “the finest business centre in the city”, it was meant to house government and commercial offices, banks, and hotels in the vicinity of the port. As *The Times of India* stated in 1918, “Nowhere else, perhaps, at present is local topography undergoing such a change.”¹⁶ The strict design guidelines created by the then consulting Engineer George Wittet, in line with the municipal bye-laws, sanitary conveniences and ventilation, as well as architectural standards in keeping with neo-renaissance style offered a modern, uniform, and aesthetically pleasing appearance to this part of the city. A number of companies, like Messers. Mackinson Mackenzie and Company (on behalf of P&O and British Steam Navigation Company), Scindia Steam Navigation Company had their offices in Ballard Estate, in the close vicinity of the port.

The Mole station was practical, unlike the grand, exuberant Victoria Terminus. It had four covered platforms. The two-storied building provided with facilities like a reception hall, customs offices, postal department, telegraph office as well as a restaurant and waiting rooms (Sharpe 1931: 41–43). The station served as a transit, meant to facilitate quick transfer. As the contemporary account mentioned, “The arrangements at Ballard Pier for the arrival and departure of passengers are designed to provide the maximum of convenience and the minimum of

¹² “Bombay Boat Trains: Ballard Station in Use” (15-10-1919), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 10.

¹³ “The New Bombay Pier: Passenger Steamers Alongside” (20-4-1918), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 10.

¹⁴ “Developing Bombay” (14-7-1916), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 9.

¹⁵ “Ballard Estate: Bombay’s New, Business Centre” (8-3-1918), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 8.

¹⁶ “Ballard Estate: Bombay’s New, Business Centre” (8-3-1918), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 8.

delay in clearance and despatch of baggage” (Sharpe 1931: 43). The arrival and departure of trains from Ballard Pier Mole station was linked with that of the schedule of ships. Luxury trains like the GIPR’s Imperial Indian Mail and the BB&CI’s Frontier Mail ran from here to cities like Calcutta and Peshawar respectively (Sharpe 1931: 43).

The Ballard Pier Mole station became very frequented especially in the Interwar period, with a tremendous increase in tourism to India during this time. *The Times of India* of 1929 notes that in the previous year, “333 postal passenger trains were run to and from the station in connection with the incoming and outgoing mail steamers”.¹⁷ The station underwent a number of changes in the 1930s to accommodate the increasing passenger traffic.¹⁸ As M. V. Kamath has written, “For years Ballard Pier was literally the Gateway to India to all travellers who came by ship. The transoceanic passenger traffic of the port was mostly dealt with here” (Kamath 2000: 99).

Following the Indian Independence, the Pier slowly lost its relevance, and was gradually absorbed into the Naval Dockyard (Kamath 2000: 99, 101). Through the 1960s and 1970s, it continued to be in use, with some planned refurbishments in the station building and extension of facilities at the pier¹⁹, but seems to have been gradually phased out for passenger traffic. The Bombay Ballard Pier Mole station, once out of use, was probably demolished in the 1980s.²⁰

¹⁷ “New Station at Ballard Pier: Details of Design Accommodation provided for four Mail Trains” (21-11-1929), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 16.

¹⁸ “New Station at Ballard Pier: Details of Design Accommodation provided for four Mail Trains” (21-11-1929), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 16.; “Improvements at Ballard Pier: New Siding and Roofing” (24-6-1932), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 5.; Our Special Correspondent (19-3-1937) “Ballard Pier to be Remodelled: Two Lakhs Plan Better <SPAN ...”, *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 13.

¹⁹ A Staff Reporter (5-9-1959), “Bombay City & Suburbs: Foundations Sinking: Part of Hall Pulled Down”, *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 9.
“Ballard Pier Extension Completed on Time: Berthing Facilities for ...” (1-1-1966), *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 7.

²⁰ Balaram, Gunvanthi (30-6-1997), “Belated Birthday Bash for Mumbai Port Trust”, *The Times of India* (1861-), p. 3.

CONCLUSION

This brief history of both port stations shows the role they played as nodes and as intermodal transport hubs connecting railways and maritime network. These port railway stations can be understood through Subrahmanyam's framework of connected histories, as infrastructures linking maritime and inland mobilities across imperial and commercial networks. These networks not only connected the Mediterranean, Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, but also transcended the national land geographies. In case of Brindisi Marittima and Ballard Pier Mole railway stations, their primary importance came from facilitating international mobility rather than merely local transportation. What is also striking is the role of international events and institutions like the opening of Suez Canal as well as companies like the P&O on the fortunes of these ports, stations, and their urban settings. But at the same time, local policies, actors and institutions did influence their functioning and development in the subsequent periods.

These port stations were meant as transit stations, allowing for an easy transfer from ship to rail and vice versa. Their architecture was not representative, but rather functional, modern, meant to ensure convenience for passengers. They did operate within different political contexts, but their role in influencing urban planning and industry cannot be undermined. The rail-port integration contributed to local growth in the respective cities—commercial districts, migration flows, and cosmopolitan urban cultures, contributing to the status of these cities as gateways.

This paper merely makes the reader aware of the potential that lies in the study of port railway stations, which would be explored in greater depth in the next stages of this research. But what it shows is the importance of studying transport infrastructures within their wider global and local contexts. Though these port stations have ceased to work for passenger traffic today, as in many other cases across the world, they did serve many people, as they embarked on journeys for pleasure or to start a

new life elsewhere. As many port stations are being demolished, or converted into other uses, their documentary and oral evidences serve as palimpsests of the memories and associations they evoke. They altered geographies, leading to economic, environmental, and socio-spatial transformations, and connecting the local spaces to global circulation systems, the legacy of which remains visible in both Brindisi and Bombay (now Mumbai) even today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ascoli, Ferrando (1886), *La Storia Di Brindisi*, Rimini, Tipografia Malvolti E. C.
- Carito, Giacomo (2006), *La Stazione Marittima Di Brindisi (1870-2006)*, March
<https://www.brindisiweb.it/?p=stazione_marittima_carito&s=storia> (23-5-2026).
- Carito, Giacom.(n.d.), *Tra Londra e Bombay: Brindisi e La Valigia Delle Indie. Testi e Documenti (1861-1899.)*.
- Dossal, Mariam (1991), *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities; the Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*, Bombay, Oxford University Press.
- Dossal, Mariam (2010), *Theatre of Conflict, City of Hope. Mumbai 1660 to Present Times*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Dwivedi, Sharada and Mehrotra, Rahul (2001), *Bombay: The Cities Within*, Bombay, Eminence Designs Pvt. Ltd.
- Green, Nile (2013), "Maritime Worlds and Global History: Comparing the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean through Barcelona and Bombay", *History Compass*, 11.7, pp. 513–23.
- Hein, Carola (2022), "Mapping Transnational Planning History in Port City Regions – London, Rotterdam, Hamburg", in *European*

Planning History in the 20th Century, ed. by Max Welch Guerra et. el., New York, Routledge, pp. 222–34.

Kamath, M. V (2000), *Tides of Time: History of Mumbai Port*, Mumbai, Mumbai Port Trust.

Martino, Antonello, De Fino Mariella, and De Tommasi, Giambattista (2015), "Historic Ports of Apulia: Brindisi from Investigation to Enhancement", *PORTUS PLUS*, 5, pp. 1–13.

Mascia, Rosario (1985), *La Valigia Delle Indie Londra-Brindisi-Bombay Manduria*.

Membola, Giovanni (2019), "La Valigia Delle Indie: Gli Anni d'oro Del Porto", *SenzaColonneNews.It*, 2 March
<<https://www.senzacolonne.it/storia-locale/item/la-valigia-delle-indie-gli-anni-doro-del-porto.html>> (23-5-2026).

Membola, Giovanni (2020), 'La Stazione Marittima Di Brindisi (1870-2006)', *Il 7 Magazine n. 136*, 21 February
<https://www.brindisiweb.it/?p=stazione_marittima&s=storia> (23-5-2026).

Sharpe, William Rutton Searle (1931), *The Port of Bombay*, Bombay, Bombay Port Trust.

Sidebottom, John K (1948), *The Overland Mail: A Postal Historical Study of the Mail Route to India*, Great Britain, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (1997), "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies*, 31.3, pp. 735–62.

Warf, Barney (ed.) (n.d.), "Space of Flows", in *Encyclopedia of Geography* (SAGE Publications), doi:10.4135/9781412939591.n1052 (22-5-2026).